

THE LONG MIDDLE

UNMAPPED

How to Reinvent Yourself When You Don't Know Where
You're Going

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For the person standing at the edge of the old territory, looking at the wilderness ahead, waiting to know where they are going before they take the first step. Take the step.

The greatest lie we are told about reinventing our lives is that we need a plan.

We treat identity like architecture: we believe we must draft a flawless blueprint of who we are going to become before we are allowed to lay a single brick. We wait for the clarity that will tell us what we are building toward. We wait for the moment when the new direction announces itself with enough certainty to justify beginning. And in the waiting, months pass. Sometimes years.

But you cannot architect an identity you have never inhabited. Blueprints require known territory — a site survey, an established load-bearing structure, a clear understanding of what the ground will hold. Reinvention happens in unmapped territory, where none of those things are available, and where the Architect's insistence on a completed plan before a single move is made is not caution. It is paralysis dressed as prudence.

To navigate unmapped territory, you must fire the Architect and become the Scout.

A scout does not demand a map of the entire continent before taking the first step. A scout simply walks to the next ridge to see what is in the valley. From the ridge, another ridge becomes visible. The map is not consulted. It is made, one ridge at a time, from the evidence of the actual terrain.

Identity, in genuine reinvention, works the same way. It is not planned. It is prototyped — assembled through small, real, low-commitment engagements with new territory, each of which generates evidence that no amount of sitting-and-thinking could

have produced. The prototype is not the destination. It is the information that points toward one.

This book is the scout's handbook. Not a roadmap — there isn't one. The tools for navigating when there isn't one.

Before You Begin: The Starting Position

One thing before the first chapter. It takes about ten minutes.

You are somewhere between the old territory and the new one. The old professional or social identity has changed, ended, or begun to fit badly. The new one has not yet formed. That interval — which feels like failure and is actually the work — is where this book begins.

Three questions, written honestly.

The first: how long have you been in the interval? Not since you left the role — since you stopped expecting the clarity to arrive on its own.

The second: what is the specific fear that has prevented you from beginning something genuinely new? Not the general fear of uncertainty — the specific one. The fear of looking foolish. The fear of wasting time on the wrong thing. The fear of being seen as someone who doesn't know what they're doing.

The third: what is the smallest possible move into new territory that you could make in the next two weeks — not the right move, a real one?

Don't answer the third question yet. The book is the answer to the third question.

Chapter 1: The Identity Gap

You are standing in a gap.

The old identity — the professional persona, the social role, the accumulated description of who you were that arrived, polished and ready, whenever someone asked — is gone, or changed beyond reliable use, or has begun to feel like a coat belonging to someone slightly different from the person currently wearing it. What comes next has not yet formed. The gap between the two is where you are.

The gap has a specific texture that is worth describing precisely, because misidentifying it produces the wrong response.

It is not a crisis. A crisis has a clear problem and requires a solution. The gap is not a problem. It is a transition state: a necessary interval between structures, in which the old has been released and the new has not yet been built. The discomfort of the gap is the discomfort of the in-between — the sensation of standing on ground that is not yet solid, that has not yet been tested, that is not yet the firm base the previous ground was.

The mistake almost everyone makes in the gap is to try to close it as quickly as possible — to seize on the first available new identity that fits the shape of the old one, to rebuild the structure before examining what the structure should be built on. This produces premature closure: a new identity that relieves the discomfort of the gap but that is not actually right, and that will create its own crisis when the poor fit becomes apparent.

What the gap requires instead is a willingness to remain in it long enough for the terrain to reveal itself — which it will, given actual engagement rather than abstract planning. The gap is not

the thing preventing the next chapter. The gap is the beginning of it.

Vivienne had been a senior marketing director for twenty-two years, known in every organisation she'd worked for as the person who could read a room at scale — who arrived somewhere new and within weeks understood its culture, its dynamics, its fault lines, in ways that took other people years to develop. Her redundancy at fifty-six came with a generous package and a specific emptiness: the ability she'd built her professional identity around had no obvious address outside the context that had housed it. She described the first six months as a sustained waiting — for the right opportunity, the right direction, the right signal that would tell her where to go. The signal didn't come. "I kept expecting clarity to arrive," she said. "Like it was a delivery I'd ordered that just hadn't turned up yet."

