

Living the Good (Work) Life: Implications of General Values for Work Values

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*Advances in the understanding of general values from personality and social psychology apply to work values. In this paper, I introduce the concepts of values, value priorities, motivational goals, value types, and personal value systems used to clarify work values. I also introduce the terms basic and broad value and work value types. Second, I organize O*NET work values with Schwartz's 1992 structural model of general values and discuss the implications. Third, I discuss issues to consider when addressing work values, such as life roles, developmental levels, work and life experiences as well as context and cultural variables. Fourth, I conclude the article by providing student learning outcomes about work values for career advising.*

KEYWORDS: career advising, O*NET work values, personality psychology, Schwartz's value theory, social psychology

The role that work plays in peoples' lives has changed throughout history, and in contemporary society, work serves as a source of economic reward and opportunity to design a personally meaningful life that matters to others (Hartung, 2009; Savickas et al., 2009; Sverko & Vizek-Vidovic, 1995). Therefore, students need to develop answers to questions such as "Why do I work?" "What do I want to get from work?" and "How do I want work to fit into my life to experience the best possible living?" (Hartung, 2009; Rohan, 2000; Rounds & Armstrong, 2005) Living the worker role in ways congruent with the answers to these questions will facilitate a meaningful life that matters. Furthermore, because of the changing nature of the world of work, such as increased frequency of job changes as well as greater uncertainty and anxiety connected to the possibility of unemployment (Feller & Whichard, 2005), the answers to these questions can help those challenged to find a sense of meaning and mattering.

At the heart of students' answers to these questions are *values* in general and *work values* specifically. Work values are a subcategory of general values (Elizur & Saige, 1999; Ros, Schwartz, & Surkiss, 1999), and both types of values are important because they influence attitudes and behavior, facilitate the fulfillment of needs and wants, and

contribute to a sense of self and meaning (Rohan, 2000). They serve as "guiding principle(s)" and overarching motivational goals (Schwartz, 1992, p. 17), compared to specific goals, in life and work. For example, a goal of "getting all my work done by Thursday afternoon so I can take a long weekend with my family" is a specific goal, whereas, "pursuing a job where I set my own work schedule" is related to the overarching, motivational, work goal or guiding principle—that is, in this example, the work value of autonomy.

When addressing work values in the career context, advisors introduce students to a language and framework that can be used to help them reflect on and develop answers to these questions. Gordon (2006) noted the following as one of the basic tenets of career advising: "Career decisions are value based. Clarifying a personally valid set of beliefs and acting upon them is critical to a satisfying career" (p. 16). Furthermore, career advising involves helping students a) become aware of their values, interests, skills, and abilities; b) understand how these characteristics connect with academic and career opportunities; and c) use this information to develop academic, career, and life goals (Gordon, 2006; Habley, 1984).

However, compared to interests and skills, work values receive significantly less attention in both career development research and practice (e.g., career advising, education, and counseling) (Hartung, 2009; Hirschi, 2010; Rounds & Armstrong, 2005). In fact, my experience providing career counseling, supervising counselors, and teaching career development courses for academic advisors and counselors indicates that work values are often not addressed sufficiently when professionals help students with career planning. A key reason for the omission of this guidance is a lack of understanding about work values and their role in career planning. This is unfortunate because work values, interests, and skills are interwoven in career development; work values reflect the needs and wants people fundamentally seek to satisfy from work, interests reflect the type of activities and problems in which they want to engage as they pursue their work values, and skills reflect peoples' ability to perform the tasks required of the type of work in which they are interested (Super, 1995). For example,

two students may both be interested and skilled in medical science and pursue work developing new medicines. However, one may be motivated because it is demanding and challenging, while the other student may feel motivated to heal people; that is, the same occupation can help people with different work-value priorities to experience meaning and mattering. Likewise, two students may both be motivated by work that demands self-direction and initiative, but because of differences in their interests and skills, one pursues an occupation in political fundraising while the other becomes a freelance journalist; that is, people with the same work-value priorities can experience meaning and mattering in different occupations.

