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CHAPTER 1

WORK VALUES

A Career Construction Elaboration

Mark L. Savickas

The social reorganization of work in the 21st century transforms permanent jobs into temporary assignments. Accordingly, an individual's career decision making may be shaped more by work values than by vocational interests. This explains, in part, the recent spate of vocational psychology and career counseling articles and books on constructs such as values, purpose, meaning, calling, and spirituality. This chapter contributes to that literature by examining the meaning and counseling use of *work values* from the perspective of career construction theory (Savickas, 2005, 2013) and life design practice (Savickas, 2011, 2012). In so doing, it describes values within the nexus of motivational constructs that also includes needs and interests. Furthermore, the chapter describes how counselors may help clients formulate plans for purposeful action, that is, behaviors infused with personal meaning sustained by needs, values, and interests.

WORK VALUES

Work values denote the general and relatively stable goals that people wish to accomplish in the process of performing their jobs and the objectives that they seek as products of their jobs. The initial conceptualization of work values may be traced to an article by Hoppock and Super (1950). In discussing job satisfaction, they commented that satisfactions from work seem related to specific aspects of jobs such as earnings, hours, advancement, collaboration, independence, variety, and management. In the first statement of vocational development theory, Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, and Herma (1951) concluded that "Differences in the value schemes of adolescents are precursors of the different satisfactions individuals will seek and derive from work" (p. 216). In his influential book on the psychology of careers, Super (1957) elaborated the idea that certain aspects of work may be differentially valued, and coined the term *work values*. Super had already constructed and used in his Career Pattern Study an inventory to operationally define 15 work values. A later revision of that inventory was subsequently published as the *Work Values Inventory* (Super, 1970).

Following Super's pioneering conceptualization and innovative measure of work values, at least 14 career theories acknowledged the role of values (Patton & McMahon, 2006). These diverse theoretical statements have crafted several linguistic explanations and operational definitions. Unfortunately, the literature lacks consensus in defining and describing values, which makes it difficult to differentiate among needs, values, and interests (Lofquist & Dawis, 1978). To distinguish these three motivational constructs, they will next be examined in turn from the perspective of career construction theory.

WORK MOTIVES

Career construction theory considers work values as one of three major motivational constructs, the other two being needs and interests. The theory simplifies motivation to the verb "move." To be alive is to move, and motives impel and guide movement.

Needs. The word "needs" denotes experiences or objects that an individual requires to feel secure. Super and Bohn (1970) defined need "as a lack of something, which if were present, would contribute to the well-being of the organism" (p. 21). They explained that need as a requirement is the precise meaning of need, whereas need as a motive may be called a drive. Thus, needs organize behavior, driving a person toward certain satisfactions. The root metaphor for needs is taken from biology. For physical survival, individuals truly need things such as air, water, and food. In contrast to

biological needs, psychological needs are not as critical for physical survival. Nevertheless, fulfillment of psychological needs is required for well-being and development. The formal definition of psychological needs provided by Sheldon (2011) captures this meaning—"evolved tendencies to seek out certain basic types of psychosocial experiences and to feel good and thrive when these basic experiences are obtained" (p. 552). When individuals sense a psychological lack, they seek experiences or incentives that provide satisfactions and gratifications that they believe will satisfy the need.

Some need theorists concentrate on a few basic needs that they view as critical to well-being and development for people in general. For example, Deci and Ryan (2000) highlight three basic needs—autonomy, relatedness, and competence—in their self-determination theory, which Blustein (2006) has applied in his psychology of working. McClelland (1988) offers a second influential theory of general needs in his research and reflection on needs for achievement, affiliation, and power. Theories about fundamental motives such as those advanced by Deci and Ryan and by McClelland portray basic needs as universal requirements that span individuals and cultures (Sheldon, 2011, p. 553). In comparison to these theories of universal needs, theories such as the theory of work adjustment (Dawes, & Lofquist, 1984) propose a large set of needs and characterize individuals based on a profile portraying the relative strength of diverse needs.

