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**Does the GoodWork toolkit resonate
with low income youth?**

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GoodWork in Education: When Excellence, Engagement and Ethics Meet

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Abstract

In this paper I seek to determine whether or not the concepts of the GoodWork Toolkit are salient among low income urban youth. I do so by replicating questions from other studies on work and future employment expectations, and testing versions of GoodWork Toolkit questions with a 10th grade English Language Arts class in the Hunts Point neighborhood of the Bronx. Consistent with Chaves et al (2004), I found that these students are much more likely to believe the purpose of work is for extrinsic rewards rather than from intrinsic rewards or meaning. In results very different than Cook and Church (1996), I found that these students had very little gap between their expected and desired jobs, nearly all of which were high-income, high prestige jobs. Finally, questions from the GoodWork Toolkit elicited inconclusive evidence, suggesting both the students' lack of concrete plans for the future and a gap in conceptualization between low income and middle and high income students.

Introduction

In a 2008 open letter to the President of the United States based on his book, *The Path to Purpose*, William Damon advocates for a well-funded educational system that sparks each student's delight for and engagement in *purpose*. "Only in this way [by highlighting purpose in schools]," he continues, "can we ensure that all students in our society will have access to high-quality teachers who can help every student find a purpose that matches that student's interests and abilities" (p. 64).

Indeed, Bronk (2011) cites purpose as crucial to human development and fulfillment: "Having established a meaningful purpose in life facilitated identity formation...contribut[ing] to positive developmental outcomes such as happiness, resiliency, subjective well-being, psychological well-being, positive affect, and life satisfaction" (p. 40). Not only is purpose crucial for these positive outcomes: Bronk further documents how it also creates more motivated students. It is easy to see why any educator would value fostering a sense of purpose in his or her students.

But many educators are concerned specifically with the most underserved students - those in dramatically failing schools, namely Title I schools in urban areas, serving mostly minority youth. Do self-actualization and purpose resonate with these youth? If so, how can schools further these goals? And if not, how can schools make these goals seem more salient? The GoodWork toolkit (Fischman, Barendsen and Gardner, 2009) seeks to introduce students to concepts of technical excellence, ethical behavior, and engagement with their work. All of these are worthy goals for one's career; but engagement, with the component of purposefulness in one's work, may be the hardest concept to grasp for low income urban students. The literature I review below suggests that because of differing

concepts of morality and work in low-income communities, school-based interventions that attempt to address purpose, specifically the GoodWork toolkit and its emphasis on quality and purposefulness in work, may need additional clarification.

Literature Review

Chaves, Diemer, Blustein, Gallagher, DeVoy, and Casares (2004, hereafter referred to as The Chaves Study) caution that urban youth don't actually strive for purpose in their work. While "considerable diversity exists in how young people understand the meaning of work in their lives...work is primarily understood as a means to specific outcomes" (p. 283). Indeed, for nearly 70% of their study's respondents, the specific outcome cited was making money. Chaves continues, "This view contrasts sharply with many of the views of work that have been detailed in major career development and choice theories (e.g., Holland, 1997; Super et al., 1996) in which work is presented as a means of expressing one's interests or implementing one's self-concept" (p. 283).

This sentiment is echoed by Cook and Church (1996, hereafter referred to as The Cook Study). These authors demonstrate that while low-income minority youth may hope for purposeful occupations, they expect they will actually pursue much more mundane work: "Research with high school and college students has consistently shown a gap between the prestige of desired and expected jobs, with the gap being larger for African-Americans and the poor...And at some age they will presumably come to realize that their own job choices are particularly constrained because of past school performance, the quality of their family networks, the paucity

of local jobs, and the prejudices of potential employers” (p. 3370). Not only do low-income minority students expect to work in a job that is less prestigious than their desired job: they also see many more obstacles to occupational success. This realization was clear even with the youngest age group sampled, 2nd grade boys, demonstrating the pervasiveness of the occupational expectations.

Yet despite conceptualizing work as primarily driven by external outcomes and constrained by external obstacles, low-income African American youth consistently cite their careers as the part of their future lives where they feel they can exert the most control (McCabe and Barnett, 2000). Yowell (2000) confirmed this finding among low-income Latino youth, though she noted that, as compared with males, females demonstrated a lower feeling of control over their future careers. McCabe and Barnett further note that “Several studies have found that children and adolescents who are raised in high risk environments, but who maintain positive expectations for the future and engage in future planning, are less likely to experience psychological and social problems later in life than those who do not” (p.63). Promoting student aptitude in future planning is then clearly important to positive outcomes for urban youth. While overall life purpose may be an important ideal to cultivate, purpose in career is a more clearly defined, concrete outcome on which to focus – one that the students themselves feel the greatest agency over.

