



Journal of Vocational Behavior 70 (2007) 590-601

Vocational Behavior

www.elsevier.com/locate/ivb

# The presence of and search for a calling: Connections to career development

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Received 17 February 2007 Available online 2 April 2007

#### Abstract

The current study explored the relationship of the presence of, and search for, a calling to the career development of 3091 first year college students. The presence of a calling correlated positively with decidedness, comfort, self clarity and choice-work salience and correlated negatively with indecisiveness and lack of educational information. The search for a calling correlated negatively with decidedness, comfort, self clarity, and choice-work salience and correlated positively with indecisiveness and lack of educational information. Hierarchical regression analyses revealed that for both career decidedness and choice comfort, the calling variables taken together added 8% and 5% variance, respectively, above and beyond that accounted for by self clarity, choice-work salience, indecisiveness, and lack of educational information. It is suggested that future research investigate the potential sources of a career calling and counselors be open to exploring this construct with individual clients.

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Keywords: Calling; Decidedness; Comfort; College students

#### 1. Introduction

Throughout the history of counseling psychology, one major area of research has been the study of the career decision-making process. It could be argued that the importance of this field places on the study of career behavior is one of the major differences between it

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and closely related disciplines, such as clinical psychology or social work. The theoretical, empirical, and practical literature on the career development process is extensive. Since Parsons' (1909) seminal work, *Choosing a Vocation*, a variety of models have emerged to explain how an individual makes a particular career choice. These models have focused on a variety of elements, including person-environment fit (Holland, 1997), developmental trajectory (Super, 1980), self efficacy, and outcome expectations (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994), circumscription and compromise (Gottfredson, 2005), and construction (Savickas, 2005). A unifying theme among these models is an emphasis on person-centered variables which, taken together, are hypothesized to shape career decisions. Within each of these theories, one component that is less emphasized concerns the external pull some individuals may feel to pursue a certain career path, where this pull is often described as a *calling*.

External career-related variables are theorized to include variables outside the individual which play a significant role in decision making, often serving as primary motivators. One example of these factors has been highlighted in the recent work of Blustein and colleagues (e.g. Blustein, 2006; Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005; Blustein et al., 2002), where the authors have focused on the external variables which may hinder career decision making based on dominant theoretical models. Blustein (2006) discussed how a majority of US workers may experience limited or absent work volition, which is defined as the ability to freely choose one's career path. Blustein hypothesized that this problem is especially prevalent among those who face the daily external hindrances of poverty, inadequate education, stigmatization, and discrimination. Conversely, a much smaller percentage of the general population is likely to be influenced by external factors that serve to motivate them toward a specific career or area of work. One common term that is used to denote this type of approach is that of a calling. This term, which often has religious or spiritual connotations, has received only a limited amount of empirical attention and relatively little is known about how a calling relates to the career development process. The goal of the current study is to explore the relationship of the presence of and search for a calling to the degree of certainty and comfort one has in their career choice.

## 1.1. Definition of calling

A recent review of the literature on the interface of spirituality, religion, and career development pointed to a wide range of calling definitions (Duffy, 2006). For example, Davidson and Caddell (1994) defined calling as a call to serve God, while Dalton (2001) defined calling as a summons by God to a particular career. Other authors have placed less restriction on the source of a calling, and defined it as a career used to serve the greater good (Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, & Schwartz, 1997) or as the conclusion of a search for work passion and fulfillment (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1986). In response to the lack of a unified, empirically testable definition, Dik and Duffy (in press) suggested a new, three-part definition that could guide future research. They defined calling as: (1) a transcendent summons, experienced as originating beyond the self; (2) to approach a particular life role in a manner oriented toward demonstrating or deriving a sense of purpose or meaningfulness; (3) and that which holds other-oriented values and goals as primary sources of motivation (p. 4).

Common themes that appear in many definitions of calling are that it arises from some force outside the person and is thought to pertain to careers that an individual sees as meaningful and that promote the greater good in some way. Though many definitions

include a higher power or powers as the source of a calling, the exact source of the external call was not considered in the current study. It is believed that people may be called from a variety of sources, and limiting the construct to religious connotations may not represent individuals who feel called to a career from other sources. Finally, it is theorized that individuals can have the presence of a calling or be actively searching for one. These groups may appear very different from one another in their career development progress and could pose unique challenges in career counseling.

