

The value of work in a changing labour market: a review and research agenda

Wieteke Conen*, Paul de Beer**

* W.S. (Wieteke) Conen, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies (AIAS), PO Box 1030, 1000 BA, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

E-mail: W.S.Conen@uva.nl. Telephone: ++31 20 525 7216

(corresponding author)

** P.T. (Paul) de Beer, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies (AIAS), PO Box 1030, 1000 BA, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

E-mail: P.T.deBeer@uva.nl. Telephone: ++31 20 525 7128

Number of Words: 12.108 words incl. Tables, Figures and References

7.551 words excl. Tables, Figures and References

Number of Tables: 3

Number of Figures: 4

The value of work in a changing labour market: a review and research agenda

Wieteke Conen, Paul de Beer

ABSTRACT

Radical changes in the organisation of work over the past decades have inspired scholars from various disciplines to study cross-national variation and developments in how individuals value work. Although this rapid accumulation of research has the potential to significantly improve our understanding of the value of work, absent is the necessary step of consolidating and integrating this contemporary knowledge. In this article, we aim to provide an integrative literature review of empirical research on the value of work in advanced economies since the 1990s by analysing whether and how the value of work differs between advanced economies and how valuations have evolved over time. This article identifies patterns and gaps in the current literature and provides recommendations for a new research agenda.

Key words: Cross-national comparisons, employment commitment, extrinsic and intrinsic rewards, job quality, job satisfaction, quality of work, work centrality, work ethic, work orientation, work values

The value of work in a changing labour market: a review and research agenda

1. Introduction

Over the past decades, major changes have taken place in the labour market in advanced economies. Not only the nature of work transformed as a result of – amongst others – technological developments and globalisation, but also the size and structure of the labour market changed markedly under the influence of for instance the sharp increase in women’s labour force participation and demographic changes (such as population ageing and immigration). Workers and employers coped with profound changes in the organisation of work (including a trend towards more flexibility and out-sourcing) and there was a shift within families with respect to the balance between work and family lives. Both media and experts have paid particular attention to questions on how various macro-level developments affect the quantity of jobs. However, all these transformations also have a severe impact on how individuals experience and value work and the ‘utility’ individuals derive from their jobs - both in pecuniary and non-pecuniary terms.

Over time, a large literature has emerged on the value individuals attach to their work *cross-nationally* and on *developments* in the value of work. Although scientists, employers and employees share the notion that how work is organised has radically changed, we have yet to arrive at a coherent picture of the implications of these developments (Kalleberg, 2011; Osterman, 2013). This article aims to contribute to this field by providing an integrative literature review of empirical research on the value of work in advanced economies since the 1990s. In this study, “value of work” in the first place refers to ‘general’ valuations of work, which is captured in concepts like the importance of work to one’s life (‘work centrality’), work ethic (e.g. ‘It is humiliating to receive money without having to work’) and ‘employment commitment’ (e.g. ‘I would enjoy having a paid job even if I did not need the money’). These concepts are not dependent on employment status and could in principle be addressed by both workers and non-workers. Second, “value of work” may also refer to the value individuals derive from their jobs, which is captured in concepts such as ‘job satisfaction’ and ‘quality of working life’, as well as through attributes individuals consider of value in a job (‘work values’) and extrinsic and intrinsic rewards from work (‘job outcomes’). These concepts are thus by their nature restricted to those individuals currently employed.

In general, valuations of work are unlikely to be gender-neutral. Gender ideology and perceived consequences of women working (such as the belief that a pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works) will have a different impact on work centrality and the value of work in the lives of men and women. Furthermore, socialization theory and social role theory predict that women will value other job facets than men. Earlier research has shown that the nature of gender-role attitudes varies substantially between nations (see for example Scott et al., 1996; Treas and Widmer, 2000; Crompton et al., 2005). Initially, there seemed to be a trend in most advanced economies towards

consistently more egalitarian gender role attitudes, but research shows a flattening and even reversed trend in some countries in more recent times (Scott et al., 1996; Brewster & Padavic, 2000; Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Van Egmond et al., 2010; Cotter et al., 2011), which has led to the belief that there may be arising a new cultural frame in advanced economies with respect to women's employment, blending aspects of feminism and traditional familism (Cotter et al., 2011).

The aim of this review is to break new ground by (a) analysing whether and how the value of work differs between advanced economies and how cross-national variation has been explained hitherto; (b) analysing whether and how the value of paid work has evolved over time (historical-comparative perspective) and provide an overview of relevant determinants that have been established in the literature; (c) identifying gaps in the literature and recommending new directions for future research on the value of work.

