SOCIĀLĀ PSIHOLOĢIJA

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VOLUNTARY AND INVOLUNTARY CAREER TRANSITIONS: A NARRATIVE STUDY

The paper presents the exploration of voluntary and involuntary career transition experience of mature age persons aiming to find out how these transitions are embedded in person's life story in terms of prior events and future plans of life and what is the difference in emotional attitude toward these two types of transitions. Using the approach of constructivist qualitative inquiry, the narrative interviews were conducted to examine the participants' lived experience asking them to tell the story of their career transitions as they are embedded in their lives. The study was performed in Latgale region of Latvia with seven mature age persons (two male and five female), characterized by at least 20 years work experience, tertiary education and experience of significant career transition during the last seven years (change of country, employer, job title, industry, or leaving or re-entering the workforce). The data analysis integrated the thematic narrative analysis and M. Crossley's approach to narrative analysis. Following themes illustrated the life events prior to career transitions: 1) childhood experience: nature, chores, responsibility; 2) importance of education; 3) support from family, 4) choosing career, 5) lucky chance, and 6) triggers of career transition. The research findings were in tune with the main theoretical elaborations on career transition. Resilience as the self-related adaptive factor and family unit as supportive mechanism were discovered for both types of career transition. Involuntary career transitions were shaped only by the environmental limitations or external causes, while the voluntary transitions were mostly driven by personal agency. In future all participants stressed the need to serve the society, family and to establish better work-life balance. As expected, emotional attitude to ward involuntary career transitions was negative (disappointment, disorientation, fatalism, resentment), while attitude toward voluntary career transitions was mostly positive (faith in God, optimism, satisfaction, pride). The narrative approach can be successfully implemented by career counsellors to understand career scenarious and individuals' overall experiences. More extensive research would be recommended in future focusing on causes, triggers and coping strategies for career transitions.

Key words: career, voluntary career transition, involuntary career transition, narrative analysis, life story.

Brīvprātīgās un piespiedu karjeras pārejas: naratīvais pētījums

Rakstā atspoguļota brieduma vecuma cilvēku piespiedu un brīvprātīgo karjeras pāreju pieredzes izpēte. Tika noskaidrots, kādā veidā šādas karjeras pārejas ir integrētas cilvēku dzīvesstāstos kontekstā ar dzīves notikumiem pirms šīm pārejām un nākotnes plāniem un kādas atšķirības pastāv emocionālajā attieksmē pret savu piespiedu un brīvprātīgās karjeras pārejas pieredzi. Kvalitatīvās izpētes konstruktīvisma pieejas ietvaros izmantotās naratīvās intervijas ļāva atklāt dalībnieku dzīves pieredzi. Lūdzot izstāstīt stāstu par karjeras parējām savas dzīves notikumu kontekstā, tika novadītas intervijas ar septiņiem Latgales reģionā dzīvojošiem brieduma vecuma dalībniekiem (diviem vīriešiem un piecām sievietēm) ar augstāko izglītību, vismaz

20 gadus ilgu darba pieredzi un nozīmīgas karjeras pārejas pieredzi pēdējo septiņu gadu laikā (valsts, darba devēja, darba jomas, amata maiņa, darba tirgus atstāšana vai atgriešanās tajā). Iegūtie dati tika analizēti, izmantojot tematiskās naratīvās analīzes un M. Kroslijas pieejas naratīvajai analīzei integrāciju. Pētījuma dalībnieku dzīves notikumus pirms karjeras pārejām ilustrē šādas tēmas: 1) bērnības pieredze: daba, pienākumi, atbildība; 2) izglītības nozīmīgums; 3) ģimenes atbalsts, 4) karjeras izvēle, 5) laimīgs gadījums un 6) karjeras pāreju ierosinātāji. Pētījuma rezultāti kopumā atbilst galvenajām teorētiskajām nostādnēm karjeras pāreju izpētes jomā. Elastība kā adaptīvs ar patību saistīts faktors un ģimene kā atbalsta mehānisms tika atklāti abu karjeras pāreju veidu pieredzē. Piespiedu karjeras pārejas noteica tikai vides ierobežojumi jeb ārējie iemesli, bet brīvprātīgo pāreju pamatcēloņi bija saistīti ar personīgo aktivitāti. Nākotnes plānu aspektā visi pētījuma dalībnieki uzsvēra vajadzību kalpot sabiedrībai, ģimenei un sasniegt labāku darba un privātās dzīves līdzsvaru. Emocionālā attieksme pret piespiedu karjeras pāreju pieredzi bija negatīva (neapmierinātība, dezorientācija, fatālisms, nožēla), bet attieksme pret brīvprātīgām pārejām bija kopumā pozitīva (ticība Dievam, optimisms, gandarījums, lepnums). Naratīvā pieeja var tikt veiksmīgi izmantota karjeras konsultēšanā, lai izprastu karjeras scenārijus un indivīdu pieredzi kopumā. Nākotnē būtu ieteicami plašāki pētījumi, kas pievērstos karjeras pāreju cēloņiem, ierosinātājiem un pārvarēšanas stratēģijām.

Atslēgas vārdi: karjera, brīvprātīgā karjeras pāreja, piespiedu karjeras pāreja, naratīvā analīze, dzīvesstāsts.

Добровольные и принудительные карьерные переходы: нарративное исследование

В статье отображено исследование опыта людей в зрелом возрасте, связанного с добровольными и принудительными карьерными переходами. Выяснено, каким образом данные карьерные переходы интегрированы в контекст жизненных рассказов людей о событиях до переходов и планах на будущее, и какие различия на эмоциональном уровне существуют по отношению к пережитому опыту добровольного и принудительного карьерного перехода. В ходе качественного исследования в рамках конструктивного подхода использовались нарративные интервью, которые позволили изучить жизненный опыт участников. С просьбой рассказать о карьерных переходах в контексте событий их жизни, были проведены интервью с семью участниками зрелого возраста (двумя мужчинами и пятью женщинами), проживающими в Латгальском регионе, с высшим образованием, с как минимум 20 годами трудового стажа и значимым опытом карьерного перехода за последние семь лет (опыт смены государства, работодателя, области занятости, смена должности, покинувшие рынок труда или возвратившиеся на него). Интерпретация полученных в ходе интервью результатов происходила на основе интеграции подходов тематического нарративного анализа и подхода М. Кроссли к нарративному анализу. События из жизни участников исследования до карьерных переходов иллюстрируют следующие темы: 1) опыт детства: природа, обязанности, ответственность; 2) значимость образования; 3) поддержка семьи; 4) выбор карьеры; 5) счастливый случай и 6) события, способствующие карьерному переходу. В целом результаты исследования соответствуют главным теоретическим положениям в области карьерных переходов. Эластичность как фактор адаптивности, связанный с самостью, и семья как механизм поддержки отобразились в опыте обоих видов карьерных переходов. Принудительные карьерные переходы определяются ограничениями среды или внешними причинами, а основные причины добровольных переходов связаны с личной активностью. В аспекте планов на будущее все участники подчёркивали потребность служить обществу, семье и достичь большего равновесия между работой и личной жизнью. Эмоциональное отношение к принудительным карьерным переходам было негативным (неудовлетворённость, дезориентация, фатализм, сожаление), а отношение к добровольным переходам было в целом позитивным (вера в Бога, оптимизм,

удовлетворение, гордость). Нарративный подход может быть успешно использован в карьерном консультировании для анализа карьерных сценариев и опыта индивидов в целом. В перспективе необходимы более глубокие исследования, которые касаются причин карьерных переходов, способствующих им факторов и стратегий их преодолевания.