The study of general values has a long history in personality and social psychology, and work values is rooted in early personality and social psychology as well as career counseling (Hartung, 2009; Rohan, 2000; Rounds & Armstrong, 2005). Furthermore, information about work values is available in the career advising literature (e.g., Gordon, 2006; Hughey, Burton Nelson, Damminger, & McCalla-Wriggins, 2009), which draws from the career counseling literature (e.g., Gore & Metz, 2008; Niles & Hutchinson, 2009) that addresses work values. However, in recent decades work and general values have been treated separately in the literature (Elizur & Sagie, 1999). Thus, the use of work values in career advising and counseling was not informed by advances in the understanding of general values, such as the clarification of the values concept (Rohan, 2000) and the modeling of the dynamic structure of values (Schwartz, 1992). Therefore, I seek to advance the understanding of work values by integrating the general values literature from personality and social psychology to work values found in the career advising (Niles & Hutchinson, 2009) and counseling (Brown, 2002; Dawis & Lofquist, 1984; Lofquist & Dawis, 1991; Super, 1995) literature. This effort provides a conceptual foundation for advisors to explore ways to address work values in career advising.

Understanding Work Values: Contributions from Personality and Social Psychology

Rohan (2000) advanced the understanding of the general values construct when she reviewed the personality and social psychology literature and clarified the differences and similarities between values, *value priorities*, *motivational goals*, *value types*, and *value systems*. These distinctions have not been clearly made within the work values literature. Schwartz's (1992) pioneering work in general

values was central to Rohan's clarification of the values construct, and similarly, Schwartz's theory has not been integrated with the treatment of work values found in the career advising and counseling literature. The application of both Rohan's framework and Schwartz's theory to work values will advance career advising because these concepts highlight unique dimensions of work values to discuss with students; they also feature the themes advisors can listen for and ask about as students reflect on ways to develop a satisfying experience in the worker role.

Values, Work Values, and Priorities

Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) identified five features common to most definitions of values in the literature. They concluded that values are "(a) concepts or beliefs, (b) about desirable end states or behaviors, (c) that transcend specific situations, (d) guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events, and (e) are ordered by relative importance" (p. 551). This definition highlights the involvement of both thoughts (e.g., beliefs) and emotions (e.g., desires) that serve as guiding principles or goals, across time and different life domains, that facilitate the prioritization and choice of specific events and outcomes (i.e., end states) as well as actions to perform and ways to socially interact (i.e., behaviors). Thus, values are cognitive-affective lenses through which people rank order events, outcomes, actions, and social interactions based on the extent to which they will help fulfill their needs and wants—that is, achieve their conception of "best possible living" (Rohan, 2000, p. 270)—or the good life.

Value priorities describes the level of importance one assigns to different values. When asked to explain their values, people will likely identify their value priorities. When helping students prioritize values, advisors typically ask about outcomes and behaviors the student finds important and unimportant or desirable and undesirable, or advisors will inquire about the principles or goals that guide or motivate them as they decide which outcomes and behaviors to pursue. For example, humbleness is a value. However, one student will see being humble as desirable, while another student may be indifferent to humbleness or view it as unimportant. The students differ in the role that humbleness plays in helping them to evaluate end states and behaviors (i.e., the value), but they do not differ in terms of whether humbleness exists for their consideration.

When one achieves an end state or engages in

behaviors consistent with his or her value priorities the person will experience positive “psychological, practical, and social consequences” (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1992, p. 4.). For example, a student who highly prioritizes acting responsible will experience a positive emotion or the absence of a negative emotion (i.e., psychological outcome) if she or he completes the assigned tasks for a group class project on time and to the best of her or his ability. Furthermore, the student and the group are likely to receive a good grade on the project (i.e., practical outcome), and the other group members will likely be pleased with the student’s performance (i.e., social outcome). The prioritization of responsibility will facilitate a positive attitude toward the successful completion of this academic task as well as a positive attitude and desire to engage in behaviors that will help the person achieve this specific outcome. Values motivate people to pursue certain events, outcomes, actions, and social interactions, and avoid others; that is, values function as overarching motivational goals.

