

JOB OUTLOOK FOR 2014 GRADS PUZZLING

Hadley Malcolm

Dear Class of 2014: We regret to inform you that the nation's job market continues to force college graduates to take jobs they're overqualified for, jobs outside their major, and generally delay their career to the detriment of at least a decade's worth of unearned wages. Good luck on your continued job search.

A job rejection letter to this year's graduates, who are now supposed to be starting their first truly independent adult years, might as well go something like that.

The latest jobs report for April gave grads a puzzling picture. Employers added the most jobs in more than two years, 288,000. Unemployment dropped from 6.7% to 6.3%, the first time it was that low since September 2008. Young adults still face higher unemployment, but the rate for 25-29 year-olds fell from 7.5% in March to 6.9%. The unemployment rate for those 20-24 dropped from 12.2% to 10.6%.

Still, the portion of Americans 25-34 who were working in April fell to a five-month low of 75.5%, down from 75.9% in March.

"The entire drop (in unemployment) was due to people dropping out of the labor force, in particular young people," says Heidi Shierholz, a labor market economist who writes an annual report on the state of employment for young adults for Economic Policy Institute.

And despite the number of jobs added last month, Shierholz calls the gradual improvement "agonizingly slow."

Seniors who graduate over the next several weeks are poised to be yet another product of a depressing economic cycle that isn't their fault, but that they may never fully recover from. They and other recent graduating classes entered college and subsequently the labor market amidst a panoply of converging circumstances that will inevitably set them back: rising tuition, their parents' decreasing ability to pay that tuition, fewer jobs after graduation, and lower wages for the jobs that are available.

In Shierholz's paper on this year's graduates, released early this month, she and her colleagues write that "the Class of 2014 will be the sixth consecutive graduating class to enter the labor market during a period of profound weakness."

'Never been this bad'

(High unemployment for young adults during and after recessions is not a new phenomenon) Bureau of Labor Statistics data compiled by EPI show that the unemployment rate for those under 25 is typically at least twice the national average, because they are so new to the job market, lack experience, and may be the first let go when a company has to downsize in hard economic times. Still, previous generations didn't experience the fallout as harshly or for nearly as long as the current one, Shierholz says.

Support w/ claims

- 10 "It's never been this bad," she says. "How long we've had elevated unemployment is unprecedented."

* optimistic

That hasn't dampened students' spirits at least. A majority, or 84%, of this year's graduating class expects to find a job in their chosen field, according to an employment survey released this month by consulting firm Accenture.

That seems to align with attitudes on campuses. Lisa Severy, director of career services at University of Colorado Boulder, says this year's class is less anxious than past year's graduates about their job prospects, and has been more eager to attend career events.

"They seem more excited, hopeful, and enthusiastic," she says.

Their optimism may only be slightly warranted. A survey on recruitment trends by the Collegiate Employment Research Institute at Michigan State University finds hiring for bachelor's degrees this year is up 7%. That's relatively in line with increases in previous years though. The research institute calls the 3% overall growth in the college labor market "modest."

- 15 And many employers continue to seek students whose skills tend to be in high demand no matter what: business, engineering, and accounting majors.

Madison Piercy, a senior double majoring in electrical engineering and computer science at Boulder, had her fair share of suitors this year. The 21 year-old was pursued by Intel, Microsoft, and Noble Energy before accepting a position at MIT Lincoln Laboratory, a federally funded research center at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

But most grads aren't in Piercy's position.

In the two years since Rebecca Mersiowsky graduated from Radford University in Radford, Va., she's worked at a beach club on Martha's Vineyard, as a substitute teacher in Fredericksburg, Va., and as a sales associate at a boutique in Boston, where she lives now.

The 24 year-old, who graduated with a degree in communications, has had no luck finding a job in public relations.

20 In the meantime, she convinced her employer at the boutique in Beacon Hill to let her take on the shop's blog and social media. She works up to 35 hours a week as a sales associate and blogger, but the shop can't afford to hire her full-time.

"I don't think frustrated even begins to describe it," Mersiowsky says of her plight. "It's really scary when I think about my graduating class and how now, two more of those classes have come out and have entered the workforce and that puts me behind them. I feel like I am being set back with every passing day."

Life-long consequences to late career start

As so many students approach graduation without a job, moving back home has become a given, as opposed to a last resort. Taylor Maycan, a former USA TODAY intern, graduated early from Northwestern University in March and moved home to Houston to live with her parents while she looks for a job. Until then, she babysits and does other odd jobs to make money.

"It's stressful. No one wants to graduate and not have a job lined up," she says. "You want to be able to say, I graduated and here's what I'm doing next."

relate
to online
source

It's kind of tough to say, I graduated from this great school and I have no idea what I'm doing now."

Hers is a reality many college students have come to accept as the logical next step after graduation. Evan Feinberg, president of youth advocacy organization Generation Opportunity, says it's "probably the most difficult compromise my generation has been forced to make. It's really hard to get started on your own."

Maycan still has a hopeful attitude about finding employment and has accepted she may have to adjust her expectations about her first job. Still, the consequences of a late career start could be life-long. Studies show that entering the labor market during a recession can affect your earnings for the next 10-15 years, depending on the industry you work in and how long you are unemployed or underemployed. And Shierholz says even that time estimate may be optimistic, given most studies on so-called "wage scarring" are on graduates who entered the labor market during the early 1980s recession, which was "long and severe" but "nothing like the one we're in," she says.

Severy sees evidence that the market may be improving, at least in some areas. The career center at Boulder has received so many job postings from employers this year, sometimes between 100 and 150 a day, that Severy hired one of this year's graduates to manage the postings full time.

As a whole though, graduates continue to struggle.

"Unfortunately for young Americans," Feinberg says, "the recession never ended."

WHY FOCUSING TOO NARROWLY IN COLLEGE COULD BACKFIRE

Peter Cappelli

A job after graduation. It's what all parents want for their kids. So, what's the smartest way to invest tuition dollars to make that happen? The question is more complicated, and more pressing, than ever. The economy is still shaky, and many graduating students are unable to find jobs that pay well, if they can find jobs at all.

The result is that parents guiding their children through the college-application process—and college itself—have to be something like venture capitalists. They have to think through the potential returns from different paths, and pick the one that has the best chance of paying off.

For many parents and students, the most-lucrative path seems obvious: be practical. The public and private sectors are urging kids to abandon the liberal arts, and study fields where the job market is hot right now.

Schools, in turn, are responding with new, specialized courses that promise to teach skills that students will need on the job. A degree in hospital financing? Casino management? Pharmaceutical marketing?

reality of
become
quote

Little wonder that business majors outnumber liberal-arts majors in the U.S. by two-to-one, and the trend is for even more focused programs targeted to niches in the labor market.

It all makes sense. Except for one thing: It probably won't work. The trouble is that nobody can predict where the jobs will be—not the employers, not the schools, not the government officials who are making such loud calls for vocational training. The economy is simply too fickle to guess way ahead of time, and any number of other changes could roil things as well. Choosing the wrong path could make things worse, not better.

So, how should the venture-capitalist parents proceed? What should they weigh as they decide where to put their limited capital to get the biggest bang? Here are some things to consider.

Does the Product Get Out the Door?

- 10 You can pick the perfect school in terms of courses and location and price and ambience. But none of it does a student any good if he or she doesn't end up with a degree. After all, college improves job prospects only if a student graduates. That is why it is crucial to scrutinize the graduation rates at various schools.

What's more, it is also important to look at how *long* it takes students to graduate. Only about 60% of Division 1 university students graduate in six years, for example.

Many parents and students don't realize that even top schools differ greatly in their ability to get students out the door to graduation on time. Consider the difference between an elite private university like Stanford University and an elite public university like the University of California, Berkeley. My colleague Robert Zemsky found that the private school has a much wider array of support services—counseling, tutoring and so forth—that vastly improve the odds that a student will actually graduate, and will do so in four years. (An expensive, private school may end up being cheaper if a student doesn't have to be there as long.)

Probably the most important statistics to scrutinize are job-placement rates for graduates, but they are often hard to get and easy to fudge. Are we measuring jobs at graduation, or within a year after? Do internships count as a "job"?

Statistics about starting salaries, to judge the quality of those jobs, can be even more elusive. In the absence of good data, visit the school's career center and see which employers are actually interviewing students and for what jobs.

- 15 Parents and students should push to require schools to post graduation rates, job-placement rates and other information on the outcomes for their graduates—especially considering how many students are now using government-backed loans to pay for their education. It is not in the public interest for students to use public funds for vocational degrees that don't have a good chance of paying off.

Today's Jobs Aren't Necessarily Tomorrow's

The trend toward specialized, vocational degrees is understandable, with an increasing number of companies grumbling that graduates aren't coming out of school qualified to work.

But guessing about what will be hot tomorrow based on what's hot today is often a fool's errand.

The problem is that the job market can change rapidly for unforeseeable reasons. Today, we frequently hear that computers and information technology are and will be the hot fields, but both have gone from boom to bust over time. Students poured into IT programs in the late 1990s, responding to the Silicon Valley boom, only to graduate after 2001 into the tech bust.

Changes in regulations, meanwhile, can rapidly create and kill fields. For instance, the Sarbanes-Oxley Act amped up the demand for accountants. Emerging technologies can be just as disruptive—applicant-tracking software eliminates jobs in recruiting, while cellphones create programming jobs in mobile technology. Developments like these are almost impossible to anticipate. It gets even more complicated than that. Let's say governments and colleges *could* tell what the demand would be for a particular occupation years out. The problem for someone making an investment in that occupation is that everyone else has the same information. That means students will rush to train in that field, the supply of potential workers goes up, and the jobs are no longer so attractive.

Consider an email that Texas A&M University sent to this year's class of incoming petroleum engineers, the hottest job in the U.S. in terms of starting wages.

The message reminded students that the job market for engineers has always been competitive and cyclical, and warned, "Recent data suggests that some concern about the sustainability of the entry-level job market during a time of explosive growth in the number of students studying petroleum engineering in U.S. universities may be prudent."

Unfortunately, that kind of caution isn't common. Schools want to get as many applicants as possible, and to get the best ones to attend. Showing parents and students all the caveats that go with the impressions they create about future jobs may conflict with those interests.

The Danger of Specialization

Another important caveat that doesn't get discussed much: It may be worse to have the *wrong* career focus in college than having *no* career focus—because skills for one career often can't be used elsewhere.

Let's say a student spends four years learning to market pharmaceuticals. But what can he or she do with that degree if the drug companies aren't hiring? The skills don't transfer easily anywhere else.

That may even be true *within* a field. Anthony Carnevale, of Georgetown's Center on Education and the Workforce, calculates that the unemployment rate among recent IT graduates at the moment is actually twice that of theater majors. Despite the constant complaints from IT employers about skill shortages, only *certain* skills within IT are hot at the moment, such as those associated with mobile communications.

Focusing on a very specific field also means that you miss out on courses that might broaden your abilities. Courses that teach, say, hospitality management or sports medicine may crowd out a logic class that can help students learn

+USE

tech

25

20

to improve their reasoning or an English class that sharpens their writing. Both of those skills can help in any field, unlike the narrowly focused ones.

Beyond those concerns, a narrow educational focus forces students to pick a career at age 17, before they know much of anything about their interests and abilities. And if they choose incorrectly, it can be very difficult for them to start over once they're older.

Researchers Eric A. Hanushek, Ludger Woessmann and Lei Zhang find that more vocationally focused education in high school appears to limit adaptability to changing labor markets later in life. The same thing may be true in college.

