

**COPING WITH PASSION:
CRAFTING WORK AND LEISURE TO ANSWER A MISSED CALLING**

An Honors Thesis By,

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ABSTRACT

Scholars have demonstrated numerous benefits of experiencing work as a calling, but little research has addressed what happens when individuals do not pursue a calling. To build theory on how people cope with passion for an unfulfilled calling, I conducted a qualitative study of 20 educators. Findings reveal three job crafting techniques (task emphasizing, job expanding, role reframing) and three leisure crafting techniques (hobby pursuit, vicarious pursuit, prospective pursuit) that people employ to create opportunities for fulfilling their callings. These techniques are often associated with psychological well-being benefits of enjoyment and meaning, but may also introduce the unintended costs of additional stress and intermittent regret. I discuss theoretical contributions to research on callings, coping, and job crafting and role-making, as well as practical implications.

INTRODUCTION

“For all sad words of tongue and pen, the saddest are these: ‘what might have been.’”
–John Greenleaf Whittier

The average American changes jobs 10 times between the ages of 18 and 40 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2006), and similar trends are occurring in Europe (Alogoskoufis, 1995). As traditional career paths are quickly becoming a concept of the past (Briscoea & Hall, 2006; Cascio, 1995; Hall & Mirvis, 1995), people are increasingly seeking more than just financial rewards and promotions at work. Instead, people often pursue occupations that provide fulfillment of personal values (Judge & Bretz, 1992), meaning (Wrzesniewski, Dutton, & Debebe, 2003), self-expression (Kahn, 1990; Shamir, 1991), and opportunities to benefit others (Grant, 2007; Hackman & Oldham, 1976). In response to this demand, numerous self-help books have been published on the importance of heeding one’s occupational calling (e.g., Brennfleck & Marie, 2005; Levoy, 1997; Novak, 1996). As Leider and Shapiro (2001) admonish, “Until we heed our calling, we’re not living authentically; we’re adopting someone else’s model for who we should be” (p.25). Organizational scholars appear to agree; they suggest that experiencing work as a calling is associated with a series of psychological benefits, including increased life, health, and job satisfaction (Hall & Chandler, 2005; Heslin, 2005; Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, & Schwartz, 1997).

Although some people are indeed able to answer their calling, a variety of reasons – from familial responsibility (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1994) to a lack of talent (Holland, 1996) – may render the possibility impractical or too difficult for many individuals. As a result, they enter different occupations and are left with a passion or strong interest in an occupation other than their own. Passion is typically viewed as an intense positive emotional experience (Czikszentmihalyi, 1990), but feeling unable to fulfill passion may undermine psychological

well-being by producing a high degree of frustration (Barlas & Yasarcan, 2006; Scheier & Carver, 1988), disappointment (Bell, 1985), or regret (Gilovich & Medvec, 1995), which may ultimately hinder job performance (Judge, Thoresen, Bono, & Patton, 2001; Wright & Cropanzano, 2000). Since most adults spend more than half their waking lives at work, unfulfilled occupational passion is a potentially severe concern for individuals and the organizations that employ them. The pervasive encouragement to heed the call raises a perplexing question: what happens when someone misses a calling? Little research has addressed how people cope with passion for a missed calling. A deeper understanding of this phenomenon will offer theoretical insight into how individuals deal with the adversity of not answering a calling and practical knowledge on steps for mitigating the undesirable personal and organizational outcomes.

To develop theory on how people cope with passion for a missed calling, I conducted a qualitative study of human service professionals. I interviewed 20 educators, who are often passionate individuals (Neumann, 2006), but tend to experience a high degree of burnout (Brookhart & Freeman, 1992; Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001; Weiss, 1999). My findings suggest that people employ six different techniques to cope with passion by crafting work and leisure to incorporate or emphasize aspects of their missed callings. People craft work to incorporate their missed callings by emphasizing particular tasks, expanding their jobs, and reframing their roles, and craft leisure to incorporate their missed callings by pursuing them as hobbies, experiencing them vicariously, and planning to pursue them in the future. These coping techniques are often associated with benefits for psychological well-being, but also introduce some unintended well-being costs. In sum, my research suggests that individuals are able to

create other ways of fulfilling their callings besides actually working in them. I also discuss theoretical contributions to the literatures on coping and job crafting and role-making.

LITERATURE REVIEW: COPING WITH PASSION FOR A MISSED CALLING

Despite the overwhelming encouragement to heed one's occupational calling, surprisingly little research has directly examined how individuals cope with a continued passion for a missed calling. Below, I discuss three bodies of research that shed initial light on this question. First, calling research paints a clear picture that answering a calling is a beneficial means of fulfilling passion, and suggests that people who do not view their work as a calling seek passion from leisure rather than work. However, limited empirical research has examined whether leisure activity can serve a compensatory function to make up for not answering a calling, or whether particular actions within or outside the workplace can help people cope with missing a calling. Second, decision-making research provides some general explanations for why individuals choose certain occupations over others, but offers little information about how people cope after they have made their career decisions. Third, organizational coping research has been primarily focused on top-down strategies that managers may implement to help employees cope, and less concerned with how employees exercise agency to help themselves cope. Below, I discuss the insights offered and unanswered questions raised by these three bodies of literature with respect to understanding how individuals cope with passion for a missed calling.

Having a Calling

The notion of viewing work as a calling was established during the Protestant Reformation early in the sixteenth century. Martin Luther's interpretation of the New Testament preached the importance of heeding the occupational calling that is put forth by God – thus fulfilling the highest form of social and moral activity an individual can achieve (Weber, 1958).

Shortly after Luther introduced the idea of a calling, Protestants began to use the word “calling” in an everyday manner. Today, the concept has become predominantly secular (Wrzesniewski, 2003), but still maintains its roots in work that benefits the common good (Davidson & Caddell, 1994). Since having a calling is a seemingly powerful and influential perception of work, scholars have devoted considerable attention to understanding the consequences of viewing work as a calling. However, because of its religious origins, formulating a contemporary definition of a calling without using religious principles is an ongoing debate among scholars.

Sociologists generally characterize a calling as the commitment to serve others through one’s occupation (McDuff & Mueller, 2000). Consistent with this assumption, sociologists Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton (1985) used “calling” along with “job” and “career” to describe three different orientations that Americans hold toward their work. Those with a job orientation primarily see their work as a means to an end. They tend to work in order to pay for necessities, support their families, and maximize their leisure time. People who view their work as a career primarily see work as a pathway to achievement and prestige. They are principally motivated by the challenge of work and the possibility of enhancing their status through advancement up a social or organizational hierarchy. When individuals hold job and career orientations, their identities tend not to fully overlap with their occupations; they view work as a separate entity from the rest of life. When individuals hold calling orientations, however, their identities and occupations are inseparably linked (Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006). Those with a calling orientation perceive their work to be intrinsically valuable and meaningful because it provides a sense of fulfillment and makes the world a better place.

In order to empirically document the work orientations proposed by Bellah and colleagues, psychologists developed measures of job, career, and calling orientations and

surveyed employees in a variety of occupations to examine the correlates of holding each orientation (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997). They discovered that participants were fairly evenly distributed between the three categories and that each orientation was associated with certain predictable outcomes. Having a calling orientation was linked to several benefits, including higher life, health, and job satisfaction, better health, and lower absenteeism than job- and career-oriented respondents. A group of 24 administrative assistants was among the employees studied, and results for this group showed that all three orientations could exist within a single occupation.

Research also indicates that having a calling orientation is associated with benefits for employees working in groups. Calling-oriented group members report stronger team identification and commitment, more faith and trust in management, healthier group processes, and less conflict (Wrzesniewski, 2003). Other psychologists have expanded Wrzesniewski et al.'s calling orientation to provide a more in-depth secular definition of having a calling. Hall and Chandler (2005) contend that a calling: (1) comes from within an individual; (2) serves the individual and/or community; (3) is found after much searching; and (4) provides purpose and fulfillment. They argue that the experience of a calling is associated with both enhanced subjective psychological success and higher objective job performance. Since these definitions of a calling exclude occupations that people do not actually work in but still may consider their callings, I define a calling as any occupation that an individual has a continued passion for and believes would be highly enjoyable, meaningful, and fulfilling.

The virtual laundry list of benefits connected with viewing work as a calling suggests that answering a calling is beneficial to individuals. Since calling-oriented people see work as their main source of passion in life, not answering a calling would ostensibly leave them with a

substantial lack of enjoyment and fulfillment (Wrzesniewski, Rozin, & Bennett, 2002). For example, an attorney who has a missed calling for being an artist is left with a passion that is not satisfied by the legal profession. However, little empirical research has examined how people cope with passion for a missed calling. My research is aimed at broadening existing knowledge about callings by: (1) explaining different reasons for why people do not answer a calling (2) building theory on how people cope with passion for a missed calling; and (3) examining the implications of this coping process for psychological well-being.

Deciding Not to Pursue a Calling

Research on decision-making processes and career choice offers general explanations for why individuals choose not to pursue a calling. Traditionally, economists have assumed that people make decisions based on a rational “maximizing” process of comparing all available possibilities and choosing the alternative that yields the maximum degree of personal utility (von Neumann & Morgenstern, 1944). However, psychological research suggests that people have a bounded view of reality (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974) and typically “satisfice,” instead of making completely rational decisions or maximizing their utility (Schwartz, 2000). Satisficing is the process of ordering select alternatives based on the amount of satisfaction each one offers, and choosing the option that matches or exceeds one’s minimum threshold of satisfaction (Simon, 1955, 1956). Scholars have attempted to resolve the debate about whether individuals maximize or satisfice by conceptualizing decision-making styles as an individual difference: some individuals prefer to maximize, and others prefer to satisfice (Schwartz et al., 2002).