Therefore, work values reflect the events, outcomes, actions, and social interactions people seek in the worker role (as opposed, e.g., to the parent role) and work setting that reflect their workplace needs and wants. They serve as overarching motivational goals in work and thus help people to evaluate workplace outcomes (e.g., job security, compensation), social relations (e.g., supportive supervisors), and expected behaviors (e.g., pursuit of own ideas, performance in a variety of activities) in terms of work experience as a promoter or hindrance to accomplishing the best possible living. Work value priorities reflect the level of importance people assign to work values. If one’s experience in the worker role allows him or her to achieve outcomes, relate to others, and engage in activities that are consistent with a highly prioritized work value, then the person is likely to experience positive psychological, practical, and social outcomes. For example, a student who prioritizes the work value of security will likely have a favorable view of and seek employment in a setting that provides steady employment and will view negatively and avoid those offering employment that is intermittent or of an uncertain duration. If in a place that provides steady employment, this person may experience positive emotions (e.g., work satisfaction) or the absence of negative emotions (e.g., anxiety), steady income (i.e., practical outcome), and positive interactions with friends because she or he is not distracted with worry about losing the job (i.e., social outcome). In this way, an individual’s work

experience will contribute to his or her conception of best possible living (Rohan, 2000).

Although individuals could generate a unique list of values and work values, advisors who keep a comprehensive list available will save time in an appointment and keep the focus on (work) values (as opposed to interests or skills), help advisees consider (work) values that may not readily come to mind, and clearly connect general and work values to motivational goals. Published lists of general and work values relate to specific, underlying, motivational goals (i.e., value and work value systems). Some of the popular general-value systems include the *Schwartz Value Survey* (Schwartz, 1992), the *Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values* (Kopelman, Rovenpor, & Guan, 2003), and the *Rokeach Value Survey* (Rokeach, 1975). Some of the popular work-value systems include the *O*NET Work Importance Profiler* (WIP) (McCloy et al., 1999a), the *Work Values Inventory* (Super, 1970), and the *Life Values Inventory* (Crace & Brown, 1995).

In this article, I feature the *Schwartz Value Survey* (Schwartz, 1992) as the general values system because it a) addresses values at three levels, b) provides a structural model of values, and c) has sound cross-cultural validity. I refer to the O*NET work-values system found in the O*NET WIP (McCloy et al., 1999a) and the *O*NET Work Importance Locator* (WIL) (McCloy et al., 1999b) because of the advantages highlighted by Rounds and Armstrong (2005): a) It is the most comprehensive work-value system; b) it is directly connected with occupational information; and (c) both the WIP (<http://www.onetcenter.org/WIP.html>) and WIL (<http://www.onetcenter.org/WIL.html>) are free. The 21 individual O*NET work values, originated with the theory of work adjustment (Dawis & Lofquist, 1984; Lofquist & Dawis, 1991), were first measured with the *Minnesota Importance Questionnaire* (Rounds et al., 1981, as cited in Rounds & Armstrong, 2005). They are listed in the first column of Table 1. For example, the motivational goal underlying the work value of activity is to remain busy in the workplace and the work value of variety reflects the motivational goal to have a job that requires different work tasks each day.