30 All that said, practical degrees do have value. But they're not nearly as valuable as boosters say.

Yes, in some fields, like engineering, the only way in is with a specialized degree. Other things being equal, students with one of these degrees will have an easier time getting their first job in the field than students with liberal-arts degrees. After the first job, though, it is not clear how much advantage that practical degree has.

Certainly, some matter in part because they are prestigious—such as a Wharton M.B.A.—but for those that aren't prestigious, and where the degree isn't required or common, a degree may not matter at all.

Also consider that what companies really want hires to have is actual work experience. If they have a choice between hiring someone fresh out of a hospitality-degree program or someone who doesn't have that degree but who has run a restaurant, they will choose the latter.

The Way Forward - solution

So, what are the practical lessons for the venture-investor parent and their child?

35 Students that go the practical route should delay choosing majors and specialized courses as long as possible, so that there is likely to be a better match between course work and employer interests. Students can rely on real-time information from the career office to gauge demand. Because of the need to adjust, it also helps to be at a school where switching majors is easy. Small programs with limited resources mean that students may have to stay more than four years to get all the courses that are required for a new major.

Naturally, it is good to know the job-placement rates for graduates. But as we've seen, those numbers may not be available. So, beyond visiting the school's career center, they should see what ties the school has to employers and what its reputation is in their child's prospective industry.

If specialized education seems too limited or risky, there is another path to consider, one that often gets short shrift these days: go to college to get a well-rounded education and worry about the job market after graduation.

It may seem impractical, given the state of the economy and the scramble for jobs that many liberal-arts graduates face. (But remember that work experience is what really is important to employers—and graduates without vocational training can now get that experience from a number of programs.)

Bootcamp Education's DevBootcamp provides an experience that mimics a real job. Participants learn by working on real projects, and the company helps

them build leads to employers. General Assembly offers hands-on learning and partners with companies to develop curriculum and create hiring relationships for graduates.

Education providers like Dartmouth's Tuck Business School are also getting into the act. Tuck has a nondegree certificate Business Bridge program aimed at juniors, seniors and recent graduates in a nonbusiness degree of study. The program offers a general management curriculum as well as career development to enter the job market.

More people than parents should pay attention to this shift toward vocational college degrees. A lot of taxpayer money supports these programs, and in states like Texas, the pressure is on to steer even more students toward them. It is an expensive and inefficient way to provide the practical skills that employers want for the first job out of school, though, as well as being a big, risky bet for parents to underwrite.

There should be better alternatives. One might be for employers to rethink whether they could go back to providing some of the initial training and work experience college grads used to get in entry-level jobs a generation ago.

Solution

Review Questions

MyWritingLab™

1. Summarize Jenna Brager's "A Post-College Flow Chart of Misery and Pain."
2. According to Hadley Malcolm's article in *USA Today*, how have graduates in 2014 fared in comparison with those graduating in the preceding four years?
3. Summarize Hadley Malcolm's assessment of the job market for graduating college seniors. What evidence does Malcolm provide to back her assessment?
4. Peter Cappelli suggests that those paying college tuition should think like "venture capitalists" and examine pertinent data closely. Why? What data should be examined in deciding which college to attend?
5. According to Cappelli, what is the danger of specialization—focusing narrowly on a specific skill set as an undergraduate—with the expectation of landing a job post-graduation?

Discussion and Writing Suggestions

MyWritingLab™

1. The topic of marginal job prospects for college graduates is no laughing matter. Yet Brager's "A Post-College Flow Chart of Misery and Pain" should provoke a smile. Why? What's the role of humor in Brager's "flow chart"? Reread your summary of Brager. Which format—prose or graphic—is more compelling, and why? How does the graphic convey Brager's observations on job prospects in a way that (1) your summary and (2) Hadley Malcolm's article in *USA Today* do not?

2. Brager's cartoon chronicles the misery and pain of humanities majors in the current job market. Based on what you've read in Malcolm and Cappelli, to what extent has this misery and pain extended beyond the humanities?
3. Peter Cappelli writes: "Schools want to get as many applicants as possible, and to get the best ones to attend. Showing parents and students all the caveats that go with the impressions they create about future jobs may conflict with those interests." Here Cappelli addresses a potential conflict of interest in the college applications business: That is, even as they encourage students to apply and attend (and pay the requisite fees), colleges may not be able to deliver jobs to their graduates. To what extent do you believe that colleges have a responsibility to be more forthright to students about prospects for jobs after graduation?
4. If Peter Cappelli could talk to Jenna Brager, what might he say about her "Flowchart of Misery and Pain?" After all, he has advised the readers of his *Wall Street Journal* column against the dangers of undergraduate specialization. And while "practical degrees do have value," he writes, "they're not nearly as valuable as boosters say." At the same time, the odds are reasonably good that the humanities student has devoted time to reasoning, writing, and speaking—skills that can be easily adapted regardless of job sector. Assume you are Cappelli and have come across Berger's "Flowchart." Write her a quick e-mail or a comment on the Web site where the flow chart first appeared.
5. Brager premises her "Flow Chart" on a trend obvious to many who major in the humanities: Finding a job can be difficult when one hasn't learned an immediately applicable skill such as accounting or engineering. Why, then, do you think that students continue to major in the humanities?

WILL YOUR JOB BE EXPORTED?

Alan S. Blinder

Alan S. Blinder is the Gordon S. Rentschler Memorial Professor of Economics at Princeton University. He has served as vice chairman of the Federal Reserve Board and was a member of President Clinton's original Council of Economic Advisers. This article, published originally as "Outsourcing: Bigger Than You Thought," first appeared in the *American Prospect* in October 2006.

The great conservative political philosopher Edmund Burke, who probably would not have been a reader of *The American Prospect*, once observed, "You can never plan the future by the past."¹ But when it comes to preparing the American workforce for the jobs of the future, we may be doing just that.

¹Edmund Burke (1729–1797) was a conservative British statesman, philosopher, and author. *The American Prospect*, in which "Will Your Job Be Exported?" first appeared in the November 2006 issue, describes itself as "an authoritative magazine of liberal ideas."

For about a quarter-century, demand for labor appears to have shifted toward the college-educated and away from high school graduates and drop-outs. This shift, most economists believe, is the primary (though not the sole) reason for rising income inequality, and there is no end in sight. Economists refer to this phenomenon by an antisepic name: skill-biased technical progress. In plain English, it means that the labor market has turned ferociously against the low skilled and the uneducated.

In a progressive society, such a worrisome social phenomenon might elicit some strong policy responses, such as more compensatory education, stepped-up efforts at retraining, reinforcement (rather than shredding) of the social safety net, and so on. You don't fight the market's valuation of skills; you try to mitigate its more deleterious effects. We did a bit of this in the United States in the 1990s, by raising the minimum wage and expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit.² Combined with tight labor markets, these measures improved things for the average worker. But in this decade, little or no mitigation has been attempted. Social Darwinism has come roaring back.³

With one big exception: We have expended considerable efforts to keep more young people in school longer (e.g., reducing high-school dropouts and sending more kids to college) and to improve the quality of schooling (e.g., via charter schools and No Child Left Behind⁴). Success in these domains may have been modest, but not for lack of trying. You don't have to remind Americans that education is important; the need for educational reform is etched into the public consciousness. Indeed, many people view education as the silver bullet. On hearing the question "How do we best prepare the American workforce of the future?" many Americans react reflexively with: "Get more kids to study science and math, and send more of them to college."

Which brings me to the future. As I argued in a recent article in *Affairs* magazine, the greatest problem for the next generation of American workers may not be lack of education, but rather "offshoring"—the movement of jobs overseas, especially to countries with much lower wages, such as India and China. Manufacturing jobs have been migrating overseas for decades. But the new wave of offshoring, of *service* jobs, is something different.

Traditionally, we think of service jobs as being largely immune to foreign competition. After all, you can't get your hair cut by a barber or your broken arm

²The Earned Income Tax Credit, an antipoverly measure enacted by Congress in 1975 and revised in the 1980s and 1990s, provides a credit against federal income taxes for any filer who claims a dependent child.

³Social Darwinism, a largely discredited philosophy dating from the Victorian era and espoused by Herbert Spencer, asserts that Charles Darwin's observations on natural selection apply to human societies. Social Darwinists argue that the poor are less fit to survive than the wealthy and should, through a natural process of adaptation, be allowed to die out.

⁴Charter schools are public schools with specialized missions to operate outside of regulations that some feel restrict creativity and performance in traditional school settings. The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) mandates standards-based education for all schools receiving federal funding. Both the charter schools movement and NCLB can be understood as efforts to improve public education.

set by a doctor in a distant land. But stunning advances in communication technology, plus the emergence of a vast new labor pool in Asia and Eastern Europe, are changing that picture radically, subjecting millions of presumed-safe domestic service jobs to foreign competition. And it is not necessary actually to move jobs to low-wage countries in order to restrain wage increases; the mere threat of offshoring can put a damper on wages.

Service-sector offshoring is a minor phenomenon so far, Lou Dobbs notwithstanding; probably well under 1 percent of U.S. service jobs have been outsourced.⁵ But I believe that service-sector offshoring will eventually exceed manufacturing-sector offshoring by a hefty margin—for three main reasons. The first is simple arithmetic: There are vastly more service jobs than manufacturing jobs in the United States (and in other rich countries). Second, the technological advances that have made service-sector offshoring possible will continue and accelerate, so the range of services that can be moved offshore will increase ineluctably. Third, the number of (e.g., Indian and Chinese) workers capable of performing service jobs offshore seems certain to grow, perhaps exponentially.

I do not mean to paint a bleak picture here. Ever since Adam Smith and David Ricardo, economists have explained and extolled the gains in living standards that derive from international trade.⁶ Those arguments are just as valid for trade in services as for trade in goods. There really *are* net gains to the United States from expanding service-sector trade with India, China, and the rest. The offshoring problem is not about the adverse nature of what economists call the economy's eventual equilibrium. Rather, it is about the so-called transition—the ride from here to there. That ride, which could take a generation or more, may be bumpy. And during the long adjustment period, many U.S. wages could face downward pressure.

Thus far, only American manufacturing workers and a few low-end service workers (e.g., call-center operators) have been competing, at least potentially, with millions of people in faraway lands eager to work for what seems a pittance by U.S. standards. But offshoring is no longer limited to low-end service jobs. Computer code can be written overseas and e-mailed back to the United States. So can your tax return and lots of legal work, provided you do not insist on face-to-face contact with the accountant or lawyer. In writing and editing this article, I communicated with the editors and staff of *The American Prospect* only by telephone and e-mail. Why couldn't they (or I, for that matter) have been in India? The possibilities are, if not endless, at least vast.

10 What distinguishes the jobs that cannot be offshored from the ones that can? The crucial distinction is not—and this is the central point of this essay—the required levels of skill and education. These attributes have been critical

⁵Lou Dobbs, a conservative columnist and former political commentator for CNN, is well known for his anti-immigration views.

⁶Adam Smith (1723–1790), Scottish author of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), established the foundations of modern economics. David Ricardo (1772–1823) was a British businessman, statesman, and economist who founded the classical school of economics and is best known for his studies of monetary policy.

to labor-market success in the past, but may be less so in the future. Instead, the new critical distinction may be that some services either require personal delivery (e.g., driving a taxi and brain surgery) or are seriously degraded when delivered electronically (e.g., college teaching—at least, I hope!), while other jobs (e.g., call centers and keyboard data entry) are not. Call the first category personal services and the second category impersonal services. With this terminology, I have three main points to make about preparing our workforce for the brave, new world of the future.

