Journal of Vocational Behavior **61**, 424–438 (2002)
doi:10.1006/jvbe.2002.1884

Development Through Work and Play

Paul J. Hartung

Northeastern Ohio Universities College of Medicine

Adopting a work–play framework that attends to the adaptive, self-enhancing potential of play in work and human development contributes to an enhanced conceptualization of careers, both within career theory generally and the developmental perspective on careers specifically. Such a framework also promotes investigations of the connections between these life domains. Five proposals are made to imbue the developmental perspective on careers with a work–play fusion. These proposals examine how a work–play integration in vocational development theory, research, and counseling practice can foster optimal human development and therein aim to advance a revitalized developmental paradigm of career. Ultimately, theory construction and research inquiry that comprehends and investigates an integration of life roles in the domains of work and play could foster adaptability in human life-span development. © 2002 Elsevier Science (USA)

Key Words: work and play; Super's theory; career development; life-role salience; life course; career adaptability.

. . . for the fullest human life, 'there remain these three—work, play, and love'
—Dawis, 1995, p. 137

During the landmark conference held at Michigan State University on the topic of convergence in career development theories, the late Edward Bordin opened his talk by saying something that could be construed as rather surprising to people assembled at a professional conference taking a quite serious look at the quite serious enterprises of work and career development. Professor Bordin (1992) commented:

> We're much too serious in our approach to career development. . . and we're neglecting what is important in being human, which is to be able to combine the imperatives of earning a living with the imperatives of playfulness, of expression of self, of realizing oneself.

Apparently, Bordin disagreed with Theodore Roosevelt's dictum "when you play, play hard; when you work, don't play at all." Instead, he seemed to favor English historian Arnold Toynbee's assertion that "the supreme accomplishment is to blur the line between work and play."

Bordin's (1994) perspective on theory convergence offers a useful approach to addressing the theme of this special issue of *JVB*, and one on which this article

I thank David L. Blustein for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article. Address correspondence and reprint requests to Paul J. Hartung, Department of Behavioral Sciences, Northeastern Ohio Universities College of Medicine, 4209 S.R. 44, Rootstown, OH 44272-0095. E-mail: phartung@neoucom.edu.

0001-8791/02 $35.00
© 2002 Elsevier Science (USA)
All rights reserved.

elaborates. Adopting a work–play framework such as Bordin described and investigating connections between work and play across the life course provides one way to advance the developmental paradigm in career psychology and, specifically, vocational development theory as articulated by Super (1990) and as most recently updated by Savickas (2002). Dawis (1995, p. 137) underscored this potentiality in commenting on the distinct research possibilities of examining work and play as two vital components of "the fullest human life."

Advancing Developmental Career Psychology

With the turn of the century and the dawn of a new millennium, career psychology has a unique opportunity to examine ways to innovate its paradigms and update its perspectives. The developmental paradigm in career psychology stands particularly well poised to capitalize on this opportunity. This is in large part because Donald Super, progenitor and a principal proponent of applying developmental theories to an understanding and fostering of human life–career development, established a tradition of openness and fluidity in the developmental perspective on career. Contemporary scholarly works in developmental career psychology carry on Super's legacy by creatively synthesizing models, methods, and multidisciplinary approaches to continually advance and update theory (e.g., Blustein, 2001; Richardson, 1993; Savickas, 2002).

Super (1957) long ago formulated a perspective on career development that involved a fusion of work and nonwork life roles. Despite its emphasis on multiple life roles, however, Super's developmental perspective on career, like other career theories, to date has produced a scant literature to advance our understanding of the relations between work and play or what is considered the adult form of play, leisure (see Munson & Savickas, 1998; Tinsley & Eldredge, 1995). The research program of Tinsley and his colleagues to examine and understand leisure experiences has provided the most substantial and sustained efforts in this regard (see, for example, Tinsley, Barrett, & Kass, 1977; Tinsley, Hinson, Tinsley, & Holt, 1993; Tinsley & Kass, 1980). Most recently, Tinsley and Eldredge (1995) produced a comprehensive taxonomy of leisure activities based on psychological needs. Yet, Tinsley's work has been criticized for lacking a sound theoretical foundation and conceptual integration (Borgen, 1995).

Prompted by the commentary of Dawis (1995) and the theoretical work of Bordin (1979, 1994), the present article examines the possibilities for theory and research of advancing a reciprocal relationship between work and play. It elaborates on the position articulated by Bordin and supported by Dawis that research and theory building are needed to investigate and conceptualize how integrating life roles, specifically within the domains of work and play, can foster adaptability in human development. Ultimately, the present analysis aims to advance the developmental paradigm in career psychology by moving us closer to the goal of conceptualizing and emphasizing human development in terms of work and nonwork roles rather than emphasizing career development (Richardson, 1993, 2001). In so doing, it underscores Richardson's thesis that an emphasis on work and nonwork roles,

rather than on careers, is more sensitive to, inclusive of, and meaningful for the broad diversity of people across racial, ethnic, class, gender, and other lines.