## 1.2. Research on calling

The research that has investigated aspects of calling related to relevant career variables has generally shown promising results. In one of the first studies to measure these constructs empirically, 1869 Catholics and Protestants were surveyed regarding how they viewed their careers (Davidson & Caddell, 1994). The authors asked participants to read three paragraphs that described a job, a career, and a calling and to choose one which best coincided with their own work. A job referred to non-permanent, financially driven work; a career referred to a job attained throughout a lifetime where the setting may change but type of work remains the same; and a calling referred to something which people feel put on the Earth to do. Group differences were analyzed based on responses to these three paragraphs and it was found that individuals who viewed their career as a calling, or one chosen for them by God, were more likely to express social justice beliefs and reported greater job security and satisfaction than those who did not. Other interesting findings indicated that males were more likely than females to view their job as a calling; that individuals who worked with people as opposed to things were twice as likely to view their job as a calling; and that as educational level increased, so did a sense of calling.

A similar study was completed by Wrzesniewski et al. (1997), who surveyed 196 workers in administrative assistant or professional positions regarding general views about their work. Employing a comparable methodology to Davidson and Caddell (1994), the authors asked participants to read three work descriptions and decide which best fit their approach to work: as a job, career, or calling. In this study, a job referred to something that is done primarily to make money; a career as something which moderately fulfilling but involves a constant process of trying to get promoted; or a calling, which is valuable as an end in itself and serves the greater good. The definition of calling differed in this study as it referred to service to society rather than to a summons by a higher power. The authors analyzed group differences, based on responses to these descriptions, in demographic and well-being variables. The group of respondents who viewed their work as a calling reported significantly higher levels of well-being than those in the job or career groups, as assessed by work satisfaction and life satisfaction (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997). The authors also identified three results which they described as somewhat surprising. First, they noticed that a similar percentage of participants viewed their work as a job, career, or calling. Second, people who viewed their work as a career and were primarily concerned with advancement did not report significantly higher well-being than those who viewed their work as a job. Finally, satisfaction with work or life may be more dependent on how individuals view their work than on their income or work prestige. The authors found that the job-versus-calling differences in satisfaction and well-being were similar in the administrative assistant and professional groups.

Other researchers have examined the calling construct within specific populations. For example, two studies found that feeling called to teach related to career commitment and job involvement among educators. Teachers who viewed their work as a calling expressed a desire to teach longer and had a greater appreciation of the positive social components of their careers than those who did not feel a calling (Serow, 1994; Serow, Eaker, & Ciechalski, 1992). Also, participants who felt called were more likely to make personal sacrifices and devote extra time to their job. Finally, this construct has also arisen in several qualitative studies investigating the role of religion or spirituality in the career process of college students (Constantine, Miville, Warren, Gainor, & Lewis-Coles, 2006; Royce-Davis & Stewart, 2000). Though understanding the concept of calling was not the primary goal of these investigations, in each study a number of the participants interviewed discussed feeling called to something larger then themselves as well as a desire to make a difference in society by following this calling. In sum, the limited research on calling and career development indicates that the construct may be salient for college students and adults working in various professions. Also, having a career calling may relate to desirable career outcomes, such as job commitment, security, and satisfaction.

# 1.3. The present study and hypotheses

All the research described above has focused specifically on the presence of a calling. However, it is also critical to assess the degree to which individuals are searching for a calling and how this state may relate to career outcomes. Thus, the goal of the current study is to explore how the presence of, and search for, a calling relate to indices of career development in a large group of incoming college students, using quantitative methods. The career-related variables which will be assessed are taken from the Career Decision Profile (CDP), developed by Jones (1989) as a way to understand where a student currently is in the career development process. This scale consists of two general constructs, career decidedness and career choice comfort, as well as four "reason" constructs for these states, which include self clarity, indecisiveness, choice work salience, and knowledge about occupations and training. For the current study, the scoring of the reason subscales was slightly modified and the construct, "knowledge about occupations and training" was renamed to "lack of educational information"; this is described further in the methods section.