However, there is evidence that rather than promoting the moral and vocational growth that would help students to identify their purpose in their careers, schools may actually impede that growth. Farmer (2010) documents how low-income urban schools are set up to reflect the criminalization of its minority

students, as propagated in the media. Teachers and administrators of urban minority youth may be quicker to punish those youth than non-minority youth who commit the same infractions; they apparently subconsciously buy into the belief that minority youth are inherently more criminal. Gregory and Skiba (2010) demonstrate how this criminalization, wherein the main punishment is exclusion from the classroom, may actually contribute to the achievement gap due to missed instructional time. Graham et al. (1998) demonstrate how quickly minority youth, specifically males, have internalized these messages about their potential achievement. Through such criminalization of minority youth, Title I schools may reinforce beliefs that minority urban youth are more likely to become criminals, then facilitate that criminality by creating punishments that lower academic outcomes. This is the very opposite of the goal of school helping students build moral character and become employed and contributing citizens.

How, then, should schools focus on building purpose and morality in a student's future career? Gardner et al. (2001, 2011) proposed the GoodWork framework as a way to understand workers who "do... something that matters, that serves society, that enhances the lives of others, and that is accomplished in an ethical manner" (Gardner 2011, p. 5). This framework represents a means of operationalizing what purpose in one's career may look like. To this end, the GoodWork framework includes technical excellence, engagement, and ethical behavior as clearly defined realms of high quality work. A worker should strive towards all three of these criteria in his or her employment. To promote these values of Excellence, Engagement, and Ethics, a GoodWork Toolkit was developed for use among many adult populations, especially professionals. In the time since

the introduction of the Toolkit, many teachers have used elements of the Toolkit to introduce and promote the ideals of GoodWork among their students and their students' future careers, though the design of Toolkit was not centered around student populations.

But is the GoodWork framework salient among children of the working poor and working class? As already pointed out, the working class and working poor have a different concept of work (The Chaves Study (2004)), and of their occupational potential (The Cook Study (1996)). If work is primarily viewed as a way to make ends meet, rather than a means of self-fulfillment or self-actualization, do the concepts of ethics, excellence, and engagement still take on the same importance? There is no clear answer to this question in the research literature.

The working poor and working class may also have different frameworks for morality that may affect the relative importance of GoodWork concepts. Lamont (2000) discusses how white and black working-class Americans alike place an emphasis on being hardworking, responsible providers and protectors, an emphasis that is less frequently noted or entirely absent from discussions on morality of work for Americans in a higher socioeconomic class. Similarly, in an attempt to answer "Why in particular do working class and rural Americans vote for pro-business Republicans when their economic interests would seem better served by Democratic policies?", Haidt (2007) makes clear that conservative working class voters value loyalty, sanctity, and respect for authority. Both Lamont and Haidt emphasize the high value of moral order as particularly salient for working class individuals: it is not much of a stretch to imagine that the children of these

individuals have internalized some of these same value systems. The salience of this alternative morality system may in turn affect the salience of GoodWork concepts.

Because of the dearth of research on the salience of GoodWork to urban minority youth, I propose research to (1) measure if the concepts of work in low income urban communities, as found in The Chaves Study and The Cook Study, are confirmed in a new population of students (2) measure the salience of the words used in the value sort activity as a proxy to gauge the salience of GoodWork concepts among urban youth and (3) measure student responses to a modified version of the toolkit's introductory activity.

It may be that a school-based intervention – however well-intentioned and well executed – will be counterproductive. In a related research project, Fox and Grams (2007) operationalized the concept of work ethic as seen in school behavior. They taught this concept during twelve weeks of a sixteen week course: in both pre-tests and post-tests they measured students' self-reporting of their individual work ethics and teachers' reporting of the students' individual work ethics. Despite noting that “the students increasingly grasped the concept of work ethic as the series of lessons progressed” (p. 79), the teachers' measuring of each individual student's work ethic did not change from the beginning to the end of the twelve-week instructional period. Indeed, the students' measures of themselves actually declined. Fox and Grams theorized the students' increased understandings may have resulted in “harsher self-assessments” (p. 81), but also noted there was no clear change in the students' school behaviors (2007).

Why does teaching purpose in Title I schools matter? To return to Bronk et al. (2010), “High ability youth, in many cases, represent our best hopes for a brighter

future...A purpose in life can provide a critical source of motivation, guiding high ability youth to apply their skills in socially responsible ways, and fostering purpose among these youth is likely not only to enhance their lives, but also the lives of the people they touch” (p. 143). If one accepts that high ability youth are equally distributed (if not identified) among all social classes, what clearer way can there be to bring low-income minority youth into positions where they can affect change for their community, than to foster a sense of purpose and develop the abilities to use that sense of purpose in actively making a difference?