Herein are offered five proposals for extending the notion of a work–play fusion to the developmental perspective on careers. This special issue deals with enriching the developmental paradigm to better account for the complexities of 21st-century life including demographic, social, cultural, economic, and myriad other changes. Therefore, in articulating these five proposals, it is important to first address a concern expressed elsewhere about the relevance of a work–play perspective for a culturally and socioeconomically diverse work force (Osipow, 1994). This concern, derived in part from a sagging economy in the early 1990s, suggested that a work–play framework seems applicable only to "upper-level, affluent, highly educated worker[s]" (Osipow, 1994, p. 219). Economic growths and downturns in the intervening years since the early 1990s aside, such a criticism certainly holds validity if we interpret a work–play fusion as a privilege reserved for the upper classes of society. If, however, we conceive of play like Richardson (1993) suggested we conceive of work, as a fundamental human activity, then a work–play integration is something that holds meaning potentially for all people. This latter position operates on the perspective that (a) all people play or, at least, have the potential to engage in some form of play, (b) play represents a universal dimension of human activity that transcends cultural and socioeconomic boundaries (see Landreth, 1993; Schaefer, 1993a), and (c) people can bring playfulness to whatever work it is in which they find themselves engaged.

Requisite to the full advancement of a work–play fusion, then, is research and theory development that examines and comprehends play experiences across the broad spectrum of workers representing the full array of racial, ethnic, class, and other social structures. Each of the following five propositions is made with sensitivity to the fact that vocational psychology must strive for sociocultural inclusiveness and equity. This assertion is supported by Bordin's (1994) original work that commented on how institutional racism and social stereotyping can complicate the work–play fusion process for minorities and women who have experienced directly these injustices. Consequently, vocational theory, research, and counseling practice must remain sensitive to differences in how individuals experience and conceive of work and play based on their unique life contexts and worldviews. Later sections of this article reiterate and reinforce this crucial point.

Proposition 1: Fuse Work and Play Conceptually over the Life Course

Prompted by Bordin's perspective on vocational development, the first proposal suggests capitalizing on the notion of a work–play fusion to better comprehend the adaptive, self-enhancing potential of play in work and human development (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Schaefer, 1993b). Vocational research and theory building that investigates and incorporates play as a vital component of development considers how play contributes or relates to, for example, occupational self-concept development, career exploration, and career development. In a study of leisure and college student career development, Munson and Savickas (1998)

TABLE 1
Common Construals of Work and Play in Psychological and Sociological Literatures

Work	Play
Purposeful	Aimless
Serious	Light-hearted
Compulsory	Voluntary
Deliberate	Spontaneous
Effective	Affective
Product oriented	Process oriented
Other-determined	Self-determined
Extrinsically motivated	Intrinsically motivated
Toilsome	Pleasurable
Heightens awareness of time and place	Muffles awareness of time and place

provided a needed and fruitful step in this regard. Their findings indicated that career development relates to both agentic leisure attitudes and leisure-role salience. College students in their study who perceived themselves as effective, competent, and in control of their leisure experiences had greater clarity of vocational goals, interests, and talents. Students in the study who reported more leisure-role commitment also showed more highly developed career exploration attitudes and decision-making competence.

Viewing work and play as psychological, sociological, and cultural constructs provides a context for revitalizing the developmental paradigm and research on careers by incorporating a work–play fusion. In the United States, we typically construe work and play as antithetical and dichotomous activities, as echoed in President Roosevelt's admonishment. Table 1 presents common descriptions of and meanings assigned to work and play gleaned from psychological and sociological literatures. In the traditional sense, work involves purposeful, serious, compulsory, goal-oriented activity aimed at making products and emphasizing outcomes (Dandridge, 1986). Play, in contrast, involves spontaneous, light-hearted, freely chosen, largely aimless activity emphasizing process (Schaefer, 1993a). Play often denotes pleasure, delight, fun, and freedom, whereas work frequently means toil, labor, monotony, and exertion. The engrossing nature of play muffles awareness of time and place (Schaefer, 1993a). Work could be said to heighten such awareness. Continuing the dichotomy, work is largely conceived of as rational and effective, whereas play is emotional and affective.

A study of work and leisure experiences by Tinsley and his colleagues (1993) offers further insight into contrasts between individuals' perceptions of work and play. In their research, Tinsley and his colleagues content analyzed essays written by 238 primarily white, single, female college students and 66 predominantly white, married, female noncollege adults about their most memorable leisure experiences and most meaningful commonly occurring leisure and work experiences. Leisure experiences were most frequently characterized as providing enjoyment (i.e., intrinsic satisfaction), companionship, novelty, relaxation, aesthetic

appreciation, and intimacy. Conversely, work was most frequently described as providing extrinsic rewards, accomplishment, learning, and altruism. Although these findings support typical distinctions between construals of work and play, additional research is needed to determine whether such distinctions would result in samples representing a broader diversity of demographic groups.