Both maximizing and satisficing approaches to decision-making offer plausible explanations for why someone would choose not to pursue a calling. For maximizers, searching for the best possible job may thwart the pursuit of a calling in favor of a less satisfying but more

financially lucrative or socially coveted occupation (Iyengar, Wells, & Schwartz, 2006). Satisficers may miss a calling because a different occupation meets their threshold of satisfaction and is easier or simpler to pursue. Individuals may satisfice in this fashion for a variety of reasons, including the belief that they lack the necessary skills or opportunities to succeed at their calling (Holland, 1996), concerns about the low pay or social status that their calling brings (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999), a delay in when a calling can offer them gratification (Hesketh, Watson-Brown, & Whiteley, 1998), feeling restricted by societal gender norms (Crompton & Harris, 1998; Jacobs, 1989), or considering too few or too many career possibilities (Schwartz et al., 2002).

The literature on career choice complements this general research on decision-making by providing additional insights into why someone would not pursue a calling. Sauermann (2005) applies a decision-making perspective to career choice and describes four strategies that people employ while making occupational decisions: maximizing decision accuracy, minimizing cognitive effort, minimizing negative emotion, and maximizing justifiability of the decision. Depending on situational and individual factors, any of these strategies can lead to a missed calling. Moreover, evidence suggests that parents play a pivotal role in shaping the way their offspring make career decisions (Holland, 1996; Osipow, 1990). Thus, parental support, guidance, or modeling may influence whether a person ultimately decides to answer his or her calling. Similarly, social learning theories of career choice suggest that people acquire decision-making skills by observing and evaluating those around them (Mitchell, Jones, & Krumboltz, 1979). Accordingly, individuals may not answer a calling if they have been socially conditioned to do otherwise. Finally, developmental theorists contend that life stages influence what people seek from their work (Super, 1980), so some individuals may develop a calling too late in life to

pursue it as a career. Taken together, theories of decision-making and career choice/development provide plausible explanations for why people decide to miss a calling. However, these theories tend to stop short of examining how people cope after they make these decisions. My research is focused on advancing existing knowledge of career decision-making and development by building theory on how individuals cope with the decision not to pursue a calling.

Coping with a Missed Calling

After deciding not to answer a calling, individuals are likely to engage in coping. Coping is the psychological and behavioral process of dealing with situations or contexts that are appraised as stressful, difficult, or unpleasant (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Sociologists and psychologists have extensively studied how people cope with suboptimal life events, examining coping antecedents, coping strategies, and phenomena associated with the coping process (Kessler, Price, & Wortman, 1985; Lazarus, 2000). Classic theories assume that coping is initiated when the attainment of a goal is threatened, harmed, or not achieved, which creates an unbalanced person-environment fit characterized by negative and often intense emotions (Edwards, 1992; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Individuals then employ various coping strategies in an effort to equate their subjective appraisals with the objective environment, thus reducing adverse emotion (Gross, 1998; Hardin, Weigold, & Robitschek, 2007). Scholars have studied numerous behaviors that people enact to cope, including seeking social support (Heaney, Price, & Rafferty, 1995; Thoits, 1986), avoiding or distracting oneself from a stressor (Billings & Moos, 1981), attempting to eliminate a stressor (Caplan, Vinokur, Price, & van Ryn, 1989), making sense of a stressful situation (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005), finding meaning or benefit in an unpleasant experience (Davis, Nolen-Hoeksema, & Larson, 1998; Park & Folkman,

1997), and positively reframing an adverse event (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Carver & Scheier, 1994).

Thus, coping research offers substantial insight into how people cope with adversity, but with respect to individuals coping in organizations, scholars have focused primarily on providing managers with top-down strategies for helping employees cope with difficulty and given little attention to the possibility that employees can exercise agency to help themselves cope (Halbesleben & Buckley, 2004; Karasek, 1992). My research is aimed at broadening existing knowledge of how individuals take initiative to cope within organizations by examining a context in which passion compels people to cope with missing a calling.

Passion is usually seen as an unmitigated positive emotion. For example, in research on flow, Csikszentmihalyi (1990, 1996) includes passion as a dimension of optimal psychological experience. In the popular press, Goleman (1995) contends that passion is a vital element of emotional intelligence and that “a life without passion would be a dull wasteland of neutrality, cut off and isolated from the richness of life itself” (p.56). Wrzesniewski et al. (2002) claim that satisfying passion through work or leisure is an enriching source of enjoyment and fulfillment. Clearly, passion is widely viewed as a beneficial sensation, but a closer look at what happens when people lack the opportunity to fulfill their passion reveals a dark side. For example, Csikszentmihalyi (1990) describes flow as a passionate state “in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter; the experience itself is so enjoyable that people will do it even at great cost, for the sheer sake of doing it” (p. 4). Since passion is a strong visceral desire to engage in a given activity, the inability to satisfy passion may provoke a high degree of frustration as goals are disrupted (Barlas & Yasarcan, 2006; Scheier & Carver, 1988),

disappointment when objectives are not attained (Bell, 1985), and regret after opportunities are missed (Gilovich & Medvec, 1995; Tetlock, 1994).

Consistent with these assumptions, Diener, Colvin, and Pavot (1991) propose and find that happiness is based on the frequency rather than intensity of positive events, because the same mechanisms that amplify emotion can carry over from positive to negative events. To explain why this is the case, they claim that a positive event may comparatively frame a later negative event as even more negative, which suggests a positive emotional state like passion may exacerbate the negative affect evoked by an adverse situation. Despite this potential dark side of passion, scholars have given little attention to how individuals cope with unfulfilled passion. One of the primary goals of this study is to expand existing knowledge of coping by building theory on how people cope when they are faced with a situational context in which it is difficult to satisfy their passion.

Coping with Passion for a Missed Calling: The Case of Human Service Work

To provide insight into how individuals cope with passion for a missed calling, I focus on the context of human service work. An important objective of human service occupations is to help others (Gutek, Bhappu, Liao-Troth, & Cherry, 1999). Accordingly, individuals who are passionate about helping others may be attracted to and selected by the service sector (Holland, 1996), but upon entering service occupations, are often disillusioned by a stressful workload (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001), difficulty in realizing how their efforts ultimately make a difference (Grant et al., 2007), and unpleasant interactions with the very people they are trying to help (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993). Consequently, the service sector is replete with dissatisfaction and burnout (Halbesleben & Buckley, 2004). Since many service occupations do not fully satisfy employees' passions for helping others, these individuals often feel their callings are not yet

answered, and contemplate whether a different occupation would better fulfill their passion. However, changing occupations may be particularly difficult for service employees due to the social nature of their work, which tends to embed people's jobs firmly into their lives (Lee et al., 2004), and the financial restraints faced by many individuals in this industry (Meisenheimer, 1998; Meyer, Stanley, Herscovitch, & Topolnytsky, 2002). Thus, the service sector appears to be a context in which a considerable number of individuals are compelled to cope with passion for a missed calling, qualifying it a useful population for studying this phenomenon.

To build theory regarding how service employees cope with passion for a missed calling, I conducted a qualitative study of 20 professional educators. My interviews focused on how people cope in the context of having both a missed calling and a persistence of passion for that calling. Through thematic analyses, I developed a model that identifies eight reasons for why people would not pursue a calling aligning into three general categories (preference, opportunity, and ability); six techniques that people utilize to cope with passion for their missed callings (task emphasizing, job expanding, role reframing, hobby pursuit, vicarious pursuit, and prospective pursuit); and four outcomes associated with the coping techniques that are either beneficial (enjoyment and meaning) or costly (additional stress and intermittent regret) for psychological well-being.

METHOD

In order to develop theory on how people cope with a persistence of passion for a missed calling, I used qualitative methods of data collection and analysis, which are particularly appropriate for building theory on complex and multifaceted processes (Lee, Mitchell, & Sablinski, 1999). My research questions included:

- (1) What are the specific reasons why individuals would not pursue a calling in the first place?
- (2) What techniques are then utilized to cope with a persistence of passion for a missed calling?
- (3) What psychological outcomes are associated with these coping techniques?

Samples

I conducted semi-structured interviews with two samples of educators: ten elementary school teachers and ten university lecturers. The rationale for selecting educators and the procedures for sampling them are described below.

Occupational selection

In accordance with the logic of extreme case sampling (Eisenhardt, 1989), I selected educators to represent the human service sector based on five criteria that I expected to increase the likelihood that the phenomena of interest would be salient. First, educators are often passionate individuals (Neumann, 2006), so they may have occupational interests besides teaching. Second, despite many educators viewing their work as a calling (Buskist, Benson, & Sikorski, 2005), education tends to be a field that people satisfice their way into, rather than intentionally planning on it all along (Brookhart & Freeman, 1992). Under this assumption, many educators may have a passion for a calling they left behind as they pursued their career paths to education. Third, many educators do not plan to teach for their entire careers; one study found that 43% of entering educators planned to teach no longer than ten years (Brookhart & Freeman, 1992). This suggests that many educators may have another occupational calling in mind to pursue after teaching. Fourth, although most educators enter the profession with a passion for teaching, education has one of the highest burnout rates of any occupation (Maslach,

Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). In some districts, up to 40% of new teachers resign within the first two years (Weiss, 1999). It seems that many of the educators who actually stay in this stressful field may desire a different occupation. Fifth, educators have a rather autonomous job design that allows a substantial degree of flexibility in what curriculum they teach and how they teach it. This room for agency may provide opportunities to cope with passion for another occupation.