The delivery doesn't come because clarity in reinvention is not a precondition for action. It is the product of action. You do not wait for it and then begin. You begin, and the beginning generates it.

Take this with you: Name the specific thing you have been waiting for before beginning. The clarity, the signal, the right opportunity, the moment when the direction feels certain enough. Then ask: how long have you been waiting for it? And has the waiting produced it? If not, the waiting is the problem — and the only resolution to it is the first small move into actual territory.

Chapter 2: The Humiliation of the Beginner

Here is the specific, unpleasant, and entirely necessary truth about reinvention that almost no one tells you in advance.

Your skills transfer. Your status does not.

The capabilities you built over decades — the quality of attention, the systematic thinking, the ability to read people and situations, the particular way you solve problems — these are genuinely yours and they will follow you into new territory. But the professional status that organised other people's experience of those capabilities — the track record, the recognised authority, the shorthand credibility of being known as a particular kind of expert in a particular kind of setting — that does not transfer. In the new territory, you arrive without it. And arriving without it, when you have had it for thirty years, is a specific experience of demotion that the literature on reinvention almost never acknowledges honestly.

It feels like this: you walk into a room where other people have been working for years, and they have fluency you don't yet have, and they know things you don't yet know, and the competence that defined you in your previous life is not on display because it is not yet relevant here. You are the beginner. And you are not merely a beginner who has never been otherwise — you are the beginner who used to be the expert, which is its own particular form of uncomfortable.

The identity contrast is the hard part. In the old territory, you moved with the quiet authority of someone who had earned their understanding. Now you are in a position that does not yet recognise that authority, and the contrast registers not as a temporary stage but as a verdict. As evidence that you were wrong

to try this. As a signal to retreat to the familiar territory where the authority is still acknowledged.

It is not a verdict. It is a stage. The outsider position is temporary by definition — it ends when the new territory becomes familiar enough that the existing competence can express itself in a new form. But it requires being endured rather than escaped, because the only way out of it is through: sustained engagement, the accumulation of real experience in the new domain, the gradual building of a new track record that eventually produces a new form of authority.

What helps in the outsider position is not reassurance that you are doing fine. It is the specific, small, real evidence that the learning is actually happening: the first time something in the new domain goes genuinely well. The first time someone responds to what you're doing with recognition rather than patience. These signals are disproportionately important because they establish, against the background noise of general discomfort, that the transfer is possible and the competence is still there, working in new soil.

Dennis managed production at a printing company for twenty-seven years. He knew those machines the way surgeons know anatomy — not just how they worked but how they failed, what the sounds meant, what the tolerances were for every variable in every process. When the company was acquired and his role was eliminated, he was sixty, and the knowledge felt suddenly homeless. He took a community college course in digital printing out of vague interest and found himself, in the back of the room, quietly correcting the instructor's explanation of something he had understood at depth for two decades. The instructor asked him to come to the front. Within a term, he was teaching the module. The

skills had transferred entirely. The path to recognising that they had transferred was the humiliation of sitting in the back of a classroom as a student first.

Take this with you: If you are currently in the outsider position — in a new domain, performing below your actual capability, finding the contrast with your previous authority uncomfortable — name one small piece of evidence from the last month that the learning is actually happening. Not mastery. Movement. That evidence is what the outsider position is designed to produce, and it is the only data that reliably makes the position survivable.

Chapter 3: The Myth of the Master Plan

The Architect and the Scout are two different approaches to the same problem: how do you get somewhere you've never been?

The Architect's approach: design the destination in full before beginning. Draft the blueprint, calculate the loads, understand the complete structure before laying a single foundation stone. This approach works when the terrain is known, when similar buildings have been built before, when the site conditions are measurable and stable. It fails completely in genuinely new territory, where the terrain cannot be surveyed in advance, where no similar structure exists as a reference, and where the conditions will change in ways that no blueprint could have anticipated.

The Scout's approach: walk to the next ridge. See what is in the valley. Navigate from current position to next visible position, using the evidence of the actual terrain rather than a projected map of it. The Scout does not know the full route. The Scout knows the current position and the next achievable view.

Most people attempting reinvention try to be Architects. They believe — because the culture around professional achievement has trained them to believe — that beginning without a clear destination is irresponsible, that moving without a plan is drift, and that the discomfort of not knowing where you're going is a problem to be solved before you can start moving. So they plan. And plan. And research. And consider. And find reasons why each possible direction is not quite right yet.