Ключевые слова: карьера, добровольный карьерный переход, принудительный карьерный переход, нарративный анализ, жизненная история.

Introduction

Career has become one of the main notions in 20th century Western societies (Sinisalo, Komulainen 2008) and it is still very important at the beginning of 21th century, living in "an unparalleled economic and technological milieu where the only constant is global and national change" (Peakea, McDowall 2012, p. 395). Nowadays labour markets have been influenced by various factors that have resulted in profound changes in the workplace (Bauer 2017). These changes in global and nation markets have put the individuals in situation of uncertain career path and need to be responsible for their own professional and technological development (Baruch, Bozionelos 2011). Presently the career prospects seem to be far less definable and predictable, with career transitions being more frequent and difficult (Savickas et al. 2009). At the same time, individuals are still looking for work to gain the sense of purpose and identity, life challenge, self-fulfilment and creativity, status, access to community and income. Besides, work can provide coherence, continuity and social meaning to the life in a complex society. People want more meaningful vocational lives and flexible career structures that allow them to control and manage their work and career (Waterman R. et al. 1994).

Transitions in career history, both intended and involuntary, have an impact on individuals' psychological well-being and adjustment. Especially in Latvia, because of ongoing reforms in service industry (for instance, education, health care) as well as comparatively low wages in manufacturing industry and agriculture, career transitions could become an increasing challenge for many professionals and an important task for career counsellors and consultants. The current economic and social situation in Latvia envisages the possible encounter of individuals with involuntary career transitions that can be quite devastating for those unprepared for such challenges. The presented study was conducted in the economically less developed region of Latvia, i.e., Latgale (Sipilova et al. 2017) with the biggest challenge related to the loss of human capital, social problems, weakened private sector (Latgales planosanas regions 2019), that makes the current descriptive study especially urgent and essential.

The literature review shows that research in psychology and management studies has paid little attention to the career transition compared with other topics such as leadership, organizational learning and selection (So 2010). Among the existing literature on career transitions just a few studies have focused on the influences and impacts surrounding mid-career occupational transitions. Besides, in-depth, qualitative studies centred on involuntary transitions would be particularly appropriate in the current economic climate. According to S. Peakea and A. McDowall, "a more detailed examination of the nature of such impacts, including antecedent conditions and consequent

outcomes, would benefit career counsellors, coaches and others who support individuals through career transitions" (Peakea, McDowall 2012, p. 407). Moreover, there is a tendency to explore a specific career move rather than to view the transitions as part of a larger career narrative in its social and cultural context (Cohen, Mallon 2001).

Theoretical background

The theoretical underpinnings for this study, first, will shortly illustrate major theories of career transition, second, will describe the voluntary and involuntary career transitions, their causes and adaptation to transition. Third, we will elaborate on the psychological consequences of career transition and, finally, methodology for the career transition research will be discussed.

Theories of career transition. A popular definition of career states that it is "the sequence of employment related positions, roles, activities, and experiences encountered by a person" (Arnold 1997, p. 16), while the transition can be defined as events resulting in changed relationships, assumptions, roles or altering sequence of stability and change in relation to life events and assumed roles (Anderson et al. 2012; Bauer 2017). According to W. Bridges, the researchers should make a distinction between the "transition" and "change": change is situational, while 'transition' is internal process. Transition is the inner psychological process people go through to come to terms with the new situation, as they let go of the way things used to be and reorient themselves to the way that things are now (Bridges 1980). Thus, transition will regard both objective situational features (e.g., beginning new job) and subjective characteristics (e.g., impact of new demands on individuals' self-consciousness) (Nicholson, West 1989). Emphasizing the subjective dimension of transition, N. Schlossberg sees it as an "event or non-event resulting in a change in assumptions about oneself and the world and thus requiring a corresponding change in one's behavior and relationships" (Schlossberg 1984, p. 5). One of the most popular theoretical models of transition, frequently used in the area of career transitions, are W. Bridges' three stages of transition: endings, where individuals are entering the period of transition, neutral zone, where they are moving through the transition, and making the beginning where individuals start to establish themselves in new lifestyle or employment (Bridges 1980).

Career transition has been described as a process of disengagement from one situation and engagement in a new work situation (Fernandez et al. 2008). This process can be described as: 1) a "task change" in which new tasks are adopted within the same job and same location; 2) a "position change" resulting in a change in jobs, either with the same employer or with a different employer or location; or 3) an "occupation change", involving a transition from one occupation to a completely new role and set of tasks (Heppner 1998). One of the first theories of career transition was D. Super's theory conceptualising career development as unfolding across the life span (Super 1957). In this theory career transition was considered as a matter of changing one's self-concept. On the other hand, N. Nicholson's transition cycle explores career transitions considering career motivation, past socialization experiences or current role adjustment behaviours, thus inspiring the individual approach to coping

and adjustment to career transition and exploration of career transitions (Nicholson 1987).

Along with the theory by W. Bridges, other widely cited transition model was created by N. Schlossberg (Schlossberg 1984) and developed further by M. Anderson, J. Goodman, N. Schlossberg (Anderson et al. 2012). It contains four stages of the work life cycle: 1) beginning a new job and learning about the expectations and workplace culture and norms, 2) continuing the employment with feelings of boredom or competing demands; 3) "moving out" by decision to leave the job, retire or make a career change with possible ambivalence around the change, and 4) 'trying to move in again' where individuals can suffer from unemployment feeling frustrated and despairing. For our study the important theoretical matter are following four aspects of transition: situation (voluntary or involuntary), self, support and strategies. Voluntary and involuntary career transition situations will be illustrated in detail in the next chapter of paper. The concept of self includes the salience and balance, resilience, self-efficacy and meaning making as important features of career transition. The individuals in career transition can gain the support from four main sources: close relationships, family units, networks of friends and the institutions and/or communities (Anderson et al. 2012). Strategies for coping with transition can be oriented toward problem solving or towards minimizing the personal response to the issue (Lazarus, Folkman 1984). M. Lips-Wiersma has mentioned four purposes of meaningful career transitions, namely, "developing and becoming self" (self-knowledge and personal growth); "unity with others" (sharing values and belonging); "expressing self" (creating and achieving, influencing others) and "serving others" (making a difference) (Lips-Wiersma 2002, p. 511).

As the general framework for career transitions in this study we will use the adaptation of simple time-based framework of transitions, based on K. West and N. Nicholson (West, Nicholson 1989) and elaborated further by K. Chudzikowski and his colleagues (Chudzikowski et al. 2009), consisting of three parts, namely, 1) causes (internal or external) of transition, linked with 2) individual and situational factors of transition process and adaptation to it, and 3) psychological outcomes or consequences of transition. The successive parts of this framework will be described in the further chapters.

Voluntary and involuntary career transitions, their causes and adaptation to transition. The authors use different terms for describing types of transitions, for instance, W. Gomes and M. Teixeira write about the planned (e.g., instigated by a decision to undertake studies in order to qualify for a new profession)and unplanned change (caused by job loss or economic need) (Gomes, Teixeira 2000). On the other hand, H. Ibarra and R. Barbulescu indicate that role changes may be desirable or undesirable and stress that socially desirable transition should represent progress, because any regression in status, title or prestige deviate from socially valued and expected situation (Ibarra, Barbulescu 2010).