I sampled two different types of educators – elementary teachers and university lecturers – to examine how required training, job design, and institutional context influences the process of coping with passion for a missed calling. University lecturers were expected to provide even more extreme cases than the elementary teachers for three reasons: (1) lecturers are required to have more training than teachers, so they may have more complex career histories and exposure to different occupations; (2) since lecturers self select one particular academic discipline to specialize in, they may have a calling to work in an occupation related to this specialty but ultimately satisfice their way into teaching instead; and (3) lecturers have more autonomy and flexibility than teachers, which may afford them greater opportunity to cope with passion while at work.

Participant Selection

I began recruiting participants with electronic messages that explained I was seeking hour-long interviews with educators about their career paths for my honors thesis project. I collected contact information for the elementary teachers sample from a family member who teaches in an elementary school of approximately 500 students in the Midwest U.S. For the university lecturers, I used the online directory of a large public university in the Midwest U.S. I continued to send recruitment emails until ten interviews were scheduled for each sample. When the recruiting process was finished, I had sent a total of 15 recruitment emails to teachers and 34

to lecturers. The ten elementary teachers (nine female, one male) included six classroom teachers, a media/library specialist, an English as a second language specialist, and a classroom teacher who had part-time administrative duties. The ten lecturers (three female, seven male) came from a variety of academic disciplines including business, social science, English, and foreign language; four had part-time administrative duties in addition to teaching. To ensure that the sample met the aforementioned selection criteria, I included only faculty members with no formal research responsibilities.

Data Collection

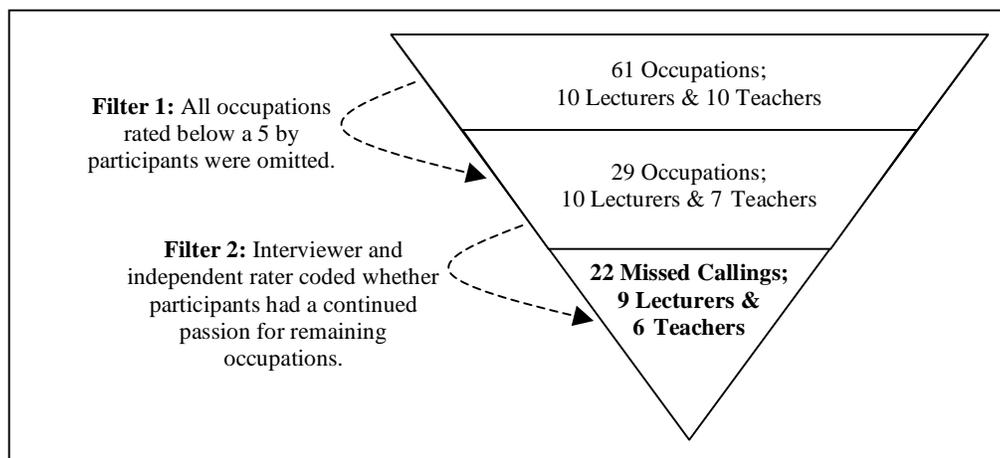
I developed a protocol of standard questions to provide a semi-structured framework for conducting the 20 interviews. When relevant but incomplete responses arose, I often posed follow-up questions to probe for further information. The protocol was broken down into four main stages that each served a distinct purpose (see Appendix for a detailed description). In the first stage, I asked respondents questions concerning their feelings about their current occupation. This involved a numerical rating (7-point Likert-type scale) of Wrzesniewski et al.'s (1997) three work orientation paragraphs and an explanation for why the rating was chosen. The calling orientation paragraph consists of several statements that describe people who see their work as highly enjoyable, meaningful, and an important part of who they are. In the second stage, I established a rough timeline of the participants' career paths, identified any other occupations they viewed as a calling, and determined whether they still had a passion for any of these callings. In the third stage, I examined how the participants coped if they indeed had a continued passion. Finally, in the fourth stage, I focused on potential psychological outcomes of the coping process. The interviews, which lasted between 20 and 90 minutes, were tape recorded and transcribed. In total, the interviews filled 13 hours of tape and 224 pages.

Data Analysis

Before I developed themes, I used a two-stage filtering process to classify the 61 occupations brought up during the 20 interviews. The purpose of this filtering process, which is summarized visually in Figure 1, was to ensure only the occupations that participants considered to be missed callings were included in analysis. First, all occupations that participants rated below a five on Wrzesniewski et al.'s (1997) calling orientation paragraph were omitted, which eliminated three elementary teachers and 32 occupations. Then, the author and an independent rater coded the remaining interviews for whether the respondent displayed a persistence of passion for each occupation discussed. Rater agreement was 100%. This omitted one elementary teacher, one university lecturer, and seven occupations, leaving a total of six teachers, nine lecturers, and 22 missed callings to be included in analysis – some participants had more than one missed calling. Thus, I determined which occupations were missed callings by triangulating the ratings of the interviewees, the interviewer, and an independent rater.

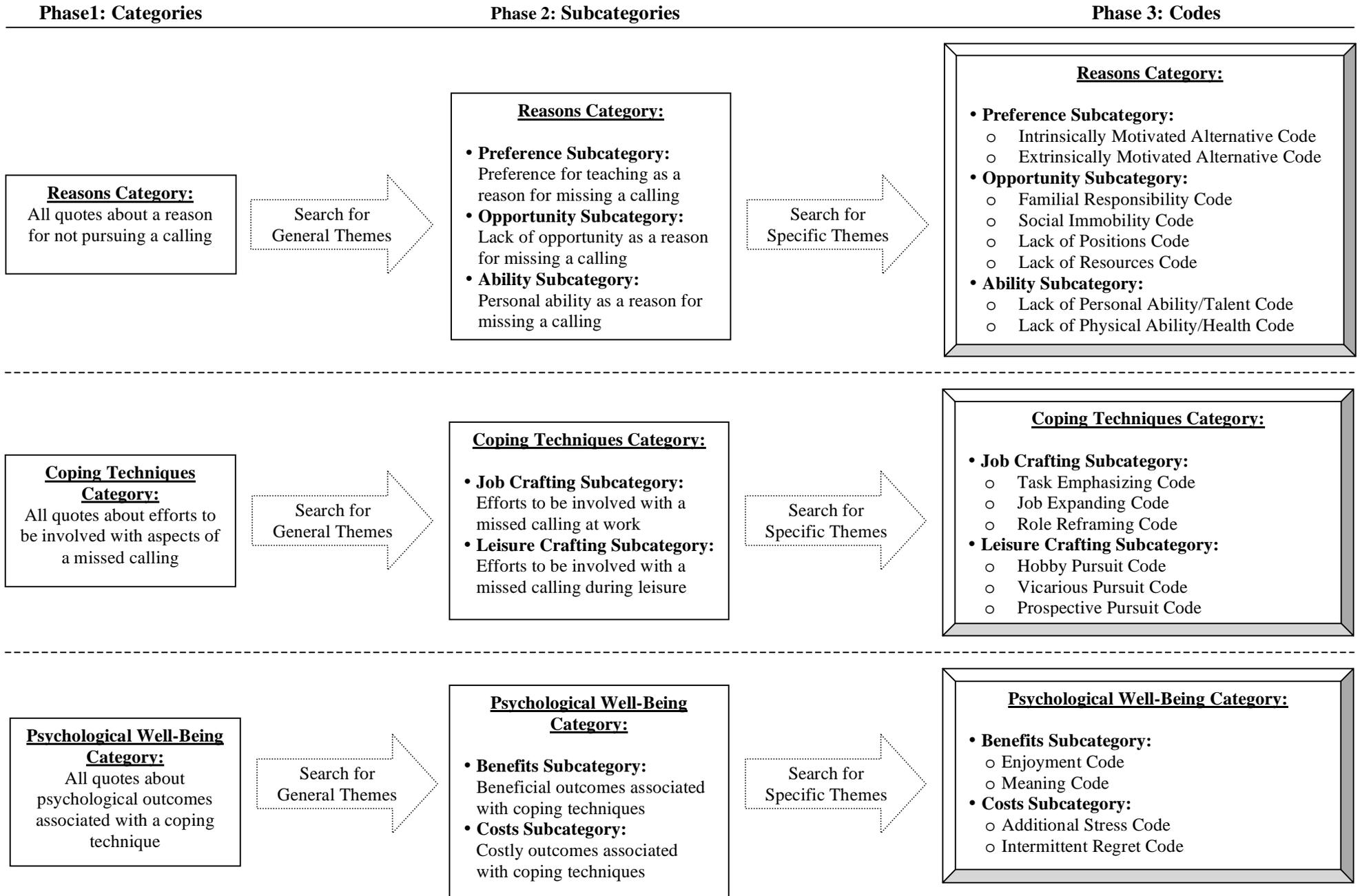
FIGURE 1

Missed Calling Filtering Process



Next, to develop themes, I used a three-phase inductive analytic approach (see Figure 2). Each phase consisted of a categorization process where themes were generated through iterative cycles of comparing the data with a developing set of codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In the first phase, I established three general categories to construct a framework for organizing subsequent specific themes: (1) reasons for not answering a calling; (2) coping techniques; and (3) psychological outcomes associated with the coping techniques. Since the psychological outcomes category could not be developed without definitions for the coping techniques, I first extracted only the quotes that fit into the first and second categories. Then, in phase two, I searched for more specific themes within each of the categories, which revealed three reasons subcategories (preference, opportunity, and ability) and two coping techniques subcategories (job crafting and leisure crafting). In phase three, I repeated cycles of searching for more specific themes within each of the subcategories until no new themes emerged. This ultimately produced the final set of eight reason codes and six coping technique codes. Next, because the coping techniques had been defined, I was able to repeat the three-phase process for the psychological outcomes category. Phase one involved pulling out all the quotes from the interviews that described an association between psychological well-being and a coping technique. Two subcategories emerged in the second phase (benefits and costs), followed by four specific codes in phase three. Lastly, I went back through the interviews to ensure no relevant quotes were missed. Using the coding framework I developed through this process, an independent rater coded each interview for the presence of the key themes. Rater agreement was 90.83%, and we resolved discrepancies through discussion. I used the final resolved codes for developing and discussing the proposed theory.