Jones (1989) hypothesized that the four reason variables would serve as predictors for decidedness and comfort, and a similar model will be tested in the current study. First, correlational analyses will be conducted to explore the relationship between the presence of, and search for, a calling to all six of the CDP subscales. Next, hierarchical regression analyses will be conducted to examine the ability of the calling variables to predict both decidedness and comfort beyond the variance accounted for by the four CDP reason variables. Based on previous research linking calling to job commitment, security, and satisfaction (Davidson & Caddell, 1994; Wrzesniewski et al., 1997), four hypotheses will be tested:

**Hypothesis 1.** The presence of a calling correlates positively with career decidedness, career choice comfort, self-clarity, and choice-work salience; it correlates negatively with indecisiveness and lack of education information.

**Hypothesis 2.** The search for a calling correlates positively with indecisiveness and lack of education information; it correlates negatively with career decidedness, career choice comfort, self clarity, and choice-work salience.

**Hypothesis 3.** The presence of and search for a calling add unique variance in predicting career decidedness above and beyond that which is predicted by the four CDP reason variables.

**Hypothesis 4.** The presence of and search for a calling add unique variance in predicting career choice comfort above and beyond that which is predicted by the four CDP reason variables.

#### 2. Method

## 2.1. Participants

Participants were 3091 incoming first-year students at a large, mid-Atlantic, public university. Within this sample, 1744 of the participants were White (56%), 464 were African American (15%), 449 were Asian American (15%), 225 were Latino/a (8%), 5% Unknown, and less than 1% Native American with a similar number of males (1578) and females (1513). Also, 880 of the participants were Protestant (29%), 774 Roman Catholic (26%), 449 Jewish (15%), 297 Agnostic (10%), 189 Atheist (6%), 77 Islam/Muslim (3%), 73 Hindu (2%), 42 Buddhist (1%), and 254 were other religions (9%). 89% of the sample reported being in the top quarter of their graduating class.

# 2.2. Instruments

## 2.2.1. Presence of a calling

This construct was assessed by a two-item scale developed by Steger and Dik (2006) to explore the extent to which college students feel called to pursue a certain type of career. The two items on this measure were, "I have a calling to a particular kind of work" and "I have a good understanding of my calling as it applies to my career" and were assessed on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "not at all true of me" to "totally true of me". The actual source of a calling was purposively absent from the items to allow participants to decide for themselves what, if anything, was the source of their calling. Previous research using this instrument has related the presence of a calling to career decision self efficacy, intrinsic work motivation, religious commitment, and meaning in life. Steger and Dik (2006) found the correlation of these two items on this scale to be .76. For the current study, the items were also found to strongly correlate at .81.

# 2.2.2. Search for a calling

This construct was assessed by a two item scale developed by Steger and Dik (2006) to explore the extent to which college students are searching for a calling to a certain career. The two items on this measure were, "I am trying to figure out my calling in my career" and "I am searching for a calling as it applies to my career" and were assessed on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "not at all true of me" to "totally true of me". Similar to

the previous scale, the source of a calling was purposively absent from the items. Using this scale, Steger and Dik (2006) found this construct to significantly negatively correlate with career decision self efficacy, and positively correlate with the search for meaning and religious commitment. The authors found the correlation of the two scale items to be .77. For the current study, these two items produced a similar correlation of .75.

## 2.2.3. Career Decision Profile (CDP)

This 16-item instrument was used to measure three dimensions of career uncertainty: decidedness, comfort, and reasons for these states (Jones, 1989). The grouping of items for the four reason variables was modified for the currrent study, as two items from the original Knowledge of occupations and training subscale were found to relate more reliably to items from the Self clarity subscale. As such, these two items were moved to the Self clarity subscale and the Knowledge of occupations and training subscale was renamed to Lack of educational information. The final number of items for each subscale are as follows: "I have a clear idea of what my interests are" (Self clarity), "I frequently have trouble making decisions" (Indecisiveness), "My future work or career is not important to me at this time" (Choice-work salience), and "I need information about educational programs I want to enter" (Lack of educational information). Past research has related decidedness and comfort to trait anxiety, strong vocational identity, and amount of occupational information, and has found internal consistency reliabilities for scores from all six subscales ranging from .68 to .85 (Jones, 1989; Wanberg & Muchinsky, For the current study, reliability estimates for each of the multi-item subscales were as follows: Comfort (.78), Decidedness (.79), Self clarity (.77), Intensiveness (.85), Choice-work salience (.62).