In this study, the career transitions will be categorized into voluntary and involuntary transitions, as this division is more frequent and appropriate for the methodological discourse of our inquiry. Voluntary career transitions are driven by personal agency, whereas involuntary transitions are shaped by personal and environmental

limitations (Fouad, Bynner 2008). Voluntary transitions envisage, for instance, moving from school to work, changing jobs or careers (work to work), and choosing to leave the work force for child bearing or retirement. Involuntary transitions include been laid off, fired, facing forced retirements, re-entering the labour force because of policy changes or changes in personal circumstances. Voluntary transitions are often made with enough time, resources and competence to consider multiple options. In involuntary transitions people may not have the opportunities to prepare for the transition both in terms of their psychological readiness as well as their capacity for other jobs or careers (So 2010).

The causes or triggers of career transitions can be external (e.g., losing a job and becoming unemployed) or internal (e.g., perceived need for personal growth or changes) (Bauer 2017). Internal career transition could be triggered by interest to other career path or activities, search for interpersonal development, self-determination or self-awareness developed through experience, increased self-esteem, need to integrate previous professional experience, expand personal capacities, identity and values. Also, for some individuals career transition would allow to do something good for society, achieve a better work-life balance or to find a sense of purpose and direction (Bauer 2017; Gomes, Teixeira 2000; Wise, Millard 2005).

Describing the pre- and post-transition environments, N. Schlossberg emphasize the importance of internal support systems, institutional support, and physical settings (Schlossberg 1981). Timing and pattern of transitions have been recognized as individually varying due to interaction between the family background and personality. Youngsters, developing their career orientation, are guided by their parents' aspirations for them and social class reference groups (Reitzle et al. 1998; Vondracek et al. 1986).

N. Schlossberg, illustrating the model of adaptation to transition, discerns three groups of factors interacting during a transition, namely, the characteristics of the individual experiencing the transition, the perception of the particular transition, and the characteristics of the pre-transition and post-transition environments (Schlossberg 1981, 2004). The variables that characterise the individual include attributes, such as psychosocial competence, sex, age, state of health, race/ethnicity, socio-economic status, value orientation, and previous experience with a transition of a similar nature.

The psychological consequences of career transition. The transitions encountered throughout the life both positively and negatively influence the emotional, physical and mental functioning of individual (Anderson et al. 2012) and ask for energy, strategies and courage (Bloch, Richmond 1998). Besides, transitions in one area of a person's life can result in possible impact on other spheres of life. Also, successful dealing with the process of transition often depends on specific point in time when the transition occurred and impact of life factors and context (Bauer 2017). Thus, voluntary career transitions could result in more successful adjustment than involuntary transitions, as former can allow for better preparation for this process both in terms of internal and external resources. Several studies show that involuntary career transitions can be detrimental of the physical and mental health of individual (e.g., Dooley 2003; Dooley et al. 1996). However, when involuntary transitions can be reinterpreted as a positive event, even in cases of retiring, it could become an opportunity to develop new capacities, redirect priorities or leave unsatisfying job (Eby, Buch 1995; Taylor, Cook

1995). It could be assumed that almost any type of career transition can bring the positive outcomes when used for growth, self-transformation and promotes the linking of past negative experience to current strength and future opportunities (Savickas 2011). In coping with career transitions, the resilience has been recognized as one of the main keys for adapting to career transition, as resilient individuals regard the career related issues as possibilities for learning and development, or even for finding the innovative ways to achieve personally and organizationally meaningful goals (Fouad, Bynner 2008; Luthans et al. 2005; Luthans, Youssef 2007).

Methodology for career transition research. Even though just a few qualitative studies on career transition were conducted recently (e.g., Bauer 2017; Chudzikowski et al. 2009; Liu et al. 2012; Peakea, McDowall 2012; Sinisalo, Komulainen 2008), it is clear that qualitative approach would allow for the deeper, more complex, and detailed understanding of lived experiences of research participants in terms of their career transitions. The authors of current study have selected the contructivist paradigm for this qualitative inquiry, envisaging the individual's subjective understanding of the world and consequent development of subjective meaning of experienced events (Cresswell 2014). Besides, the qualitative studies are well suited for emerging areas of research like individuals' experience of involuntary and voluntary career transitions.

According to H. Ibarra and R. Barbulescu, "for many people, although certainly not everyone, a job or occupation is a central component of their understanding of who they are and they must be able to tell a good story about how they came to do what they do for a living" (Ibarra, Barbulescu 2010, p. 150). Recently, the narrative inquiry has been offered as one of alternative approaches to understand the career behaviour, including the career transition, though, such research has not been widely implemented yet (e.g., Bauer 2017; Bussolari, Goodell 2009; Liu et al. 2012; Peakea, McDowall 2012; Pryor, Bright 2007, 2008; Sinisalo, Komulainen 2008). Since the career is described as the sequence of work experiences over a person's life (Arthur et al. 1989), in this study we use the narrative interviews to explore the lived experience of participants asking them to tell the story of their career transitions as they are embedded in their lives. This research approach was selected because of its power to reveal how individuals make sense of traumatic and transitionary life events (Crossley 2000).

According to C. Atkinson, a life story is the story one chooses to tell about his/her life as completely and honestly as possible, what he/she remembers of it and wants others to know of it (Atkinson 2002). As the literature analysis shows, the narrative in general is described as a sequence of events with the purpose of making a point (e.g., Pentland 1999; Riessman 1993) and these stories are especially effective in delving into challenging and ambiguos situation as they selectively combine contradictory experiences in a coherent view (Boje 2001). Narrative conveys the meaning of events as it helps to organize the sequence of events in a whole, where the meaning of each event can be grasped through its relation to that whole (Elliot 2005).

Narrative analysis put an emphasis on two main interactive factors: how the person creates his/her identity or sense of self and how the broader social and organizational contexts have been considered or, as stated by K. McGannon and B. Smith, "the use of narrative as a medium in knowledge translation aligns with the transformative and

social change agenda within cultural praxis, as well as the goal of grounding such change in people's experiences and identities" (McGannon, Smith 2015, p. 81).

Individuals' sense of self is created through narrative process where they construct the meaning of their life experiences by structuring the flow of events and organizing them according to recurrent themes in consistent 'plot' of life story (Neimeyer et al. 2006). Only the narrative structure of self-concept allows the gradual integration of life events into a coherent identity (McLeod 1997).

The second important strength of narrative inquiry is its focus on socio-cultural context of individual psychological processes as it builds the bridge between the life stories and dominant discourses of collective life (McLeod 2006). Even if life story contains a set of unique, personal events as voluntary or involuntary career transitions, a person can only tell this story by relying on dominant structures and genres of cultural narratives (Frank 1995; McLeod 1997).

According to the mentioned above, the purpose of this study was to explore how mature age participants with tertiary education experience their mid-career voluntary and involuntary transitions. To reveal the pre- and post-events as well as the differences in emotional attitude toward these two types of career transitions, following research questions were set:
• How the voluntary and involuntary career transitions are embedded in person's life story in terms of prior events and future plans of life?
• What are the differences in emotional attitude toward the personal experience of voluntary and involuntary career transitions?