Research Methods

I chose to study a group of 10th grade English Language Arts (ELA) students in a public high school in the Hunts Point area of the Bronx. This is the neighborhood in New York City with the lowest average income and is also part of the poorest Congressional district in the country. I teach this class for one period a week during their normal ELA class time. The high school is categorized this year as a Title I Unsatisfactory school: two more years without performance gains makes it eligible for turnaround measures. The rising 9th graders in this high school took the new Common Core exam last year as 8th graders, which was graded on a 0-4 scale, with 2 being proficient. Of that 9th grade class, the highest score was a 1.7 and the mean score was 1.0. The 10th grade class I researched did not take the Common Core exam last year but is comparable in their classroom academic performance. Because of the economic and academic conditions of the school, I believed it would be a good place to test whether the terms in the GoodWork toolkit had any resonance with this low-income urban student population.

I wanted to replicate the results of the Chaves study and the Cook study to see if the beliefs about work in general and their future work specifically held up for this particular class. I also wanted the students to tell me what they thought about the terms in the GoodWork toolkit, and to collate their responses to an introductory activity modified to represent familiar careers. I decided to administer three separate surveys on three separate days. (All cited survey responses have been corrected to follow conventional rules of English.)

The first day's survey consisted of an exact replication of the questions of The Chaves Study. 11 students completed this survey. After explaining that my other "job" when I wasn't teaching at their school was as a student at Harvard University's School of Education, I handed out the survey (see Appendix A) with the instructions, "This survey is about work, meaning a job or career, not 'work' as in homework or chores you may do around the house. I need at least two sentences for each answer." This definition of work was repeated each time I conducted a survey. The direction about answer length is standard practice for all assignments in this classroom. "Exit slips" are a commonly used tool in this school, meaning "work you must do and hand in to the teacher before you are allowed to leave the room". Because it is important to have anyone who participates in research do so voluntarily, but also a frequent requirement in a classroom to mandate participation in an activity, I told students that they must complete the exercise; I added that anyone who wanted me to ignore their work when I was reviewing it for research could let me know.

Due to scheduling issues, the second day's survey ended up being conducted two weeks later. Eight students completed this two part survey. (Please see Appendix B.) The first part had two questions: at the top, I asked respondents to

think about the job or career they would like to have in ten years and write it down. I then listed all of the terms from the value-sort activity on the GoodWork toolkit and asked them to write a “Y” if the value was important to their future job or career, “N” if the value was not important to their future job or career, and “?” if they were unsure how that term applied to their future job or career.

On the second sheet, I took the “open-ended” career questions from The Cook Study, and added a third question, “If there is a difference between your two answers, why? If there is not a difference between your two answers, why not?”. I asked for one sentence to each of the first two questions and two sentences to the third question.

Finally, the third week’s survey was a version of the “What is Good Work?” introductory activity on the GoodWork toolkit site. I modified the activity to include careers the students cited in the previous survey and left the answers more open-ended to see what scenarios the students themselves generated. Fourteen students completed this survey. Each student needed to write three characteristics for three different careers that would “let you know he or she is good at his or her job”, for a total of nine characteristics from each of the 14 students.

I ran into some obstacles along the way. First, in this school, both truancy and discipline problems contribute to frequent absences. In addition, the class was reorganized the week before my first survey, reducing the full-attendance class size from 24 to 18. Of those 18, 11 took the first week’s survey, 8 took the second week’s survey, and 14 took the third week’s survey. In addition, during the week leading up to the second week’s survey, there were several major fights in the school, some of

which were gang-related and directly affected the members of this class. There was a noticeable amount of tension in the room during the second week.

Findings

Replicating The Chaves Study

My results were generally similar to The Chaves Study, cited above, with two major exceptions. Many more of our students cited extrinsic reasons for working, and many more of our students reported receiving positive messages about work from their families.

In the first question, “What is your definition of work?”, students primarily cited a means of making money, something that is hard, or completing a specific assigned task. Nine of the eleven students interviewed cited money as a primary purpose of working. As one student said, “Work is something you do to make MONEY!!”, and this seemed to capture the basic response of many students. But as Chaves *et al.* noted, there was not one uniform understanding of work among all respondents – the two remaining students said work was “ambition and dedication” and “something you enjoy doing”. However, these responses were in the minority.

Six of the eleven students mentioned the completion of a specific assigned task, giving responses such as “Work is something you are delegated to do to get something you want”, or “Work is not something you want to do but you need to do”. Six of the eleven students also gave responses indicating that work was hard, such as “you can tell it’s a job by suffering” (a word two different students used to describe work), and “Work is a place you go with people you dislike but still have to go to pay for expenses”. Overall, five of the eleven students saw work as only

negative, which contrasts with the messages about work they received from their families, which were nearly all positive.