Values. Needs point to values, that is, desirable goals and objectives. Work values are the general goals or satisfactions sought from work. In contrast to needs, values are what people want—the psychological incentives that direct action. In this sense, values represent goals that people pursue to satisfy their needs. These goals and objectives reside in the social environment. Individuals acquire their own values through social experiences in a cultural context (Rokeach, 1973). The acquired values both orient them to what they want from the social world and guide them in a course of action leading to that which they seek. A popular definition of values as evaluative guidelines was offered by Schwartz (1994): "A value is a (1) belief (2) pertaining to desirable end states or modes of conduct, that (3) transcend specific situations, (4) guide selection or evaluation of behavior, people, and events, and (5) is ordered by importance relative to other values to form a system of value priorities" (p. 20). While needs are enduring dispositions, values are enduring goals (Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, & Knafo, 2002). This does not mean that individuals do not change values during their life course. When the social context changes, individuals may shift values to pursue what is available in the new context. Also, as individuals mature they may pursue different values during different periods in their lives.

Interests. Values represent objectives, whereas interests concern the activities and objects through which objectives are attained (Super & Bohn,

1970). Vocational interests concentrate attention on occupational activities through which people expect to attain their values and thus satisfy their needs (Super, 1995). Interests connect individuals to their contexts in that occupations present social strategies through which they may make a living and contribute to society. Occupations serve as socially-organized, ecological niches in which individuals may sustain themselves, pursue their values, and fulfill their needs through relevant opportunities, attractive activities, coherent rituals, meaningful social conventions, and critical moral guidelines. Thus, vocational interests denote a complex psychosocial construct.

This complexity was explicated by Savickas (1999) in defining interest

as a state of consciousness characterized by (a) a readiness to respond to particular environmental stimuli (including objects, activities, people, and experiences) or to thoughts about these stimuli. When activated, this attitude or outlook prompts (b) awareness of a stimulus leading to (c) selective attention that narrows the perceptual field to more clearly illuminate the attention-exciting stimulus. This attention is accompanied by (d) an affective state of pleasant feeling and (e) an evaluation of liking that may prompt (f) an impulse to do something regarding the stimulus (such as learn more about it) in (g) anticipation of future gratification or satisfaction. This anticipation passes into (h) volition that steers goal-directed striving toward the stimulus and maintains (i) a course of action that fulfils some personal desire, need, or value. (pp. 50-51)

Patterns. The available literature on needs, values, and interests typically takes the perspective of individual differences in traits that positions them as variables on which individuals differ. The career construction perspective on needs, values, and interests presents a model that enables counselors and researchers to more effectively understand motivation by using individual constellations of a person's motives instead of looking at each one as an independent variable. The constellation perspective follows the logic of the person-centered approach advocated by Magnusson (1998), in which an individual's motives are viewed as holistically interacting with the environment. Instead of examining single variables in sequence, the person-centered approach looks at intra-individual patterns of variables to understand the person and behavior as a whole. Admittedly, this perspective itself offers nothing especially new to career counselors. For decades counselors have administered test batteries that include separate measures of these motives, and then provided an integrative interpretation. For example, as a beginning career counselor, I routinely administered a test battery that included the *Edwards Personal Preference Schedule* (Edwards, 1959) to measure needs, the *Study of Values* (Allport, Vernon, & Lindzey, 1970) to measure values, and the *Kuder Preference Record: Vocational Form C* (Kuder, 1956) to measure vocational interests. When used together, these three

measures provide a well-rounded psychological portrayal of a client's work motives. However, this portrayal is a cross-sectional picture of vocational motives, not a longitudinal portrait of career. Career construction theory's contribution aims to move beyond such point-in-time assessments of a set of vocational variables to add a long view of the client's motives, thereby enriching the psychological portraits drawn and further clarifying choices to be made during career counseling. Before discussing the idiographic view of the origins and current status of a client's work motivations, the rationale for taking a career view is discussed.