The Scout knows something the Architect doesn't: in unmapped territory, the map can only be made by walking the ground. The blueprint is not the precondition for the building. It is the output of having built.

Identity reinvention works like this. The new identity is not assembled in advance and then inhabited — it is assembled through inhabiting provisional versions of it, through small engagements with new possibilities, through the evidence that accumulates when you actually do things rather than think about what to do. The destination is not known at the beginning. It becomes visible from the ridges that are only reachable by walking toward them.

This is not an argument for recklessness or impulsivity. The Scout is not random. The Scout pays careful attention to the terrain, notices what the current position reveals about the next one, adjusts direction based on actual evidence rather than fixed plan. This is, in fact, a more sophisticated form of navigation than the Architect's approach — it requires more genuine attention and more genuine flexibility. But it does not require a completed blueprint before the first step.

Fire the Architect. Become the Scout. That is the whole of the instruction.

Take this with you: Think about the last time you navigated successfully through genuinely uncertain conditions — professional or personal, any context where the path ahead was unclear and you found your way through anyway. What did you do? You almost certainly did not wait for a complete plan. You walked to the next ridge. That is your natural navigational posture. It is available now.

Chapter 4: The Prototype

The 30-Day Prototype is the Scout's primary tool, and it is the tool that removes the most paralyzing feature of the word "reinvention": the implication of permanence.

Reinvention sounds like a verdict. Like the decision about who you are going to be for the rest of your life, made in the unfamiliar conditions of the gap, from incomplete information, with the full weight of the previous identity's loss still present. Under those conditions, the decision is almost impossible to make — because the stakes feel too high, the information too sparse, and the cost of being wrong too large.

The 30-Day Prototype removes the permanence. It does not ask you to decide who you are going to be. It asks you to spend thirty days doing something new, in a real but low-commitment way, and to pay attention to what the thirty days produce.

Not what you hoped it would produce. Not what you planned it would produce. What it actually produces — in terms of engagement, energy, a sense of having used something real in yourself, or the absence of all of those.

The specific question at the end of thirty days is not "is this my destiny?" That question is unanswerable at this stage and the wrong question for this stage. The question is: "did this give me energy or drain it?" That question is answerable. The answer is data. And data, accumulated across several prototypes, eventually reveals a pattern that no amount of planning could have surfaced.

The key properties of a prototype are worth being specific about. It is genuinely new — not a variation on the previous identity, but a real step into territory that has not been your

domain. It is low-commitment — you are not training for a new career, you are spending thirty days with a new thing, which means the resources required are small and the exit is easy if the data says exit. And it is real — not imagined, not researched, not considered. You are actually doing the thing, however small and preliminary the doing is, because only actually doing it generates the evidence you need.

Nora had spent thirty-one years as a school librarian, in a building that smelled of old carpet and new books, where she knew the name of every child in the school and could tell, from the way a ten-year-old held a book, whether they were a reader yet or not yet. When she retired at fifty-eight she tried three prototypes in her first year. The hospice reading group was meaningful and genuinely exhausting in equal measure — she could feel herself giving something she didn't quite have enough of. The community garden project taught her, within three weeks, that she had no particular relationship with soil. The primary school reading sessions — three mornings a week, fifteen children, a carpet and a picture book — produced something within a month that she recognised, with quiet surprise, as the closest she'd felt to herself since leaving work. She had not predicted this. She had found it by looking.

Three prototypes. Two pieces of evidence that said not this. One that said here.

Take this with you: Name one 30-Day Prototype you could begin in the next two weeks. Not the right one. One that has enough genuine novelty to produce real data. What would you be doing, how much time does it require, and what specifically would you be paying attention to over the thirty days?

Chapter 5: What Actually Transfers

The inventory of what you have — separated from the professional context that was providing the language for it — is the most underestimated resource of the reinvention period.

Here is the confusion that makes people underestimate it. In the old role, your capabilities were so embedded in the professional context that they felt inseparable from it. The teacher's ability to explain complex things simply was "teaching skill." The manager's capacity to hold multiple competing perspectives was "management competence." The engineer's systematic approach to problems was "engineering methodology." Remove the professional frame and these capabilities seem to go with it — because the frame was the only language available for describing them.