Method

Sampling. Qualitative studies employ the purposive sampling method and involve a small number of individuals envisaging different sampling strategies. This study uses the purposive criterion sampling, choosing the participants for the study according to their 1) age/work experience, 2) level of education, 3) specific career experience. The main requirement for all participants was their capability to tell the stories about their career transitions. To enhance the variety of themes and categories (Glaser, Strauss 1967), participants with different age, occupational group, gender and type of career transition were selected within the framework of designated sampling criteria. The participants of this study will be described in detail as it allows for the richer interpretation of stories told (Locke et al. 2010).

The number of research participants for qualitative studies on career change in general ranges from five (Li 2009) to ten participants (Wise, Millard 2005). Several studies on similar topic have been carried out with seven participants (e.g., Gomes, Teixeira 2000; Peakea, McDowall 2012). Also, seven participants were involved in given study that, in general, coincides with the requirements for narrative interviews in the context of qualitative research.

The study was conducted in Latgale region of Latvia with seven participants (two male and five female), characterized by mature age and minimum 20 years work experience, with tertiary education and experience of significant career transition

during the last seven years. The significant career transition was defined as at least one of the following: change of country, change of employer, change of job title, change of industry, or leaving or re-entering the workforce (Peakea, McDowall 2012). Participants ranged in age from 42 to 62 years, four participants holded Bachelor degree, three participants were with Master degree. Three participants reported involuntary career transitions, while four participants informed about their voluntary career transition experience. Every participant represented different kind of career transition, thus providing rich, unique and heterogenous set of narratives. None of the participants had previously sought professional careers advice or counselling. Table 1 presents the more detailed description of research participants.

Table 1
Socio demographic portrait of research participants, n = 7

Criteria	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Gender	male	female	male	female	female	female	female
Age	52	44	53	62	45	42	51
Degree	B.A.	B.A.	M.A.	M.A.	B. A.	M. A.	B.A.
Qualifi-cation	Engineer	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Accoun-tant	Preschool teacher	Teacher
Work ex-perience	25	24	30	37	23	26	20
Career transition	Change of country/ industry	Change of industry	Change of employer	Leaving workforce (loosing job)	Leaving workforce (for further education)	Change of job title	Change of employer/ job title industry
Type of career transition	INVCT	VCT	VCT	INVCT	VCT	VCT	INVCT

Note: INVCT – involuntary career transition, VCT – voluntary career transition. Further in text following acronims of participants will be used: Amin, Bfv, Cmv, Dfin, Efv, Ffv and Gfin, designating gender and type of career transition (e.g., Amin – male with involuntary career transition).

Source: elaborated by the authors.

Data collection. Individual narrative interview on career transitions with open questions was conducted with all research participants according to same interview schedule. Each interview consisted of two parts: introductory part (administrated during the first meeting) and main part of interview related to the participants' life history in terms of career development and career transitions. Introductory part of interview focused on the relevant socio-demographical features and clarification of the formal details of research participants' career history, type and situation of career transition.

The main part of interview commenced with broad questions focused on the comprehension of participants in relation to career history and career transition. Then the

interviewer asked: "In previous conversation I discovered that you have experienced certain career transition. So, I would like to hear more about this period of your life. Start at the point which represents the beginning of the transition or any key events leading to it, and tell me as much as you can remember". The last section of this part of interview consisted of autobiographical interview questions, based on D. McAdams' protocol for semi-structured narrative interview, incorporating six areas and significant factors of human life: life (career) chapters, key events, significant people, future script, stresses and problems, and central themes of life. These questions were adapted to focus specifically on the main events of career history in the context of person's narrative of his/her life (McAdams 1993).

Procedure. At the initial meeting research participants were informed about the aim of the study and nature of narrative interview. As usually in life story interviews, participants were not fully introduced to the interview protocol ahead of interview time. The researcher (second author of the paper) provided just the general insight on the studied topic and stressed that she is interested mostly in the personal view on research problem not some objective statements or definitions. The answers on the introductory questions were obtained and participants were informed about the possible length of the interview; date, time and place of next interview were negotiated.

The main part of interviews was conducted face-to-face at the work place of inter-viewees (five interviews), one was taken at home and one was a telephone interview with the participant living in Ireland. Each interview generally lasted from 52 to 79 minutes. All interviews were audiotaped. Some attrition was observed in a study as one interviewee left the country before the main interview without warning, while one interview was excluded from the data set as it was only 25 minutes long despite of the large number of leading questions. These two participants were substituted by participants having same type of career transitions. Ethical principles were considered during the study signing and observing the agreement of informed consent. The acronims of participants were used to ensure anonymity, the interviewees were familizarized with research outcomes, all recognizable data details were omitted or substituted from the transcripts and from the direct quotes and research data interpretation.

Data analysis. In order to answer the research questions, two types of data analysis were integrated in the presented study: thematic narrative analysis (Smith, Sparkes 2012; Riessman 2008) and M. Crossley's approach to narrative analysis (Crossley 2007). In thematic narrative analysis emphasis is on the content of speech, 'whats' of the stories (not the structure) and in this approach researcher searches for the common elements of several cases (Riessman 2008). Following the M. Crossley's approach, the "narrative tone" (the manner in which the narrative is told) as well as the language used in terms of symbols, metaphors and images (self-narrative repertoire) were observed in each transcript. Also, the dominant themes were noted in each narrative.

Thus, using a categorial perspective of thematic narrative analysis, categories and themes were collected across the seven cases (horizontal comparison), while in more holistic approach the sections of each case (answers on specific questions) were inter-preted in the context of the other parts of the narrative (vertical comparison). According to A. Lieblich, R. Tuval-Mashiach, T. Zilber such "vertical" approach is more relevant in exploration of the development of individuals (Lieblich et al. 1998). Thus, in order

to compare the content and contextual dimensions of voluntary and involuntary career transitions, thematic analysis of data was selected as more appropriate, while the integration of these transitions in the life story of participants and interpretation of their psychological consequences asked for more holistic vertical approach suggested by M. Crossley (Crossley 2007).

The interview audio files were transcribed verbatim. Initially, the researchers focused on thematic narrative analysis – discerning the themes common at least in three from seven interviews. The analysis started with reading each transcript five times and marking main ideas and issues; than the analysis continued with inductive coding, developing themes and subthemes, and identification of core narrative elements associated with each theme (Braun, Clarke 2006). In the next stage of analysis researcher conducted six steps of narrative analysis (Crossley 2000), to reveal the narrative tone, self-narrative repertoire and dominating theme, integrating the data in coherent story for each narrative. The views of both authors of paper on obtained data and their interpretation were syncronized and discussed at the final stage of data analysis.

Research rigour. The method of in-depth interviewing used in this study, the length of interviews and two meetings with interviewees allowed for prolonged contact with the participants, thus enhancing the potential for increased genuineness in their responses (Hall, Callery 2001). Although, D. Polkinghorne has stated that narrative inquiry does not provide certain conclusions and they remain open ended (Polkinghorne 1988), guidelines suggested by C. Riessman provide three important considerations to establish research rigour in narrative inquiry: 1) making explicit how methodological decisions were made; 2) describing how interpretations were produced, including alternative interpretations considered; and 3) making primary evidence available to other investigators where appropriate (Riessman 2008, p. 195). Our study was focused mainly on first two suggestions as the introductory part of this paper entailes the section of methodological decision-making for this research, detailed description of interpretative context as well as alternative interpretations are provided in the concluding parts of paper. The analysis of obtained data by two researchers also can serve as the potential for establishing valid narrative research.