First, we need to think about, plan, and redesign our educational system with the crucial distinction between personal service jobs and impersonal service jobs in mind. Many of the impersonal service jobs will migrate offshore, but the personal service jobs will stay here.

Second, the line that divides personal services from impersonal services will move in only one direction over time, as technological progress makes it possible to deliver an ever-increasing array of services electronically.

Third, the novel distinction between personal and impersonal jobs is quite different from, and appears essentially unrelated to, the traditional distinction between jobs that do and do not require high levels of education.

For example, it is easy to offshore working in a call center, typing transcripts, writing computer code, and reading X-rays. The first two require little education; the last two require quite a lot. On the other hand, it is either impossible or very difficult to offshore janitorial services, fast-food restaurant service, college teaching, and open-heart surgery. Again, the first two occupations require little or no education, while the last two require a great deal. There seems to be little or no correlation between educational requirements (the old concern) and how

"offshorable" jobs are (the new one).

If so, the implications could be startling. A generation from now, civil engineers (who must be physically present) may be in greater demand in the United States than computer engineers (who don't). Similarly, there might be more divorce lawyers (not offshorable) than tax lawyers (partly offshorable). More imaginatively, electricians might earn more than computer programmers. I am not predicting any of this; lots of things influence relative demands and supplies for different types of labor. But it all seems within the realm of the possible as technology continues to enhance the offshorability of even highly skilled occupations. What does seem highly likely is that the relative demand for labor in the United States will shift away from impersonal services and toward personal services, and this shift will look quite different from the familiar story of skill-biased technical progress. So Burke's warning is worth heeding.

I am not suggesting that education will become a handicap in the job market of the future. On the contrary, to the extent that education raises productivity and that better-educated workers are more adaptable and/or more creative, a wage premium for higher education should remain. Thus, it still makes sense to send more of America's youth to college. But, over the next generation, the kind of education our young people receive may prove to be more important than how much education they receive. In that sense, a college degree may lose its exalted "silver bullet" status.

Looking back over the past 25 years, "stay in school longer" was excellent advice for success in the labor market. But looking forward over the next 25 years, more subtle occupational advice may be needed. "Prepare yourself for a high-end personal service occupation that is not offshorable" is a more nuanced message than "stay in school." But it may prove to be more useful. And many non-offshorable jobs—such as carpenters, electricians, and plumbers—do not require college education.

The hard question is how to make this more subtle advice concrete and actionable. The children entering America's educational system today, at age 5, will emerge into a very different labor market when they leave it. Given gestation periods of 13 to 17 years and more, educators and policy-makers need to be thinking now about the kinds of training and skills that will best prepare these children for their future working lives. Specifically, it is essential to educate America's youth for the jobs that will actually be available in America 20 to 30 years from now, not for the jobs that will have moved offshore.

Some of the personal service jobs that will remain in the United States will be very high-end (doctors), others will be less glamorous though well paid (plumbers), and some will be "dead end" (janitor). We need to think long and hard about the types of skills that best prepare people to deliver high-end personal services, and how to teach those skills in our elementary and high schools. I am not an education specialist, but it strikes me that, for example, the central thrust of No Child Left Behind is pushing the nation in exactly the wrong direction. I am all for accountability. But the nation's school system will not build the creative, flexible, people-oriented workforce we will need in the future by drilling kids incessantly with rote preparation for standardized tests in the vain hope that they will perform as well as memory chips.

20 Starting in the elementary schools, we need to develop our youngsters' imaginations and people skills as well as their "reading, writing, and 'rithmetic." Remember that kindergarten grade for "works and plays well with others"? It may become increasingly important in a world of personally delivered services. Such training probably needs to be continued and made more sophisticated in the secondary schools, where, for example, good communications skills need to be developed.

More vocational education is probably also in order. After all, nurses, carpenters, and plumbers are already scarce, and we'll likely need more of them in the future. Much vocational training now takes place in community colleges; and they, too, need to adapt their curricula to the job market of the future.

While it is probably still true that we should send more kids to college and increase the number who study science, math, and engineering, we need to focus on training more college students for the high-end jobs that are unlikely to move offshore, and on developing a creative workforce that will keep America incubating and developing new processes, new products, and entirely new industries. Offshoring is, after all, mostly about following and copying. America needs to lead and innovate instead, just as we have in the past.

Educational reform is not the whole story, of course. I suggested at the outset, for example, that we needed to repair our tattered social safety net and turn

it into a retraining trapline that bounces displaced workers back into productive employment. But many low-end personal service jobs cannot be turned into more attractive jobs simply by more training—think about janitors, fast-food workers, and nurse's aides, for example. Running a tight labor market would help such workers, as would a higher minimum wage, an expanded Earned Income Tax Credit, universal health insurance, and the like.

Moving up the skill ladder, employment is concentrated in the public or quasi-public sector in a number of service occupations. Teachers and health-care workers are two prominent examples. In such cases, government policy can influence wages and working conditions directly by upgrading the structure and pay of such jobs—developing more professional early-childhood teachers and fewer casual daycare workers for example—as long as the taxpayer is willing to foot the bill. Similarly, some service jobs such as registered nurses are in short supply mainly because we are not training enough qualified personnel. Here, too, public policy can help by widening the pipeline to allow more workers through. So there are a variety of policy levers that might do some good—if we are willing to pull them.

But all that said, education is still the right place to start. Indeed, it is much more than that because the educational system affects the entire population and because no other institution is nearly as important when it comes to preparing our youth for the world of work. As the first industrial revolution took hold, America radically transformed (and democratized) its educational system to meet the new demands of an industrial society. We may need to do something like that again. There is a great deal at stake here. If we get this one wrong, the next generation will pay dearly. But if we get it (close to) right, the gains from trade promise coming generations a prosperous future.

The somewhat inchoate challenge posed here—preparing more young Americans for personal service jobs—brings to mind one of my favorite Churchill quotations: "You can always count on Americans to do the right thing—after they've tried everything else." It is time to start trying.

Review Questions

MyWritingLab™

1. What is "offshoring"? Why have service jobs been thought "immune to foreign competition"?
2. Explain Blinder's distinction between "personal services" and "impersonal services." Why is this distinction important?
3. In the past twenty-five years, what role has education played in preparing people for work? How does Blinder see that role changing in the coming decades?
4. What advice does Blinder offer young people preparing for future work in the coming decades?
5. Why will the United States eventually lose more service-sector than manufacturing-sector jobs?

● Discussion and Writing Suggestions MyWritingLab™

1. Identify a worker (real or imagined) in a job that may be at risk for offshoring, according to Blinder. Write a letter to that person, apprising him or her of the potential danger and offering advice you think appropriate.
2. What is your reaction to Blinder's claim that educational achievement, in and of itself, will be less of a predictor of job quality and security than it once was?
3. Describe a well-paying job that would not require a college education but that should, according to Blinder, be immune to offshoring. Compare your responses to those of your classmates.
4. What work can you imagine doing in ten years? Describe that work in a concise paragraph. Now analyze your description as Blinder might. How secure is your future job likely to be?
5. Approach friends who have not read the Blinder article with his advice on preparing for future work (see Review Question 4). Report on their reactions.
6. What were your *emotional* reactions to Blinder's article? Did the piece leave you feeling hopeful, anxious, apprehensive, excited? Explain.

THEY'RE WATCHING YOU AT WORK: THE JOB INTERVIEW

Don Peck

In this next piece, Don Peck investigates the ways computer-based statistical analyses may come to dominate the hiring and assessment of American workers. Already, "analytics" is used to measure the performance of baseball players. The trend may be spreading. By the time you graduate, you may find yourself in a job interview being asked to play a video game while a computer records your every move and predicts your likely success as an employee. This article first appeared in the *Atlantic* in December 2013. In addition to being a deputy editor of that magazine, Don Peck is the author of *Pinched: How the Great Recession Has Narrowed Our Futures and What We Can Do About It* (2011).

In 2003, thanks to Michael Lewis and his best seller *Moneyball*, the general manager of the Oakland A's, Billy Beane, became a star. The previous year, Beane had turned his back on his scouts and had instead entrusted player-acquisition decisions to mathematical models developed by a young, Harvard-trained statistical wizard on his staff. What happened next has become baseball lore. The A's, a small-market team with a paltry budget, ripped off the longest winning streak in American League history and rolled up 103 wins for the season. Only the mighty Yankees, who had spent three times as much on player salaries, won as many games. The team's success, in turn, launched a revolution. In the years that followed, team after team began to use detailed predictive models to assess players' potential and monetary value, and the early adopters, by and large, gained a measurable competitive edge over their more hidebound peers.

That's the story as most of us know it. But it is incomplete. What would seem at first glance to be nothing but a memorable tale about baseball may turn out to be the opening chapter of a much larger story about jobs. Predictive statistical analysis, harnessed to big data, appears poised to alter the way millions of people are hired and assessed.

Yes, unavoidably, *big data*. As a piece of business jargon, and even more so

as an invocation of coming disruption, the term has quickly grown tiresome. But there is no denying the vast increase in the range and depth of information that's routinely captured about how we behave, and the new kinds of analysis that this enables. By one estimate, more than 98 percent of the world's information is now stored digitally, and the volume of that data has quadrupled since 2007. Ordinary people at work and at home generate much of this data, by sending e-mails, browsing the Internet, using social media, working on crowd-sourced projects, and more—and in doing so they have unwittingly helped launch a grand new societal project. "We are in the midst of a great infrastructure project that in some ways rivals those of the past, from Roman aqueducts to the Enlightenment's *Encyclopédie*,"¹ write Viktor Mayer-Schönberger and Kenneth Cukier in their recent book, *Big Data: A Revolution That Will Transform How We Live, Work, and Think*. "The project is datafication. Like those other infrastruc-

tural advances, it will bring about fundamental changes to society." Some of the changes are well known, and already upon us. Algorithms that predict stock-price movements have transformed Wall Street. Algorithms that chop through our Web histories have transformed marketing. Until quite recently, however, few people seemed to believe this data-driven approach might apply broadly to the labor market.

But it now does. According to John Hausknecht, a professor at Cornell's school of industrial and labor relations, in recent years the economy has witnessed a "huge surge in demand for workforce-analytics roles." Hausknecht's own program is rapidly revising its curriculum to keep pace. You can now find dedicated analytics teams in the human-resources departments of not only huge corporations such as Google, HP, Intel, General Motors, and Procter & Gamble, to name just a few, but also companies like McKee Foods, the Tennessee-based maker of Little Debbie snack cakes. Even Billy Beane is getting into the game. Last year he appeared at a large conference for corporate HR executives in Austin, Texas, where he reportedly stole the show with a talk titled "The Moneyball Approach to Talent Management." Ever since, that headline, with minor modifications, has been plastered all over the HR trade press.

¹The ancient Romans built aqueducts to deliver water from remote sources to population centers, a practice that made possible the construction of great cities throughout the empire. Seventeen hundred years later, Denis Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, with more than 70,000 articles authored by nearly 150 scholars, became one of the great intellectual achievements of the Enlightenment. It attempted to record, in one place, the output of a world exploding with knowledge. Both the aqueducts and encyclopedias were "infrastructure" projects in the sense that they enabled major growth: one of cities, the other of knowledge. According to Schönberger and Cukier, big data and the use we will make of it takes its place alongside these two historic developments.