A LONGITUDINAL PERSPECTIVE ON WORK MOTIVE

For too long, career theories have conceptualized working lives as individual differences in vocational behavior. If we assume that career denotes an individual's progression through the course of a working life, then it follows that to advance the science of careers investigators must study life histories. Unfortunately, most of the "career" research in vocational psychology systematically evaluates individual variation in vocational behavior. While the resulting vocational theories are important and valuable in their own right, they do not advance real understanding of actual careers, nor do they claim to do so. For example, Holland's (1997) RIASEC theory concentrates on vocational personality types and work environments, not careers. The structure of interests resides in the idiosyncratic organization of a self, not in the hexagonal model of types. Even Super (1990), who quickly began to refer to his vocational development theory as a career theory, concentrated on individual differences in vocational maturity rather than the unfolding of individual careers. Super once explained that he had planned the Career Pattern Study to investigate careers as they unfold, but while waiting for his participants' careers to develop he became "side-tracked" in studying individual differences in vocational choice attitudes and competencies. Diverted from his original interest in the natural history of careers, Super only studied the degree of development among adolescents' attitudes and competencies as predictors of their adult occupational choices and work adjustment.

Similar to many of his colleagues, Super used regression models to identify which variables predicted which other variables. Such techniques artificially dismember the individual subjects and objectify them as scores on variables. While these investigations begin with individual persons serving as research subjects, the investigators make no attempt to reassemble the extracted variables back together into whole persons. Dollard (1949) aptly noted that in quantitative research "the individual is lost in

the crowd" (p. 5). This statement could be paraphrased as "the individual's career is lost in the crowd of vocational behavior variables."

The history of vocational psychology has been shaped by its concentration on quantitative and nomothetic methods. The differential psychology approach to studying vocational behavior from the perspective of individual variation began early in the 20th century. Investigators adopted quantitative approaches to achieve the objectivity required to make vocational psychology a science. With only a few exceptions, vocational psychologists eschewed life histories as unsuitable for scientific analysis and theory testing. Interpretation of life histories and the careers they carry simply did not measure up to the scientific standards of reliability, validity, and representativeness. It has been easier to study variability among individuals' objective vocational behavior than to study individuals' subjective careers. Nevertheless, if vocational psychologists want to advance the study of careers then they need to study persons not differences between people. Individual difference variables are differences not persons (Lamiell & Laux, 2010). As Murray (1938) insisted in founding the science of personology, living beings should be studied as living wholes. The meaning of career is lost in the study of fragmentary parts rather than living wholes. This seems especially true about the vocational psychology literature on needs, values, and interests.

STUDY OF CAREERS AS VOCATIONAL VARIABLES

Quantitative methods and cross-sectional designs to study work motives forfeit attention to the individual participants as unique composites of social and psychological characteristics in favor of an almost exclusive regard for the variables. Without doubt, these studies have been quite successful in helping to understand motives and predict the vocational behavior of individuals. Nevertheless, the researcher's or counselor's concentration on variables inevitably obscures the client's individuality and uniqueness in three important ways. First, quantitative methods conceptualize individuals as a constellation of distinct sociological and psychological variables such as needs, values, and interests. For example, findings from such studies report correlation coefficients between a set of needs and a set of values, or a set of values and a set of interests. Despite the generally low correlation coefficients, investigators often emphasize their statistical significance while they ignore the meaningfulness of the results and the variance unaccounted for by the correlations. Second, the process of quantification obscures the uniqueness of individual participants. The inventory scores represent an individual's status in relative terms. Thus, data about an individual cannot be understood adequately apart from normative data.

The absolute amount of a given characteristic, which is particular and peculiar to an individual, is not assessed. Some counselors need to be reminded that individuals may be understood and guided according to whom they resemble, yet they may also be counseled to reflect on unique motives. In addition to scores on interest inventories and ability tests that represent individual differences, counselors may get to know clients through stories that communicate their individuality. In short, statistical analysis of individual differences is informative to clients in helping them understand whom they resemble, yet clinical wisdom about the unique meaning of their needs, interests, and values may be transformative in helping them design their lives to foster the pursuit of purpose. To advance the study of work values, vocational psychologists might complement the nomothetic study of individual differences with the idiographic study of individuality. Idiographic methods concentrate on individuals' uniqueness rather than their resemblance to normative groups. Unfortunately, idiographic studies of individual careers are rare in comparison to cross-sectional studies of individual differences in normative vocational behaviors. The study of individuality involves understanding vocational behavior from the subjective perspective of the person in a context, not from an objective profile of the researcher's favorite variables. In most cases, the researcher's favorite variables—whether vocational maturity levels or RIASEC types—are beyond the awareness of the person being studied. People are aware of their purposes not their percentile scores on research variables. The most important antecedents of vocational behavior are known to the person yet they are not accessible through statistical methods. Idiographic methods enable researchers and practitioners to understand individuals as agents with unique life histories and characteristics. An important method for studying individuality and uniqueness in work motives involves autobiographical narratives in which individuals tell stories about their life history and current circumstances. The method has been used much more by counselors who help clients construct their careers than by researchers who study work motivation, although the method is equally effective for career practice and vocational science.