Basic Value and Work Value Types

When working with students, advisors will often have difficulty focusing on specific individual values and the corresponding individual motivational goals due to the cumbersome number of possi-

Table 1. Comparison of O*NET work values, O*NET basic work value types, and Schwartz’s basic and broad value types

O*NET Work Values (from career development literature)		Schwartz’s Values (from personality & social psychology literature)	
21 Individual Work Values	7 Basic Work-Value Types	10 Basic Value Types	4 Broad Value Types
		Universalism	Self-transcendence
Coworkers Moral Values Social Service	Relationships (Altruism)	Benevolence	
		Conformity	Conservation
		Tradition	
Company Policies Supervision-Human Relations Supervision-Technical	Support (Safety)	Security	
Compensation Security Working Conditions	External Working Conditions (Extrinsic Comfort)		
Recognition Advancement Authority Social Status	Recognition (Status)	Power	Self-enhancement
Achievement Ability Utilization	Achievement (Achievement)	Achievement	
		Hedonism	Openness to Change
Activity Independence Variety	Internal Working Conditions (Intrinsic Comfort)	Stimulation	
Autonomy Responsibility Creativity	Independence (Autonomy)	Self-direction	

Note. Labels of O*NET basic work-value types are those used in the WIP and WIL materials, and the labels in parentheses are those used for technical and research purposes.

bilities. For example, the *Schwartz Value Survey* (Schwartz, 1992) features 56 distinct values and the O*NET offers 21 work values to consider. Most students would not gain much from individually addressing all 21 O*NET work values during career advising sessions. Furthermore, each value is similar to some values but also different from other values in terms of motivational goals.

Thus, values can be organized into fewer groups with similar motivational goals, called *value types* (Rohan, 2000). I refer to individual values combined into groups based on similarities in motivational goals as *basic value types*, which can be further regrouped into fewer groups of broad value types based on motivational goals. I use the terms *basic* and *broad value types* because they are more

helpful when discussing work values with students than the related measurement terms used to refer to these types of groupings (e.g., first- or lower-order and second- or higher-order value types) (Rounds & Armstrong, 2005; Schwartz, 1992).

The individual O*NET work values are also organized into basic work-value types. The seven basic work-value types are listed in column 2 of Table 1 with the corresponding individual work values listed in the first column. O*NET work values are typically organized into six basic types, but to make them more consistent with Schwartz's (1992) theory I offered seven types instead. The underlying motivational goals for the basic work-value types are as follows: relationships (serve others and interact with coworkers in a friendly, noncompetitive, and harmonious environment), support (work in a predictable and stable environment with supportive management), external working conditions (work in an environment that is nonstressful, has good external working conditions, and provides job security), recognition (opportunities for advancement, leadership, prestige, and being in a dominant position), achievement (opportunities to use one's strongest abilities and experience a sense of accomplishment in a results-oriented environment), internal working conditions (opportunities to work on different tasks, remain busy, and work alone), and independence (opportunities for self-directed work and decision making and in an environment that facilitates initiative) (Dawis, 2002; National Center for O*NET Development, n.d.).

Schwartz grouped the individual values of the Schwartz Value Survey into 10 basic value types. Schwartz's basic-value types are listed in column 3 of Table 1. For example, the individual values and corresponding motivational goals of social power ("control over others, dominance"), authority ("the right to lead or command"), and wealth ("material possessions, money") (Rohan, 2000, p. 261) were grouped together to form the basic value type of power. The motivational goal of power is the "attainment of social status and prestige, and control or dominance over people and resources" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 9).

Furthermore, a comparison of columns 2 and 3 of Table 1 illustrates my premise that the 7 O*NET basic work-value types and Schwartz's 10 basic-value types reflect similar motivational goals. For example, the O*NET basic work-value type of relationships has a workplace-focused motivational goal that is parallel to the general motivational goal of Schwartz's basic-value type of benevolence.

Examination of Table 1 also highlights a lack of parallels between O*NET basic work-value types for the Schwartz basic-value types of universalism, conformity, tradition, and hedonism. Perhaps this lack of correlation highlights meaningful gaps in the coverage of the O*NET work values and that researchers need to articulate more individual work values that expand the coverage of O*NET work-value measures. Perhaps the four basic-value types that do not match up represent relevant motivational goals in nonwork-related life roles and therefore are not essential for a measure of work values. However, this latter explanation also requires further examination. Finally, two O*NET basic work-value types (i.e., support and external working conditions) both parallel the motivational workplace goals of the Schwartz basic-value type of security.