#### 2.3. Procedure

The data were collected from the University New Student Census, a 230 item questionnaire addressing a variety of attitudinal, behavioral, and demographic variables from incoming first-year students during their summer orientation program. This survey is given every year to incoming students and is developed and administered by the authors of the current study and college administrators. During each two day new student orientation, a 35 minute time slot was allotted for groups of 20–25 students to take this questionnaire in selected computer labs on campus. Each student was directed to their own computer which initially contained an electronic informed consent from. If consent was given, students were then directed to an online survey and told that it would take approximately 20–25 min to complete. The general purpose of the survey is to attain an understanding of the attitudes and behaviors of incoming students for both research and administrative purposes, and contains both psychometrically developed scales and a variety of demographic items.

# 3. Results

As seen in Table 1, correlational analyses were conducted to explore the relationships between the presence of, and search for, a calling to all six CDP subscales. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, the presence of a calling positively correlated with decidedness, comfort, self clarity and choice-work salience and negatively correlated with indecisiveness and lack of educational information. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, the search for a calling negatively

			-						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1. Presence of calling	_								
2. Search for calling	48	_							
3. Decidedness	.58	44	_						
4. Comfort	.54	47	.59	_					
5. Self clarity	.55	56	.50	.61	_				
6. Indecisiveness	27	.25	21	35	39	_			
7. Choice-work salience	.43	28	.47	.32	.39	23	_		
8. Lack of educational info	20	.29	21	26	40	.15	20	_	
Possible range	2-10	2-10	2-10	2-10	5-25	3-15	3-15	1-5	
M	6.35	5.45	7.61	6.73	15	8.03	11.64	3.17	
SD	2.23	2.34	2.07	2.08	4.20	3.11	2.04	1.12	

Table 1 Correlations, means, and standard deviations of calling and career development variables

*Note*: All correlations significant at p < .01 level.

correlated with decidedness, comfort, self clarity, and choice-work salience and positively correlated with indecisiveness and lack of educational information.

As seen in Table 2, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to explore the ability of the presence of, and search for, a calling in predicting decidedness and comfort, beyond the variance accounted for by the four CDP reason variables. Consistent with Hypothesis 3, the presence of, and search for, a calling each accounted for significant variance in predicting career decidedness, and taken together contributed an additional 8% variance to the total equation after controlling for the CDP reason variables. Similarly, consistent with Hypothesis 4, the presence of, and search for, a calling each accounted for significant variance in predicting career choice comfort, and taken together contributed an additional 5% of the variance to the total equation after controlling for the CDP reason variables.

#### 4. Discussion

## 4.1. The presence of a calling

Overall, the results of this study indicate that the presence of a career calling may relate to a host of important career development variables; the strength of these relationships ranged from small to large (Cohen, 1988). Small, negative correlations were found

Table 2
Summary of hierarchical multiple regression analyses testing calling variables and CDP reason variables in the prediction of career decidedness and career choice comfort

Variable	Decidedness				Comfort			
	F(6,2760)	$F\Delta$	$R^2$	$R^2\Delta$	F(6,2760)	$F\Delta$	$R^2$	$R^2\Delta$
Self clarity	365.81**		.26		379.58**		.37	,
Choice-work salience		409	.35	.10**		50.15	.38	.01**
Indecisiveness		.22	.35	.00		63.67	.40	.01**
Lack of educational info		.20	.35	.00		1.04	.40	.00
Presence of calling		396.90	.43	.08**		252.21	.45	.05**
Search for calling		55.48	.45	.01**		41.41	.45	.01**

<sup>\*\*</sup> *p* < .01.

between the presence of a calling and indecisiveness and lack of educational information. In vocational psychology, research on indecisiveness is extensive, and depending on the methodology used, it can be viewed as a trait where one can be indecisive or a state where one is undecided in a certain area (Osipow, 1999). In the current study, Jones (1989) intended his instrument to assess general trait like indecisiveness, and none of the three questions of this subscale include any reference to one's career choice. Thus, though people with a career calling might be slightly less decided in general than those without a calling, this small correlation makes intuitive sense as trait indecisiveness likely spans a host of psychological variables, one of which pertains to career decision making. On a similar note, several theorists have described a lack of information (in this case educational information) as one of the many components which contribute to indecisiveness (Gati. 1986: Pitz & Harren, 1980). Again, while it may be assumed that individuals with the presence of a calling would be less in need of educational information, it is likely that with the current sample these connections are minor as most are just starting higher education. Thus, the link between having a calling and knowing the path to achieve this calling may not be fully formed.