Five of the eleven students saw something positive in work, using words such as “achievement”, “independence”, “something you enjoy”. For example, one student’s answer to question 1 read, “Work is what a person does in order to reach a certain goal. Work is like a process, for which the outcome is achievement.”

For the second question, “If you had all the money you could ever want, would you still work? Why/why not?”, our study replicated the fascinating results of The Chaves Study, showing that more than half (six of eleven) students could not accept the premise of having enough money as a potential reality. These students said they would continue to work in order to be sure they had enough money, saying things like, “I need to find a method to keep me rich while I waste some money”, or “I need extra money to send my child to college”. Of the remaining five who did not question the premise of the question, two said no, one said maybe, and two said yes. The two students who said no confirmed the ideas of the first response, saying for example, “I wouldn’t work because why work to get paid when you already have all the money.” The maybe student, who had previously defined work as “something you enjoy doing”, said “it would depend on if I enjoy doing the job”. The two students who said no had very different responses. One wanted to keep working for power: “I would work to have a new world order. So I could extend my power.” The other felt a moral obligation to work: “Yes, because a lot of people who are poor try so hard to make enough money to eat or pay their bills. A lot of people struggle to support their family and it’s not fair for me to have all of the money but do nothing.”

Finally, the third question, “What have you learned from your family about work?” produced responses that were surprisingly divergent from The Chaves Study. Students cited positive messages, messages about work habits, and messages about independence. Only one student cited entirely negative messages (that student said, “I learned that drug dealing and being a killer, trying to get quick money, isn’t worth it. So I would prefer to do what’s right.”) The majority of students who cited a negative message (four other students) reported learning something positive from it, such as, “When you work you’re sacrificing many things. But the conclusion or outcome is more important. It’s all worth it in the end.” In an interesting contrast to the answers from the first question, where five students had entirely negative definitions of work, six students cited entirely positive messages, such as, “They cherish their jobs and like what they do”. Five students cited work habits they learned from their family, such as, “Get to work early in every morning and make sure you reached the right time and in time.” Finally, an interesting theme emerged of work equaling independence. Students said things such as, “Making your own money is the best!”, “work makes you more independent”, and “[I learned that work means] to never depend on anyone.”

Replicating The Cook Study and testing the GoodWork value sort

In my second survey, I found a surprising disagreement with the results of The Cook Study. While Cook found that students from low income backgrounds were more likely to have a gap between the jobs they wanted and the jobs they expected, only one of our eight respondents gave a different answer for those two categories. The Cook Study also reported that as students grew older, they were more likely to expect to have low-prestige, low-income jobs. In contrast, all of my

students (who were older than the oldest students tested in The Cook Study) expected to have high-income or middle-income jobs with high prestige, such as basketball player, filmmaker, pediatrician, “successful singer”, or game designer. Three students reported they had no idea what job they wanted. As mentioned in the Methods section, there was a lot of tension in the classroom over recent gang disputes. Accordingly, I posit that perhaps the students did not engage with this survey and did not think deeply or critically about their answers. To this end, I point to the responses the students gave when asked to explain the similarities or differences between their answers. Three students gave unsure answers such as, “I’m not sure” or “I like too many things”, and four other students gave answers about the values they bring to their work that will ensure success, such as “I will always strive and prosper” or “I can be focused and learned and have that career”. None of these answers reflect deep thinking about the obstacles they may face. This result stands in sharp contrast to The Cook Study, which suggested students as young as second grade were extremely aware of obstacles they may face.

The hypothesized lack of deep engagement with the survey also extends to the responses we found with the GoodWork Toolkit value sort. While my expectation was that many of the students were unfamiliar with the words used in the value sort, only three students used the “?” choice to indicate being “unsure how this value could relate to my job or career”. Each of those students used the “?” response only one or two times. However, I suspect that there was still confusion, as seven of the eight students left boxes blank, with five of those students leaving at least three blank boxes. Further, the three students who answered all of the career-related questions with “I don’t know” or “I’m not sure” all had high numbers of “Y”

responses (29, 18, and 24), indicating that it is important that their job provides this value, including one student who answered every box he filled in with a “Y” response.

Of the five students who listed a response to the career questions, there was a mix of high “Y” response rates and more mixed rates. Two of the students had high “Y” response rates – 25 and 26 “Y”s, respectively – and the remaining three showed a mix of “Y”s, “N”s, and blanks or question marks. I posit that this activity seemed too overwhelming or lengthy to elicit deeply thought responses, especially given the previously mentioned tension in the classroom and stress the students were experiencing. Further research would need to redesign this second week protocol and field test the interview protocol.