Rohan's (2000) definitional clarity of the terms *value* and *value type* contributes to the study on work values because the terms *work value* and *work value type* have not been used consistently for similar constructs across measures and theorists. For example, in the theory of work adjustment (Lofquist & Dawis, 1991), work values are referred to as *needs* and work value types are referred to as *work values*. However, in Super's theory, work values are referred to as *work values*, but work value types are referred to as *value orientations* (Rounds & Armstrong, 2005). Hopefully the definitional clarity introduced herein will result in consistent use of terms in the area of work values.

Broad Value and Work Value Types

Just as individual values can be grouped into a smaller number of basic value types, basic value types can be further grouped into a smaller number of broad value types based on similarities in motivational goals. One of Schwartz's significant contributions to the understanding of values was his distinction and description of value types at both the basic and broad levels. More specifically, he grouped the 10 basic value types into 4 broad value types, which are listed in column 4 of Table 1, and a comparison of columns 3 and 4 illustrates the basic value types that correspond to specific broad-value types. For example, the broad value type of conservation is comprised of the basic value types of conformity, tradition, and security. Hedonism is the only basic value type that partly corresponds with two broad-value types: self-enhancement and openness to change.

The four broad value types and corresponding motivational goals are a) self-transcendence, which

reflects motivation “to transcend selfish interests and promote the welfare of others, close and distant, and of nature” (Schwartz, 1992, p. 44); b) conservation, which reflects motivation “to preserve the status quo and the certainty it provides in relationships with close others, institutions, and traditions” (p. 43); c) self-enhancement, which reflects motivation to enhance “personal interests (even at the expense of others)” (pp. 43-44); and d) openness to change, which reflects motivation to pursue “intellectual and emotional interests in unpredictable and uncertain directions” (p. 43). Therefore, through Schwartz’s model, advisors can discuss three levels of values and value priorities with students: individual values, basic value types, and broad value types. This organization provides flexibility for exploring values with a student that is responsive to her or his experiences, knowledge about values, and current developmental needs.

Work values are only organized at the individual and basic type levels. Thus, the application of Schwartz’s (1992) four broad-value types to work values is another way that the personality and social psychology literature on general values can advance the understanding of work values for use in career advising. Comparing columns 2 and 4 in Table 1, I propose that the O*NET basic work-value types correspond to Schwartz’s four broad value types; that is, relationships corresponds to self-transcendence; support and external working conditions correspond to conservation; recognition and achievement correspond to self-enhancement; and internal working conditions and independence correspond to openness to change.

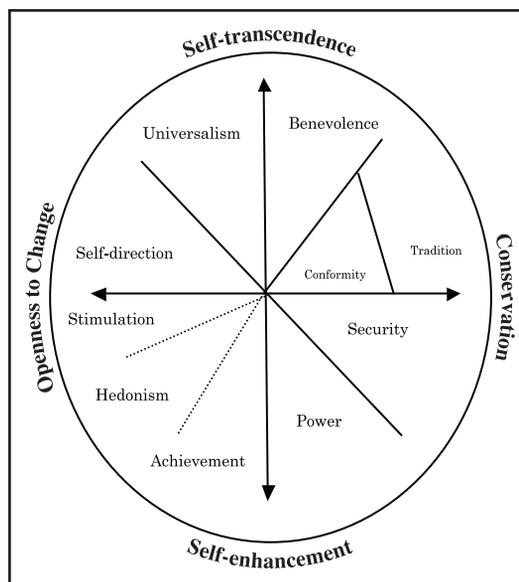
This organization of basic work-value types as per Schwartz’s (1992) broad-value types is based on a rational approach and therefore the relational hypotheses proposed in this organization can and should be empirically examined. However, the practical usefulness of this organization is exciting and potentially facilitative of career advising. With this organization, advisors enjoy flexibility to address work values and work value priorities at the level most appropriate for a student’s experiences, knowledge of work values, and current career planning needs: 21 individual work values, 7 basic work-value types, and 4 broad work-value types. In addition, this approach allows students to crosswalk their work-value priorities to a system of general values and vice versa. Furthermore, this framework contributes to the understanding and use of work values because it allows for the application of the structural dynamics of Schwartz’s (1992) model.