The application of predictive analytics to people's careers—an emerging field sometimes called “people analytics”—is enormously challenging, not to mention ethically fraught. And it can't help but feel a little creepy. It requires the creation of a vastly larger box score of human performance than one would ever encounter in the sports pages, or that has ever been dreamed up before. To some degree, the endeavor touches on the deepest of human mysteries: how we grow, whether we flourish, what we become. Most companies are just beginning to explore the possibilities. But make no mistake: during the next five to 10 years, new models will be created, and new experiments run, on a very large scale. Will this be a good development or a bad one—for the economy, for the shapes of our careers, for our spirit and self-worth?

• • •

Consider Knack, a tiny start-up based in Silicon Valley. Knack makes app-based video games, among them *Dungeon Scrawl*, a quest game requiring the player to navigate a maze and solve puzzles, and *Wasabi Waiter*, which involves delivering the right sushi to the right customer at an increasingly crowded happy hour. These games aren't just for play: they've been designed by a team of neuroscientists, psychologists, and data scientists to suss out human potential. Play one of them for just 20 minutes, says Guy Halfteck, Knack's founder, and you'll generate several megabytes of data, exponentially more than what's collected by the SAT or a personality test. How long you hesitate before taking every action, the sequence of actions you take, how you solve problems—all of these factors and many more are logged as you play, and then are used to analyze your creativity, your persistence, your capacity to learn quickly from mistakes, your ability to prioritize, and even your social intelligence and personality. The end result, Halfteck says, is a high-resolution portrait of your psyche and intellect, and an assessment of your potential as a leader or an innovator.

When Hans Haringa heard about Knack, he was skeptical but intrigued. Haringa works for the petroleum giant Royal Dutch Shell—by revenue, the world's largest company last year. For seven years he's served as an executive in the company's GameChanger unit: a 12-person team that for nearly two decades has had an outsize impact on the company's direction and performance. The unit's job is to identify potentially disruptive business ideas. Haringa and his team solicit ideas promiscuously from inside and outside the company, and then play the role of venture capitalists, vetting each idea, meeting with its proponents, dispensing modest seed funding to a few promising candidates, and monitoring their progress. They have a good record of picking winners, Haringa told me, but identifying ideas with promise has proved to be extremely difficult and time-consuming. The process typically takes more than two years, and less than 10 percent of the ideas proposed to the unit actually make it into general research and development.

When he heard about Knack, Haringa thought he might have found a short-cut. What if Knack could help him assess the people proposing all these ideas, so that he and his team could focus only on those whose ideas genuinely deserved close attention? Haringa reached out, and eventually ran an experiment with the company's help.

Over the years, the GameChanger team had kept a database of all the ideas it had received, recording how far each had advanced. Haringa asked all the idea contributors he could track down (about 1,400 in total) to play Dungeon Scroll and Wasabi Waiter, and told Knack how well three-quarters of those people had done as idea generators. (Did they get initial funding? A second round? Did their ideas make it all the way?) He did this so that Knack's staff could develop game-play profiles of the strong innovators relative to the weak ones. Finally, he had Knack analyze the game-play of the remaining quarter of the idea generators, and asked the company to guess whose ideas had turned out to be best.

When the results came back, Haringa recalled, his heart began to beat a little faster. Without ever seeing the ideas, without meeting or interviewing the people who'd proposed them, without knowing their title or background or academic pedigree, Knack's algorithm had identified the people whose ideas had panned out. The top 10 percent of the idea generators as predicted by Knack were in fact those who'd gone furthest in the process. Knack identified six broad factors as especially characteristic of those whose ideas would succeed at Shell: "mind wandering" (or the tendency to follow interesting, unexpected offshoots of the main task at hand, to see where they lead), social intelligence, "goal-orientation fluency," implicit learning, task-switching ability, and conscientiousness. Haringa told me that this profile dovetailed with his impression of a successful innovator. "You need to be disciplined," he said, but "at all times you must have your mind open to see the other possibilities and opportunities."

What Knack is doing, Haringa told me, "is almost like a paradigm shift." It offers a way for his GameChanger unit to avoid wasting time on the 80 people out of 100—nearly all of whom look smart, well-trained, and plausible on paper—whose ideas just aren't likely to work out. If he and his colleagues were no longer mired in evaluating "the hopeless folks," as he put it to me, they could solicit ideas even more widely than they do today and devote much more careful attention to the 20 people out of 100 whose ideas have the most merit.

Haringa is now trying to persuade his colleagues in the GameChanger unit to use Knack's games as an assessment tool. But he's also thinking well beyond just his own little part of Shell. He has encouraged the company's HR executives to think about applying the games to the recruitment and evaluation of all professional workers. Shell goes to extremes to try to make itself the world's most innovative energy company, he told me, so shouldn't it apply that spirit to developing its own "human dimension"?

"It is the whole man The Organization wants," William Whyte wrote back in 1956, when describing the ambit of the employee evaluations then in fashion. Aptitude, skills, personal history, psychological stability, discretion, loyalty—companies at the time felt they had a need (and the right) to look into them all. That ambit is expanding once again, and this is undeniably unsettling. Should the ideas of scientists be dismissed because of the way they play a game? Should job candidates be ranked by what their Web habits say about them? Should the "data signature" of natural leaders play a role in promotion? These are all live questions today, and they prompt heavy concerns: that we will cede one of the most subtle and human of skills, the evaluation of the gifts and promise of other people, to machines; that the models will get it wrong; that some people will never get a shot in the new workforce.

- 15 It's natural to worry about such things. But consider the alternative. A mountain of scholarly literature has shown that the intuitive way we now judge professional potential is rife with snap judgments and hidden biases, rooted in our upbringing or in deep neurological connections that doubtless served us well on the savanna but would seem to have less bearing on the world of work.

Review Questions

MyWritingLab™

1. What is "big data"?
2. Explain "people analytics."
3. Why does Peck believe that people analytics has moved beyond the idea stage and has arrived in corporate America?
4. How do the video games *Dungeon Scrawl* and *Wasabi Waiter* relate to the discussion of personal analytics?
5. What did Hans Haringa of Dutch Shell discover about assessing talent from the start-up Knack?

Discussion and Writing Suggestions

MyWritingLab™

1. Peck writes that "the endeavor [to mine employee data] touches on the deepest of human mysteries: how we grow, whether we flourish, what we become." Do you approve of the application of big data to these "human mysteries"?
2. Big data applied to the Oakland A's baseball team produced stunning results and revolutionized the sport. Do you think the application of big data beyond the ball field has similar potential? For instance, is work life sufficiently analogous to performance on a ball field to make you comfortable that big data could be used in recognizing *your* talent as a prospective employee?

DATA ON THE U.S. LABOR MARKET: CHARTS,

GRAPHS, TABLES

What do we know about the hundreds of occupations you might pursue—for instance, how much they pay, the education and training needed to land an interview, their prospects for growth? You don't have to guess at answers because clear, reliable information exists—much of it summarized in graphical form. We have gathered some of that data here for a closer look.

- Five graphs measure, as the title says, "The Rising Cost of Not Going to College"—information that first appeared in a February 2014 report by the Pew Research Center. The Pew Center describes itself as "a nonpartisan fact tank that informs the public about the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world."
- Next, a table from the Georgetown Public Policy Institute and Center for Education and the Workforce summarizes unemployment rates and earnings, by major field of study, for recent college graduates, experienced graduates, and holders of advanced degrees. The Georgetown Center "seeks to inform and educate federal, state, and local policymakers and stakeholders on ways to better align education and training with labor market demand and qualifications."
- We conclude with charts and tables from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS): "Earnings and Unemployment Rates by Educational Attainment"; "Projected Annual Employment Rate of Change by Major Industry Sector, 2012–2022"; and "Projected Rate of Employment Change by Major Occupational Group, 2012–2022."
- The final table is a representation of the BLS "Occupation Finder" from its *Occupational Outlook Handbook* (go to <http://www.bls.gov/ooh/occupation-finder.htm>). This powerful, interactive resource allows

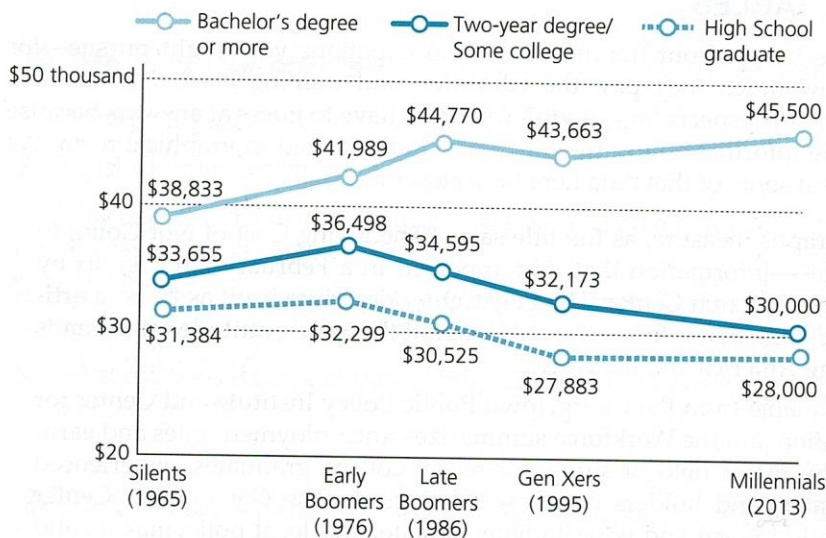
3. The people analytics generated by Dungeon Scrawl and Wasabi Waiter convinced one executive at Royal Dutch Shell that computer gaming can identify talent with greater efficiency than people can. Are you surprised? What could be the limitations of computer gaming in identifying talent?
4. In reporting the efforts of Hans Haringa to persuade the human resources department of Royal Dutch Shell to use Knack's gaming programs to recruit and evaluate workers, Peck writes: "Shell goes to extremes to try to make itself the world's most innovative energy company . . . so shouldn't it apply that spirit to developing its own 'human dimension'? Do you detect any ironies here? Discuss."
5. Peck writes: "Should the ideas of scientists be dismissed because of the way they play a game? Should job candidates be ranked by what their Web habits say about them? Should the 'data signature' of natural leaders play a role in promotion?" Choose one of these questions and develop an answer.

you to search the projected outlook for 580 different jobs by combining five categories: entry-level education, availability of on-the-job training, projected number of new jobs, projected growth rate, and median pay (as of 2012). A division of the U.S. Department of Labor, the BLS "is the principal Federal agency responsible for measuring labor market activity, working conditions, and price changes in the economy." It releases ten-year employment projections every two years for the benefit of those looking for, or changing, jobs.

If you don't find the information you need on the job market in the fifteen graphs, charts, and tables that follow, enter the pertinent term in a search engine, followed by the word "statistics." Your search will very likely yield hundreds of potential sources.

Lyle - Rising Earnings Disparity Between Young Adults with And Without a College Degree

Median annual earnings among full-time workers ages 25 to 32, in 2012 dollars



Note: Median annual earnings are based on earnings and work status during the calendar year prior to interview and limited to 25- to 32-year-olds who worked full time during the previous calendar year and reported positive earnings. "Full time" refers to those who usually worked at least 35 hours a week last year.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013, 1995, 1986, 1979 and 1965 March Current Population Survey (CPS) Integrated Public Use Micro Samples

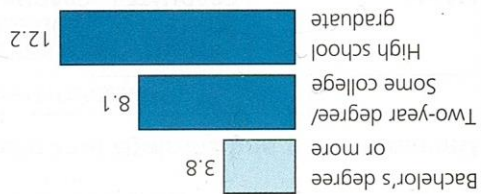
Pew Research Center

From "The Rising Cost of Not Going to College," February 11, 2014.