FIGURE 2
Coding Process

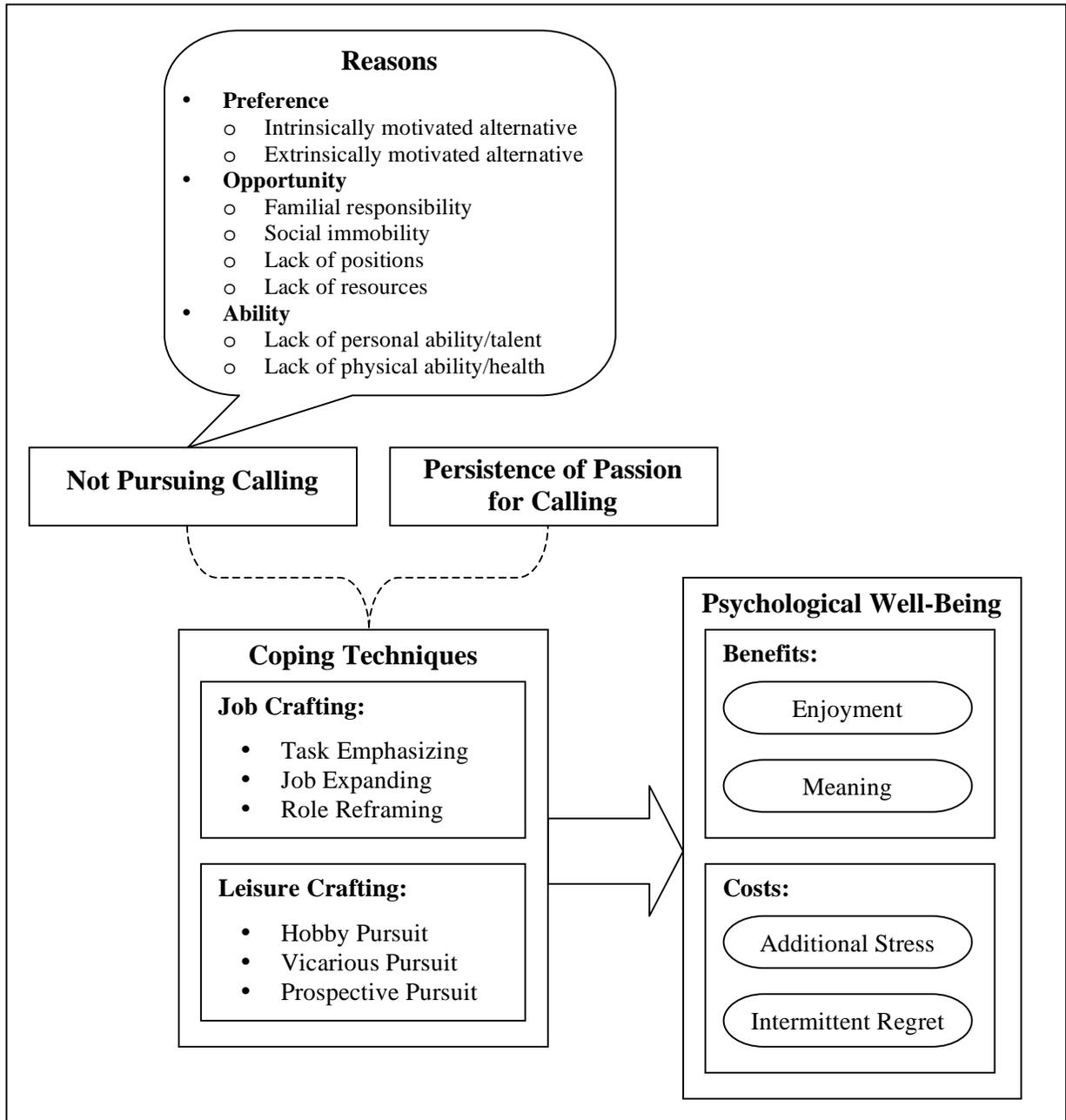


**ANSWERING A MISSED CALLING:
A THEORETICAL MODEL OF HOW PEOPLE COPE WITH PASSION**

Based on themes and patterns revealed during data analysis, I propose an emergent theory of how people cope with passion for a missed calling. My theoretical model, which is outlined in Figure 3, includes two main phases that occur in chronological succession. First, a context for coping with passion is created by the combination of not pursuing a calling and a persistence of passion for that calling. In response, people employ combinations of six different techniques that help them cope with this passion through crafting their work and leisure to incorporate or emphasize aspects of a missed calling. These techniques are often associated with benefits for psychological well-being, but also entail some unexpected costs. In the sections below, I first describe the participants' missed callings, then I explain how they cope with continued passion for them.

FIGURE 3

Theoretical Model of Coping with Passion for a Missed Calling



Missed Callings

I define a missed calling as an occupation that an individual (1) does not currently work in, but (2) still has a continued passion for and (3) believes would be highly enjoyable, meaningful, and fulfilling. Although most of the participants had only one missed calling, four of them had two or three. To facilitate my later discussion of the coping process, I assigned each participant a playful pseudonym that corresponds to his or her missed calling(s). Table 1 contains these pseudonyms as well as the participants 1-7 ratings of their current occupations and missed callings on Wrzesniewski et al.'s (1997) calling orientation paragraph. All but three of the missed callings were rated equal to or higher than the participants' current occupations; I included these three missed callings in this study because they still evoked the motivation to cope with passion despite not being rated higher than teaching.

TABLE 1

Participant Pseudonyms and Missed Callings

#	Teachers (1-7 Ratings)	Missed Callings (1-7 Ratings)
1.	Sales Sally (3)	Sales (7)
2.	Orchestra Olga (5)	Music (7), Ministry (7), & Adoption Advocacy (5)
3.	Music Mary (6)	Music (7)
4.	Green-Thumb Greta (5)	Gardening (6)
5.	Family-Law Fannie (6)	Family Law (7)
6.	Computer Connie (4)	Computer Animation (7) & Personal Training (7)
#	Lecturers (1-7 Ratings)	Missed Callings (1-7 Ratings)
7.	Music Mike (7)	Music (6)
8.	Trainer Tom (5)	Language Education Training (7)
9.	Author Andy (6)	Writing (7)
10.	Therapist Thelma (4)	Therapy (5)
11.	Renaissance Rick (6)	Music (6), Ministry (6), & Law (5)
12.	Consultant Carl (6)	Academic Consulting (7)
13.	Artist Abe (6)	Music (6) & Painting (5)
14.	Pediatric Peggy (5)	Pediatric Psychology (6) & Counseling (5)
15.	Therapist Thad (6)	Therapy (5)

Context for Coping with Passion

My model outlines a situational and emotional context that compels people to cope with passion for a missed calling. This context is created by the combination of: (1) not pursuing a calling and consequently working in a different occupation (situational) and (2) having a persistence of passion for that calling despite not pursuing it (emotional). I discovered eight reasons why educators did not pursue a calling (see Tables 2 and 3). The reasons fall into three general categories: preference, opportunity, and ability. First, the preference category involves choosing a different occupation over a calling because it provides an intrinsic or extrinsic advantage. Second, the opportunity category involves choosing a different occupation due to personal or societal constraints on choosing a calling. Third, the ability category involves choosing a different occupation due to psychological or physical limitations related to the calling. The participants mentioned a minimum of one and a maximum of three reasons for each missed calling.

TABLE 2

Reasons for Not Pursuing a Calling

	Reason	Explanation	Illustration
Preference	Intrinsically motivated alternative	Another occupation is beneficial for psychological well-being	“When I was a painter, I was so obsessed with it that it was all I could do. ... I’m very happy leading a much more diverse lifestyle.” (Artist Abe)
	Extrinsically motivated alternative	Another occupation provides a financial advantage or superior status	“I’d be going back to a Ph.D. program and, you know what, I don’t know if I would want to live off of \$20,000 a year, the stipend graduate students get” (Trainer Tom)
Opportunity	Familial responsibility	Perceived obligation to family members	“I don’t know if I would have been able to do [family law] because my husband’s job is so demanding that we made a decision early on that something had to give, and so I was the person who did not pursue my career in the same way that he did.” (Family-Law Fannie)
	Social immobility	Perceived restrictions created by societal norms or socioeconomic status	“Well, when I graduated from high school, unfortunately there weren’t as many job opportunities for women as there are now, and pretty much all the people in my graduate class who went to college majored in education or nursing.” (Orchestra Olga)
	Lack of positions	Unavailability of jobs at a given time	“There are some administrative positions, again, not in this university...I’m not in that sort of circuit that is being offered this kind of job.” (Consultant Carl)
	Lack of resources	Insufficient training, information, money, or support	“I also wanted to do computer animation. At the time I went back to school in the early ‘90s. I started out in computer animation, but just came to a dead end in this [geographic location]. To continue with my education you had to go to Texas or California.” (Computer Connie)
Ability	Lack of personal ability/talent	Inadequate psychological or behavioral aptitude or skill	“After being at the university for a year, I had to be honest with myself and realize that I just didn’t have it in me to work that hard at a musical career, to put that kind of devotion into it.” (Music Mary)
	Lack of physical ability/health	Limitations caused by physiological deficiency	“I have some back issues, so I think that that would be a problem.” (Green-Thumb Greta)