Scholarly analyses of work and play often contrast these constructs by discussing how individuals perceive that they *have* to work and they *want* to play (Bordin, 1979, 1994; Dandridge, 1986; Maslow, 1971; Schaefer, 1993a). Phrased another way, it could be said generally that people work to live and live to play. Such a discourse extends construals of work and play into a motivational theoretical context. Motivational theory provides a scheme for conceptualizing work and play in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic needs (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Deci and Ryan (1985) described play as an intrinsically motivated process closely linked to exploratory behavior, identified intrinsic motivation and self-determination as the hallmarks of play, and stated that "if it is not self-determined, it is not play" (p. 122). Analyzing psychological perspectives on play, Sutton-Smith (1997) similarly concluded that "a feature that is almost unanimously acknowledged to be the hallmark of play is that it is intrinsically motivated" (p. 188). In a psychological frame, then, play behavior is typically linked with intrinsic, self-determined strivings to do whatever naturally motivates the individual. Conversely, we typically associate work with extrinsic, other-determined motivations prompted by sociocultural expectations. Despite these typical construals, we can also conceptualize significant roles for intrinsic motivation in work and extrinsic motivation in play. Consider the individual who approaches work passionately prompted only by the inherent enjoyment it provides or engages in play activities motivated only by the need to satisfy family expectations.

Leisure, often construed as the adult form of play, retains many of the characteristics of play, yet may be conceived of as something very different and, like work, more structured, institutionalized, and linked to extrinsic motivations (see, for example, Deci & Ryan's (1985) discussion of sports). Linguistic and practical connections between work and leisure were well implied in Benjamin Franklin's advice to "employ thy time well if thou meanest to get leisure." Chick and Barnett (1995) proposed a definition of leisure as socialized play, or a form of play in which adults have been socialized to engage when they are not working. Interestingly, a perusal of the definitions of play and leisure in the *Oxford English Dictionary* supports such a distinction between these constructs in terms of their relationship to work—leisure denoting freedom, respite, or opportunity to disconnect from occupational life and play denoting active engagement or employment in some endeavor, in full action or operation, in fact, similar in definition to working. Rather than dichotomized from work, by definition play is integrally linked to work and working. Both work and play denote an action orientation.

Bordin (1979, 1994) theorized that the intrinsically motivating nature of play yields spontaneity which he described as one of three primary elements of human behavior. He contrasted this with compulsion—behavior consequent to extrinsic

motivation that often accompanies work. A third behavioral element, effort, involves skill, knowledge, and task mastery. In Bordin's (1979) words, "play epitomizes freedom and spontaneity and work entails effort and compulsion" (p. 6).

Pointing out the limitations of emphasizing the subjective motivational self relative to play, anthropological and historical analyses indicate that play may quite often derive from extrinsic rather than intrinsic needs (Sutton-Smith, 1997). Cultural, social, and familial pressures may make play "obligatory rather than optional" (p. 197). Bordin (1994) gave example of "obligatory play" when he described how "the child driven to practice a musical instrument by an ambitious parent complains of drudgery" (p. 55). Such a scenario contrasts with how we typically conceive of play in U.S. society as spontaneous, intrinsically motivated, and freely chosen activity. Regardless of its motives, however, the urge to play is universal (Landreth, 1993) and therefore offers a viable variable for cross-cultural studies of vocational behavior and for career counseling and development in diverse societies.

Recognizing a work–play dichotomy as detrimental to a thorough understanding of each construct, many scholars have advanced a melding of work and play (e.g., Bordin, 1979, 1994; Dandridge, 1986; Furman, 1997). Bordin (1979) urged vocational theorists and researchers over 20 years ago to conceptually link these constructs and examine how individuals manage a work–play fusion over the life course. Empirical inquiries in the form of that conducted by Moen and Sweet (this issue) may provide a useful framework for conducting such developmentally based research. Dandridge (1986) provided a compelling argument also for fusing work and play in his analysis of ceremony in organizations. Such a fusion makes sense given the complex interaction of work and play and cross-cultural studies indicating that people hold diverse beliefs about what work and play comprise. An element of a work–play fusion was further captured by Gruber (1995), writing in an edited text on sociocultural psychology, who stated:

> We can divide people into those who love their work and those who do not. Among the former there are many who would like to work as many hours in the week and as many years in the life as possible. Among those who do not like their work there are many who are willing to hold down a job, but who can also dream of an Edenic windfall liberating them from work. They say, in effect, 'If I won the lottery I would quit my job' (p. 385).

Questions about the veracity of Gruber's assessment aside, his statement points out that when work and play are experienced as discontinuous or fragmented, individuals seek to escape the former because it lacks qualities of the latter. In their escape, they unwittingly perpetuate a perceived dichotomy between work and play. Social institutions, the occupational structure, organizations, and workplaces often further perpetuate a work–play discontinuity through their ascribed policies and practices. Both these person-based and environment-based inhibitions must be analyzed, challenged, and resolved equitably to optimally promote a work–play fusion.