CAREER CONSTRUCTION THROUGH NARRATING NEEDS, VALUES, AND INTERESTS

To appreciate work values from the perspective of human singularity, career construction counselors concentrate on participants' "own story" (Shaw, 1930). To understand clients' needs, values, and interests, counselors ask clients to relate narratives about defining moments and significant

experiences. Focusing on personal meaning and the pursuit of purpose allows counselors to consider how clients grapple with the central facts of their lives. After all, it is from the perspective of a ruling passion that each individual knows and tells her or his own story. People organize their lives around a problem that preoccupies them and solutions that occupy them. The problems that an individual *needs* to resolve above all others constitutes the individual's chief preoccupation. Career construction theory looks for how a client moves from preoccupation to occupation, which in the context of this chapter means the move from needs through values to interests. Career construction involves turning this tension to intention, that is, linking needs to values and then identifying interesting paths on which action leads from needs to values. To begin the process of helping clients turn preoccupation into occupation, career construction counselors assess the personal meaning of needs, values, and interests by using a structured interview.

Career Construction Interview

Career construction practitioners prefer interviews to inventories. They realize that interest inventories are invaluable for group *guidance* and vocational development measures can structure career *education* classes, yet they prefer interviews when *counseling* individuals. Inventories measure declared values, while the career construction interview assesses operative values, that is, values inferred from considering client preferences for particular types of experiences. Sverko and Vizek-Vidovic (1995) concluded that "subjects' self-reports about what is important to them (declared values) do not necessarily correspond to the value priorities that actually influence their behavior (operative values). Sometimes people are not aware of their values, and sometimes they are simply not honest, trying to gain social approval by hiding their true motives" (p. 6). Internet dating sites such as Match.com have come to the same conclusion. They have refined their algorithms and increased their hit rates by attending to the actual search behaviors of clients, not to just what they say they seek in a partner. The *Career Construction Interview* (Savickas, 2011) may be similar in concentrating on operative values, rather than just declared values. Of course, Super (1949) pointed this out in explaining that manifest interests were better predictors of future vocational behavior than were express interests; and, that manifest and expressed interests were both better than inventoried interests as predictors of action. Thus, during a career construction interview, a counselor seeks to appraise a client's manifest needs, values, and interests as well as how these motive may be invested in purposeful action.

Needs Narrate the Presence of Absence

Counselors help clients to know and better understand their psychological needs by having them give voice to what they lack as they narrate early recollections. To highlight times in life that are particularly poignant, a counselor may simply ask clients to report the three earliest things they remember happening in their lives, say from ages three to five. Alternatively, counselors might ask, "What moments from your childhood shaped what you think is important?" (Gladding & Cox, 2008). Or, "What events in your past life still continue to exert a strong influence on you today? In response to this type of question, client stories typically describe an interruption or disruption in the way they believe life should have gone for them.

Many commentators have explained that stories are about a gap or something that is unexpected. If everything goes as it should, then there is no need for a story. It is when a deviation occurs that an individual crafts or accepts a story that makes sense of the disruption or interruption. For example, if you travel to a conference and arrive as expected, there is no need for a story. However, if your plane is delayed or your luggage lost or the hotel room stinks, then you have a story. What goes wrong gets the most attention. What goes right is hardly noticed. So it is in life stories. These narratives tell about disruptions in or deviations from the normal, appropriate, expected, or legitimate. Through these stories, clients comprehend a deviation in their lives by explaining something that should not have happened yet it did. Stories describe gaps in the life and may reveal a hole in a client's heart. These problems and predicaments represent a gap between what should be and what is. They tell of disruptions and discrepancies between what people expect and what they get (Bruner, 1990). From these early recollections, counselors may infer how clients feel marked or flawed as well as what they lack, miss, or need. The more painful the gap in a life, the stronger the person's preoccupation with filling the gap, righting the wrong, or straightening the deviation. People's psychological needs, in many ways, may be viewed as desires to become more whole as they fill the hole in their hearts and move to complete a gestalt. Lessons learned in childhood are carried forward into life. Enduring psychological needs emerge early in childhood as unfinished situations and incompletely formed gestalt. Early recollections point to the gap or vulnerability, something the person needed that was not provided. Thus, the person suffers from the presence of absence and seeks relief and redemption. Occasionally clients report only positive recollections, yet these too point to needs they carry forward. That which was positive must remain. For example, Lindgren and Wahlin (2001) in the *Scandinavian*