Value and Work Value Systems

In another significant contribution to the understanding of values, Schwartz (1992) described the structure of values and value types, which is represented as a circular model (see Figure 1). The location of values as well as basic and broad value types within the structure is based on the similarity and dissimilarity of motivational goals; that is, values and value types with greater similarity in motivational goals are nearer to one another. Thus, starting at twelve o’clock and moving clockwise one sees the basic and broad value types of universalism and benevolence (self-transcendence); tradition and conformity (divided horizontally) and security (conservatism); power and achievement (self-enhancement); and hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction (openness to change).

The circular structure reflects the potential compatibilities and conflicts, based on motivational goals, inherent between different value types. Therefore, each pair of adjacent basic-value types is compatible in terms of some aspects of motivational goals. (Except the motivational goals of benevolence are not considered compatible with those of conformity and tradition.) For example,

Figure 1. Schwartz’s model of values and value types



Note. Reprinted from *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Volume 25, S. H. Schwartz, *Universals in the Content and Structure of Values: Theoretical Advances and Empirical Tests in 20 Countries*, p. 65, 1992, with permission from Elsevier.

if a student highly prioritizes both security and power, his or her pursuits in these realms might be compatible (even though they correspond to different broad-value types) because “both stress avoiding or overcoming the threat of uncertainties by controlling relationships and resources” (Schwartz, 1992, p. 15). In another example, self-direction and universalism can be compatible because “both express reliance on one’s own judgment and comfort with the diversity of existence” (Schwartz, 1992, p. 15).

However, the pursuit of activities associated with some value types conflicts with the motivational goals of the other value types. For example, the relation between the broad value type of openness to change (and the corresponding basic-value types) with the motivational goals of the broad value type of conservation (and the corresponding basic-value types) illustrates a major conflict because pursuing “interests in unpredictable and uncertain directions” (i.e., openness to change) (Schwartz, 1992, p. 43) is inconsistent with preserving “the status quo and the certainty it provides” (i.e., conservation) (p. 43) and vice versa. A second major inherent conflict characterizes self-transcendence (and the corresponding basic-value types) and self-enhancement (and the corresponding basic-value types) because if one pursues her or his “own personal interests (even at the expense of others)” (pp. 43-4), she or he will experience difficulty in also engaging in behaviors that “transcend selfish concerns and promote the welfare of others” (Schwartz, 1992, p. 44) and vice versa.

Schwartz’s (1992) structural model represents “stable and predictable relations” (Rohan, 2000, p. 270) between values and value types and therefore illustrates a value system. Furthermore, while the value priorities may differ cross-culturally, these basic and broad value types—and subsequent compatible and conflicting relationships—characterize the content and structure of values of many cultures. Therefore, Schwartz’s work has advanced the understanding of the structure of the human value system (Rohan, 2000). However, Schwartz (1992) acknowledged that, while evidence from cross-cultural work supports his theory, the model cannot be used reliably in all countries because the value types and relationships have been proven only partially accurate with some samples (e.g., China).

The structural model has not been used to understand the dynamics of work value types. Although the relation between Schwartz’s (1992) general values and the work values commonly

used in career choice and planning (e.g., O*NET) have not been directly tested, some have shown evidence that the two value systems likely correspond (Ros et al., 1999; Smith & Campbell, 2006) and that the four broad value-types organization is applicable to work (Blustein, 2006; Smith & Campbell, 2006; Sverko & Vizek-Vidovic, 1995). Therefore, applying Schwartz’s (1992) structural value model to the O*NET work values, one may find that the following relationships between work value types are compatible: a) support and external working conditions with recognition; b) recognition with achievement; and c) internal working conditions with independence. Furthermore, the following relationships between work value types may conflict: a) relationships with achievement and recognition and b) support and external working conditions with independence and internal working conditions.