The seemingly reasonable and intriguing notion of integrating work and play presents a paradox for career development and vocational psychology, particularly

in the United States. This paradox likely contributes to the tradition of dichotomizing work and play and has inhibited the field from seriously considering play as a component of work and career development. That is because career psychology, largely reflecting the predominant cultural orientation of U.S. society, has long prized and retained as fundamental values an orientation to the future over the present, rationality and reason in career decision making over intuition, puttering, and serendipity, and goal-oriented activity over activities in service of intrinsic satisfaction with no goal in mind (Krumboltz, 1998; Phillips, 1997).

Recent scholarly efforts are beginning to challenge and shift these emphases to better account for the value of converging traditional and innovative perspectives on vocational development that parallels a work–play fusion (e.g., Hartung & Blustein, 2002; Phillips, 1994, 1997; Savickas, 2002). Such efforts recognize that "the strength of the paradox of play in work is dependent on the extent to which we maintain the work/play dichotomy" (Dandridge, 1986, p. 159). We can weaken this paradox by reconceptualizing work and play as continuous components rather than dichotomous fragments of human life.

Proposition 2: Imbue Developmental Career Theory with a Work–Play Fusion

Bordin (1992) set out to converge a work–play fusion with Super's (1990) life-span, life-space conceptualization of career choice, adjustment, and development. Using a work–play framework to elaborate vocational development theory supports Bordin's goal, which seems particularly worthy given that, as Bordin recognized and other scholars have recently noted, career theory, research, and practice have afforded the role of play in career development and vocational behavior little attention (Dawis, 1995; Munson & Savickas, 1998; Tinsley & Eldredge, 1995). Initial efforts to achieve this goal would benefit from the substantial research and theorizing by scholars outside the career development and vocational psychology arena suggesting that integrating work and play can optimize human development (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Dandridge, 1986; Furman, 1997; Maslow, 1971; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000).

Renewed emphases within psychology on optimal human functioning, happiness, and human potential spurred by the contemporary positive psychology movement (see Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000) give further impetus to examining work and play within a developmental career paradigm. One could very well argue that the developmental perspective on career has always operated on and advanced the fundamental tenets of a positive psychology. Incorporating a work–play fusion in vocational developmental theory, then, offers a conceptual frame for research to examine how such a fusion influences individual development over the life course and for practice to assist people to strike an optimal balance of these activities in their lives.

Vocational development theory (Super et al., 1996) and its most recent expansion known as career construction (Savickas, 2002) epitomize the developmental paradigm in vocational psychology as it has evolved over the latter half of the 20th century and into the 21st century. The developmental approach to career seems

especially well-suited to incorporate a work–play fusion given its advancement of Super's legacy of theory synthesis (Herr, 1997). Refinement of vocational development theory has designated adaptability as its paramount unifying construct (Blustein, 1997; Savickas, 1997; Savickas, 2002). Research indicates links between playful adaptability in children and characteristics such as spontaneity, creativity, joyfulness, and sense of humor (Lieberman, 1965) as well as competence and ego resilience (Earls, Beardslee, & Garrison, 1987). Theoretical refinements and empirical findings such as these point to play as a potential factor affecting career adaptability across career development theory, life-role theory, and developmental self-concept theory, which correspond to the three major aspects of life-span, life-space theory (Savickas, 1997). One potentially fruitful means of applying a work–play fusion to vocational development, then, would be to examine play relative to each of the three aspects of life-span, life-space theory. Propositions 3–6 explore these relationships in greater detail.

Proposition 3: Study Work and Play across the Life-Span

As a third possibility for developmental career theory innovation, research investigations can be conducted to examine play in terms of the career development segment of the life-span, life-space approach (Super et al., 1996) and career construction theory (Savickas, 2002). This could involve researching play as a motivational attitude or a specific form of developmental adaptation over the life course (Sutton-Smith, 1997). In this vein, play could be used to elaborate on the notion of adaptability as the central construct to characterize career development (Blustein, 1997; Savickas, 1997). To advance this proposition, research could, for example, examine how play might foster or inhibit career adaptability across the developmental stages of growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance or management, and disengagement (Savickas, 2002; Super et al., 1996). Career researchers and practitioners have typically considered play to be most important and influential during childhood and the period preceding and including the growth stage, when initial identity formation is thought to occur. Research would serve the field well by conceiving of and investigating play as an adaptive mechanism in adulthood and beyond, as well as an important aspect of life-role transitions and developmental mini-cycles across the life span (Super et al., 1996).