Journal of Management report the childhood memories of Diana. I mention that the research report was from Scandinavia because, unlike psychometric inventories, early recollections seem to function similarly across countries and cultures. Diana reported that she grew up in an idyllic village that enriched her character. The village had a strong community that was very democratic. As an adult, she frequently felt strong dissatisfaction in her various occupational positions because she was treated unfairly and felt the organizational culture was cold. Through several job changes, she sought to return to a democratic community of colleagues who would treat her fairly and appreciate her efforts. So, whether negative or positive, the past is not just behind us, it accompanies us and may even haunt us. Early recollections carry a yearning to fill the gap or keep the story going. Usually not positive, they typically portray environmental limitations, disruptive events, and personal deficiencies that the individual intends to overcome and transcend.

So, in making sense of the needs implicit within a client's early recollections, counselors seek to understand the conception of life nourished by the stories. Counselors do so by viewing the narrative as representing some enduring need, and in career counseling appreciate linking this need to the current changes and choices. It is useful to consider the early recollections as emblematic of principal needs. Always there is something important embedded in the recollections.

It should be noted that career construction theory does not view early recollections as fixed and causative. Rather early recollections provide a basic way for individuals to construct and reflect on their current experiences. Individuals typically use early recollections to give concrete examples of abstract claims about life. Thus, the recollections express some underlying line of thought that directly relates to the current situation. In a sense, early recollections report past disruptions that individuals may use to understand present interruptions or transitions. The present predicament is not caused by the early recollection, instead the current situation re-activates persistent meanings from some unresolved past experience. The client intuitively selects these easily activated cognitive schemes as pertinent to the present situation because they reveal the central thrust of the current developmental task, occupational transition, or work trauma. The client uses the schema to anchor the present changes and choices in elemental and essential concerns and preoccupation. Then the client uses the psychological needs portrayed in the stories to identify potential benefits in the environment. Thus, individuals form values and goals that they believe will gratify their needs and move them toward the progressive realization of wholeness.

Values Narrate a Direction in Life

Values give testimony to something that individuals need because they are currently excluded from it or have lost it. Relative to needs, values articulate aspirations arising from unfulfilled pasts. As self-relevant meanings concerning what we want, values are a compass for action that individuals use to guide their choices and evaluate their experiences. They use values to impose private meaning and public mattering on life and to provide a sense of purpose and direction in the social world. In career construction theory, values are about intentions. Needs express tension, while values express intention. The intention links to tension as it pulls from the past and pushes to the future. Stated simply, career construction counselors believe that a client's values aim to resolve the particular problems revived by the early recollections.

Values provide foundational meanings for people's lives and become issues around which they form careers. Values anchor the vantage point from which individuals envision a way forward toward progressive self-cultivation of wholeness. In due course, individuals organize their occupational energies and activities into integrated strivings or drives to fulfill personal needs and aspirations in a self-consciously chosen work projects.

While values prompt loyalty to some superior ideal, they are not binding. People's values—or how they want to fulfill their needs—are shaped by culture, context, role, and life stage. Values pursue goals in a particular context and life role. If individuals change context or role, they may be required to shift values and move toward the social opportunities and affordances offered in the new context or by the new role. A recent commercial for safe car shows a young boy wanting the fastest bicycle, then as an adolescent he wants the fastest car. In the third scene we see a young man asking the automobile salesperson for the safest car. As the young man stands up, we see that he is holding his baby. With the role change from husband to father, his values changed from speed to safety. Also, values may be particular to life roles (Super & Sverko, 1995). A person may pursue different values in roles at work and at home. And, values may shift with stage of life. As Jung (1933) aptly concluded, "we cannot live the afternoon of life according to the program of life's morning—for what was great in the morning will be little at evening, and what in the morning was true will at evening have become a lie" (p. 108). Values realized in early adulthood may satiate needs, and thereby leave room for emergence of new needs and different values in middle adulthood. Career counseling deals with adaptation to a change prompted by a vocational developmental task, occupational transition, or work trauma. Thus, at a minimum, career counseling addresses values that the client must maintain or at most deals with shifting to values required by a new culture, context, role, or life stage.