The practical implications for helping people make decisions in relation to work and career are inherent in the Schwartz (1992) structural model of general values. For example, students could use this model to examine their work-value type priorities for both compatible and conflicting relationships and address the implications in career planning. Additionally, this application of Schwartz’s (1992) empirically validated value system enhances the O*NET work-values system as the former enables the latter to become a system of “stable and predictable relations” (Rohan, 2000, p. 270). Thus, personality and social psychology provide a promising new avenue that can expand the understanding of and use of work values in career advising; however, researchers still need to directly examine the connection between work value types and Schwartz’s (1992) circular model. Also, one cannot assume that the cross-cultural validity of Schwartz’s model transfers to the O*NET work values, thus offering another avenue for researchers to study in this area.

The O*NET work values are traditionally organized into six basic work-value types (Dawis & Lofquist, 1984; Lofquist & Dawis, 1991), but I illustrate a seven basic work-values type organization because empirical evidence suggests that grouping the O*NET work values into seven basic work-value types may be more accurate (McCloy et al., 1999a), and this grouping allows for the O*NET work values to be connected to Schwartz’s (1992) structural model. The difference between the six and seven basic work-value type groupings centers around the differences resulting from combining the basic work-value types of internal and external working conditions into a single basic

work-value type: working conditions. If internal and external working conditions are combined, then Schwartz's model cannot be fully applied, because internal and external working conditions appear to represent opposing motivations, openness to change versus conservation, respectively. Thus, the social and personality psychology literature on general values can be used to resolve the issue of how many work value types should be used to organize the O*NET work values. Because of potential benefits of understanding work values within Schwartz's structural model, I used seven basic O*NET work-value types.

Personal and Work Value Systems

Schwartz's (1992) value system is a comprehensive and fairly universal representation of human values (Rohan, 2000) and likely works for each advisee. However, students differ in terms of the values and value types they view as most and least important and desirable; that is, their value priorities differ. The picture formed by bringing together a student's prioritization of all the values and value types in the human value system illustrates his or her *personal value system* (Rohan, 2000). The personal value system shows the pursuits one is willing to give up (at least in part) (e.g., security) to gain more in terms of another benefit (e.g., self-direction) (Rohan, 2000). Therefore, it serves as a way to organize which outcomes and behaviors "are more or less important to best possible living" (Rohan, 2000, p. 264). Thus, most students will use the same human-value system to generate a unique personal-value system, which is a map of how one evaluates outcomes and behaviors in terms of their likelihood to satisfy her or his needs and wants.

When helping students explore work values, academic advisors specifically assist them in identifying *work value priorities* and in turn clarify their personal work-value system. The personal work-value system reflects outcomes and behaviors one is willing to give up in part (e.g., relationships) to gain more of another (e.g., recognition) in the worker role. It maps the events, outcomes, actions, and social interactions people want to pursue to facilitate the role of work in the good life. Thus, by engaging in student career advising to identify and articulate her or his work value priorities and personal work value system, advisors can help the advisee understand the work-related outcomes and behaviors likely to be associated with the best possible work experience. The advisor, however, must remember that the O*NET work-value system

does not offer the same level of evidence for cross-cultural validity, or universality, as the *Schwartz Value Survey* (Schwartz, 1992).

Issues to Consider

General Values, Work Values, and Life Roles

Whether work values are an extension of general values in the work setting (a spillover effect) or if people seek to satisfy certain values in work that they cannot employ in other life roles, and vice versa (the compensation effect), remains unclear (Elizur & Sagie, 1999; Patton, 2000), but theoretical reasoning (e.g., Ros et al., 1999) and some empirical evidence seem to support the spillover effect (Elizur & Sagie, 1999). Regardless, when addressing work values in career advising, the advisor must be mindful that the relation between general values, work values, and life roles (e.g., work, family, leisure, community) (Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996) may differ among students, and therefore, this relation between general and work values and life roles may need to be addressed.