Inquiry into work and play using a developmental–contextual framework (Vondracek, Lerner, & Schulenberg, 1986) might further aid research in this regard. The developmental–contextual approach extends existing stage models of career development by attending to the dynamic flux of socioeconomic and cultural conditions affecting human development in all its forms. Conceptualizing and investigating work and play within the developmental–contextual model has the potential for clarifying our understanding of how individuals develop through work and play in a variety of life contexts and fluctuating life circumstances.

Attending to play in human development over the life course dismisses the notion that children play and adults work. Segregating work and play creates, as Furman (1997) noted, "a division that . . . impoverish[es] the lives of both age groups. The

child's play and work may be simpler, the adult's more sophisticated, but all of us need to play and work and are enriched by doing so" (p. 4). Put differently, "play is as much a need of the [adult's] nature as of the [child's], and if work is to keep its freshness of interest, its spontaneity, and its productiveness, it must retain the characteristics of play" (Mabie, 1898, p. 174). This notion prompts important questions for life-span developmental research such as the following: How do people across the broad spectrum of ethnic, racial, social class, gender, and other lines use, experience, or engage in play as they enter, adapt through, and develop in the work role? How might individuals use play to cope with and ultimately resolve issues of stagnation, indecision, maladjustment, and dissatisfaction across the life-span and within changing economic, social, family, and other circumstances?

Sutton-Smith (1997) concluded from his analysis of diverse perspectives on play proffered by academic disciplines ranging from biology to sociology that adaptation may or may not be the main function of play. As one possibility, he argued that play may be better characterized as providing or entailing a motivational attitude and a state of well-being. He suggested that it might be the case that play serves an intrinsic adaptive function by contributing to an individual's sense of well-being rather than as a mechanism for extrinsic forms of survival. Developmental studies of how the diverse array of people experience and deal with the cultural imperatives of work and play over the life-span could be useful in this regard to determine the extent to which play relates to career adaptability.

Proposition 4: Investigate Work and Play within the Life Space

Contemporary perspectives on vocational psychology (e.g., Blustein, 1997; Cook, 1994; Phillips, 1997; Savickas, 1997, 2002; Vondracek et al., 1986), life-span psychology (Baltes, Staudinger, & Lindenberger, 1999; Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999), and life course sociology (Elder, 1995; Han & Moen, 1999) advance multiple-role, contextual, and sociocultural conceptualizations of human development. In this regard, vocational pychology can follow Bordin's (1979, 1994) lead and delve further into theory building, research inquiry, and counseling practice that comprehends, investigates, and attends to the potentially adaptive function of play in human development over the life course and specifically as a means of adapting to work and the work role. As Bordin (1979) argued, we need to attend to "the psychological aspects of fusing work and play. . . (and) examine working playfully and playfully working" (p. 5).

Ultimately, work and play could be better articulated as complementary rather than conflictual contexts for human development. Moving from a role-conflict perspective to a role-integration perspective on work and play is suggested by life course sociological theory and research that views life roles as interdependent and interlocking (Elder, 1995; Han & Moen, 1999) and by a substantial body of the work–family literature (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999). Doing so shifts the prevailing focus of research and theory from perceiving activities in life domains of work, play, family, and relationships as competing and contentious to perceiving

activities in these domains as complementary and convergent (see also Blustein, 2001; Blustein, Farma, White, et al., 2001).

Bordin (1992) contended that career psychology has neglected aspects of life that give meaning to being human. This neglect, he argued, results from inattention to the potential of a work–play fusion as a means of promoting optimization in human development (see Baltes, 1997). Bordin's argument strikes a sonorous chord with a central theme of the contemporary vocational psychology literature, which concerns infusing the developmental career paradigm with a human development perspective. For developmental career psychology this means, as Richardson (1993) so cogently asserted, deemphasizing theory, research, and practice concerned with *career* development and emphasizing science and practice concerned with comprehending and cultivating *human* development as lived, experienced, and evolved in a variety of life contexts. The developmental–contextual approach to life-span career development of Vondracek et al. (1986) again offers a potentially useful dynamic framework for theory-building and research inquiry in this regard. This is because developmental–contextualism "places career development squarely within the domain of human development" (Vondracek & Fouad, 1994, p. 211) rather than separating career development from the whole of human experience and situating it within a distinct and isolated life domain.

A shift from a career development focus to a human development focus, as proposed by Vondracek et al. (1986) and advanced by Richardson (1993), fundamentally prizes rather than neglects individual and cultural differences in the construal and salience of various life roles for human development. This shift is also amiable to the developmental paradigm within vocational psychology, which has long recognized that career development involves multiple social roles in varying socioeconomic, historical, and cultural contexts (Gottfredson, 1996; Super et al., 1996; Vondracek et al., 1986). Despite the fact that most researchers and practitioners adopt this orientation, developmental career research and practice has largely equated career development with work–role development and has failed to adequately recognize or acknowledge that the roots of career development include childhood play, which may thus have an impact throughout life. As one adage maintains: we do not stop playing because we are old; we grow old because we stop playing. Innovating the developmental perspective on career, then, also means attending to and conceptualizing how people develop through work and play in manifold contexts and in multiple social roles across the life span.