They don't go. The ability to explain things simply was always yours. The multi-perspectival thinking was always yours. The systematic approach was always yours. The professional context gave them a domain of application. The domain has changed. The capacities remain.

What doesn't transfer is the institutional recognition — the title, the track record, the credibility that came from being a known expert in a specific context. That is genuinely lost, and the loss is real. The error is treating the loss of the institutional recognition as the loss of the underlying capability, which it isn't.

The transfer inventory is the exercise of separating the two — of identifying, specifically, what belongs to you rather than to the role. It requires looking at your capabilities not through the lens of the professional domain that housed them but through the lens of the underlying quality that was always operating underneath the

professional description.

What is the quality beneath the skill? The patience beneath the teaching. The perspective-holding beneath the management. The systematic care beneath the engineering. The room-reading beneath the marketing. These qualities are domain-independent. They are what transfers. And in new territory, they are often more valuable than the professional expertise they were attached to — because they are rarer, less frequently developed, and more flexibly applicable.

Vivienne eventually found the thread. The "reading rooms at scale" capability — which had felt purely professional when attached to the marketing identity — was, when she stopped attaching it to the professional context, a quality of attention to what was actually happening in a social or organisational system as distinct from what was supposed to be happening. She brought this to a consultancy role for social enterprises that was, on the surface, entirely different from her previous career. On the inside, she was doing exactly what she had always done. The domain changed. The quality remained. The transition that had seemed like starting from scratch turned out to be bringing exactly the right tools to new ground.

Take this with you: Name the quality beneath your most significant professional skill — the underlying human capability that the professional context gave a domain and a vocabulary. Then ask: in what non-professional context has this quality already expressed itself, even briefly? That evidence is proof that the quality belongs to you, not to the role.

Chapter 6: The Voices That Resist

Reinvention happens in the presence of other people, and some of those people will resist it.

Not because they wish you harm. Because the new version of you requires them to update their model of who you are, and updating the model is more effort than maintaining it. The resistance takes recognisable forms.

The most common is the competence challenge: "But what do you actually know about that?" — asked not as genuine curiosity but as a challenge to the legitimacy of the transition itself. The question implies that the only valid activities are ones for which you have established credentials. This is the framing that makes all reinvention impossible, because established credentials are precisely what you don't yet have in new territory. The honest answer is: not as much as you will, which is true of every person who has ever begun anything.

The second is the identity anchor: the insistence, usually warm and entirely unconscious, on referring to you in terms of the previous identity. "You've always been more analytical than creative." "That seems like a departure from how you usually work." These observations are often accurate descriptions of who you were. They are being used as constraints on who you might become — and the person offering them is usually not aware they're doing it. The anchor is affection misapplied. It treats the previous chapter as the defining one.

The third, and hardest, is the internal auditor: the voice that asks whether you have the right to call yourself a new thing before you've earned it. Whether moving in a new direction without established credentials is a form of pretension. Whether the

discomfort of the outsider position is not a temporary stage but a signal that you don't belong there.

The internal auditor applies a standard that makes all growth impossible: you cannot be a new thing until you are fully qualified to be it. But no one was qualified on their first day of anything that mattered. The qualification arrived through engagement, not before it. The same will be true of whatever comes next.

The useful response to all three forms of resistance — the competence challenge, the identity anchor, the internal auditor — is the same: one piece of concrete evidence of the capability being real in the new context. Not an argument. Evidence. The argument is unanswerable in the abstract. The evidence is unanswerable in the concrete.

Take this with you: Which form of resistance is currently loudest in your reinvention? Name it specifically — and name one piece of evidence from the actual work of exploration that the resistance is failing to account for.

Chapter 7: The Next Ridge

The Scout's navigational posture is worth describing precisely, because it is different from both planning and drift, and the difference matters.

Planning is navigating from a fixed point to a fixed destination via a predetermined route. The destination is known, the route is mapped, and deviation from the route is an error to be corrected. In mapped territory, this is efficient and reliable. In unmapped territory, it is the thing that causes people to walk over cliffs: the map says there's a path here, so they follow the map rather than the actual ground, and discover too late that the map was wrong.

Drift is navigating without any fixed point or direction — moving wherever the current takes you, whatever each day brings, with no accumulated direction and no sense of progress. Drift feels like freedom and produces a specific kind of depression: the days are varied but they don't accumulate into anything. The Scout's posture is neither of these.