Findings

At the beginning of interview all participants demonstrated appropriate understanding of career and career transition (CT) at the conceptual level, although, their definitions of career were more theoretically oriented while explanations of CT were mostly experience based. Tables 2 and 3 reflect the aggregate description of participants' CTs along with dominating themes/common theme; illustrative quotes for these themes together with emotional tone of narrative are included in tables to provide general overview of results from narrative analysis. The tables will complement and illustrate the description of obtained data and allow for the visible comparison both between the voluntary and involuntary CTs and between participants representing the same group of CT.

Table 2

Narrative analysis of voluntary career transitions, n = 4

Person	Triggers of CT	Current situation	Dominating themes	Common theme	Illustrative quotes	Emotional tone
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bfv	After 22 years in her profession as elementary school teacher she decided to change the industry because of insufficient salary and negative attitude of principal	Already working in previous workplace, she applied for the vacancy of career counsellor in National Employment Agency. Currently works as a career counsellor	Insufficient salary searching for the new industry strong family successful career transition	"Faith, hope and love ensure success in career and all other spheres of life"	"Then I probably became dissatisfied with salary" "Experiencing career transitions from one step to another, one has to get satisfaction from his/her work, now I am getting delight in my career"	Faith
Cmv	After 20 years as a principal in rural school he decided to change the employer, not the industry. Fear to loose his job because of closing school as the consequence of administrative territorial reform	Already working in previous place applied for the State Gymnasium public call for the vacancy of principal. Currently works as a principal in this gymnasium	Missing chance to become a construction worker because of unfair admission at university career development successful work at new place life in school	"School as a second home, founded on prosperity and well-being"	"State Gymnasium X issued a call for the applicants on the vacancy of principal and I decided to apply as I do not feel so old as to finish my career with the closure of school. I won the job and, thus, I am here now" "I was thinking to become a construction worker, but then, back there, I understood, and enjoyed myself what is it – personal contacts"	Satisfaction

Sequel to Table 2 see on the next page

Sequel to Table 2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Efv	After 10 years of work as a principal of Youth Center (not according to her acquired qualification) she decided to obtain the Master degree in the sphere of her job. Desire to learn and apply her knowledge working with youth	Currently studies for the Master degree to become career counsellor and specialist in youth affairs	Strive for lifelong learning and application for one's own knowledge support from family successful future useful experience	"Experience makes person rich, and he/she have to share it"	"I want to get the training in several professions, the more professions I learn, the more secure I feel" "Probably, family is not so important for other people, as they are happy at work, I need to feel good both about work and family, I need the balance"	Optimism
Ffv	After 14 years in the position of educationalist at preschool, principal offered her to change the title of her job and to carry out both the duties of educationalist and vice-principal. High professional potential of person	The person accepted the offer. Currently works as the vice-principal and educationalist at preschool educational establishment	Unfair competition on the job of principal unexpected job promotions self-development outside the professional sphere seizing the opportunity	"Every-thing can happen waiting for the lucky chance"	"If I would strive to become a principal, with my present experience, probably, I would do some more tricky staff, would keep my mouth shut. Let's say, with old everything what I would prefer to say at this competition for job." "First thing what I want to do is to publish the collection of dramatic plays for children"	Optimism

Source: elaborated by the authors.

Table 3

Narrative analysis of involuntary career transitions, n = 3

Person	Triggers of CT	Current situation	Dominating themes	Common theme	Illustrative quotes	Emotional tone
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Amin	The last workplace where he worked already for 15 years as a welder (not according to his initial qualification) was abolished by employer	Having the status of unemployed person for six month, he decided to emigrate abroad thanks to the family support. Works abroad farming common mushrooms	Disapointment and forced changes negative experience skills in welding alone abolished jobs distraction of the family	"Negative and positive experience allow to learn from your mistakes"	"That day I felt bad to hear such devastating news, but I immediately thought that I will go fishing at last, finaly I will finish the home repair" "I also had some hackwork, but I wanted to find some stable job in welding"	Lack of self-confidence
Dfin	After 37 years in one workplace, among them 14 years in position of principal of vocational school, she had to accept the early retirement. Merging and reorganization of four vocational schools caused the change of employer	The workplace was abolished, women is in early retirement now, at the same time she works now and then at flower shop substituting the shop assistant – her acquaintance	End of career contribution at the workplace fight for survival emotional distress	"All trials of our life are brought by our fate"	"It was the beginning of the end of elementary school and the beginning of end also for my career" "Then the dirty competition started between the neighboring schools, attracting the pupils, different party activities in terms of state funding and spending project money"	Disappointment

Sequel to Table 3 see on the next page

Sequel to Table 3

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gfin	After working six months on the project funded by the National Employment Agency and two months after the end of the project in clothing industry (not according to her qualification in education), employer abolished her workplace. The organization reduced the places of work because of low demand	Thanks to the information from acquaintances about the open vacancy, she immediately applied for the job of school cook assistant. Currently works at school as cook assistant	Inconstant workplaces lack of recognition at work status of an unemployed person regular change of employers	"Disregarded skills induce indifference"	"My life was full of regular career transitions, my career did not develop at all" "I have never thought that person with higher education can be unemployed person"	Resentment

Source: elaborated by the authors.

Prior events and future plans of life. The analysis of results will start with prior events of life that are connected to later voluntary or involuntary CTs. Six dominant themes were discerned in this regard: 1) childhood experience: nature, chores, responsibility; 2) importance of education; 3) support from family, 4) choosing career, 5) lucky chance, and 6) triggers of CT.

Childhood experience: nature, chores, responsibility. In terms of the childhood experience all research participants told very similar stories, they all were firstborn children with positive attitude toward nature, many chores and gratitude to their parents "for nurturing feelings of responsibility: we were rised outdoor, all the time played outside and worked a lot" (Dfin), "we should thank our parents who habituated us to work and responsibility" (Efv), "we had a cattle to take care of, a garden to weed and I had a sister, four years younger, I had to nurture her, accustom her to the chores, rise her as a person and I succeded in this" (Cmv). Other subtheme of childhood experience relates to the dreams about the future profession. Only Dfin (currently 62 years old female) reached her dream to become a teacher and worked in this profession 37 years, other participants did not achieve their childhood dreams. For instance, Amin now cultivates common mushrooms abroad while in his childhood he wanted to become an astronaut, Bfv, currently with teacher qualification, had a dream to become veterinarian, Efv, having an accountant qualification, had a dream to become pediatrician, etc. The third subtheme of childhood memories can be called – positive and negative example of parents. Some interviewees stressed that they wanted to take an example from their parents and to become as successful, hard working and acquire the same profession as they did, others recalled that they definitely did not want to follow the career path of their parents seeing them always exhausted and with insufficient salary.

Importance of education. All research participants strongly emphasized the necessity of secondary education associating it with a prestige of such education. For instance, Amin recognized: "I did well at school and thus I made a decision by myself to enter secondary school", while Dfin remembered that in elementary school she was among the best pupils at class: "I always got praised, I was good at everything, so I felt confident about my capacity to continue my education in secondary school".