Career construction theory and practice prefers not to inventory values as a fixed set of concerns waiting to be uncovered. Therefore, it focuses on the process of valuation required to deal with the changes and choices (Hermans, 2002). To assess what clients' value as they change context, role, or stage, counselors ask them to name three role models, and then describe their qualities. McAdams (2008) explained how these heroes represent goals as exemplified by Ben Franklin and Horatio Alger who sought success; Emerson and Oprah Winfrey who sought health; Mother Theresa who sought salvation; and Martin Luther King who sought social justice. The models presented by a society are powerful myths that are easy to generalize so that many different people can imitate the models to address the deep and vexing issues they face in childhood and early adolescence. As clients engage in identity reconstruction when they cross boundaries to new contexts, roles, or life stages, they review, clarify, and extend their unique individuality by considering the values they need as represented by the models they have selected.

With a client's needs in mind, practitioners begin to consider responses to the question about role models. As the architects of their own character, individuals select role models who display the values that they themselves want to pursue. Individuals choose models for self-design because their models portray values that, if achieved, would satisfy client needs. Individuals then build that self by adopting, rehearsing, and integrating the ideals, values, and goals of their models. How clients describe their role models reveals their values. Looking at their role models helps them to see the best in themselves now and envision possible selves that they may become in the future. Again, remember that when new values are required, clients will remember or find new models. For example, many medical students report that when pressed to choose a medical residency, they select the specialty enacted by a particularly inspiring physician—a medical role model—whom they have admired during their own training. After comprehending a client's needs on one hand and values on the other hand, the counselor must help that client clasp the two hands together in terms of interests.

Interests Narrate Paths that Channel Action

The word *interest* comes from Latin “inter” meaning “between” and “est” meaning “it is.” Thus, interest means it is between. Consistent with this etymology, career construction theory views interest as a relationship between a person and the world. In particular, interest denotes a psychosocial tensional state between an individual's needs and social opportunities to attain goals that satisfy those needs (Savickas, 1995). If needs represent *tension* and values represent *intention*, then interests are *attention*. Interests

draw our attention toward activities and objects that relieve our tensions and serve our intentions. Career construction theory uses the metaphor of interests as a bridge to suggest that interests connect individual needs to social roles and goals. Interests link personal processes of meaning making to occupations that can sustain them. Interests situate the individual in the social world and provide pathways for moving in it. A lack of interests is a turning away from the social world, as shown for example in depression when individuals do not pursue the values and goals that they need.

This constructionist perspective on interests suggests that they are not traits waiting to be discovered with inventories. Rather, they are an awareness of and attention to public opportunities to pursue private meanings. The counselor's job is not to measure interests and interpret profiles. It is more fundamental than that. Career counselors help clients to create interests (Kitson, 1942). They do so by discussing needs and values. Needs shape values and values determine what may become interesting. People are disinterested and indifferent to what they do not need and do not value. Values serve as a beacon and moral compass that indicate the destination, while interests are the routes and routines that get us there. In a sense, needs explain *why* we must move, values point to *what* the destination should offer, and interests propose *how* to travel to those destinations. In this context, the destinations are occupations. Career construction practitioners assess interests by concentrating on the client's preferred environments, namely those occupational settings in which they believe they may pursue their purpose and fulfill their values. Accordingly, after having learned about a client's needs from early memories and a client's values from their role models, counselors attend to the types of work settings that may capture clients' attention and spark their interests. To identify interesting occupational settings, counselors ask clients where they have been setting themselves lately by inquiring about favorite magazines, television programs, or websites. Responses to these questions reveal manifest interests, that is, inclinations made evident by a person's behavior. Magazines vicariously immerse readers in a preferred setting or comfortable environment. People read a magazine to inhabit the world between its covers. In naming favorite magazines, clients tell counselors about the types of environments that they prefer to inhabit. As a window on the world, television takes viewers places. The programs are called "shows" because they let viewers see different places and observe people addressing specific problems with particular procedures. Favorite television shows indicate where an individual might like to work. While listening to and assessing a client's responses about settings, counselors keep in mind the client's values and how those goals could be pursued in the settings being discussed. They always look for interests that connect the clients' needs as revealed in early recollections to values modeled by heroes and heroines.