The GoodWork Introductory Activity Responses

In the third survey, I found a surprising diversity of responses to the question, “List three things that a ___ would do that would tell you he or she was good at his or her job.” (The three jobs we put in the blank were professional basketball player, successful singer, and sergeant in the army – jobs the students had listed in the week two survey as desired jobs. I also told students that they could cross out any job and replace it with another job if they preferred to write about another job.) The themes that emerged were varied. They ranged from GoodWork themes such as technical excellence, good moral character, and dedication to his or her career, to themes around money and fame, to prosaic themes that merely cited characteristics of all workers in that career. In all, I found twelve different themes.

The three most highly cited themes suggest the most salient characteristics of good work for this population. The most frequently cited theme was working

hard/spending a lot of time in one's career – cited 25 times by seven students. Responses included "training a lot", "practicing a lot", "being committed", "stays focused", or "played for a lot of teams". The second most frequently cited theme was receiving an award or other recognition of excellence, cited 18 times by five students. Examples of this response include "winning a championship", "being an All Star", "getting medals", "becoming head of troops", "trophies from the Grammys", and "performing at Madison Square Garden". The third most highly cited theme was exemplifying a shared trait within the profession, cited 14 times by six students. These responses merely denoted what any basketball player/singer/sergeant does, not necessarily what an excellent one does that would set him or her apart. Examples of this include "exercises", "goes to the gym", "goes to the studio", "has backup singers", "wakes up early everyday", and "has uniform".

Discussion

My findings demonstrate that, in contrast to the populations usually sampled, low income youth have different perspectives on both work and the concepts of the GoodWork toolkit. Replication of The Chaves Study demonstrated how students primarily view work as means to an end, rather than a form of self-expression, self-improvement, or self-fulfillment. I believe it is difficult to be engaged in one's work unless it is either technically challenging or personally fulfilling. Many of the jobs available to my students are not technically challenging. If they do not view work as a means of personal fulfillment, then it would be extraordinarily difficult to encourage the GoodWork concept of Engagement. Taken together, the results

indicate the desirability of modifying the toolkit for use in a primarily low income class or school.

Replication of The Cook Study yielded surprisingly contradictory data. These results may have come about because my students were not engaged on that particular day, or because in general they do not spend a good deal of time thinking about or planning for their future careers in general. I suspect this result would contrast with ones obtained from average 10th grade students from a medium or high income background. I further suspect that many students from those more privileged backgrounds are already building their resumes through various afterschool jobs. In order to become technically excellent in a career, a student must not only hone skills specific to that career and see examples of excellence in that field; he or she must spend time learning how to be a worker of any sort through practice in a workplace. With respect to my students, the lack of workplace exposure, especially to work that is technically excellent, as well as the lack of planning for one's future career, poses challenges to their pursuing Excellence in their future careers.

The GoodWork toolkit data demonstrated a lack of deep engagement with the issues of work. The students did not see the value sort activity as engaging (again, as it was part of the tumultuous week 2 survey, this may have been due to the events of that week). They saw the introductory toolkit activity as engaging but had a hard time distinguishing characteristics of excellence outside of awards and recognition or spending a lot of time and effort in the field. I suspect that awards and recognition were cited because they are extrinsically generated, reminiscent of the reasons my students give for working in the first place. I suspect that spending a

lot of time and effort in the field was cited because for my students, one of the most salient remaining characteristics of a good worker after extrinsic rewards is being a high-quantity worker, rather than a high-quality worker. A dramatic paradigm shift would be needed in their understanding of work to see quality work – Ethics, Engagement, and Excellence – as equally important as quantity or extrinsically valued work.

In the wake of the 2008 financial meltdown and the continuous revelations of unethical work across many sectors that have emerged as the principal cause, record levels of mental health problems in America, and prominent examples of dysfunctional workers in our nation's main legislative body, the need for the GoodWork Toolkit is clearer than ever. Ethical work would help bridge the ever-widening income gap. Engaged work would bring more voices to solving some of our most vexing problems. Technically excellent work is required to solve those problems. The GoodWork Toolkit illuminates each of these concepts for students, putatively increasing the probability of these concepts remaining salient for the rest of their working careers. Yet if a class of students has a fundamentally different concept of work and work's purpose, the GoodWork toolkit must be introduced through a lens that makes the concepts salient and usable to those students. In the case of low income urban students, they see work as primarily extrinsically motivated, valued for quantity rather than quality, and difficult to conceptualize with any clarity. Further study is needed if we are to fashion a GoodWork toolkit that speaks to these students.

Validity/Limitations

My sample of 15 students in one neighborhood in one low-income community can scarcely be generalized to all urban low-income students of all ages in the United States. Further, because they are students I teach, there may be some bias as to how they answer the questions or how I interpret the data. Though I had students turn in their work anonymously, I did collect it from them when they finished. Students might worry that I was remembering what their handwriting looked like or hone in on some other identifier of their work. I chose to collect the assignment personally rather than have them turn it in in a stack at the front of the room or have another student collect it because I wanted to be sure each student had completed the exercise before leaving the classroom. In this way, and also in mandating that they complete the assignment (as discussed above under Methods), the requirements of my role as a teacher conflicted with my disinterestedness as a researcher.