In terms of tertiary education, research participants reached it differently. Four interviewees (three with voluntary and one with involuntary CT experience) entered the higher education, though did not proceed with their studies. Amin commenced the part-time studies of agricultural mechanics that did not satisfied him and he decided to drop the studies. Also Cmv missed the chance to study a construction trade, according to his our words, because of unfair admission at university and entered other university to become teacher of mathematics. Ffv did not enter university after the high school to study biology because of her low scores in chemistry, while Efv, who opted for vocational school to get the qualification of accountant instead of secondary school, told about her first job after reaching this qualification. Three other research participants successfully finished the chosen tertiary studies after the secondary school. However, participants who did not manage to receive the higher education earlier in life, later re-entered universities and graduated with a degree.

Support from family. According to the theory, support from family is very important both in choosing one's career and in going through different kind of CTs. It is natural, that talking about their life and career all interviewees stressed the significant role of family. Though, some gender differences were observed: woman detailed on establishing family, love, role of wife, birth and nurturing of children, while men shortly mentioned such chapters of their life as family life and marriage, just naming the facts and anecdotal situations that can be explained with challenging family situation of both male respondents. Almost all research participants named family among the most important chapters of life: "family brings me inspiration to live (Amin), marriage had a huge impact on my life" (Cmv), "family, of course, always had been and still is a place where I get the support" (Ffv).

Choosing career. This theme emerged as clearly different for research participants with voluntary and involuntary CTs and also for men and women. With respect to adolescent years it was obvious that two men (Amin and Cmv) did not think about their further career at all. Answering the question about the career plans in adolescence, four women just recalled professions they liked or disliked at that time. According to previous research, the articulated life plans during adolescence are important predictors of consequent educational and occupational attainment (Clausen 1991; Elder 1999; Schneider, Stevenson 1999). Regarding the subtheme of choosing the career direction, the stories of the interviewees with voluntary CTs exhibited the lack of career planning – they did not plan for their future career neither in adolescence, nor in secondary school. Issues with admission to higher education show that almost none of them had elaborated career plans before entering the tertiary education. On the other hand, those research participants who had experienced involuntary CTs, recalled the huge impact of external factors on their career choice: "my teachers at school always suggested that I should become a teacher, besides, my mother was teacher, my example. I would like to thank my mother for raising me as a good teacher" (Dfin), "I wanted to follow the footsteps of my mother and older sister, to become an accountant" (Gfin).

Second subtheme of this subject describes the choice of workplace. Research participants with voluntary CTs spoke about entering workplace, acquired skills of work, activities outside workplace (e.g., additional studies or joining a political party) in a more detailed way as those with involuntary CT. They all also mentioned that it was not an issue to find a job, but deep down they were insatisfied with chosen profession and described various shortcomings of selected field of work. Their narratives show that, possibly, initial dissatisfaction with chosen direction was one of the main internal triggers of CT in later years (Briscoe, Hall, Mayrhofer 2012). On the other hand, those with involuntary CTs confessed that their attitude toward the job search was not quite serious, they found their workplaces just by accident, reacting to unforeseen invitations from other people, not by the deliberate search for appropriate work. Thus, this theme suggests four possible internal and external causes for mid-career CTs: lack of initial career planning, impact of external factors on career choice, dissatisfaction with workplace, lack of self-awareness in career choice.

"Lucky chance". Majority of interviewees with voluntary CT reported on career promotion suggested by their superiours, they all designate it as a "lucky chance". For one person (Cmv) this chance was the trigger of major CT, while for other three

persons this career development preceded the major CT focused on in this study. Cmv, who worked as a teacher of mathematics, became the school principal just by voting of staff, Dfin, who worked as a teacher of language and literature, had an offer for a supplementary job as a head of teaching department, later – also the principal of vocational school. Ffv received an offer from the principal of kindergarden to become educationalist, later also the deputy of principal. Finally, Efv experienced the unexpected career development some years before the current CT, when she was invited to work not only as an accountant, but also as a director of youth center. Again, as in case with the unsuccessful admission to university, this theme testifies to the impact of unplanned events on career path (Peakea, McDowall 2012) and indicates to the importance of external triggers and resilience (Luthans, Youssef 2007). Although the interviewees complained about their inner dissatisfaction with chosen career path, they probably would not be chosen for the promotion, if not because of their competences and motivation.

Triggers of career transition. This theme of career narratives was completely different for interviewees with voluntary and involuntary CT. All of them admitted that CTs was the turning point in their life in terms of their career. All research participants with involuntary CTs recognized that the reason for their CT was abolishment of their post because of redundancy or merger – external impact. On the other hand, interviewees with voluntary CT mentioned different causes of their CTs: dissatisfaction with salary, fear from abolishment of workplace – closing school, desire to develop one's capacities outside the workplace and earn the Master degree as well as the attractive proposition for the career growth. Thus, these triggers were mostly internal in their essence. It should be mentioned that telling the retrospective stories and looking back in their life all research participants admitted that from the viewpoint of their current experience they would act otherwise: they would be more courageous, smart, and self-confident. This, actually, testifies that career development process is also the process of continuous learning and development.

Future plans of life. Majority of interviewees with voluntary CT admitted that the career is a lifelong process, e.g., "all my life is career (Cmv), somehow I can not separate my life from my career" (Dfin), "to my mind, career actually is all your life (Efv), for me it is hard to separate life from career" (Ffv). Thus, these persons will possibly proceed with their career development also after the experienced CT. Other subtheme illustrates the need of interviewees to serve the society. All interviewees plan to keep their job, some of them think about the further education, Ffv plan to publish the collection of dramatic plays for children, Cmv intends to improve the infrastructure of his school, while Dfin plans to keep herself healthy and expects for the full pension. The common thread was a wish to be useful and needed for other people, to become a good example for others. Interviewees want to get the satisfaction from their job, plan to work extra hours, want to apply their creative capacities, using their experience and knowledge, intend to plan for their finances, but they all have a common trend – wish to participate in nurturing their children or grandchildren and spend more time with their family, thus implicitly striving for work life balance.

Emotional attitude toward the experience of career transitions. For the interviewees with involuntary CT the experience of CT were evoked as the lowest point of career.

These negatively oriented parts of narratives contained two dominating threads – disappointment – changing attitude toward the world and disorientation – person does not know what to do, how to deal with the present problem.

Colourful emotional nuances were observed in the main themes of the narrative suggested by the interviewees themselves. Participants with involuntary CTs tried to rationalise and find some compensatory features in their situation. Thus, Amin's main theme was: "experience – probably as everybody I got a lot of good and bad experience which I can use now at older age". However, the overall emotional tone of his narrative was stained with the lack of self-confidence and disappointment telling about his negative experience, skills just in one profession, two abolished workplaces and collapse of the family.

Two women with involuntary CTs, on the other hand, emphasised their investment in family. Thus, Dfin summarised: "I live here and now, what I managed to do in my life will stay – I invested much in my career, my family, and family of my son". However, similarly as for Amin, her emotional tone beared the hint of disappointment. Explaining her involuntary CT, Dfin sounded sad, her intonation often changed. The main theme of her narrative: "all trials of our life are brought by our fate". The main images emphasized in her narrative were "teacher" and "faith" coming from her childhood: since her childhood she was rised as a future teacher, an example for others. Dfin repeatedly mentioned the image of fate, occasionally picturing what would be her life with another destiny.

In a similar manner, Gfin concluded that her main theme is support from her family: "all what I do, I do for my family and for all what I do I receive the family support", while the emotional tone of the narrative was filled with resentment and disappointment. This is reflected in redundant stories about precarious job, lack of recognition for her work, status of unemployed person, regular change of employers. Thus, the general theme of her narrative was: "disregarded skills induce indifference". The main metaphor of her narrative "feel like slave" is associated with situations when, to her mind, her superior did not perceived her like a person with her own perspective, but more like a robot simply doing what is told. Besides, her dominating image was "independence" since her narrative suggests that her largest wish is to become independent from others, from the views of others, etc.