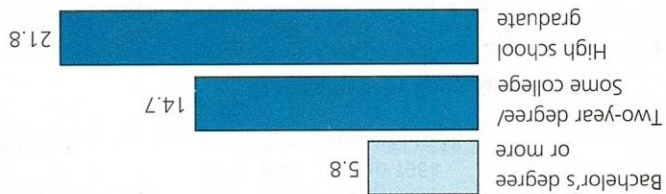
Disparity among Millennials Ages 25-32 By Education Level in Teams of Annual Earnings ...



Unemployment Rate ...



And Share Living in Poverty ...



Notes: Median annual earnings are based on earnings and work status during the calendar year prior to interview and limited to 25- to 32-year-olds who worked full time during the previous calendar year and reported positive earnings. "Full time" refers to those who usually worked at least 35 hours a week last year. The unemployment rate refers to the share of the labor force (those working or actively seeking work) who are not employed. Poverty is based on the respondent's family income in the calendar year preceding the survey.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 March Current Population Survey (CPS) Integrated Public Use Micro Sample

Pew Research Center

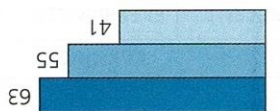
Education and Views About Work

% of employed adults ages 25 to 32 with each level of education saying ...

■ Bachelor's degree or more
■ Two-year degree/some college
■ High school grad or less



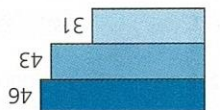
... they have enough education and training to get ahead in their job



... they are "very satisfied" with current job



... their education was "very useful" in preparing them for a job or career



Notes: Based on currently employed 25- to 32-year-olds (n = 509).

Pew Research Center

Q34,28,2c,20

Percentage of Generation in Poverty, by Educational Attainment

	All	College graduate	Two-year degree/ Some college	High school graduate
Millennials in 2013	16	6	15	22
Gen Xers in 1995	13	3	10	15
Late Boomers in 1986	12	4	8	12
Early Boomers in 1979	8	3	6	7

Notes: "All" includes those who are not high school graduates. Poverty is based on the respondent's family income in the calendar year preceding the survey. Silent generation not shown because poverty measures are not available before 1968.

Pew Research Center

The Generations Defined

The Millennial Generation

Born: After 1980
Age of adults in 2013: 18 to 32*

Generation X

Born: 1965 to 1980
Age in 2013: 33 to 48

The Late Baby Boom Generation

Born: 1955 to 1964
Age in 2013: 49 to 58

The Early Baby Boom Generation

Born: 1946 to 1954
Age in 2013: 59 to 67

The Silent Generation

Born: 1928 to 1945
Age in 2013: 68 to 85

* The youngest Millennials are in their teens. No chronological end point has been set for this group.

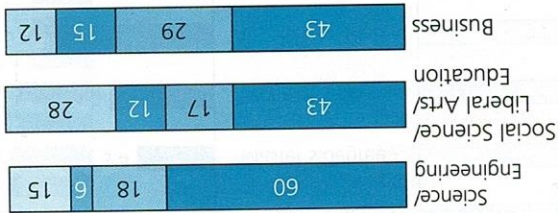
Note: The "Greatest Generation," which includes those born before 1928, is not included in the analysis due to the small sample size.

Pew Research Center

Usefulness of Major, by Field of Study

% of majors in each area who say their current job is... related to their major in college or graduate school

Very closely
Somewhat closely
Not very closely
Not at all



Note: Based on those with at least a bachelor's degree who are employed full time or part time (n = 606). "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.

Pew Research Center

Q40

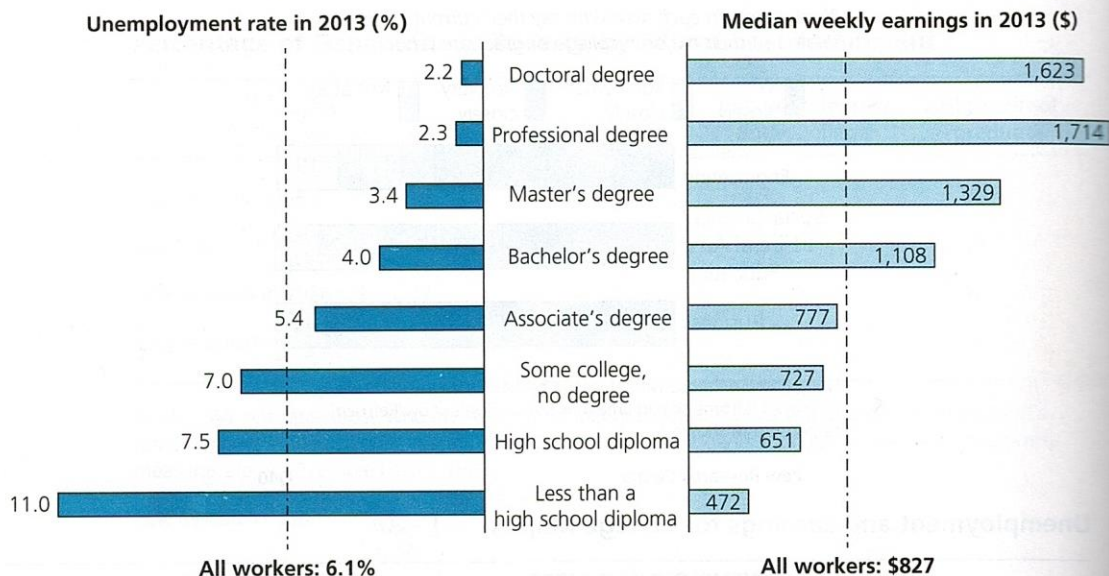
Unemployment and Earnings for College Majors - Lyk

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES		EARNINGS	
MAJOR	RECENT COLLEGE GRADUATE	EXPERIENCED COLLEGE GRADUATE	GRADUATE DEGREE HOLDER
Agriculture & Natural Resources	6.1%	\$33,000	\$51,000
Science-Life/Physical	7.3%	\$30,000	\$60,000
Architecture	12.8%	\$36,000	\$65,000
Humanities and Liberal Arts	9.0%	\$30,000	\$51,000
Communications & Journalism	7.8%	\$33,000	\$54,000
Computers & Mathematics	9.1%	\$45,000	\$76,000
Education	4.0%	\$33,000	\$44,000
Engineering	4.4%	\$54,000	\$83,000
Law and Public Policy	9.2%	\$33,000	\$56,000
Social Science	10.3%	\$36,000	\$61,000
Industrial Arts	8.2%	\$41,000	\$71,000
Health	6.1%	\$43,000	\$65,000
Psychology & Social Work	8.8%	\$30,000	\$46,000
Recreation	5.2%	\$29,000	\$50,000
Arts	9.8%	\$30,000	\$48,000
Business	7.5%	\$39,000	\$63,000

Source: <http://cew.georgetown.edu/unemployment2013>

From *Hard Times: College Majors, Unemployment and Earnings*. Anthony P. Carnevale and Ban Cheah, Georgetown Public Policy Institute /Center for Education and the Workforce, May 29, 2013.

Earnings and Unemployment Rates by Educational Attainment



Note: Data are for persons age 25 and over. Earnings are for full-time wage and salary workers.
 Source: Current Populations survey, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, March, 24, 2014, http://www.bls.gov/emp/ep_chart_001.htm

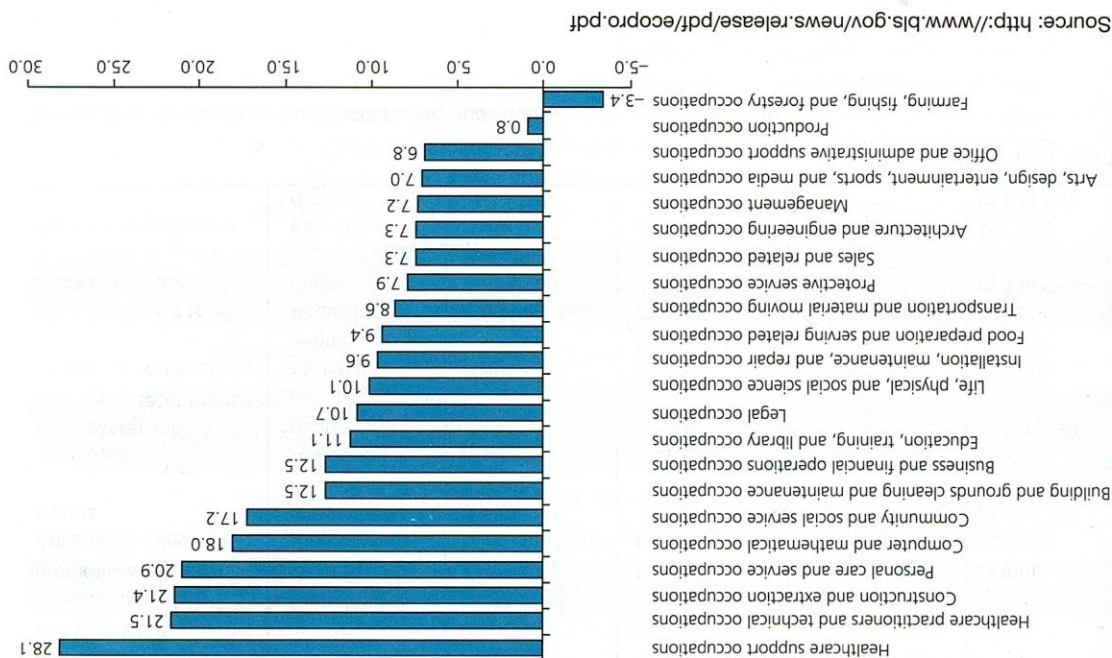
Earnings and Unemployment Rates by Educational Attainment

Education attained	Unemployment rate in 2013 (Percent)	Median weekly earnings
Doctoral degree	2.2	\$1,623
Professional degree	2.3	1,714
Master's degree	3.4	1,329
Bachelor's degree	4.0	1,108
Associate's degree	5.4	777
Some college, no degree	7.0	727
High school diploma	7.5	651
Less than a high school diploma	11.0	472

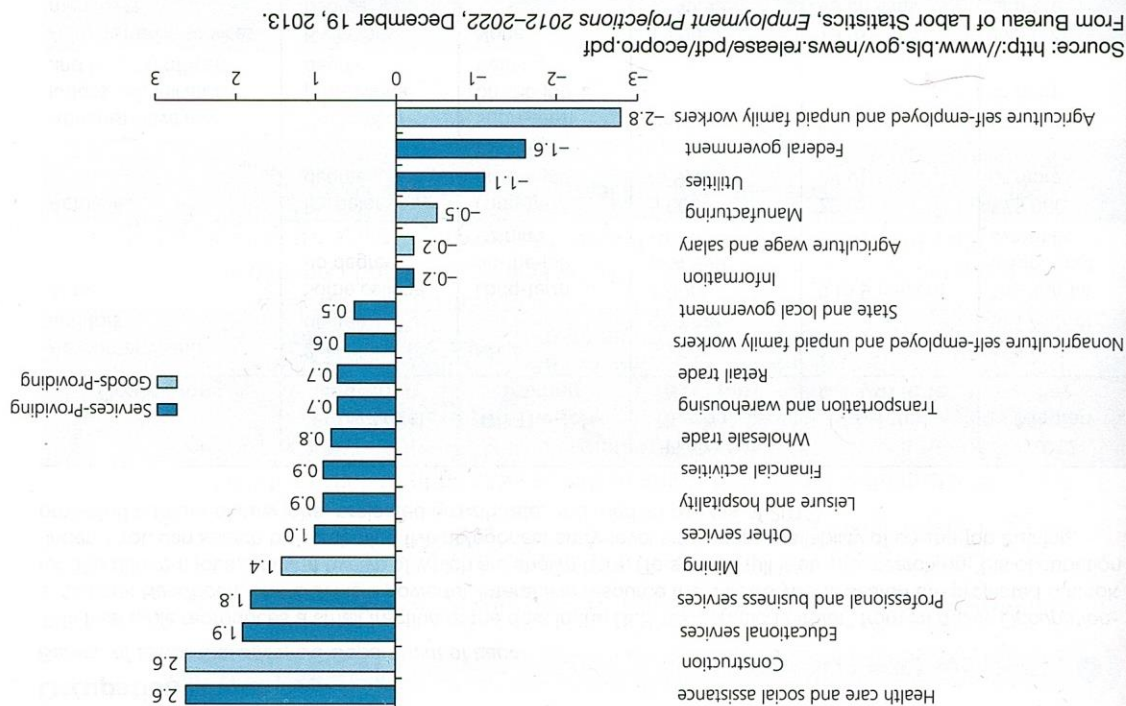
Note: Data are for persons age 25 and over. Earnings are for full-time wage and salary workers.