Avenues for Future Research

I would like to examine these issues further with a larger group of students, perhaps in different cities and at different socioeconomic levels. As I mentioned, this neighborhood is the poorest in New York City and the poorest Congressional district in the country. I wonder whether the results would be the same in a school where the school just barely qualified as Title I due to higher average incomes, or in a working class neighborhood where many of the families had similar service jobs but incomes above the poverty line.

I am dissatisfied with the GoodWork toolkit results; I don't believe we captured students' attitudes towards each work value, or even their level of understanding of each work value in application to their job. We would need to redesign the week 2 protocol to be sure the students are equally engaged, perhaps by conducting one-on-one interviews and asking students to define a certain subset of the GoodWork value sort words.

Other elements of the GoodWork toolkit may need to be examined to assure that students are making the same underlying assumptions as were the creators of the toolkit. For example, the original "What is Good Work?" introductory activity asks, "A good actor is someone who..." with one of the choices being "works as a waitress in addition to auditioning for shows on Broadway". This choice may be an indicator of good work because it demonstrates that the actor would be willing to work a low-status, menial job in order to achieve his or her dreams. Yet my suspicion is that low-income students would not see "waitress" as a low-status job. In their day-to-day lives, if they are not eating at home, they are either eating at a fast food restaurant or a bodega with deli-type counter service. Fast food jobs are known to have very little flexibility in terms of rearranging one's work schedule; a counter worker must generally accept the schedule assigned to him or her that week. Bodega jobs are actually considered very time-consuming but also very financially stable jobs, as generally one family does all the work in the bodega, so all the profits stay within the family. Low-income students may therefore read "works as a waitress while auditioning for shows on Broadway" as "decides to take a time-consuming job that may cause him or her to miss auditions", a very different interpretation than the one the creators of the toolkit may have intended.

In summary, I believe the results demonstrate that students have a view of work as primarily driven by extrinsic motivation, such as earning money to survive or completing an assigned task. Our study showed 16-year-old low-income students actually do expect to get a challenging, fulfilling career. But since, according to career statistics, few of them are likely to work in those jobs, this study may not have prompted students to think about their actual work futures.

If work is merely a means to an end and not a means of self-fulfillment and self-motivation, it follows that doing excellent, ethical, and engaging work may require a paradigm shift beyond what is outlined in the GoodWork toolkit. While the students cited many of the GoodWork toolkit work values as important, they may not have been thinking deeply and critically about their likely work futures and the place of GoodWork virtues in those futures. If future studies of GoodWork are to encompass a wider population, the present findings need to be taken into account to make meaningful connections with low income, urban students and the concepts of GoodWork in their future careers.

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Appendix A - Week 1 Survey

EXIT SLIPS FOR MS. LAURA'S CLASS

What is your definition of work?

If you had all the money you could ever want, would you work?
Why/Why not?

What have you learned from your family about work?

Appendix B – Week 2 Survey**EXIT SLIPS FOR MS. LAURA'S CLASS**

Think about the job or career you would like to have in 10 years. What job is that?

How important is it to you that each of these words describes your job? In EVERY box, please write one of the following:

Y = important (It matters to you that you have a job like this.)

N = not important (You are not looking for a job like this in your future career.)

? = unclear (You are not sure what this word means in reference to a job or career.)

Broad Interests	Challenge	Courage, Risk Taking
Creating Balance in One's Life	Creativity, Pioneering (originality, imaginativeness)	Curiosity
Efficient Work Habits	Enjoyment of the Activity Itself	Faith
Fame, Success	Hard Work and Commitment	Honest and Integrity
Independence	Openness (being receptive to new ideas or multiple perspectives)	Personal Growth and Learning
Power, Influence	Professional Accomplishment	Professional Conduct
Quality (excellent, thorough, accurate, or careful work)	Recognition from One's Field	Rewarding and Supportive Relationships (with family, friends, colleagues)
Searching for Knowledge, Uncovering What is True	Self-Examination, Self-Criticism, Self-Understanding	Social Concerns (pursuing the common good, avoiding harm, caring about future generations)
Solitude, Contemplation	Spirituality	Teaching, Mentoring
Understanding, Helping, or Serving Others	Vision (anticipating future directions, seeing the big picture)	Wealth, Material Well-Being

EXIT SLIPS FOR MS. LAURA'S CLASS

If you could have any job you wanted in 10 years, what job would you really like to have?

Of all the jobs there are, what job do you think you'll probably have in 10 years?

Is there a difference between your two answers? Why or why not?