The presence of a calling strongly correlated with career decidedness, choice comfort, and self-clarity, and moderately correlated with choice-work salience. These results suggest that students who have a career calling are likely to be more mature in their career development process. These students have a good sense of their interest and abilities, are comfortable in making career decisions, and are firm in the specific jobs or areas of work they would like to enter. One possible reason for these strong connections is that when students have a calling to a certain career, they are likely to heed this call and decide on the career path which they are called to. It may be that when a student has a career calling, this accelerates the career process and allows for even first year college students to feel decided about their future. The strong relationship between the presence of a calling and self clarity may also elucidate the process by which a calling affects career behavior. Though the directionality of this relationship is undetermined, this connection suggests that having clarity about one's interests and abilities may make a student more prone to receiving a calling, and also that attaining a career calling will allow one's interests and abilities to solidify. Finally, the moderate relationship between the presence of calling and choice work salience is consistent with the proposed definition of a career calling, in which a career is seen as meaningful. Thus, it is likely that those who attain a calling will be more likely to view both making career decisions and their future career in general as important.

# 4.2. The search for a calling

In their 2006 measurement article on life meaning, Steger, Frazier, Oishi, and Kaler (2006) made a clear distinction between the presence of life meaning and the search for life meaning. The search for life meaning was found to negatively correlate with a host of psychological outcomes including life satisfaction, self esteem, and purpose in life. In the current study, the search for a calling produced similar results on relevant career outcomes, positively correlating with indecisiveness and lack of educational information and negatively correlating with career decidedness, choice comfort, choice-work salience, and self clarity. Students searching for a calling tended to be slightly more indecisive and slightly more likely to lack educational information.

More significantly, students who are searching for calling tend to be less decided, less comfortable in making career choices, and markedly less clear about their interests and abilities. These results indicate that those who are searching for a calling tend to be less mature in their career process as high levels of searching are likely due to an inability of finding what one is looking for with regards to a future career. Also, these results suggest that if a student was already at the point of being decided and comfortable with a career choice, it is unlikely that they would continue to search for a career calling.

Another important finding concerns the relationship between the search for calling and choice-work salience. In line with the hypotheses, these variables were negatively correlated. One might guess that if a student were actively searching for a calling they might also feel that their career choices and future work were important to them. However, these findings suggest that students searching for a calling and those who obtain a calling are at very different points in their career development, and that the process to find a career calling may take a considerable amount of time. It may not be until some students feel a calling that they truly understand the importance of work in their lives. In summary, the relationship between both the presence of, and search for, a calling to students' career development appears important and greatly varied depending on endorsement of either construct.

# 4.3. The prediction of decidedness and comfort

Though correlational analyses can provide some clarity about the relationship of one variable to another, it is critical to understand how variables function together in predicting pertinent outcomes. In the current study, two hierarchical regression analyses were performed to assess the ability of the presence of and search for a calling to predict career decidedness and choice comfort above and beyond the four modified CDP reason variables.

For both career decidedness and choice comfort, the ability of the calling variables taken together to add 8% and 5% variance to each equation, respectively, speaks to the likelihood that these variables are uniquely different from such constructs as self clarity, salience, and indecisiveness. Considering the limited research on calling, this is an important point, as one might have assumed that these variables could be subsumed under more general career constructs. At the present time, it is difficult to understand the exact mechanism by which a strong sense of calling relates to being decided and comfortable. It may be that having a calling makes students feel like their career exploration is finished and that the best career path for them has already been laid out. Also, while traditionally-studied variables such as self-clarity and salience may push people to consider a general career area or make a decision, feeling called to that area or specific occupation may allow for an increased sense of comfort that the decision is correct. These findings indicate that the process by which the presence of and search for a calling relate to career behavior is a critical future direction of research.