Participants with voluntary CTs summarized their narratives in more distinct way. For instance, Bfv recognized the power of faith, hope and love and admitted: "I have a large faith in the power of God, I love my family and hope that also in future everything will go right way" and her emotional tone was endowed with faith. Bfv told her story with inspiration, mentioning dissatisfaction with salary, courage to find new job, strong family, successful CT. Thus, the main theme of her narrative was articulated like this: "faith, hope and love ensure success in career and all other spheres of life". In her story of life Bfv often stressed the images of God, support from God, answered prayers, power of God, caused by faith to the Saints nurtured by her grandparents.

Using the emotional tone of satisfaction, Cmv suggested, that his main theme of narrative could be about the school: "I studied 11 years at secondary school, then five years at university and now I am teaching already for 30 years". Cmv told his story

with pride, adding different remarks and examples, reflecting on his career development and successful work in the role of principal, missing chance to become a construction worker because of unfair admission at university. His narrative was summarized by following theme: "school as a second home, founded on prosperity and well-being". Cmv often used expressions like "I was young, handsome and smart and surely, at school, like in family, I am the head of family". The main image of his narrative – "school" is described like a personified object, which needs to be protected.

Efv and Ffv optimistically emphasized the role of experience in their life and opportunity to meet the right people who inspired them and oriented in right direction. Efv mentioned the experience of her life – "this is an experience I receive acquiring the professions, experience of meeting people, in nurturing children, working with adolescents, living with my husband". The main themes of her narrative were strive for lifelong learning and application for one's own knowledge, support from family, successful future, useful experience. Thus, the main topic of her story can be formulated like this: "experience makes person rich, and he/she has to share it". The story of Efv enticed dominating metaphors like "I am like a child and making decision I feel like a milksop, but later I seem to myself like a hero", probably coming from her childhood where she needed to take care of her younger sisters and brothers, making independent decisions. The main image of her narrative was "luck".

Ffv also stressed the rich experience of her life: "My life is like an interesting detective movie" and displayed the optimistic emotional attitude to her experience. The main themes of her narrative were unfair competition on the job of principal, unexpected job promotions, self-development outside the professional sphere, seizing the chance. Thus, her story was summarized like this: "everything can happen waiting for the lucky chance". The image that often appeared in her story with optimistic tone is integrity, as she recognized that both at work and in other spheres of life she keeps her integrity and does not trust people who have treated her dishonestly, denigrated or deceived her. She believed: "if you preserve your integrity in everything you do, you will definitely have an offers for promotion and succeed in life".

Thus, both the Tables 1, 2 and description above show that interviewees with involuntary CTs express mostly negative emotional attitude toward their experience. They show disappointment, disorientation, fatalism, resentment, and tries to find their meaning and support in family as well as get rid of their "chains" of meaningless job. Eventually, they all agree that these career changes have been valuable experience, providing a chance to learn from mistakes, train character, etc.

In relation to the interviewees with voluntary CTs, their emotional attitude was mostly positive and can be signified as faith in God and hope for the best or just lucky chance, general optimism, satisfaction and pride in one's job instead of "chains" of meaningless job. Similar as participants with involuntary Cts, this group of research participants strongly emphasized the role of experience, they were thankful for the rich experience of their life that made them who they are now.

Observing the richness of narratives during the interviews, it appears that interviewees were more talkative about those chapters of their life and career that elicited the positive memories at large. For instance, interviewees with involuntary CT were less extensive talking about these changes, while those with voluntary CT were quite

detailed in their stories about this event. This difference provides yet another prove that involuntary CT evokes mainly negative emotional attitude or kind of shame that people usually tries to keep to themselves, while voluntary CT as a courageous step in one's life boosts their pride and wish to share their success.

Discussion and conclusions

The presented study aimed to explore the experience of mature age participants with tertiary education in relation to their mid-career voluntary and involuntary transitions. The current study viewed the transitions as a part of a larger career narrative in its social and cultural context (Cohen, Mallon 2001) instead of focusing on a single specific career move. The concluding part of the paper will start with a short insight in the general discourse of the study and its results, following by aggregated answers on the research questions: about prior events and future plans of life in case of voluntary and involuntary CTs and about the differences in emotional attitudes toward these two types of CT. Since the nature of qualitative studies envisages the rich description of obtained textual data as well as, considering the limitations of the study, the authors will try to avoid from the reduced and generalized conclusions in the last part of paper.

The evidence of uncertain career path in this study was clearly observed in involuntary CTs, moreover, already starting from tertiary education (for some even earlier) the availability of selected choice is not guaranteed. However, as the results show, several participants demonstrated the responsibility for their own professional development and re-entered university to obtain bachelor or master degree, the sefeelings of liability were present also in further career development and, for some, possibly, leaded to voluntary CT. According to the findings, CTs really have become more frequent and difficult (Savickas et al. 2009) even for individuals with tertiary education as all participants reported more than one career transition. Despite the challenging situation with career development, people still wish to gain the meaning, purpose, sense of identity, creativity, community and, of course, income by their work: this was especially true for those who experienced voluntary CTs. Individuals are really striving for more meaningful careers that allow them to control and manage their work (Waterman et al. 1994), they do not want to be just slaves or nameless robots devoided of recognition and any possibility to control the situation (like in case with Gfin). In general, notwithstanding the small sample, the results of this study mirror the general situation in Latgale region of Latvia with large economical challenges, though, at the same time – with resilient and quite adaptable population.

Analysing the prior events of life that are connected to later voluntary and involuntary CTs, six dominant themes were discerned: 1) childhood experience: nature, chores, responsibility; 2) importance of education; 3) support from family, 4) choosing career, 5) lucky chance, and 6) triggers of CT. Since these themes were already discussed in previous chapter, the further presentation will illustrate the results coordinating them with the theoretical discourse and using more holistic way of interpretation.

In terms of self as one of the main factors having an impact on CT (Anderson et al. 2012), resilience and meaning making were well discernible in the results of this

study. In our sample resilience as a key feature to adapt to CT and other transitions appeared in several cases starting from early life: for the majority of sample it emerged as re-entering university for the second time and successful graduation, for all participants with involuntary CTs resilience was observed as finding new job (although not according the qualification, less paid, part time or abroad). The main feature of resilience of persons with involuntary CT is their capacity to reinterpret this transition as a positive event, for instance, loosing job provides an opportunity to go for fishing, spend more time with family and, for all research participants – to obtain the learning experience from this event (Eby, Buch 1995; Taylor, Cook 1995). The resilience invoked positive reevaluation of experience and learning from mistakes for both groups of research participants. One of the potential sources of resilience for all participants could be the industrious childhood with many responsibilities and need to take care for others. The perceived important role of education also could help in becoming resilient in future career path and learning to make voluntary transitions.