TABLE 3

Coding Percentages of Reasons for Not Pursuing a Calling

	Reason	Teachers	Lecturers	Total
Preference	Intrinsically motivated alternative	66.7% (6/9)	53.8% (7/13)	59.1% (13/22)
	Extrinsically motivated alternative	11.1% (1/9)	30.8% (4/13)	22.7% (5/22)
Opportunity	Familial responsibility	22.2% (2/9)	15.4% (2/13)	18.2% (4/22)
	Social immobility	33.3% (3/9)	0.0% (0/13)	13.6% (3/22)
	Lack of positions	22.2% (2/9)	15.4% (2/13)	18.2% (4/22)
	Lack of resources	11.1% (1/9)	23.1% (3/13)	18.2% (4/22)
Ability	Lack of personal ability/talent	33.3% (3/9)	30.8% (4/13)	31.8% (7/22)
	Lack of physical ability/health	22.2% (2/9)	7.7% (1/13)	13.6% (3/22)

*Percentages = (the # of reasons present / the total # of missed callings) x 100

After individuals do not pursue a calling yet still maintain a passion for it, they may desire opportunities for fulfillment that are not formally provided by their occupation. This lack of alignment between a person’s emotional aspirations and situational circumstances elicits the motivation to take action in order to cope with his or her passion (e.g., Carver & Scheier, 1994; Edwards, Cable, & Williamson, 2006). For example, Computer Connie was unable to pursue her calling for computer animation and is now left with a yearning for it:

“If I knew what I know now, I would have pursued the computer animation...waited it out a couple of years until the instruction caught up to [my geographic location]. ... I would love it. It would be very much a part of my life, because I could use my creativity. But being married, I didn’t have an option. The classes that I took I really, really enjoyed, but it just came to a dead end. If you wanted to go any further, you [had] to go to California or Texas.” (Computer Connie)

Since Computer Connie continues to have a passion that her occupation cannot fully satisfy, she is compelled to find fulfillment for her missed calling. Similarly, Trainer Tom expresses his strong desire to work as a professional trainer of other foreign language lecturers:

“The [former director] of the basic language program has a Ph.D. in helping people learn languages and professional training. ... That would be a seven. Yeah, that would be the dream job. ... [But] those jobs really don’t exist, not like tenured positions. They would always be non-tenured.” (Trainer Tom)

Trainer Tom’s concern for job security halts him from pursuing his calling to be a language trainer. Thus, he is faced with a situational context that does not fulfill this passion. Although Computer Connie and Trainer Tom have considerably different missed callings, they both employ the same job crafting technique to help them cope with passion. In the section that follows, I explain this technique, as well as the other five coping techniques.

Coping Techniques and Psychological Well-Being

In order to cope with a persistence of passion for a missed calling, my model theorizes that people employ any combination of three job crafting techniques (task emphasizing, job expanding, role reframing) and three leisure crafting techniques (hobby pursuit, vicarious pursuit, prospective pursuit) to create opportunities for fulfilling their passion (see Tables 4 and 5). Participants describe the techniques as providing benefits for the two core dimensions of psychological well-being – enjoyment and meaning (Keyes, Shmotkin, Ryff, 2002; McGregor & Little, 1998; Ryan & Deci, 2001). Enjoyment is primarily equated with hedonic well-being (happiness, a favorable balance of positive and negative affect, and satisfaction), while meaning is primarily equated with eudaimonic well-being (a sense of purpose and personal growth). My model links the six coping techniques with these psychological well-being benefits of enjoyment and meaning. However, in some instances, enjoyment and meaning can be difficult to discern, as subjective happiness and existential goals are often inextricably intertwined (King &

Pennebaker, 1998; Ryan & Deci, 2001). Accordingly, the participants in this study often described psychological outcomes associated with a coping technique that were labeled as sources of both enjoyment and meaning.

TABLE 4
Coping Techniques

	Coping Technique	Definition	Illustration
Job Crafting	Task Emphasizing	Devoting additional time, energy, or attention to an assigned responsibility that is related to a missed calling	“I do like to have one-on-one...meetings with students, not to give them advice or anything, but just I try to incorporate getting to know people more individually, because I find it helpful to them as students, and, you know, I’m interested.” (Therapist Thelma)
	Job Expanding	Increasing the number of tasks involved in one’s job to incorporate aspects of a missed calling	“I’ve actually incorporated it [calling for pediatric psychology] into classes I’ve taught. Because one of the classes I have taught is developmental aspects of health and illness, but as a part of it, my students had to do work at the hospital, work with the kids, and then you have to do volunteer work as a part of the job.” (Pediatric Peggy)
	Role Reframing	Altering one’s perception of the social purpose of work to help fulfill passion for a missed calling	“Teaching is a performance...I really believe that if you’re a good teacher or to be a good teacher, one of the most important things for you to do is to dissolve the boundaries of giver and receiver... I’d say the same thing would be true with a rock musician.” (Artist Abe)
Leisure Crafting	Hobby Pursuit	Participating in leisure and volunteer activities related to a missed calling	“I still play the piano, and I still sing in a choir.” (Music Mary)
	Vicarious Pursuit	Finding fulfillment for a missed calling through others’ experiences	“With the law thing...I’ve said something like, ‘What would it like to be important in politics?’ You know, I have friends who are in politics. And so, I’ve been very lucky that anything I didn’t get to do I’ve been able to do vicariously.” (Renaissance Rick)
	Prospective Pursuit	Planning to satisfy passion for a missed calling in the future	“I’m going to retire, like, in the next five years, and then that that’s a whole new world, and I can pursue other things...I’ll be a gardener.” (Green-Thumb Greta)

TABLE 5

Coding Percentages of Coping Techniques

	Coping Technique	Teachers	Lecturers	Total
Job Crafting	Task Emphasizing	33.3% (3/9)	38.5% (5/13)	36.4% (8/22)
	Job Expanding	11.1% (1/9)	53.8% (7/13)	36.4% (8/22)
	Role Reframing	11.1% (1/9)	30.8% (4/13)	22.7% (5/22)
	Average	18.5% (5/27)	41.0% (16/39)	31.8% (21/66)
Leisure Crafting	Hobby Pursuit	66.7% (6/9)	69.2% (9/13)	68.2% (15/22)
	Vicarious Experience	33.3% (3/9)	23.1% (3/13)	27.3% (6/22)
	Prospective Pursuit	88.9% (8/9)	61.5% (8/13)	72.7% (16/22)
	Average	63.0% (17/27)	51.3% (20/39)	56.1% (37/66)

*Percentages = (the # of coping techniques present / the total # of missed callings) x 100

I conducted chi-square tests to determine whether differences exist in the prevalence of the techniques among teachers versus lecturers. Results reveal that only the job expanding technique is significantly more prevalent among lecturers than teachers ($\chi^2(1) = 5.40, p = .02$ comparing the nine lecturers with the six teachers and $\chi^2(1) = 4.20, p = .04$ comparing the 13 lecturer missed callings with the nine teacher missed callings). This is consistent with my prediction that the higher degree of autonomy provided by the lecturers' job designs allows for more opportunity to cope with passion while at work, as lecturers are able to take on additional tasks more easily than teachers.

Job Crafting Techniques

My findings reveal three coping techniques with theoretical roots in the concepts of job crafting (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001) and role-making (Graen, 1976; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979), which suggest that people do not simply accept the jobs, roles, and tasks that managers outline for them, but instead, actively shape their work contexts to better fit their motives and values. Job crafting focuses on how people alter tasks and interpersonal relationships to change their identities and perceptions of meaning at work (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001). Role-

making focuses on changes made to the social boundaries and dynamics of an individual in a given social position (Callero, 1994), and more specifically, taking initiative to structure (Bosworth & Kreps, 1986), reframe (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999), expand (Axtell & Parker, 2003), and utilize (Baker & Faulkner, 1991) roles within organizations. Using both job crafting and role-making perspectives, my model postulates ways in which people shape their work environments to incorporate or emphasize aspects of a missed calling, thus providing them with fulfillment of their passion. Below, I describe the three job crafting techniques of task emphasizing, job expanding, and role reframing included in my model and how they help people cope with passion for a missed calling.

Task Emphasizing

A job is defined as the collection of tasks assigned and designated for one individual to perform in an organization (Ilgen & Hollenbeck, 1992). Accordingly, task emphasizing involves the devotion of additional time, energy, or attention to a particular aspect of work that is already required by one's job design but related to a missed calling. This helps people satisfy their passion through an existing component of their job. For example, consider the cases of Computer Connie and Trainer Tom, who were mentioned above with respect to their yearning for computer animation and professional training respectively. Computer Connie expresses how emphasizing the technological aspects of her job gives her enjoyment and helps satisfy her passion:

“I have a SMART Board™ in my room. I’m on the technology district committee, and the technology committee for our school. I really like being on those committees. I’m excited that I’m going to start to be able to use more technology in the classroom. So, I think I can use my technology background in teaching.” (Computer Connie)

Although Computer Connie is required to use technology in her classroom and serve on committees, devoting more attention to these tasks helps her cope with passion. Trainer Tom

behaviorally emphasizes the task of helping new lecturers, satisfying his passion for training, and describes how this is a source of enjoyment and personal growth:

“Fall term they need more training from me. They just need me more, and so what I try to do is be around the office, have the door open so they can come on by and talk to me and ask me questions. I really like working with instructors and figuring out the issues that they’re having. It teaches me a lot, and makes me think back to what I was doing when was a first year instructor and how to handle these things. It makes me think a lot about myself.... So for very selfish reasons, I do this job because it allows me to do things that I like to do. It’s noble in the sense that [I’m] helping the future of America, but at the same time I’m feeding my own needs of what I want from my job.” (Trainer Tom)

Since Trainer Tom’s administrative duties require him to train new lecturers, he does not have to take on any additional tasks. Instead, he emphasizes this existing component of his job by devoting more time to it. These two examples illustrate how people emphasize tasks to utilize aspects of an existing job design to cope with passion for a missed calling in another occupation.