Furthermore, whether Schwartz's (1992) general values or the O*NET work values prove most useful depends on the student's reason for addressing values in career advising. If the advisee is interested in how work values connect with different occupations, then the advisor may want to use O*NET work values. However, if the student is concerned about the values to pursue in work and those to pursue in other life roles, or if he or she expresses issues regarding life role salience and conflict (Super et al., 1996), then Schwartz's more comprehensive list of values (e.g., hedonism, conformity) may prove the better choice (Rounds & Armstrong, 2005).

Clarity, Stability, Developmental Level, and Work and Life Experiences

Students address work values based on their developmental level, work backgrounds, and experiences with choice and loss. Students at more advanced developmental levels, with more extensive work experience, who have not always been confident about or able to fulfill a (work) value may show greater clarity in their personal work-value system. Therefore, nontraditional-aged college students, who may be more likely to fit this characterization than their traditional-aged peers, may have clearer and more stable work-value systems; that is, they may rate some work-value types as more or less important over the long-term compared to younger students who may indicate that most work-values types carry equal importance

or who frequently change the ratings as they gain experience. Regardless of student age and experience, low clarity and instability of the personal work-value system may need to be addressed in a career advising situation.

Furthermore, college may offer an opportune context in which to discuss work values because education may facilitate greater clarity and stability in a person's personal-value system (Schwartz, 1992). Thus, advisors should help students understand that future experiences and developmental tasks may influence their prioritization of work value types and explain that the process of work value clarification and prioritization will likely be an ongoing process.

The Role of Context and Culture

Context and cultural variables influence the development, expression, and role of work value priorities in career advising. Work-value priorities tend to be stable, but can change in response to a person's interaction with the environment (e.g., via maturation, life events, occupational opportunities) (Rohan, 2000; Sverko & Vizek-Vidovic, 1995). For example, people in occupations with high prestige and pay may express self-fulfillment values, while people in occupations with low prestige and pay may express extrinsic work values, such as security (Sverko & Vizek-Vidovic, 1995). Therefore, to facilitate understanding of the ways these experiences may influence work value priorities for advisees, advisors must know the work and life experiences of both students and those of influential family members.

A significant cultural variable that influences the development, expression, and role of work values is an individualism-collectivism orientation (Brown, 2002; Schwartz, 1992). For example, collectivistic orientations are associated with a higher prioritization of benevolence over universalism, whereas, individualistic orientations are not associated with differences between benevolence and universalism (Schwartz, 1992). Therefore, academic advisors must be aware of the influence of culture and context on the development of personal work-value systems.

Next Steps

In recent decades, the clarification of the values concept (Rohan, 2000) and the development of the Schwartz (1992) circular model of values advanced the understanding of general values in social and personality psychology. In this article, I applied these advances to work values to pro-

vide a conceptual foundation in which to better understand the possible uses of work value exploration in career advising. Addressing work values in career advising may benefit students by helping them develop a clearer picture of their overarching motivational goals for work and how they want the work experience to contribute to best possible living. Furthermore, work values may prove more important than interests and skills in career advising with some students, such as those who show multipotentiality (Kerr, 1990).

Important student-learning outcomes associated with work values include a) understanding work values, work value types, and motivational goals of a work value system; b) articulating a personal work-values system by crystallizing and prioritizing work values; c) understanding the connection between work values and occupational possibilities; d) evaluating the match between one's personal work-value system and an occupation; and e) understanding the role of work values in developing a story about "how an individual practices, enacts, and makes meaning of an occupational choice" (Hartung, 2009, p. 9). Because I did not have the space to address career advising activities that help students achieve these learning outcomes, I will cover these aspects of the work value system in a future article.

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