Source: Current Population Survey, U.S. Department of Labor, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, http://www.bls.gov/emp/ep_table_001.htm

These education categories reflect only the highest level of education attained. They do not take into account completion of training programs in the form of apprenticeships and other on-the-job training which may also influence earnings and unemployment rates.



Projected Rate of Employment Change by Major Occupational Group, 2012-22



Projected Annual Employment Rate of Change by Major Industry Sector, 2012-22

Occupation Finder

Bureau of Labor Statistics, US Department of Labor

This final table reproduces a small fraction of the data in the BLS "Occupation Finder" from its online *Occupational Outlook Handbook*. The OOH is a powerful, interactive resource that allows you to search the projected outlook for 580 different jobs, the first twelve of which are shown here. (To see the full Web site, search on "bls occupation finder.") You can search by combining five categories: entry-level education, availability of on-the-job training, projected number of new jobs, projected growth rate, and median pay (as of 2012).

Occupation	Entry-Level Education	On-The-Job Training	Projected Number Of New Jobs	Projected Growth Rate	2012 Median Pay
Accountants and auditors	Bachelor's degree	None	50,000 or more	10 to 19 percent	\$55,000 to \$74,999
Actors	Some college, no degree	Long-term on-the-job training	1,000 to 4,999	0 to 9 percent	The annual wage is not available.
Actuaries	Bachelor's degree	Long-term on-the-job training	5,000 to 9,999	20 to 29 percent	\$75,000 or more
Administrative law judges, adjudicators, and hearing officers	Doctoral or professional degree	Short-term on-the-job training	Declining	Declining	\$75,000 or more
Administrative services managers	Bachelor's degree	None	10,000 to 49,999	10 to 19 percent	\$75,000 or more
Adult basic and secondary education and literacy teachers and instructors	Bachelor's degree	Internship / residency	5,000 to 9,999	0 to 9 percent	\$35,000 to \$54,999
Advertising and promotions managers	Bachelor's degree	None	1,000 to 4,999	0 to 9 percent	\$75,000 or more
Advertising sales agents	High school diploma or equivalent	Moderate-term on-the-job training	Declining	Declining	\$35,000 to \$54,999
Aerospace engineering and operations technicians	Associate's degree	None	0 to 999	0 to 9 percent	\$55,000 to \$74,999
Aerospace engineers	Bachelor's degree	None	5,000 to 9,999	0 to 9 percent	\$75,000 or more
Agricultural and food science technicians	Associate's degree	Moderate-term on-the-job training	0 to 999	0 to 9 percent	\$25,000 to \$34,999
Agricultural engineers	Bachelor's degree	None	0 to 999	0 to 9 percent	\$55,000 to \$74,999

Published January 8, 2014

Source: <http://www.bls.gov/ooh/occupation-finder.htm>

Review Questions

MyWritingLab

1. Summarize any two of the graphs, tables, or charts in this section.
2. Make a claim about health care workers that is supported by data from more than one graph, chart, or table.
3. Based on the graphs, tables, and charts in this section, support a claim about the relationship of education to employability, earning potential, and the likelihood of living below the poverty line.
4. Two of the graphs from the Bureau of Labor Statistics represent *projections*—that is, educated guess about changes coming to the American labor force. As such, they are not yet facts. Still, you'll find some agreement between labor data projected by the BLS and data reported by Pew Research and Georgetown Public Policy Institute. Identify one such area of agreement.
5. What do employers care about most and least when evaluating college graduates for a new job?

Discussion and Writing Suggestions

MyWritingLab

1. The Georgetown Public Policy Institute's table "Unemployment and Earnings for College Majors" indicates relatively high unemployment rates of recently graduated majors in architecture, the social sciences, and humanities. Notice what happens to the unemployment rates after further education that leads to a graduate degree. What conclusions do you draw, and what effect might these conclusions have on your consideration of potential majors?
2. In this section's graphs, charts, and tables, locate industries and/or majors you find interesting. Pay special attention to the BLS projections in these same areas. What are the job prospects both at present and in the (projected) future? How would you use this data to help you decide about the types of work you want to pursue after graduation?
3. Both in terms of income and the likelihood of living in poverty, the relative impact of attaining a college degree on one's working life has changed substantially in the past fifty years. (On this point, see especially the first Pew Research graph.) How do you respond to this development? What's lost and what's gained when a college degree is all but required for economic advancement? In developing your answer, you might reflect on the jobs and economic situations of your parents and grandparents.

4. Use the graphical information in this section to plot a purely data-driven decision about which major and which career(s) you will pursue. Now review your decision. Are you happy with it? Could you devote your career to your chosen field? Why or why not?
5. Go to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' "Occupation Finder" (go to <http://www.bls.gov/ooh/occupation-finder.htm> or search "bls occupation finder"). This powerful tool offers a wealth of information about virtually any type of work you may be considering. Aside from summarizing key elements of the jobs (each job is hyperlinked to a "Summary" page), you'll learn about education needed, training opportunities, salary ranges, and projected jobs and growth rates. Spend ten minutes on the page, experimenting with different searches.¹ Write a one-page summary of the key results of your search.
6. Consider this scenario: A parent or other concerned figure presents you with the BLS projected employment rates by major industry and major industry group, 2012–2022. Pointing to the occupational groups that are likely to see the biggest gains, this person advises you to choose a course of study that prepares you for one of these significantly expanding occupational areas. What do you say?
7. As you review the charts, graphs, and tables, what data point stands out to you as the biggest surprise? What did you learn in reviewing this data that you did not know before? Discuss.

DEBATE: SHOULD YOU DO WHAT YOU LOVE?

One of the fundamental questions to ask in preparing for a lifetime of work is this: "Should I do what I love?" The (often) unspoken addendum: "...even if following my passion means that I'll earn less or have a difficult time finding work?" There it is, the tough choice: to work for money or to work for love? The question itself inclines us to think that the alternatives are mutually exclusive. But as with many either/or questions, this one obscures other possibilities, such as working a job that *needs* doing or a job that is meaningful (however this word is defined). And then there's the option of working at a not particularly interesting job to earn income for a greater good: to support a family, for instance, or to finance a child's education. Couldn't this effort bring satisfaction?

¹Note: You have the option of beginning your search by selecting search categories rather than particular jobs. For instance, using the drop-down menus, you can instruct the Web site to show you all jobs that (1) require an Associate's degree—that is, a two year degree—for which there is projected to be (2) a large increase in positions in a field that is (3) growing quickly and will pay (4) up to \$55,000. Seven jobs are listed. Or you can search the list of 580 specific jobs.

Perhaps meaning needn't come through work at all. Perhaps a job is just a job, a way to make money, and one's identity and self-worth come from activities *outside* the workplace. ("This is just my day job," says the waiter who during his off-hours works on his screenplay.) Though you may feel the need to make a single, fateful decision now as you contemplate your choice of major and future job prospects, the truth is that you'll be puzzling through these questions for a lifetime. Still, the decisions you make now *are* consequential, and so it's a good idea to be informed about the job market and to be mindful of your own priorities.

Earlier readings in this chapter have kept you abreast of changing data on the job market. This final cluster will give you a chance to ponder what it is you *want* from work.

DO WHAT YOU LOVE

Steve Jobs

On June 12, 2005, Steve Jobs (1955–2011), Apple cofounder and towering figure in the computer revolution, set off something of a chain reaction when he advised the graduating class of Stanford University to “find what you love”—that is, to find work about which you can be passionate. Was this good advice? The three writers who follow him in this cluster don't think so—though for differing reasons.

Steve Jobs was a technology pioneer who brought a ferocious focus on aesthetics to the world of computers, insisting that they be beautiful, intuitive, and accessible to a broad public, not just to engineers. He cofounded Apple in 1976 with Steve Wozniak, was forced out of that company in 1985, and a year later cofounded the computer-animation company Pixar (creator of Toy Story [1995]). Apple rehired Jobs in 1997 (a year after Pixar was sold for more than \$7 billion). In 2001, he introduced the iPod, two years later announcing the iTunes streaming music store that would revolutionize the music industry. Jobs was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer in 2003. Working through his illness, he introduced the touch-screen iPhone in 2007 and, three years later, the iPad, technologies that have profoundly transformed our interactions with the digital world. He finally succumbed to his illness on October 5, 2011. Not three weeks later Walter Isaacson's biography, titled *Steve Jobs*, was published to wide acclaim. As Isaacson points out in his introduction, the book is about “the roller coaster life and searingly intense personality of a creative entrepreneur whose passion for perfection and ferocious drive revolutionized six industries: personal computers, animated movies, music, phones, tablet computers, and digital publishing.”

To read Steve Jobs's speech, available via the *Stanford News*, go online and use these search terms: “Jobs Stanford speech.” You can also watch Jobs give this commencement address on YouTube.

 Discussion and Writing Suggestions

MyWritingLab™

1. Jobs advises the graduating class at Stanford “to find what you love”—advice roundly rejected by the three writers remaining in this chapter. Before you read their critiques of the Do What You Love (DWYL) philosophy, decide for yourself: Is DWYL *good* advice? How centrally will it figure in *your* search for a job?
2. Jobs calls dropping out of college “one of the best decisions I ever made.” He explains that the decision was “scary” at the time but later proved to be the right one because he could take courses that interested him without suffering through ones that didn’t. Do you think his decision to quit college was courageous? How might one drop out of college in a *noncourageous* way? What do you think would be the differences?
3. Jobs says: “You have to trust in something—your gut, destiny, life, karma, whatever. This approach has never let me down.” Do you think that you’re capable of such deep, intuitive trust? Or is it only the talented few who can trust as Jobs did, leaving the safe path for the riskier one? What do you trust—and how will that factor into decisions about which jobs to pursue?
4. Given your inclination to DWYL on the one hand and the realities of data about the job market on the other, what do you expect will drive your decision about choosing a career? Are you inclined to dismiss the employment data and trust that your love of art history or nineteenth-century British literature (for instance) will eventually land you on your feet? How do you navigate between passion and practicality?
5. Jobs writes that sometimes “life hits you in the head with a brick. Don’t lose faith.” Dropping out of college, he says, was one of the “best” decisions he ever made. And getting fired from Apple was “the best thing that could have ever happened to me. . . . It freed me to enter one of the most creative periods of my life.” Do you think Jobs’s talent for finding positives in what many might call negatives can be learned? Could you learn it? How?
6. The last of the three “stories” Jobs shares with the graduating seniors concerns the ways that death sets life in perspective. That knowledge remained hypothetical until he was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer. With death a more tangible prospect, Jobs found the advice “Live every day as if it was your last” compelling. To what extent do you find it compelling? How would your answer affect the kind of work you will seek upon graduation?
7. The words adorning the final issue of *The Whole Earth Catalogue*: “Stay Hungry. Stay Foolish.” Jobs found this to be good advice. Do you?