Job Expanding

Job expanding occurs when people increase the number of tasks required by their job in order to incorporate aspects a missed calling. For example, Artist Abe has a strong passion for performing music. He enacts behaviors in the classroom that are characteristic of a rock-and-roll musician, which facilitates meaningful interaction with his students:

“As long as I can hold a guitar in my hands, I’m going to be playing, and as long as I can stand in front of a class and teach, and somebody lets me, I’m going to be doing that. ... I can see somebody getting too old to teach. But I can’t imagine somebody, or at least I can’t imagine myself, ever getting too old to at least once in a while, pick up my instrument and play it, because it’s just a different world. It’s a totally different world. ... I find myself ending up doing all kinds of like unconventional things in my classrooms. First of all, because I think I’m just an unconventional teacher, but secondly, it really makes a different contact with them, and maybe that’s something that I bring over from my music experience. I never really thought about it in that way, but it could very well be, because I mean, when you’re on stage, it’s just like, ‘Hello, Wisconsin!’ You know, the whole thing, and you get that rapport going with them.” (Artist Abe)

These unconventional behaviors are not required by Artist Abe’s job, but rather, crafted into it as a result of his passion for music. Consequently, he creates opportunities to satisfy his passion. In

a similar fashion, Consultant Carl is particularly adept at using the job expanding technique. He has a missed calling for academic consulting because it allows him to satisfy his passion for generating new programs and designing sustainable curricula more so than his lecturer job. To help fulfill this passion, he discusses two examples of the job expanding technique. First, he took on an entirely separate part-time job as an academic consultant and explains how this creates enjoyment and meaning:

“My university job is my bread and butter job financially and economically. If I lose this job, I lose much more than just the income; I lose the job security. My consultancy job is sort of a shoot-off. It’s something that I do part-time. In some respect, it can be more exciting because it is constantly creating new things...[and] has in many respects much greater chance to achieve what I really want to achieve. ... What [makes me] happy about consulting is putting professionalism into use. I have expertise in curriculum creation and setting programs that [the university] could put into use. I think that the world would be a better place if [my expertise] was put into use.” (Consultant Carl)

In addition to this part-time job, Consultant Carl expanded the number of tasks involved in his university job by taking on administrative duties that help him fulfill his passion for developing new academic programs and give him a sense of meaningful personal achievement:

“According to the college, I am a quarter administrator. In reality I’m probably 60 percent administrator. The time outlines are mine in a way. What I do like about administration is building [and] creating programs. ... This is something I do like and I put a lot of work into. So I’m glad I took it...because doing it properly gives me some sort of personal achievement. For someone like myself, such a realization is some sort of fringe benefit of the job.” (Consultant Carl)

These examples demonstrate how expanding a job can help individuals cope with passion that would otherwise not be fulfilled by their work.

Role Reframing

Role reframing is the process of cognitively altering one’s perception of the social purpose of work to help fulfill a passion for a missed calling. For example, Music Mike views his teaching as a musical performance, which helps him satisfy his passion for performing music.

He describes how reframing his role in this way makes the enjoyment he gets from teaching similar to his emotional experience of performing music:

“I often liken teaching to being a musician because when I’m in front of a classroom, I put on my performance face. I can be talking in a rather soft voice like this to you outside a classroom, and as soon as I enter that classroom, [Music Mike] the performer is on. And it’s the same way with music, you kind of put on your stage face. And I remember when I was performing and I had my rock band and my other bands, the high which I got from playing in front of people was very similar to the high which I get from performing teaching in front of people.” (Music Mike)

Although teaching is not formally designed as a musical performance, Music Mike reframes his role to provide a parallel sense of enjoyment. Another lecturer, Artist Abe, employs a nearly identical example of role reframing, which is illustrated in Table 3. It appears that teaching is conducive to being reframed as a musical performance, but role reframing can be applied to cope with other missed callings as well. Therapist Thad, who maintains a strong passion for therapy, likens his educator role to being a therapist and describes how this facilitates meaningful relationships with his students:

“I think the question for me has always been kind of, ‘How can I grow and how can I make a contribution?’ And therapy felt that to me. I mean, I thought I could make a contribution just in other people’s lives, and I knew that in hearing their stories and being intimate, on that sort of intellectual level with them, would make a contribution to their lives...and it seems to me that teaching is really about the whole of the student and the faculty member. It’s about their interaction, and about how what you’re talking about in class might relate to what you are living in your life. It’s not therapy in the sense that you don’t intrude on the privacy of folks, but I really think if education doesn’t help you live more joyfully and creatively and love better, then it’s not worth much.” (Therapist Thad)

By reframing his role as a teacher to involve his favorite aspects of therapy, Therapist Thad crafts opportunities to fulfill his passion. These examples illustrate how a psychological adjustment of the social purpose of work can help people cope with passion for a missed calling through the social dynamics and interactions involved in their actual occupations.

Combining Techniques

The three job crafting techniques are often utilized concurrently and can even give rise to or strengthen one another. For example, because Trainer Tom employs the job expanding technique by taking on additional administrative duties, he is then able to utilize the task emphasizing technique through focusing on the training components of his extra responsibilities. Similarly, Artist Abe frames his teaching role as a musical performance and also expands his job to incorporate behaviors into his lectures that are characteristic of a rock musician. For Artist Abe, the role reframing and job expanding techniques work together to help him cope with his passion for music. He is rather clever when it comes to combining different techniques and discusses how this makes his three callings – teaching, music, and painting – strengthen one another:

“Painting is a way of working out my problems in two dimensions. Teaching is a way of working my problems out in three dimensions, and music is a way of working out my problems in an ephemeral dimension. ... I love the fact that I can do all of these things, because I think they all make each of the other that much richer.” (Artist Abe)

Artist Abe is a prime example of how the job crafting techniques can facilitate synergy between different callings. Leisure crafting also plays a pivotal role in helping Artist Abe achieve this synergy, which I discuss next.

Leisure Crafting Techniques

In addition to crafting their jobs, participants described crafting their leisure time to cope with passion for missed callings. I discovered three leisure crafting techniques that are similar to the job crafting techniques in that they focus on creating opportunities to satisfy passion for a missed calling and are associated with outcomes of enjoyment and meaning, but differ in that they occur outside the domain of work. Since leisure time is usually more flexible and less stressful than work time (Sonnentag, 2001; Wrzesniewski et al., 2002), individuals often use the

leisure crafting techniques to find fulfillment that is difficult or impossible for one's occupation to offer. Below, I illustrate the three leisure crafting tactics of hobby pursuit, vicarious experience, and prospective pursuit.

Hobby Pursuit

Hobby pursuit describes when people participate in activities and volunteer positions related to their callings, which helps them cope with passion by creating opportunities to pursue their callings outside of work. For example, Author Andy has a calling for being a writer and pursues this passion in his leisure time:

“My job is teaching. That’s what I do, and that’s what pays the bills...but part of the reason I am working as a lecturer is because I am trying to write a novel. So that pays no bills at the moment, but that, in my heart of hearts, is more important to me than the teaching. ... If I were to stop teaching, I would find another job and I would be okay. If somebody said I had to stop writing, I would have no idea who I was, as a person.”
(Author Andy)

In this instance, Author Andy illustrates how hobby pursuit can be linked with deeply meaningful psychological outcomes, as he describes how his writing hobby is a vital part of his identity. The hobby pursuit technique also includes volunteering in organizations to help satisfy passion. For example, Pediatric Peggy fulfills her calling for pediatric psychology by volunteering at an organization that cares for ill children and their families:

“For the last five years, I have been a volunteer at the Ronald McDonald House...it’s the house where families stay when their children are sick and in the hospital. ... I think there is something to be said about consistency of interest and things you find fulfilling. This goes back well beyond the very fact that I was interested in children and illness. [It] goes back to experience I had in high school working at a children’s hospital in Philadelphia, working in their play therapy area, watching kids dealing with illness, and wanting to understand that better and make a difference in things like that. So that’s been there for a long time, so it doesn’t surprise me that even in my volunteer work, I seek out something that also feeds that interest, that concern, that desire to be a part of that.”
(Pediatric Peggy)

Pediatric Peggy actively sought this volunteer position, creating opportunities to satisfy her passion for helping ill children. These examples demonstrate how people take advantage of their leisure time to pursue hobbies and volunteer positions that help them cope with their passions for missed callings.