Interests describe how the client may actually pursue the values and goals they need to feel secure.

It should be noted that needs and values are much more stable than interests. We have already stated that needs are the most stable because values can change with social context and life stage. However, even in a stable context, interests may change because they are instrumental means not terminal ends. New environmental affordances or social opportunities may create interest, without a change in values.

Action Narrates Behavior Infused With Meaning

Having identified client needs, values, and interests, counselors are prepared to encourage clients to tentatively commit to a choice that will take them in a new direction yet keep them moving toward valued goals. To ease decision making, counselors discuss alternative educational and vocational actions that clients may choose to pursue. By asking the fourth question in the career construction interview, counselors help client to identify choices and changes that will integrate their needs, values, and interests into purposeful behavior. They ask clients to tell their current favorite story, whether the story be in the form of a book or a movie. Most often, the storyline clients tell reveals a plot point that both relates directly to their impending career changes and would spin the action in a new direction. Counselors then help clients to apply these storylines and plot points to clarify current alternatives and enhance their ability to decide.

Once clients comprehend what is at stake and commit to a tentative choice, they are ready to convert that choice into reality through actions that produce success and satisfaction. Having assessed a client's needs, values, and interests, counselors help clients consider what actions they might take to realize their choices about how to resolve their current task, transition, or trauma. In career construction theory, action means *behavior infused with meaning*. Therefore, what counselors must discuss with clients at this point is not the individual elements of needs, values, and interests. Rather, counselors help clients plan a turning point in their careers through actions that integrate their motives with behaviors. The action plan should unify client needs, values, and interests into a stable and dynamic whole that links personal commitments to behaviors that move clients through the choices and changes they face. The resulting actions should further a clients' process of individuation and produce a clearer sense of individuality.

To prepare clients for actions to realize their plans, counselors summarize what the client has learned from counseling. Counselors may begin by stating the choices and changes that clients envision, and then explain how clients' *attention* to certain solutions (interests) arises from transforming their *tensions* (needs) into *intentions* (values). In the end, this

extends a storyline from need to value through interest leading to new actions that resolve the task, transition, or trauma. The storyline *extension* imbues the ensuing actions with coherence and continuity as individuals take the next steps in their careers, moving further into the world and deeper into themselves. Clients thus meet the challenges of their vocational development task, occupational transition, or work trauma by organizing their actions around the motif themes they have always known. In the words of Wittgenstein (1953), "problems are solved, not by giving new information, but by arranging what we have always known" (p. 109).

SUMMARY

This chapter examined the meaning of *work values* from the perspective of career construction theory (Savickas, 2005, 2013), which locates values in the context of needs and interests. Needs denote experiences or objects that an individual requires to feel secure. Work values are the general objectives and satisfactions sought from work. Interests are attractions to activities and objects through which people pursue values. Traditionally, counselors have measured needs, values, and interests with inventories that profile a person relative to a norm group and indicate whom they resemble. Career construction theory and practice prefers to interview clients to understand their individuality, rather than profile them on variables. With regard to client individuality, the counselor's goal becomes comprehending how a client unifies needs, values, interests, and behavior into actions that construct a successful career and satisfying life. Instead of inventorying values and interests, career construction counselors use a structured interview to learn how clients actually manifest their motives in behavior, rather than declare them on inventories. The career construction interview concentrates on identifying needs and *tensions* from early recollections, values and *intentions* from role models, interests and *attention* from magazines and television programs, and actions and *extensions* from favorite stories. By clarifying motives and integrating them with behavior, counselors enhance clients' ability to make meaningful choices and then engage in vocational actions that enable them to satisfy their needs, fulfill their values, and express their interests.

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