The Scout navigates from the current position to the next visible ridge — and only to the next ridge. Not to the ridge after that, which is not yet visible. Not to the final destination, which is not yet known. To the specific next thing that can be seen from where you currently stand.

From the ridge, the next valley becomes visible. The Scout describes what is actually there: the terrain, the obstacles, the possibilities that could not have been seen from the previous position. A new ridge becomes visible beyond the valley. The Scout does not now plan the entire route to that ridge. The Scout walks to the next immediately reachable position and looks again.

This is, it turns out, exactly how the most successful navigations through genuinely uncertain territory actually happen. Not through plans that anticipated what lay ahead, but through sustained attention to what was actually there and repeated movement toward the most promising next thing visible from the current position. The route is assembled in retrospect. It was never planned in advance.

The practical instruction is the same as the metaphor: identify the next ridge. Not the destination. The next visible, achievable thing. Walk to it. See what becomes visible from there. That is all.

Take this with you: From where you currently stand in your reinvention, what is the next visible ridge — the next small, achievable position that would give you a view you don't currently have? Not the destination. The next ridge. Name it specifically and identify the single action that would move you toward it this week.

Chapter 8: The New Narrative

At some point in the reinvention — not at the beginning, not in a dramatic moment of clarity, but gradually, through the accumulation of prototypes and ridges and outsider-position endurance — something shifts.

Not the arrival of the finished identity. Something more preliminary and more important: the development of a narrative that makes sense of the transition. A story that connects the previous identity to the emerging one, that finds the thread between the chapters, that allows you to describe what happened and why without apologising for the change or performing a transformation.

The narrative matters because identity is not a fixed object. It is a dynamic story — an account of who you are, where you came from, and where you are going, revised continuously in the light of new experience. The person whose identity narrative was disrupted by transition is not just someone who lost a role. They are someone whose story was interrupted. The work of reinvention is not only finding new things to do. It is finding the thread that runs through the whole story and makes the new chapter recognisably part of the same book.

The thread, in almost every successful reinvention narrative, is a quality that was present in the first chapter and is still present in the current one. Not a skill — a quality. The way you have consistently approached problems. What you have reliably cared about. The characteristic stance you have taken toward the work, whatever the work was. This quality predates the professional identity. It will outlast the current transition. It is the building, not the scaffolding.

Finding the thread requires looking at the whole story, not just the chapter that just ended. Where in your earlier life — before the career that became central, or outside it — did the same quality show up? The thread is usually more visible in those peripheral moments than in the central professional narrative, because the central narrative was organised around the institutional description of the quality rather than the quality itself.

When the thread is visible, the narrative holds. Not because the new identity is fully formed, but because the continuity is real — the new territory, however unfamiliar, is being navigated by the same person who navigated the previous one, using the same fundamental qualities, in a new form.

Take this with you: Write one sentence that names the thread — the quality that has been present across every chapter of your life, including the current one. Not "I have always been interested in X" — something more fundamental: "I have always been someone who ___." That sentence is the narrative's spine. Everything else is built around it.

Chapter 9: First Ground

Nora reads with children three mornings a week. She has also, in the two years since the primary school sessions began, trained as an adult literacy volunteer — work she had not considered before an offhand remark at the school revealed that her skills transferred directly to adults who had never learned to read properly. She did not plan this. She walked to the ridge, saw the valley, and recognised something she wanted to move toward.

Dennis teaches production technology at the community college on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. He has developed over four years a curriculum for career-changers entering the print and digital production industries — people in exactly the position he was in at sixty, standing in new territory with knowledge from another domain and no current language for it. He had not predicted this from where he stood with his redundancy letter. He had prototyped his way to it.

Vivienne works three days a week with a small consultancy that helps social enterprises understand the gap between their stated mission and their actual culture. She does not have a new title that accurately describes what she does. She has the quality that was always hers, applied to new ground, in a form that could not have been designed in advance.

None of them has a destination that was visible from the starting position. All of them have a narrative that, from where they now stand, looks coherent — as all routes through genuine territory look coherent in retrospect, even when they were not planned in advance.