Appendix C - Week 3 Survey

EXIT SLIPS FOR MS. LAURA'S CLASS

List three things that a professional basketball player would do that would tell you he or she was good at his or her job.

List three things that a successful singer would do that would tell you he or she was good at his or her job.

List three things that a sergeant in the army would do that would tell you he or she was good at his or her job.

Appendix D – Summary of Findings

Sample Responses to Appendix A - Week 1 Survey				
Question/Response	n	Interesting Quote 1	Interesting Quote 2	Conflicting Response
What is your definition of work?	x			
The purpose of work is making money	9	"Work is something you do to make MONEY!"	"I wouldn't work because why work to get paid when you already have all the money."	Working hard, working for power, "what a person does to reach a certain goal"
Work is hard	6	"You can tell it's a job by suffering."	"Work is a place you go with people you dislike but still have to go to pay for expenses."	"ambition and dedication", "something you enjoy doing", "to learn something new"
Completing a specific assigned task	6	It's not you want to do it you need to."	"Work is something you are deligated to do to get something you want."	
Other answers	1-2	"career" or "profession", see column E	"Work is what a person does in order to reach a certain goal. Work is like a process, for which the outcome is achievement."	
negative answers	5	"suffering" "you don't want to but you need to", "has to be done", "sacrificing"		
positive answers	5	"achievement", "independent", "something you enjoy"		

Sample Responses to Appendix A - Week 1 Survey (cont'd)				
Question/Response	n	Interesting Quote 1	Interesting Quote 2	Conflicting Response
If you had all the money you could ever want, would you work? Why/why not?				
Could not accept premise of question	6	"I would work to have more I guess", "because I need extra money to send my child to college"	"I need to find a method to keep me rich while I waste some money"	
No	3	"I wouldn't work because why work to get paid when you already have all the money."	"I'll give money to people who need it." "I would help out people who don't work since I had all the money I needed."	
Maybe	1	"It would depend on if I enjoy doing the job."		
Yes	2	"Yes because alot of People who are poor try so hard to make money enough to eat or to pay there bill and Alot of people sturggle to suppor there family and it not fair for me to have all the money but do nothing"	"I would work to have a new world order. So that I could extend my power."	

Sample Responses to Appendix A - Week 1 Survey (cont'd)

Question/Response	n	Interesting Quote 1	Interesting Quote 2	Conflicting Reponses
What have you learned from your family about work?				
negative answers	5 "partial negative"	"Work is very stressful." "I learned that drug dealing and being a killer, trying to get quick money isn't worth it. So I would prefer to do what's right."	"To be successful you have to work hard and nothing comes easy and if you are successfull to help people in need." "When you work you're sacrificing many things. But the conclusion, or outcome is more important. It's all worth it in the end."	
positive answers	6	"More independent", "you have to stay comited! always go early and do your best!" "take work very seroius and aren't lazy. they cherish their jobs and like what they do."	"They enjoy there job. They also make a lot of money."	
work habits	5	"Get to work early in every morning and make sure you reached the right time and in time."		
being independent	4	"Making your own money is the best!" "To never depend on no one"	"Work it's when you already finish your school, and time for you to be more independent...having money mean your more independent."	

Summary of Responses for page 2 of Appendix B - Week 2 Survey												
Respondent	Job?	dream job	same as B?	likely job	same as C?	All 3 same?	reason?	n=	n/a	Yes	No	?
9	I don't know	IDK	yes	IDK	yes	yes	I like too many things	25	5	18	7	0
7	Game design	Game design	yes	Game design	yes	yes	Game design is something I can't see myself not doing	27	3	14	11	2
6	Pediatrician	pediatrician	yes	peditrician	yes	yes	"I can be focused and learned and have that career...that's what I want and I also think that's the job I think I probably I'm gonna have."	30	0	25	5	0
5	blank	I'm not sure	yes	I'm not sure	yes	yes	"I'm not sure"	29	1	29	0	0
4	Basketball player	basketball player	yes	basketball player or anything in business	no	no, but thinks yes	"I'm striving to be a basketball player in both answers"	29	1	16	11	2
3	???	I am not sure	yes	I am not sure	yes	yes	"I'm still not sure"	27	3	24	2	1
2	successful singer	sucessful singer	yes	teacher	no	no	"A teacher doesn't have fame but does have success"	27	3	26	1	0
1	a director making films	be a sgt in the Army	no	be in the army	yes	no	"No [difference], I will always strive and prosper"	27	3	16	11	0