Lastly, both equations reveal that after controlling for the presence of a calling, only a minimal amount of added variance is contributed by the search for a calling. Thus, even though the search for a calling was moderately correlated with both decidedness and comfort, either the presence of calling or some combination of the other four modified CDP variables subsumed most of its predictive power. As the presence of and search for a calling were moderately correlated, it is possible that those students who have stronger

feelings of a calling will also have weaker search feelings and balance each other out in the regression equation. This is important to note as research moves forward in assessing both of these variables; it will be critical to understand if they represent two ends of a continuum or if people can actually have the presence of a calling and be searching for one at the same time.

## 5. Limitations

The results and conclusions of this study should be considered in light of a number of limitations. First and foremost, the instruments used to assess the presence of and search for a calling each consisted of only two items. Thus, even though these scales have been shown to be reliable and valid in previous research, it would have been desirable to have longer measures which may have been able to get at the sources of students' calling, rather than just assessing calling in general. A second limitation of note concerns the breath and nature of the sample surveyed. While the number of participants might be considered large and relatively diverse, it is important to note that these students represent a relatively small segment of college students in general. For example, of the students who knew their high school class rank, 89% reported being in the top quarter of their graduating class. Finally, an important detail is that the survey was completed by students immediately prior to entering college. It is likely that as students progress through college, become more set in their career decisions, and start to gain work experience, their views concerning a calling or a search for a calling will evolve. Thus, as research in this area moves forward, it is critical that investigations are completed with college student ranging in age and year in school.

# 6. Implications

Understanding the function of the presence of, and search for, a calling in the career development of college students is important for theorists, researchers, and practitioners. From a theoretical standpoint, aspects of calling have yet to be incorporated into any of the major theories within vocational psychology. There are many possible reasons for this absence, which may include the notion that the term calling is too tied to religious or spiritual frameworks or may not be salient for a large enough percentage of the population to be considered integral to a general theory. Another reason for the absence may have to do with the lack of research on this construct, especially in the major journals of counseling and vocational psychology. For example, a PsycINFO search within the Journal of Vocational Behavior, Journal of Counseling Psychology, The Counseling Psychologist, The Career Development Quarterly, Journal of Career Development, and Journal of Career Assessment found no empirical studies in which the existence of, or search for, a career calling was the main variable assessed. It is impossible to include variables into an empirically testable theory if very little is known about their causes and effects. However, given that only 8% of those sampled viewed having a calling as completely untrue of themselves, this speaks to the potential salience of this variable to college student career development.

In order to build a stronger theoretical framework from which to understand these variables, a great deal of future research is necessary. Dik and Duffy (in press) highlighted a number of future directions for this area. These include the need for more reliable and valid measurement tools, an understanding of how a calling develops and if it is largely

tied to religion or spirituality, and exploring the extent to which feeling called or searching for a calling relates to job satisfaction. Additionally, for college students in particular, research should explore how feeling called or searching for a calling changes by year in school and also how these constructs differ across demographic variables. These variables may include major, career choice, gender, age, socioeconomic status, and academic achievement. Similarly, for both students and working adults, sophisticated research is needed to understand how the calling variables differ from other closely related career constructs, and if calling is a truly unique construct in predicting important outcomes.

This study can provide important insights for counselors working with college students on career-related issues. Students who already feel called to a certain career may be in need of career counseling regarding how to satisfy that calling, rather than counseling to help them discern their career goals, as students with a calling are highly likely to be decided and comfortable with their choices. However, students who are in the midst of searching for a calling may in fact be eager for career counseling and may look to a counselor for help in facilitating this search. If and when clients present with this request, it is recommended that counselors not only use traditional strategies such as exploring a client's interests and values but also examine where a client envisions their calling originating from (i.e. is it religious in nature?) and the degree to which they want to use their career to help others. Similarly, counselors are encouraged to talk with clients about the work and class related activities they have felt a particular sense of purpose or passion for and explore how this may be translated into a major or career choice. Though counseling clients searching for a calling may look very similar to traditional career counseling, perhaps the most important difference is an acknowledgement and acceptance of a calling being a driving force in the career process, and an openness on the part of the counselor to a client's own unique definition of the construct.

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