Proposition 5: Consider a Work–Play Fusion in Self-Concept Development

The fifth proposal is for research to examine the interaction of work and play in self-concept and identity development. In this regard, it may be productive to investigate to what extent play influences occupational self-concept development (Super, 1990), career and life theme (Savickas, 1995, 2002), and development of vocational personality type as articulated, for example, in Holland's (1997) RIASEC model. Research could advance our knowledge of how play helps the individual to answer the question of "who am I?" (Blustein, 1994). Developmental

career psychology could reap the benefits of theory building, research investigations, and counseling practice that incorporate and capitalize on play as a human activity that allows individuals to explore possibilities for the future optimistically as they develop their self-concepts and design their lives in terms of work, occupation, and retirement (see Bordin, 1979; Sutton-Smith, 1997, pp. 186–187). For, as Landreth (1993) commented, through play in childhood we express our emotions and thoughts, rehearse behaviors, exert our will, and progress through developmental stages. "Everything the child is, does and becomes may at one time or another be demonstrated through play" (Landreth, 1993, p. 45).

Play as a means of projecting one's future self is not a new idea. Over 100 years ago in his book *Essays on Work and Culture*, Hamilton Wright Mabie (1898) discussed how the plays of the child contain the germ of the whole life that is to follow and asserted that individuals develop and manifest themselves in play. Through their earliest plays in childhood, individuals construct possible future selves replete with their hopes and dreams and imagine themselves in various social roles (Mead, 1932). Mabie's argument can be advanced by contending that this self-construction process continues into adulthood. From a developmental perspective, success in this process may well depend on the extent to which individuals achieve and sustain effective levels of career adaptability defined as "the readiness to cope with the predictable tasks of preparing for and participating in the work role and with the unpredictable adjustments prompted by changes in work and working conditions" (Savickas, 1997, p. 254). As noted heretofore, it would be an interesting and worthwhile endeavor to examine how play might relate or contribute to career adaptability. Do people who successfully fuse work and play and who balance their work endeavors with sustained playful attitudes, behaviors, and lifestyles over the life course, for example, develop greater flexibility and openness to constructing new dreams and hopes and visions (i.e., greater career adaptability) based on the changing contexts of their lives at different points in time?

Sutton-Smith (1997) considered the notion of play as hope using an anecdote from play psychologist Brian Vandenberg who described the case of a four-year-old child who "frequently pretends that she is a cheerleader. She dances, jumps, and twirls in youthful imitation of her older heroines" (Vandenberg cited in Sutton-Smith, 1997, p. 187). Looking beyond the child's behavior as simply role rehearsal and skill development, Vandenberg suggested a deeper interpretation that takes account of the fact that the child chose cheerleading from all possible roles because her mother was a cheerleader and had discussed this with her daughter. In this case, the daughter "is attempting to construct a possible future for herself as she plays with the meanings of maturity and adulthood that have been presented to her by her mother" (Vandenberg cited in Sutton-Smith, 1997, p. 187). Scholars have asserted that sustaining and drawing from such playfulness throughout life promotes healthy development and self-discovery (Bettelheim, 1987). Yet vocational psychology has not substantially explored how play might relate or contribute to vocational identity and occupational self-concept development in childhood and across the life span. Longitudinal studies that investigate individuals' play experiences relative to their developing self-concepts would be helpful in this regard.

CONCLUSION

Epitomized by vocational development theory (Super et al., 1996) and elaborated on by developmental–contextualism (Vondracek et al., 1986) and career construction (Savickas, 2002), the developmental paradigm has established a foothold in career psychology as it has evolved over the latter half of the 20th century. To maintain this position into the 21st century, proponents of the developmental perspective on work and career must adapt the model to more fully comprehend demographic, social, cultural, economic, and myriad other changes in contemporary life. A work–play framework that attends to the adaptive, self-enhancing potential of play in work and human development can contribute to an enhanced conceptualization of careers both within developmental theory generally and the life-span, life-space approach specifically. Comprehending and suggesting how we might enrich theory, research, and practice to optimize human development in one sense through integrating work and play may well contribute to a revitalized developmental paradigm for the field of vocational psychology as it moves forward in this new century.

The artist Pablo Picasso is quoted as once having said: "Every child is an artist. The problem is how to remain an artist once he [*sic*] grows up." Interpreting "artist" not as a specific occupation but in terms of its broader meaning of master, genius, or one who follows any pursuit or employment in which skill or proficiency is attainable, enables an appreciation of the art of self-construction over the life course through a fusion of play and work, of balancing intrinsic needs and external demands. The problem Picasso raises and the prospects for its resolution may well involve reconceptualizing career development, in part, as human development that encompasses a fusion between work and play. For the developmental paradigm in career psychology this means advancing theory, research, and counseling practice concerned with how individuals develop and sustain their playful attitudes across the life-span as they shape, elaborate on, and reconfigure their self-concepts relative to their current and future lives as workers, students, family members, and individuals in their communities (Bordin, 1994).