The territory you are entering is yours to chart. No one has been exactly here — in this combination of your specific history,

your specific present moment, your specific unplanned arrivals at the position you now occupy. The map does not exist because it has not yet been made. You are making it, one prototype at a time, one ridge at a time, with the qualities that have always been yours and the Scout's willingness to walk toward the next visible thing without demanding to see the whole route first.

Go back to the Starting Position from the beginning of the book. Read what you wrote about the smallest possible move you could make in the next two weeks. Read it from where you are now. Make the move.

The map begins with the first mark. You have been standing at the edge long enough. The terrain is waiting.

Take this with you: What is your first prototype? Thirty days, genuinely new territory, low commitment, real enough to generate actual data. Write it down — what you will do, when you will start, and what specific question you will be asking the thirty days to answer. Then begin. Not when the clarity arrives. The clarity arrives from the beginning, not before it.

The Unmapped Toolkit

Three tools for the Scout.

Tool 1: The Transfer Inventory (Do once — revisit every six months)

The foundation survey — what you actually have, separated from the institutional language that was housing it.

Three questions.

What quality has been consistent across every role you've held? Not a skill — the underlying human quality. The patience

beneath the teaching. The systematic care beneath the technical expertise. The curiosity beneath the research. Name it without the professional frame.

Where has this quality expressed itself outside the professional domain — even briefly, even in minor ways? That evidence proves the quality is yours.

What would someone who has known you across multiple contexts — not primarily professionally — say you are most distinctively good at? This answer is usually more accurate than any professional self-description because it is not filtered through the institutional frame.

The inventory is not a career plan. It is a foundation. You build from what is actually there, not from what the previous structure was built on.

Tool 2: The 30-Day Prototype (Repeat until the data speaks)

The Scout's navigation tool.

One new thing. Thirty days. Genuinely low commitment. At the end of thirty days, one question: did this give me energy or drain it?

Not: is this my destiny? Not: am I good at this? Not: does this make sense as a new career? Energy or drain. That is the only data point the prototype is designed to produce.

The energy/drain reading is the first piece of real navigation data available in unmapped territory. It is more reliable than any plan, more accurate than any self-assessment, and only available from actually doing the thing rather than imagining doing it.

Three prototypes typically produce one clear "energy" signal and two "drain" readings that are equally useful — each drain

reading rules out a direction and narrows the territory. After three prototypes, the Scout can see a valley they couldn't see from the starting position.

Tool 3: The Narrative Thread (Ongoing)

A single sentence, revised monthly, that names the quality running through the whole story.

"I have always been someone who ____, and I am finding new ways to do that through ____."

The first blank is the thread — the quality that predates the career and will outlast the transition. It does not change.

The second blank is the current prototype. It changes as the Scout moves through the territory. When it has remained stable for six months, pointing toward the same kind of work or engagement, the new narrative has found its form.

Write the sentence now. Return to it monthly. The thread will clarify as the terrain does.

A Note on the Research

Unmapped draws on the psychology of professional identity change and the career development literature. This note is honest about what the research establishes.

Identity reinvention through action — the finding that successful career changers act and experiment first, then reflect and plan, rather than planning in advance — is the central research contribution of Herminia Ibarra's work on professional identity change, developed across multiple studies and synthesised in *Working Identity* (2003). Her concept of "provisional selves" — the trying-on of possible new identities through real

engagement rather than abstract planning — is the foundation for the Prototype framework in this book. The book presents this as an established research finding rather than a prescriptive rule; her specific research context (mid-career professionals in their thirties and forties) should be noted when applying findings to the older adult population this series addresses.

Possible selves — the theory that people hold multiple possible future selves (both hoped-for and feared) that motivate and give direction to identity work — was developed in foundational work by Hazel Markus and Paula Nurius (1986). The framework underlies the discussion of prototypes as explorations of possible selves rather than commitments to a defined future identity. Verify specific citation details for the Research Appendix.

The skills/status transfer distinction — the observation that capabilities transfer across professional domains while institutional recognition does not — is the book's own synthesis of the identity transition and professional mobility literatures. Ensure the Research Appendix identifies specific supporting studies for the Research Note.

The outsider position draws on the identity theory literature and on Ibarra's accounts of career changers in the transition phase. The specific phenomenology of the "expert turned beginner" is drawn from qualitative accounts in the career change literature. Specific citations should be identified for the Research Appendix.

Full citations in the Research Appendix.