Vicarious Pursuit

Vicarious pursuit occurs when people fulfill their passion through others' experiences, including family, friends, or celebrities. Unlike hobby pursuit, which involves active participation in an endeavor, vicarious pursuit tends to be a more passive coping technique because another person is performing most of the action. Nonetheless, vicarious pursuit still provides opportunities for people to cope with their passions. For example, Orchestra Olga found fulfillment for her music passion through her children:

“I went into [teaching] because I liked kids and I was kind of a generalist. I was interested in a lot of things, but not super passionate about any one of them, except for music. ... If I had majored in music, I would have probably been a teacher in orchestra and taught violin lessons. [It] would be very much of who I was. I played violin, and I think more of my friends would have been in that field, because I would have been performing in groups too. [But] I’m glad that I did go into education, because we later did Suzuki Violin with our daughters. So my husband and I both practiced with the kids and [attended] lots of concerts. So I think I got fulfillment for doing the music thing through helping our daughters.” (Orchestra Olga)

Renaissance Rick also employs the vicarious pursuit technique to cope with his passion for music. He explains how this affords him enjoyable and meaningful involvement in activities he would otherwise not be able to experience:

“I’ve been very, very lucky, because I have friends who do some of the things that I didn’t get to do, so I get to experience vicariously. I have a friend who is a huge, whatever the word is – top stratum opera star – but I’ve known him since before he became an opera star. So I’m going to New York to hear him star in Julius Caesar at the Met. And he says, “You know, just give me a call a couple of days ahead and I’ll arrange for you to come backstage...so I get to touch worlds that I don’t live in.” (Renaissance Rick)

As these examples demonstrate, people do not necessarily have to experience aspects of their callings firsthand. Instead, they are able to satisfy their passions vicariously through other people.

Prospective Pursuit

Prospective pursuit occurs when people plan to answer their calling sometime in the future, which helps them cope with passion by avoiding regret in the present. For example, Sales Sally has a passion for the competitive environment provided by the sales industry and has put cognitive plans in place to pursue this calling after retirement:

“I would like to get involved with the sale of technology that pertains to education. Because I am very competitive, I think that would be a good fit for me. ... After teaching is over, I will probably go into something like that for the next step.” (Sales Sally)

Sales Sally recognizes that retirement will bring opportunities to answer her calling and is utilizing the prospective pursuit technique to cope with her passion in the meantime. Similarly, Therapist Thelma plans to answer her calling for therapy in the near future, which helps her avoid regret in the present:

“I think therapy would be helping people more than I help people currently, and probably a better fit for me in general. I think people are interesting. Talking to them one-on-one rather than talking to a group. ... [But] I feel kind of in a holding pattern. I’ve been really limited in my choices because of my husband’s school situation. ... It’d be nice to have more freedom of choice and that’s coming. ... So, I’m considering going back to school to re-specialize as a clinical psychologist. I’ve looked into applying into the program and I’m planning to do that.” (Therapist Thelma)

Sales Sally and Therapist Thelma demonstrate how prospectively planning to pursue a calling can help people cope with occupational passion by giving them assurance that their calling will eventually be fulfilled.

Costs to Psychological Well-Being

Although the six coping techniques are most often associated with benefits for psychological well-being, they can also be linked with two unintended costs: additional stress and intermittent regret. Additional stress is the experience of extra strain in connection with a coping technique. People can experience additional stress because incorporating or emphasizing aspects of a missed calling may lead to overload. For example, Computer Connie's aforementioned efforts to emphasize the technological aspects of her job brings her enjoyment, but also additional stress:

“This technology they're putting in my classroom, they're putting it in there, but they haven't set it up and wired it or taught us how to use it. So tonight I'm coming in, with my husband, to move things around, maybe set up some cables. This is with no training, and no time.” (Computer Connie)

Consultant Carl offers another example. He employs the job expanding technique to incorporate consulting into his job (described above), and even though he is satisfied with his decision to take on extra duties, he discusses how this also creates additional stress:

“I work my [butt] off. No, I'm not satisfied because...there's several things involved. There is an issue of time. My salary is less than \$50,000 a year. Considerably less. Now I brought into my department and into my program – I can't remember, but something around \$130,000 just last year in grants, and you look at it, and you say, 'well, the balance...there is no balance here.' I'm not being paid in time, and I'm not being paid in money.” (Consultant Carl)

These examples illustrate how additional stress can be an unintended negative byproduct of the coping techniques. It appears that taking on extra tasks or focusing on certain tasks may help people cope with passion, but can also yield additional stress.

Intermittent regret refers to temporary adverse feelings that are conjured up due to counterfactual thinking, or thoughts about “what could have been” (e.g., Tetlock, 1994; van Dijk & Zeelenberg, 2005). An individual may experience intermittent regret as a result of being

exposed to his or her missed calling, which makes salient the decision not to pursue it. For example, Music Mary explains how experiencing musical performance vicariously through professional musicians produces short-lived feelings of regret:

“There are times where I will go to a concert and hear a great musician doing something or even go to the theater and see the people on stage in this play bringing all that enjoyment to the public, and I will have pangs of regret that, ‘oh, you know, I wonder if I had really pursued this.’” (Music Mary)

Although Music Mary finds enjoyment in attending concerts, she explains how this situation often has the negative side effect of provoking counterfactual thinking that leads to intermittent regret. This is also the case for Renaissance Rick and his passion for music:

“I see people who have taken this thing and focused it and driven it to this level of achievement that makes them stand out, [and] I think, wow! That’s amazing, that would be very cool to do that.” (Renaissance Rick)

These two examples demonstrate how the coping techniques, despite facilitating enjoyment and meaning, may also lead to counterfactual thinking and ultimately regret. The two psychological well-being costs suggest that crafting work and leisure to answer a missed calling is not always beneficial. In some instances, the coping techniques can yield adverse byproducts that are detrimental to well-being.

DISCUSSION

To better understand how individuals cope with passion for a missed calling, I conducted a qualitative study of 20 educators. Interviews and subsequent data analysis revealed that 15 of these educators had a calling for at least one occupation other than teaching. Based on these respondents’ accounts, I proposed an emergent theoretical model to explain how people cope with missing a calling. First, I described eight reasons for why people would not pursue a calling in the first place, clustered in terms of preference, opportunity, and ability reasons. Then, I described an emotional and situational context that elicits the desire to cope with passion: the

combination of not pursuing a calling and having a persistence of passion for that calling. Since people in this context had desires to fulfill callings that were not formally satisfied by their occupations, they were left with the motivation to cope with passion. In response, they utilized six coping techniques, shaping their work environments and leisure time to incorporate or emphasize aspects of their missed callings. The job crafting techniques involved placing cognitive or behavioral emphasis on calling-related tasks, taking on additional tasks that involve aspects of a calling, and reframing the social purpose of work to incorporate dimensions of a calling. The leisure crafting techniques involved participating in a hobby related to a calling, experiencing a calling vicariously through others, and planning to pursue a calling in the future. Because these six techniques created opportunities for people to fulfill their passions, they were often associated with enjoyment and meaning benefits for psychological well-being, but were occasionally linked with the unintended costs of additional stress and intermittent regret. In essence, rather than following a calling, people can take initiative to make their callings follow them. My findings make important contributions to theory and research on callings, coping, and job crafting and role-making, which I discuss below before turning to key limitations, future directions, and practical contributions.

Theoretical Contributions

Callings

My research offers four main contributions to literature on callings. First, previous definitions of a calling have been primarily concerned with callings that have already been fulfilled. My findings show that people do not necessarily have to work in an occupation for it to be their calling, which extends the definition of a calling beyond individuals' current occupations. This broader definition suggests that calling research should consider both fulfilled

and unfulfilled callings as phenomena of interest. Second, my model demonstrates that having a calling can be costly to psychological well-being, as I identify many reasons that may ultimately prevent individuals from pursuing their callings, leaving them with unfulfilled occupational passion. This challenges the assumption that having a calling is always beneficial and helps balance the psychological outcomes associated with having a calling. Third, my study indicates that people are able to cope with the potential threat to well-being presented by not answering a calling through crafting their work and leisure. This coping process provides deeper insight into how individuals think and behave with respect to their callings by showing that people understand that they have opportunities to answer their missed callings; so they exercise agency, often in creative ways, to find this fulfillment. Since the coping techniques are most often linked with benefits for psychological well-being, they may help people compensate for some of the enjoyment and meaning they would be experiencing had they pursued their callings as occupations. Fourth, the leisure crafting techniques demonstrate that people are able to fulfill their callings outside of the workplace, which expands the boundaries of when and how a calling can be fulfilled and calls attention to the important role that the work-life interface may play in calling research. Previous calling research demonstrates that answering a calling brings many benefits, but my findings indicate that people can answer their callings in other ways besides working in them.

Coping

This study makes two important theoretical contributions to coping research. First, scholars have primarily focused on top-down strategies that managers can utilize to help employees cope with adversity in organizations and less on how employees exercise agency to help themselves cope. My findings contribute to the latter area of organizational coping research

by theorizing ways in which individuals take personal initiative to cope through creating and shaping their work contexts to fulfill their missed callings. Since these coping techniques emerge from the individuals coping, rather than implemented by an external source, they provide insight into how people exercise agency to cope within organizations.

Second, coping research has mostly examined how individuals attenuate negative emotions, which has largely excluded seemingly positive emotions such as passion. My research indicates that not answering a calling combined with a persistence of passion for that calling elicits the desire to cope with passion, because people continue to have a strong interest to be involved with their callings but may not have opportunities to do so in their actual occupations. Thus, my findings re-conceptualize passion as an emotion that, in certain contexts, may evoke the motivation to cope. My model of coping with passion differs from classic coping theories in that people are not usually mitigating adverse emotional states, but instead, compelled to take action in order to prevent the potential harm of not satisfying their passion. In some instances, it appeared that participants even behaved proactively to enhance their own well-being. These assumptions are consistent with theories of preventative coping and proactive coping respectively (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997; Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Preventative coping occurs when people act in order to avoid a potential uncertain threat, while proactive coping involves the creation of self-promoting opportunities to mitigate an anticipated threat. Although both forms are plausible explanations for why people are motivated to cope with passion, this preliminary study does not attempt to determine which specific form best characterizes each participant's experiences (see "Key Limitations" section for further discussion).