It is interesting that from four potential sources of support in times of CT – close relationships, family, friends and institutions/communities (Anderson et al. 2012), only the family unit was mentioned as the main source of support both in case of voluntary and involuntary CTs. The interview results show that family can be important environmental variable in adaptation to transition – both as vulnerable entity and as supportive/compensatory mechanism (in objective and subjective terms). In terms of life environment in early life, the impact of parents was observed already since the early years – as role models, teachers of responsibility, positive or negative career example. However, parents were perceived as not quite engaged in the academic performance and career choice of their adolescents. The holistic analysis of narratives shows some correlation between the lack of parental guidance in terms of academic performance, unsupported decision making with regard to the choice of university and study program from one side and issues with realization of plans for tertiary education from other side. This observation is consistent with findings in other study (Schoon et al. 2007), showing that parental educational expectations are significantly associated with school motivation and job aspirations.

Similarly as in other studies, all involuntary CTs were shaped only by the environmental limitations or external causes, while the voluntary CTs were mostly driven by personal agency (Bauer 2017; Fouad, Bynner 2008). In our case personal agency was determined by the interest to other career path (Bfv, Ffv), search for integration of previous professional experience and expansion of personal capacities and identity (Ffv, Cmv, Efv). Since people are mostly unprepared for involuntary CT in terms of psychological readiness and capacity for other jobs or careers (So 2010), this can result in destruction of family unit and need to migrate abroad and engage in less qualified job.

Describing the life events prior to CTs, the research participants stressed their wish to enter secondary school because of its prestige, thus showing the guidance of social class reference groups, and also rather low parental aspirations in relation to the career orientation of their adolescents (Reitzle et al. 1998; Vondracek et al. 1986) resulting in issues with tertiary education and later with the selection of first place of work.

Internal and external causes for mid-career CTs differ for two types of CTs: those with voluntary CTs mainly reported the lack of initial career planning and dissatisfaction with workplace, while those with involuntary CTs – impact of external factors and lack of self-awareness selecting their career. Though, it seems that both factors could serve as the triggers of CTs and the strong causal relationships between these specific factors and types of CT should be examined yet in further quantitative research. The other theme, that are clearly distinct for two types of CTs, are triggers of CTs. Triggers of involuntary CTs were external impact – abolishment of the post, while voluntary CTs were provoked by several mostly internal (emotional/motivational) factors – fear, desire and dissatisfaction. Lucky chance was a distinct common way of career promotion for research participants with voluntary CTs. The further research is needed to explore, if they are really skilled at seizing the chance or they could not recognize the promotion as a natural outcome of their capacities and competences.

The presented study once again confirmed the Chaos Theory of Careers (Pryor, Bright 2007), showing the substantial role of lucky chance, unplanned events and complexity of outcomes in career success. At the same time, the results show that not everything should be left to chance: large impact also have several supportive external mechanisms (e.g., role of childhood, family), before the career development and during it (e.g., strive toward self-development).

As the research data shows, all four purposes of meaningful CT, mentioned by M. Lips-Wiersma – developing self, unity with others, expressing self and serving others, were reached in different configurations by all research participants with CT (Lips-Wiersma 2002). These purposes were reached before the main CT, in a process of main CT, as a consequence of main CT, but for some of research participants they also are planned for in the future.

For all participants CTs were important learning experience having impact on further career path and whole life. Regarding the future plans of life after the CTs, all research participants stressed the need to serve the society and family and expressed their need for establishing better work-life balance, that would be obtained because of experienced CTs (Bauer 2017; Gomes, Teixeira 2000; Wise, Millard 2005). Mature adults with voluntary and involuntary CT differed in one specific feature of their future life outlook: those with voluntary CTs viewed the career itself as a lifelong process, indicating their own agency in directing their career and possible career growth in future.

In terms of emotional attitude toward experienced CTs, drawing on N. Schlossberg's model of adaptation to transition, it appears that emotional adaptation to the experienced CT has involved the perception of the particular transition and features of pre-transition and post-transition environments (Schlossberg 1981, 2004). Emotional attitude of participants with involuntary CTs indicated disappointment, disorientation, fatalism, resentment, desire to find new meaning in life. Detrimental character of involuntary CTs manifested in negative emotions prevailing in their narratives: over a period of time they can have an adverse effect on the mental health of individual (Dooley 2003; Dooley et al. 1996). Those, who experienced involuntary CTs, talked much less about this event – possibly coping with transition by minimizing the personal response to the issue (Lazarus, Folkman 1984). Also, according to H. Ibarra and R. Barbulescu, involuntary CT can represent undesirable regress in status, title or

prestige thus deviating from social expectations and creating the feelings of shame and resentment (Ibarra, Barbulescu 2010).

Emotional attitude of interviewees with voluntary CTs was positive and expressed faith in God, hope for the best, satisfaction and pride in one's job. Similarly as participants with involuntary CTs they admitted that they were thankful for the rich experience of their life that made them who they are now.

Some gender differences were also observed in this study: women were more extensive and emotional talking about their family life, while men were more rational and brief on this topic. The other difference was career orientation during the period of adolescence – men were not interested in this subject at all, while women could at least name their likes and dislikes.

Limitations. There are several limitations that could have affected the findings of this qualitative study. First, the sample size was limited to seven participants, though, the larger number of participants would generate richer and more diverse results for this study. Second, the interviews were conducted by the career counsellor, thus making it harder to bracket her professional biases and assumptions. Third, similarly as in other narrative studies, "the temporal effects on the participants' memory of past events and their psychological consequences may have caused them not to have been as accurate as they thought, although their responses reflected an interpretative assessment of their experiences within the context of their current lives" (Liu et al. 2012). Thus, different research participants may have displayed different levels of recall in terms of their experiences and may have re-interpreted past events to construct their career narratives. Finally, considering that all research participants were mature age persons with tertiary education, the generalisability of the findings is limited to similar samples. Integration of career transitions in the narrative of person's life and career would be preferredly studied by means of longitudinal approach (e.g., Bauer 2017), however, it must be said that in given study some advantages of longitudinal study were obtained using the retrospective insight in the biography of interviewees from the early childhood until the current moment.

Practical implications. None of the research participants have been the clients of career counsellor, though, if they would seek the advice of career counsellor at an earlier period of their life, their careers possibly would be more fluent and sustainable. This might be especially relevant for those with involuntary CT. At the same time the results of this study can help to prepare clients of career counsellors for a variety of contingencies and to view change and chance as powerful and unavoidable aspects of career development. Thus, nowadays every person entering the job market should be fully prepared for the several career transitions and should perceive them as a chance for learning, development and meaning making. This is especially important for career counsellors in educational environment, as they could provide valuable advices considering the developing theoretical background of career transitions and results of current and other studies on career transition both for young and mature persons. Narrative approach in counselling for career development and change seems to be appropriate way to find out the most important socio-demographical and contextual features of clients as well as allow them to reflect on their situation, self, available support and coping strategies. According to S. Peakea and A. McDowall, the narrative

approach is useful in itself to understand career scenarios (past experience, present situation and future plans) and individuals' overall experiences, eliciting unplanned and chance events that may not be obvious in a more traditional career discussion (Peakea, McDowall 2012).

Further research. Since the CTs are not very well represented in research literature yet, especially in terms of differences between the voluntary and involuntary transitions, more extensive qualitative and quantitative research would be advisable in future focusing on parental impact, choice of tertiary education and study direction, choice of first workplace, promotion and other factors that can be important prior events for different CTs in later life. Also, the qualitative research targeting resilience that might be developed in case of involuntary CT or any career changes would be fitting direction for this research area.

The presented study is the first step in qualitative exploration of career transitions in Latgale region of Latvia and, considering the prospects of current social and economic development, it seems that this research area will remain urgent and demanded many decades ahead.

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