Success in this task may involve setting the foundation for helping individuals to fuse their playfulness (intrinsic needs) with their skill and knowledge mastery (efforts) to meet social and cultural expectations (extrinsic needs). Vocational theory and counseling practice might then be equipped to assist individuals to practically blur the line between work and play in their lives and more accurately conceptualize and fully comprehend human development as it happens through these two aspects of what Dawis (1995) described as the fullest human life.

REFERENCES

Baltes, P. B. (1997). On the incomplete architecture of human ontogeny: Selection, optimization, and compensation as foundation of developmental theory. *American Psychologist,* **52,** 366–380.

Baltes, P. B., Staudinger, U. M., & Lindenberger, U. (1999). Lifespan psychology: Theory and application to intellectual functioning. *Annual Review of Psychology,* **50,** 471–507.

Bettelheim, B. (1987). *A good enough parent.* New York: Vintage.

Blustein, D. L. (1994). Who am I: The question of self and identity in career development. In M. L. Savickas & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Convergence in career development theories: Implications for science and practice* (pp. 139–154). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Blustein, D. L. (1997). A context-rich perspective of career exploration across the life roles. *Career Development Quarterly,* **45,** 260–274.

Blustein, D. L. (2001). The interface of work and relationships: Critical knowledge for 21st century psychology. *The Counseling Psychologist,* **29,** 179–192.

Blustein, D. L., Farma, L. D., White, S. F., *et al.* (2001). Qualitative analysis of counseling case material: Listening to our clients. *The Counseling Psychologist,* **29,** 240–258.

Bordin, E. S. (1979). Fusing work and play: A challenge to theory and research. *Academic Psychology Bulletin,* **1,** 5–9.

Bordin, E. S. (1992, April). *The richness of divergence within convergence.* Paper presented at the conference Convergence in Career Development Theories: Implications for Science and Practice, East Lansing, MI.

Bordin, E. S. (1994). Intrinsic motivation and the active self: Convergence from a psychodynamic perspective. In M. L. Savickas & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Convergence in career development theories: Implications for science and practice* (pp. 53–61). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Borgen, F. H. (1995). The benefits of working hard on leisure: Comment on Tinsley and Eldredge. *Journal of Counseling Psychology,* **42,** 133–135.

Chick, G., & Barnett, L. A. (1995). Children's play and adult leisure. In A. D. Pellegrini (Ed.), *The future of play theory: A multidisciplinary inquiry into the contributions of Brian Sutton-Smith* (pp. 45–69). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Cook, E. P. (1994). Role salience and multiple roles: A gender perspective. *Career Development Quarterly,* **43,** 85–95.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1990). *Flow: The psychology of optimal experience.* New York: Harper and Row.

Dandridge, T. C. (1986). Ceremony as an integration of work and play. *Organization Studies,* **7,** 159–170.

Dawis, R. V. (1995). For the love of working on play: Comment on Tinsley and Eldredge (1995). *Journal of Counseling Psychology,* **42,** 136–137.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior.* New York: Plenum.

Earls, F., Beardslee, W., & Garrison, W. (1987). Correlates and predictors of competence in young children. In E. J. Anthony and B. J. Cohler (Eds.), *The invulnerable child* (pp. 70–83). New York: Guilford Press.

Elder, G. H. (1995). The life course paradigm: Social change and individual development. In P. Moen, G. H. Elder, & K. Luscher (Eds.), *Examining lives in context: Perspectives on the ecology of human development* (pp. 101–139). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

Furman, E. (1997). Child's work: Developmental aspects of the capacity to work and enjoy it. In C. Socarides & S. Kramer (Eds.), *Work and its inhibitions: Psychoanalytic essays* (pp. 3–17). Madison, CT: International Universities Press, Inc.

Gottfredson, L. S. (1996). Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise. In D. Brown & L. Brooks (Eds.), *Career choice and development: Applying contemporary theories to practice* (3rd ed., pp. 179–232). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Greenhaus, J. H., & Parasuraman, S. (1999). Research on work, family, and gender: Current status and future directions. In G. N. Powell (Ed.), *Handbook of gender and work* (pp. 391–412). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gruber, H. E. (1995). Visionary realism, lifespan discretionary time, and the evolving role of work. In L. M. W. Marting, K. Nelson, & E. Tobach (Eds.), *Sociocultural psychology: Theory and practice of doing and knowing* (pp. 383–404). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Han, S. K., & Moen, P. (1999). Work and family over time: A life course approach. In M. Pitt-Catsouphes & B. K. Googins (Eds.), *The evolving world of work and family: New stakeholders, new voices*: Vol. 562. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (pp. 98–110). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hartung, P. J., & Blustein, D. L. (2002). Reason, intuition, and social justice: Elaborating Parsons's career decision-making model. *Journal of Counseling and Development,* **80,** 41–47.