Job Crafting and Role-Making

Theories of job crafting and role-making have emerged largely in separation from each other. However, since my findings suggest that both these classifications of behaviors may be utilized within one context for the same purpose (i.e., creating opportunities to fulfill a missed calling), there may be value in considering job crafting and role-making as one set of instrumental behaviors. Accordingly, my research makes two main theoretical contributions to job crafting and role-making as a collective theory. First, my findings support the assumption proposed by job crafting and role-making theories that people actively shape their situations within organizations to better accommodate their own needs and desires, because my model shows that rather than simply accepting the tasks and roles outlined for them, individuals adapt and utilize their work contexts to help them fulfill missed callings. Second, similar to the way job crafting and role-making theories characterize behavior within organizations, the leisure crafting techniques postulate that people are endogenously resourceful outside the domain of work, as individuals construct their leisure activities to facilitate their own well-being. This finding suggests that the contextual boundaries of job crafting and role-making be expanded beyond life within organizations to include leisure time as well.

Key Limitations and Future Directions

My study is limited by at least three key factors that may be strengthened through future research. First, my findings were derived solely from retrospective interviews, where the participants' responses were potentially subject to self-deception, rationalization, and impression management (e.g., Marlowe & Crowne, 1961; Paulhus & Reid, 1991). Consequently, causal relationships between the coping techniques and psychological outcomes could not be posited by this study.

Second, my relatively homogenous sample of 20 educators may not be generalizable to the diverse population of occupations and employees in the service sector. Also, most of the educators in this study rated teaching as their calling, and some gave a rating equal to or higher than their missed callings. This may imply that a portion of these educators have actually answered their callings and are simply seeking additional fulfillment rather than coping with passion. Future research that uses different occupational samples is necessary for examining how people cope with passion for a missed calling when they are dissatisfied with their jobs.

Third, my data collection was limited to hour-long semi-structured interviews, so I could not possibly account for the wide array of reasons for not pursuing a calling, coping techniques, psychological outcomes, or numerous other variables that are involved in the process of coping with passion for a missed calling. As a result, the data did not include examples of all the theorized connections between the four psychological outcomes and the six coping techniques. Subsequent research is needed to examine whether these relationships actually exist. Also, my findings are unclear as to whether the crafting techniques are a preventative or proactive means of coping. Further research on the motives for why people are compelled to cope with passion may shed light on this question.

In addition to the aforementioned future directions that address key limitations, this exploratory study paves the way for a few other promising research endeavors. First, further qualitative research using different occupational samples may uncover additional coping techniques and provide a comparison of how individuals in various fields cope with missing a calling. Second, field experiments involving interventions that train participants to cope with occupational passion may inform whether the crafting techniques can be taught to help individuals enhance job satisfaction or psychological well-being. Lastly, my findings suggest

that passion is a powerful emotional state that can markedly influence behavior; so future research on other forms of passion besides occupational (e.g., romantic, political, religious) may provide compelling insight into how and why people cope with passion.

Practical Implications

This study has practical implications for both individuals and the organizations that employ them. The pervasive and convincing encouragement to heed one's calling may make not pursuing a calling seem like a foolish decision. However, for some people, a calling might be difficult or impractical to pursue, or perhaps not even the most ideal means of fulfilling their passion in the first place. The six coping techniques explained in my model describe ways to satisfy occupational passion besides simply working in a calling, through crafting work contexts and leisure time to create opportunities for answering a calling without ever pursuing it as an occupation. These techniques are seemingly applicable to a variety of occupations, so managers or career counselors could teach them to help individuals fulfill a missed calling or inoculate against setbacks (Caplan, Vinokur, Price, & van Ryn, 1989). Since my findings support the notion that job crafting may serve a compensatory function that allows people to get what they need and desire from work, organizations should ensure that employees are given adequate autonomy to enable job crafting, which may facilitate increased job satisfaction, employee well-being, and ultimately job performance (Judge et al., 2001; Wright & Cropanzano, 2000).

Conclusion

Over a year ago, I took on this project to help me cope with my future career decisions. I had spent the first three years of college convinced that being a high school teacher was my calling, but was reluctant to heed the call due to concerns about the salary and potential for advancement provided by this occupation. I was not surprised when I first learned that scholars

had revealed several benefits of viewing work as a calling, because whenever I imagined myself as a teacher, I enjoyed the thought of going to work every day and making an impact on students' lives. Since I knew I was probably not going to pursue my calling, I immediately started to wonder what scholars had to say about missing a calling. I felt that if I did not become a high school teacher, I would always be left with an unsatisfied passion for teaching that would produce a lifetime of second thoughts. When I could not find much research that directly addressed what happens when someone misses a calling, I was inspired by the opportunity to find out for myself.

After countless hours of researching and thinking about callings for this project, I have developed a new passion for research and now plan to pursue a career as a university professor of organizational behavior, which I hope will fulfill my passion for both teaching and researching. However, I also believe that I have a calling to be an entertainer and a youth athletics coach. Although these callings are not as strong as teaching, I would still very much miss having them in my life. This project has assured me that I have nothing to worry about; I can fulfill these passions through crafting my job and leisure activities. Every time I lecture, I plan on framing my role not just as a teacher in front of a class, but also an entertainer performing before an audience. Also, I plan on utilizing my leisure time to fulfill passion by coaching a youth sports team. My callings may change as my life continues, but I have learned the value of not thinking of them as dreams that I have to follow, because I know that I can always craft opportunities to make them follow me. Orchestra Olga summarizes this well. When I asked her if she gained any new insights during her interview, she replied:

“I’ve sort of seen a thread.... My interests in high school and college have kind of followed me throughout my life, and I think that there are different ways to pursue those interests. It doesn’t have to be all at the same time, but they can come and go. So it’s encouraging to me that I didn’t leave any of them behind.” (Orchestra Olga)

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APPENDIX

Stages of Interview Protocol

Stage 1: Reveal Present Feelings About Work
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• What is a typical day like in your job?• On a scale from 1-7, one being not at all similar you and seven being very much similar you, how similar are the following paragraphs (adapted from Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, Schwartz, 1997) to you? Why did you choose this rating?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ <i>[Calling Orientation]:</i> For Category A people, work is one of the most important parts of life. They are very pleased that they are in their line of work. Because what they do for a living is a vital part of who they are, it is one of the first things they tell people about themselves. They tend to take their work home with them and on vacations, too. The majority of their friends are from their places of employment, and they belong to several organizations and clubs relating to their work. They feel good about their work because they love it, and because they think it makes the world a better place. They would encourage their friends and children to enter their line of work. Category A people would be pretty upset if they were forced to stop working, and they are not particularly looking forward to retirement.○ <i>[Job Orientation]:</i> Category B people work primarily enough to earn enough money to support their lives outside of their jobs. If they were financially secure, they would no longer continue with their current line of work, but would really rather do something else instead. To these people, their jobs are basically a necessity of life, a lot like breathing or sleeping. They often wish the time would pass more quickly at work. They greatly anticipate weekends and vacations. If these people lived their lives over again, they probably would not go into the same line of work. They would not encourage their friends and children to enter their line of work. Category B people are very eager to retire.○ <i>[Career Orientation]:</i> Category C people basically enjoy their work, but do not expect to be in their current jobs five years from now. Instead, they plan to move on to better, higher level jobs. They have several goals for their futures pertaining to the positions they would eventually like to hold. Sometimes their work seems a waste of time, but they know that they must do sufficiently well in their current positions in order to move on. Category C people can't wait to get a promotion. For them, a promotion means recognition of their good work, and is a sign of their success in competition with coworkers.
Stage 2: Outline Career Path and Identify Missed Callings
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Please tell me the story of how you came to be a teacher, with particular attention on any key milestones, events, or decisions along your career path.<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Did you actively pursue any other occupations before teaching? Beginning with the earliest:<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Why did you pursue this occupation? How did you feel about this occupation? Was there anything or anyone who significantly influenced your decision to stop pursuing this occupation?▪ Imagine you were currently working in this occupation. Using the same 1-7 scale, how similar would Category A people be to you? Why did you choose this rating?○ Were there any other occupations you have considered pursuing? Beginning with the earliest:<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ When and why were you interested in this occupation? How strongly did you feel towards this occupation? What made you decide against pursuing this occupation?▪ Imagine you were currently working in this occupation. Using the same 1-7 scale, how similar would you Category A people be to you? Why did you choose this rating?
Stage 3: Examine Coping Process
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Please tell me about the difficult decisions you faced on your career path. Beginning with the earliest:<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ How did you handle this difficult decision?○ What are some of the strategies you used to handle this difficult decision?○ What do you do now to deal with this difficult decision?• Have you actively incorporated any aspects of [missed calling] into your job? If so, how?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Which of these aspects are required by your job and which ones are not?○ How do you feel about these aspects?• Have you actively incorporated any aspects of [missed calling] into your life outside of work? If so, how?<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ How do you feel about these aspects?
Stage 4: Determine Psychological Outcomes
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• How do you feel about the balance between your current job and [missed calling]?• Looking back, how do you feel about your career path?• Do you ever think about what it would have been like if you pursued a different occupation?• How does your career path affect your life now?• What are your plans for the future regarding your career?