Jeff Haden

Jeff Haden is ghostwriter of more than three dozen books, many on business. He is also a columnist for CBS MoneyWatch.com, the Shenandoah Business Journal, and Inc. magazine and Inc.com, where the following appeared on November 14, 2012.

Imagine you've agreed to give advice to a group of business students but you can't think of a theme. Here's a guaranteed winner: Go with "Follow your passions... and do what you love!"

That's advice everyone loves to hear. You'll kill.

You'll also be wrong.

"Telling someone to follow their passion—from an entrepreneur's point of view—is disastrous," says Cal Newport, Georgetown University professor and author of *So Good They Can't Ignore You: Why Skills Trump Passion in the Search For Work You Love*. "That advice has probably resulted in more failed businesses than all the recessions combined... because that's not how the vast majority of people end up owning successful businesses." "Passion is not something you follow," he adds. ("Passion is something that will follow you as you put in the hard work to become valuable to the world.")

Here's why.

Career Passions Are Rare

It's easy to confuse a hobby or interest for a profound passion that will result in career and business fulfillment. The reality is, that type of preexisting passion is rarely valuable.

Don't believe me? Think about something you're passionate about. Or were passionate about when you were in high school. Write it down.

Then apply this test: Will people pay you for it? Will they pay you a lot for it? "Money matters, at least in a relative sense," Newport says. "Money is a neutral indicator of value. Potential customers don't care about your passion. Potential customers care about giving up money."

A passion people won't pay you for is hardly the basis for a career. It's a hobby. You can still love your hobbies—just love them in your spare time.

The key as an entrepreneur is to identify a *relevant* passion.

Passion Takes Time

The "hobby" passion is much different from the kind of passion you hope to find in your business career.

"Producing something important, gaining respect for it, feeling a sense of control over your life, feeling a connection to other people—that gives people a real sense of passion," Newport says.

- 15 Roughly speaking, work can be broken down into a job, a career, or a calling. A job pays the bills; a career is a path towards increasingly better work; a calling is work that is an important part of your life and a vital part of your identity. (Clearly most people want their work to be a calling.)

According to research, what is the strongest predictor of a person seeing her work as a calling?

Lyle [The number of years spent on the job. The more experience you have the more likely you are to love your work.

Why? The more experience you have the better your skills and the greater your satisfaction in having those skills. The more experience you have the more you can see how your work has benefited others. And you've had more time to develop strong professional and even personal relationships with some of your employees, vendors, and customers.

Where business success is concerned, passion is almost always the result of time and effort. It's not a prerequisite.

Passion Is a Side Effect of Mastery

- 20 "The myth of the virtuoso is also a problem," Newport says. "In the majority of cases, people didn't think of someone who became a virtuoso as having unusual talent when they were very young."

Instead, most highly skilled people were exposed to something in a way that made it interesting. Take music: Something (a song, an instrument, a teacher, etc.) initially inspired them. They started learning and then benefited from what Newport describes as a feedback effect.

"If you practice hard, soon you might find you're the best in your group of students," he says. "That's great feedback and it motivates you to keep practicing. Then you're one of the best in a larger group and that's motivating too. Practice and achievement is a gradual, self-reinforcing process."

If the work is interesting and you think there's a market—meaning people will pay you for that work—that's enough to get started. Then the work itself will give you the feedback you need. Creating a viable product will motivate you to develop your skills so you can refine that product or create more products. Landing one customer will motivate you to develop more skills so you can land more customers.

The satisfaction of achieving one level of success spurs you on to gain the skills to reach the next level, and the next, and the next.

- 25 And one day you wake up feeling incredibly fulfilled.

"The satisfaction of improving is deeply satisfying, as eons of craftspeople will attest," Newport says. "The process of becoming really good at something valuable is a fulfilling and satisfying process in itself...and is the foundation for a great entrepreneurial career."

Working Right Trumps Finding the Right Work

Want to love what you do? Pick something interesting. Pick something financially viable—something people will pay you to do or provide.

Then work hard. Improve your skills, whether at managing, selling, creating, implementing—whatever skills your business requires. Use the satisfaction and fulfillment of small victories as motivation to keep working hard. And as you build your company, stay focused on creating a business that will eventually provide you with a sense of respect, autonomy, and impact.

30 Don't focus on the value your work offers you," Newport says. "That's the passion mindset. Instead focus on the value you produce through your work: how your actions are important, how you're good at what you do, and how you're connected to other people."

(When you do, the passion will follow—and if you work hard enough, someday you'll be so good they can't ignore you.)

Discussion and Writing Suggestions MyWritingLab™

1. Haden quotes Georgetown University professor Cal Newport: "Passion is not something you follow. Passion is something that will follow you as you put in the hard work to become valuable to the world." This conclusion is very different than Jobs's DWYL insistence that that passion *precedes* work. Which view has greater emotional appeal? Logical appeal? Cultural appeal (in the sense that one formulation is perceived as more popular or "hip" than the other)? How does the passion/mastery debate prompt differing responses to these questions?

2. Imagine yourself sitting in the audience at Stanford on June 12, 2005, when Steve Jobs delivered his famous commencement address. (If you haven't already done so, you may want to go to YouTube to watch and listen to the address: search "commencement jobs stanford.") How might the Jobs's DWYL approach be daunting to many people? How might Haden's passion-follows-mastery approach offer an easier entry to the world of work?

3. To what extent are there limits to the passion-follows-mastery formula-tion? Think of a job that seems tremendously unappealing to you but at the same time is work that is socially useful, that people would pay for, and that you could master. Could you see passion eventually emerging from such work?

4. Haden discusses a feedback loop that builds confidence in workers: Practice and early success is praised, praise induces the worker to work harder, which results in more praise, and so on until "one day you wake up feeling incredibly fulfilled." Assuming that the path Haden describes actually leads to fulfillment, consider two questions: Is fulfillment in work a sufficient goal for you? To what extent is fulfillment the same thing as passion? Use these questions to reflect on what it is you *want* from work.

5. "Don't focus on the value your work offers you," Newport says. "That's the passion mindset. Instead focus on the value you produce through your work: how your actions are important, how you're good at what you do, and how you're connected to other people." Does the work experience of anyone you know validate Newport's view? Explain.
6. "Working right trumps finding the right work." What does Haden mean? Do you agree?

DEAR GRADS: DON'T DO WHAT YOU LOVE

Carl McCoy

Carl McCoy is a Boston-based writer and musician who studied at Tufts University, Oxford University, and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. This selection first appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* on May 28, 2013.

This month, commencement speakers across the country are exhorting graduates not to settle. They are urged instead to find their passion—to "do what you love." But is this the best advice for college students entering a tough labor market?

For those grads who do get jobs, the work will often be low-paying, with little in the way of long-term prospects. Some will soon go on to better jobs, but many will stay in these "day jobs" for years, waiting for their big break, waiting to be discovered—or simply waiting to find out what exactly it is that they truly love.

"Do what you love" is an important message, but it's unwise to build a career on the notion that we should all be paid for our passions. The advice captures only part of the story. It tells us how excellent work might be accomplished—by loving it—but it doesn't tell us why the work should be done. What is the point of all the effort? What is being worked toward?

The answer lies in working with a deeper sense of purpose or vocation. You don't need to be a religious or spiritual person to tap into this higher purpose; it can be derived from a sense of community and a desire to pull together. Yet without such a higher purpose where all this love and ambition can be directed, we don't have a very useful guidepost for meaningful success. We simply have a call to discover what it is that we love, and then to do it.

- 5 Sure, there are many people doing what they genuinely love. But how many of us love just one thing? It's romantic to imagine that each person is destined for a particular career path, one capable of being discovered with sufficient soul-searching. But most people have multifaceted interests and abilities and could probably be successful and happy in several fields.

Then there are those who love things that will never pay very well. As someone who has tried living as a starving artist, I can attest that there's

nothing romantic or noble about being impoverished in pursuit of doing what you love. When you're working two or three jobs, and you can't pay your bills, it doesn't matter how much you love any of them. You just get worn out.

Maybe there's another way to encourage new college graduates to think about their careers. Maybe all those commencement speakers would send more young people into the world likelier to be happy in their jobs if the speakers talked about love as a consequence of meaningful work instead of as the motivation for it.

Does the doctor love going into the hospital to see a patient in the middle of the night? Does the firefighter love entering a burning building? Does the teacher love trying to control a classroom full of disrespectful children? Not likely. But the work is performed with a sense of purpose that "love" doesn't capture. ** katie*

We don't all have to become first responders or social workers. And we can't all find jobs with such obvious benefits to society. When diplomas are being handed out, though, it might be worthwhile for graduates—and the rest of us—if the popular "do what you love" message were balanced with a more timeless message to find work that, even in some small way, truly matters. ** perfect!*

Discussion and Writing Suggestions MyWritingLab™

1. McCoy writes that "work [can be] performed with a sense of purpose that 'love' doesn't capture." What does he mean? What are the differences between working for "love" and working for a "purpose"?
2. To what extent is the work McCoy advocates focused on the world and its needs (call it outer-directed)? To what extent is this work driven by passion focused on the worker (call it inner-directed)? Is a particular job inherently more interesting to you or more worthy of your interest? Explain.
3. Commencement speakers often urge graduates not to settle (see McCoy's first paragraph). Given a tough job market, is it reasonable to hold out for what McCoy calls "work that, even in some small way, truly matters"? What if the only job open to you pays the rent and your student loans but doesn't address your need for meaning and/or passion? In what other endeavors might you seek meaning and passion?
4. How important is finding a job "that, even in some small way, truly matters" to you? Do you believe that one can find meaning, even nobility, in any job? Have you observed someone you know finding such meaning in what most would consider a routine, even menial job?

IN THE NAME OF LOVE

Miya Tokumitsu

Miya Tokumitsu holds a doctorate in art history from the University of Pennsylvania. Her critique of the Do-What-You-Love approach to work generated a great deal of media coverage on its publication in early 2014. "In the Name of Love" first appeared in *Jacobin* magazine, "a leading voice of the American left, offering socialist perspectives on politics, economics, and culture."

This essay is challenging but worth the effort, as it offers a smart, politically charged analysis of who actually gets to "do what they love" in our economy. Notably, Tokumitsu's reasons for disagreeing with the much-quoted advice of Steve Jobs differ from those of Jeff Haden and Carl McCoy. Considered together, these three critics offer a formidable front against the view of work that Jobs encourages; but Jobs, of course, a famously opinionated man, can hold his own. What is your view? We've glossed difficult vocabulary and formulations in Tokumitsu to ease your way.

There's little doubt that "do what you love" (DWYL) is now the unofficial work mantra for our time. The problem is that it leads not to salvation, but to the devaluation of actual work, including the very work it pretends to elevate—and more importantly, the dehumanization of the vast majority of laborers.¹

Superficially, DWYL is an uplifting piece of advice, urging us to ponder what it is we most enjoy doing and then turn that activity into a wage-generating enterprise. But why should our pleasure be for profit? Who is the audience for this dictum? Who is not?