Herr, E. L. (1997). Super's life-span, life-space approach and its outlook for refinement. *Career Development Quarterly,* **45,** 238–246.

Holland, J. L. (1997). *Making vocational choices* (3rd ed.). Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.

Krumboltz, J. D. (1998). Serendipity is not serendipitous. *Journal of Counseling Psychology,* **45,** 390–392.

Landreth, G. L. (1993). Self-expressive communication. In C. E. Schaefer (Ed.), *The therapeutic powers of play* (pp. 41–63). Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson.

Lieberman, J. (1965). Playfulness and divergent thinking: An investigation of their relationship at the kindergarten level. *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* **107,** 219–224.

Mabie, H. W. (1898). *Essays on work and culture.* New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company.

Maslow, A. H. (1971). *The farther reaches of human nature.* New York: The Viking Press.

Mead, G. H. (1932). *Mind, self, and society.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Moen, P., & Sweet, S. (this issue). Two careers, one employer: Couples working for the same corporation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*.

Munson, W. W., & Savickas, M. L. (1998). Relation between leisure and career development of college students. *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* **53,** 243–253.

Osipow, S. H. (1994). Moving career theory into the twenty-first century. In M. L. Savickas & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Convergence in career development theories: Implications for science and practice* (pp. 217–224). Palo Alto, CA: Davies-Black.

Phillips, S. D. (1994). Choice and change: Convergence from the decision-making perspective. In M. L. Savickas & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Convergence in career development theories: Implications for science and practice* (pp. 155–163). Palo Alto, CA: Davies-Black.

Phillips, S. D. (1997). Toward an expanded definition of adaptive decision making. *Career Development Quarterly,* **45,** 275–287.

Richardson, M. S. (1993). Work in people's lives: A location for counseling psychologists. *Journal of Counseling Psychology,* **40,** 425–433.

Richardson, M. S. (2001). New perspectives for counseling psychologists. *The Counseling Psychologist,* **29,** 271–278.

Savickas, M. L. (1995). Constructivist counseling for career indecision. *Career Development Quarterly,* **4,** 363–373.

Savickas, M. L. (1997). Career adaptability: An integrative construct for life-span, life-space theory. *Career Development Quarterly,* **45,** 247–259.

Savickas, M. L. (2002). Career construction: A developmental theory of vocational behavior. In D. Brown (Ed.), *Career choice and development* (4th edition) (pp. 149–205). San Francisco, CA: Jossey–Bass.

Schaefer, C. E. (Ed.) (1993a). What is play and why is it therapeutic? In C. E. Schaefer (Ed.), *The therapeutic powers of play* (pp. 1–17). Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson.

Schaefer, C. E. (Ed.) (1993b). *The therapeutic powers of play.* Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson.

Seligman, M. E. P., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2000). Positive psychology: An introduction. *American Psychologist,* **55,** 5–14.

Smith, B. S. (1997). *The ambiguity of play.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Super, D. E. (1957). *The psychology of careers.* New York: Harper and Row.

Super, D. E. (1990). A life-span, life-space approach to career development. In D. Brown, L. Brooks, & Associates (Eds.), *Career choice and development* (2nd ed., pp. 197–261). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Super, D. E. (1994). A life span, life space perspective on convergence. In M. L. Savickas & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Convergence in career development theories: Implications for science and practice* (pp. 53–61). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Super D. E., Savickas, M. L., & Super, C. M. (1996). The life-span, life-space approach to careers. In D. Brown & L. Brooks (Eds.), *Career choice and development: Applying contemporary theories to practice* (3rd ed., pp. 121–178). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Tinsley, H. E. A., Barrett, T. C., & Kass, R. A. (1977). Leisure activities and need satisfaction. *Journal of Leisure Research,* **9,** 110–120.

Tinsley, H. E. A., & Eldredge, B. D. (1995). Psychological benefits of leisure participation: A taxonomy of leisure activities based on their need-gratifying properties. *Journal of Counseling Psychology,* **42,** 123–132.

Tinsley, H. E. A., Hinson, J. A., Tinsley, D. J., & Holt, M. S. (1993). Attributes of leisure and work experiences. *Journal of Counseling Psychology,* **40,** 447–455.

Tinsley, H. E. A., & Kass, R. A. (1980). Discriminant validity of the Leisure Activity Questionnaire and the Paragraphs About Leisure. *Educational & Psychological Measurement,* **40,** 227–233.

Vondracek, F. W., & Fouad, N. A. (1994). Developmental contextualism: An integrative framework for theory and practice. In M. L. Savickas & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Convergence in career development theories: Implications for science and practice* (pp. 207–214). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Vondracek, F. W., Lerner, R. M., & Schulenberg, J. E. (1986). *Career development: A life-span developmental approach.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Received: February 12, 2002