Comparison Between Respondents to Appendix B – Week 2 Survey				
Value	Number Y	Number N	Number blank	Number ?
Broad Interests	2	3	3	0
Challenge	4	2	2	0
Courage, Risk Taking	5	0	3	0
Creating Balance in One's Life	6	1	0	1
Creativity, Pioneering [creating balance in one's life]	6	1	1	0
Curiosity	4	2	2	0
Efficient Work Habits	6	1	1	0
Enjoyment of the Activity Itself	8	0	0	0
Faith	6	2	0	0
Fame, Success	7	0	0	1
Hard Work and Commitment	8	0	0	0
Honesty and Integrity	7	1	0	0
Independence	6	2	0	0
Openness (being receptive to new ideas or multiple perspectives)	5	1	3	0
Personal Growth and Learning	7	1	0	0
Power, Influence	8	0	0	0
Professional Accomplishment	7	1	0	0
Professional Conduct	7	1	0	0
Quality (excellent, thorough, accurate, or careful work)	8	0	0	0
Recognition from One's Field	5	2	1	0
Rewarding and Supportive Relationships (with family, friends, colleagues)	5	2	0	1
Searching for knowledge, uncovering what is true	5	3	0	0
Self-examination, self-criticism, self-understanding	5	3	0	0
Social Concerns (pursuing the common good, avoiding harm, caring about future generations)	5	2	1	0
Solitude, Contemplation	5	1	1	1
Spirituality	3	5	0	0
Teaching, Mentoring	3	5	0	0
Understanding, Helping, or Serving Others	6	1	1	0
Vision (anticipating future directions, seeing the big picture)	5	1	1	1
Wealth, Material Well-Being	5	3	0	0

Coding of Responses for Appendix C - Week 3 Survey										
Type of response	Code	Number of respondents with this type	number of citations	Frequency for bball player	Example for bball player	frequency for singer	example for singer	frequency for sergeant	example for sergeant in the army	other profession and example
technical excellence	TE	6	11	7 times for 5 students	"good at technique", "good at defense", "have a good average"	3 times for 3 students	"good songs", "good vocals"	0	N	tattoo artist, "draw nice"
exemplifies shared trait within profession	EST	6	14	3 times for two students	"goes to the gym", "exercises"	6 times for 5 students	"sings and dances", "goes to studio", "speak loud and clear", "has back up singers"	4 times for 4 students	"wakes up early everyday", "has uniform", "prepared for hardships", "yelling a lot"	tattoo artist, "be artistic", fashion designer, "shop at good stores"
award or recognition of excellence	AoR	5	18	9 times for 4 students	"All Star", "winning a championship", "gold medal", "Hall of Fame"	5 times for 4 students	"trophies from the Grammy's", "performs at Madison Square Garden",	5 times for 3 students	"He would show me his metal that he achieve everything", "becoming head of troops"	

Type of response	Code	Number of respondents with this type	number of citations	Frequency for bball player	Example for bball player	frequency for singer	example for singer	frequency for sergeant	example for sergeant in the army	other profession and example
knowledge specific to profession	KnS	7	11	0		1 time for 1 student	"listen and know a lot of different types of music"	10 times for 7 students	"know how to shoot and the training steps", "knowing what to expect in the army when it comes to injuries", "knows a lot of the human body",	
Famous	F	2	2	0	0	2 times for two students	"she's famous", "be loved by all the people"	0		

Type of response	Code	Number of respondents with this type	number of citations	Frequency for bball player	Example for bball player	frequency for singer	example for singer	frequency for sergeant	example for sergeant in the army	other profession and example
Relate to customers well	RtC	3	6	1	"liked by people"	3 times for 3 students	"sell a lot of albums", "wears sexy clothing", "sing so beautifully that I'd cry"	0		tattoo artist, "not mess up when tattooing someone", fashion designer, "teach my teacher how to dress"
Work hard at profession/ spends a lot of time in their profession	WH/QoT	7	25	12 times for 7 students	"training a lot", "practice a lot", "played for a lot of teams" "practice every day"	7 times for 4 students	"practice their singing", "work on her vocal cord", "focus", "sings a lot"	5 times for 4 students	"a lot of commitment", "stay focused", "practices"	

Type of response	Code	Number of respondents with this type	number of citations	Frequency for bball player	Example for bball player	frequency for singer	example for singer	frequency for sergeant	example for sergeant in the army	other profession and example
Good moral character	GMC	5	8	2 times for 2 students	"they strived", "no drugs"	2 times for 2 students	"good influence"	4 times for 4 students	"disciplined", "a good influence", "great mind frame" "saves a lot of lives"	
Listen to superiors	LtS	3	4	0		0		4 times for 3 students (all planning to join military)	"in structure", "stay in your place", "obey the orders that you was told"	
Rich	R	2	3	0		3 times for 2 students	"owning a mansion", "owning an expensive car"	0		
Leadership	L	1	2	0		0		2 times for 1 student	"giving orders instead of getting them"	
Charitable commitment	C	1	1	0		1 time for 1 student	"make charities to help"	0		