By keeping us focused on ourselves and our individual happiness, DWYL distracts us from the working conditions of others while validating our own choices and relieving us from obligations to all who labor, whether or not they love it. It is the secret handshake of the privileged and a worldview that disguises its elitism as noble self-betterment. According to this way of thinking, labor is not something one does for compensation, but an act of self-love. If profit doesn't happen to follow, it is because the worker's passion and determination were insufficient. Its real achievement is making workers believe their labor serves the self and not the marketplace.²

- 5 Aphorisms have numerous origins and reincarnations, but the generic and hackneyed nature of DWYL confounds precise attribution. Oxford Reference³ links the phrase and variants of it to Martina Navratilova and François Rabelais,⁴

¹This is Tokumitsu's thesis. As you read, bear in mind the following question: In what ways does working at what you love devalue work and/or dehumanize workers?

²This key paragraph is worth reading several times, until you are confident you understand each sentence. Much of the rest of the argument rests on what Tokumitsu states here. Of special note is Tokumitsu's phrase "act of self-love." Jobs worked so hard at getting Apple products right less out of self-love than because he had a passion to get the products just right—for him an act of love, but love of the task and the final product, not love of himself.

³Oxford Reference: an online database of Oxford University Press's dictionaries and encyclopedias.

⁴Martina Navratilova and François Rabelais: respectively, a famous twentieth- and twenty-first-century tennis player and a famous sixteenth-century French Renaissance writer and doctor. Tokumitsu is saying, in effect, that we can't pinpoint the origins of the expression DWYL.

among others. The internet frequently attributes it to Confucius, locating it in a misty, Orientalized past. Oprah Winfrey and other peddlers of positivity have included it in their repertoires for decades, but the most important recent evangelist of the DWYL creed is deceased Apple CEO Steve Jobs.

His graduation speech to the Stanford University class of 2005 provides as good an origin myth as any, especially since Jobs had already been beatified as the patron saint of aestheticized work⁵ well before his early death. In the speech, Jobs recounts the creation of Apple, and inserts this reflection:

You've got to find what you love. And that is as true for your work as it is for your lovers. Your work is going to fill a large part of your life, and the only way to be truly satisfied is to do what you believe is great work. And the only way to do great work is to love what you do.

In these four sentences, the words "you" and "your" appear eight times. This focus on the individual is hardly surprising coming from Jobs, who cultivated a very specific image of himself as a worker: inspired, casual, passionate—all states agreeable with ideal romantic love. Jobs telegaphed the conflation of his besotted worker-self with his company so effectively that his black turtleneck and blue jeans became metonyms for all of Apple and the labor that maintains it.⁶

But by portraying Apple as a labor of his individual love, Jobs [ignored] the labor of untold thousands in Apple's factories, conveniently hidden from sight on the other side of the planet—the very labor that allowed Jobs to actualize his love.

The violence of this erasure needs to be exposed. While "do what you love" sounds harmless and precious, it is ultimately self-focused to the point of narcissism. Jobs' formulation of "do what you love" is the depressing antithesis to Henry David Thoreau's utopian vision of labor for all. In "Life Without Principle," Thoreau wrote,

...it would be good economy for a town to pay its laborers so well that they would not feel that they were working for low ends, as for a livelihood merely, but for scientific, even moral ends. Do not hire a man who does your work for money, but him who does it for the love of it.

Admittedly, Thoreau had little feel for the proletariat (it's hard to imagine someone washing diapers for "scientific, even moral ends," no matter how well-paid).⁷ But he nonetheless maintains that society has a stake in making work well-compensated and meaningful. By contrast, the twenty-first-century Jobsian view demands that we all turn inward. It absolves us of any obligation to or

⁵That is, work in which one finds beauty and meaning.

⁶"Besotted" means drunk or obsessed. In this context Tokumitsu suggests that Jobs was intoxicated with the idea of himself as a passionate worker. "Metonym" is an object that stands in place for, and suggests, some other object, entity, or idea. For instance, a scepter suggests a king or queen. One look at Jobs's black turtleneck and jeans and people thought Apple Computer.

⁷The "proletariat": the working-class wage earner who, according to Karl Marx, does not own property.

acknowledgment of the wider world, underscoring its fundamental betrayal of all workers, whether they consciously embrace it or not.

One consequence of this isolation is the division that DWYL creates among workers, largely along class lines. Work becomes divided into two opposing classes: that which is lovable (creative, intellectual, socially prestigious) and that which is not (repetitive, unintellectual, undistinguished). Those in the lovable work camp are vastly more privileged in terms of wealth, social status, education, society's racial biases, and political clout, while comprising a small minority of the workforce.

For those forced into unlovable work, it's a different story. Under the DWYL credo, labor that is done out of motives or needs other than love (which is, in fact, most labor) is not only demeaned but erased. As in Jobs' Stanford speech, unlovable but socially necessary work is banished from the spectrum of consciousness altogether.

Think of the great variety of work that allowed Jobs to spend even one day as CEO: his food harvested from fields, then transported across great distances. His company's goods assembled, packaged, shipped. Apple advertisements scripted, cast, filmed. Lawsuits processed. Office wastebaskets emptied and ink cartridges filled. Job creation goes both ways. Yet with the vast majority of workers effectively invisible to elites busy in their lovable occupations, how can it be surprising that the heavy strains faced by today's workers (abysmal wages, massive child care costs, et cetera) barely register as political issues even among the liberal faction of the ruling class?

In ignoring most work and reclassifying the rest as love, DWYL may be the most elegant anti-worker ideology around. Why should workers assemble and assert their class interests if there's no such thing as work?⁸

- 15 "Do what you love" disguises the fact that being able to choose a career primarily for personal reward is an unmerited privilege, a sign of that person's socioeconomic class. Even if a self-employed graphic designer had parents who could pay for art school and cosign a lease for a slick Brooklyn apartment, she can self-righteously bestow DWYL as career advice to those covetous of her success.

If we believe that working as a Silicon Valley entrepreneur or a museum publicist or a think-tank acolyte is essential to being true to ourselves — in fact, to loving ourselves — what do we believe about the inner lives and hopes of those who clean hotel rooms and stock shelves at big-box stores? The answer is: nothing.

Yet arduous, low-wage work is what ever more Americans do and will be doing. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the two fastest-growing

⁸Here Tokumitsu is referencing labor movements in which workers with common interests band together ("assemble") to assert their rights and win concessions such as improved wages, health care, and so on. The relatively few DWYL workers in principle have no reason to protest working conditions because they love their work. To focus on the relatively few DWYL workers, however, ignores most workers—for instance, the very people who assemble iPhones for Apple Inc. These workers *do* have grievances and could stand improvements in the working conditions. But if *only* DWYL work gets talked about and honored, if *only* DWYL work is the work that matters culturally, then the rest of the workforce, with its very real needs, gets ignored. Ultimately, this is an "anti-worker ideology" says Tokumitsu. It's a political problem that divides workers along class lines: those who have the resources to do DWYL work, and those who don't.

occupations projected until 2020 are "Personal Care Aide" and "Home Care Aide," with average salaries of \$19,640 per year and \$20,560 per year in 2010, respectively. Elevating certain types of professions to something worthy of love necessarily denigrates the labor of those who do unglamorous work that keeps society functioning, especially the crucial work of caregivers.

Ironically, DWYL reinforces exploitation even within the so-called love-able professions where off-the-clock, underpaid, or unpaid labor is the new norm: reporters required to do the work of their laid-off photographers, publicists expected to Pin and Tweet on weekends, the 46 percent of the workforce expected to check their work email on sick days. Nothing makes exploitation go down easier than convincing workers that they are doing what they love.

Instead of crafting a nation of self-fulfilled, happy workers, our DWYL era has seen the rise of...the unpaid intern—people persuaded to work for cheap or free, or even for a net loss of wealth. This has certainly been the case for all those interns working for college credit or those who actually purchase undesirable fashion-house internships at auction. (Valentino and Balenciaga are among a handful of houses that auctioned off month-long internships. For charity, of course.) The latter is worker exploitation taken to its most extreme, and as an ongoing ProPublica⁹ investigation reveals, the unpaid intern is an ever larger presence in the American workforce.

It should be no surprise that unpaid interns abound in fields that are highly socially desirable, including fashion, media, and the arts. These industries have long been accustomed to masses of employees willing to work for social currency instead of actual wages, all in the name of love. Excluded from these opportunities, of course, is the overwhelming majority of the population: those who need to work for wages. This exclusion not only calcifies economic and professional immobility, but insulates these industries from the full diversity of voices society has to offer.¹⁰

Do what you love and you'll never work a day in your life! Before succumbing to the intoxicating warmth of that promise, it's critical to ask, "Who, exactly, benefits from making work feel like non-work?" "Why should workers feel as if they aren't working when they are?" Historian Mario Liverani reminds us that

⁹From the ProPublica Web site: "ProPublica is an independent, non-profit newsroom that produces investigative journalism in the public interest."

¹⁰Here Tokumitsu argues that people who need to earn money can't afford to work as unpaid interns at jobs associated most often with DWYL. One result: Social immobility, as wage earners can't cross the divide to "lovable" work, at least not as interns. Another result: Companies that hire unpaid interns suffer from cultural uniformity—they don't get to hear and learn from diverse, fresh voices frozen out of the intern market.

"ideology has the function of presenting exploitation in a favorable light to the exploited, as advantageous to the disadvantaged."¹¹

In masking the very exploitative mechanisms of labor that it fuels, DWYL is, in fact, the most perfect ideological tool of capitalism. It shunts aside the labor of others and disguises our own labor to ourselves. It hides the fact that if we acknowledged all of our work as work, we could set appropriate limits for it, demanding fair compensation and humane schedules that allow for family and leisure time.

And if we did that, more of us could get around to doing what it is we *really* love.

¹¹In this essay, Tokumitsu has characterized DWYL as an "ideology"—that is, as a belief system. As any belief system, this one has consequences for the people who adopt it. In a capitalist system, writes Tokumitsu (who quotes historian Liverani to make her point), the DWYL "ideology" favors the employer who can underpay (or, in the case of interns, *not* pay) workers who themselves accept the proposition that as long as they are doing what they love, they don't really *need* to get paid. The workers are duped into thinking they actually benefit from the arrangement, but they are actually being exploited. Their "disadvantage" is being sold to them as an "advantage." As for the wage laborers who don't work at DWYL jobs, the ideology ignores them altogether. Culturally, they disappear.

Review Questions

MyWritingLab™

1. According to Tokumitsu, how can DWYL make us insensitive to the working conditions of others?
2. How does DWYL divide workers along class lines?
3. Tokumitsu writes: "labor that is done out of motives or needs other than love (which is, in fact, most labor) is not only demeaned but erased." What does she mean?
4. DWYL is ultimately an "anti-worker ideology," according to Tokumitsu. Why?
5. Tokumitsu quotes Historian Mario Liverani: "ideology has the function of presenting exploitation in a favorable light to the exploited, as advantageous to the disadvantaged." What does Liverani mean?

Discussion and Writing Suggestions

MyWritingLab™

1. Early on, Tokumitsu asks, "Why should our pleasure be for profit?" It's a good question. Why or why not?
2. Tokumitsu claims that only the wealthy can afford to be self-actualized at work—and to do what they love. Do you agree? Explain.
3. Tokumitsu asks us to consider that while the privileged few are doing what they love, an entire army of low-wage workers is supporting them: truck drivers