2. Theoretical background

Most scientific disciplines dealing with the value of work consist of both a positive and negative school. In economics, for instance, the neo-classical view is largely based on the assumption that working holds 'disutility' to an individual; the individual offers labour which requires compensation. More recent schools, such as the behavioural economists, do not see work as a mere sacrifice, but also incorporate the social and mental value or 'utility' individuals derive from their work.

In principle, the value of work can be both about the value to an *individual* and to *society*. The value of work at the level of the individual addresses the question to what extent and how work has pecuniary and non-pecuniary value to an individual. Societal value refers to the extent to which work adds to the functioning and prosperity of society. In this article we focus on the value of work to an individual. Various strands of economic, sociological and social-psychological theory provide a theoretical background for examining the valuation of work among individuals in different countries and over time.

Socio-economic perspective – The socio-economic perspective is rooted in Maslow's (1954) need-gratification theory, describing a hierarchy of needs starting from physiological and safety needs, followed by needs for love and belonging, esteem, and finally self-actualization. Higher needs become salient when lower needs are gratified. Inglehart (1977, 1997) postulates that in post-modern societies people tend to take survival for granted and that such societies have experienced a value change from values related to economic achievement (extrinsic) to values related to enhancing self-expression (intrinsic). Put as the "scarcity hypothesis" this translates into the assumption that materialistic values are more important and work ethic is stronger in less developed countries, and their importance will decrease with increasing affluence. The "modernisation perspective" then describes the process of declining traditional views in favour of more 'modern' values, which tend to be equivalent to 'individualistic' orientations such as self-determination and personal development.

Adherence to the 'needs principle' may translate into different values of work for men and women. Vecerník (2006) for instance describes the situation that under the former communist regime in Czechoslovakia women's earnings were conceived "as necessary but supplementary to family income ... their work was regarded as secondary by society and the related expectations from work were moderate and focused on social contacts" (p.1225-1226). This description relates to a hierarchy of needs in the sense that a female job in this context contains less elements of the 'survival' function than a male job. In a similar vein one could argue that in one, one-and-a-half and dual income households the value of work may differ substantially within and between the groups of men and women. Human capital theory also provides a framework for potentially different valuations of work between men and women from a socio-economic perspective (Becker, 1962, 1981; Polachek and Siebert, 1993).

Cultural perspective - Rather than the idea that individuals from a particular country place more emphasis on higher needs because their lower needs are gratified, the cultural perspective places more emphasis on higher needs because of *culturally inherited traits*. The cultural perspective emanates from Hofstede's work (1980, 1991, 2001), who defines culture as the "collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another" (Hofstede, 1980, p. 25). Cultural heritage is – amongst others – influenced by religious beliefs, political regimes and historical background. Translated into criteria for evaluating the value of work this for instance means that workers in individualistic countries value intrinsic job characteristics (such as self-actualization and autonomy) more than do workers in collectivistic countries, who rank economic and social goals higher than individual goals – i.e. regardless of their socio-economic position.

In post-industrial societies the domain of paid work tends to provide, apart from the 'manifest' financial rewards of paid work, also an important psychological function. Whereas in earlier times these psychological needs were often provided outside the work domain, in advanced economies the workplace increasingly seems to have become a central *social* institution as well (Jahoda, 1982) and there has been an increased interest in what is also called 'workplace spirituality' (Ashmos & Duchon, 2000). The 'latent' function of paid work refers for instance to the assignment of identity, meaning and purpose, as well as a sense of participation and community (Gill, 1999). Due to the changing role of the work domain as compared to other life domains over the past decades, especially in the life of women, the latent function may have evolved differently from the manifest function.

Institutional perspective – The institutional environments perspective emphasizes the role of institutional characteristics in shaping variation and developments in the value of work. Departing from the varieties of capitalism approach (Hall and Soskice, 2001), it can be argued that in coordinated markets economies (CME) employers are more committed to long-term employment relations, in which the value of work is likely to be more stable and of higher quality than in liberal market

economies (LME). The employment regime framework [ER] differentiates within CMEs between inclusive and dualist regimes; ER thus assumes a more differentiated clustering of countries and expects the value of work to be more equally distributed in inclusive than in dualist CMEs (Gallie, 2007; Olsen et al, 2010). From a welfare scepticism view, media and scholars have often stressed the idea that generous social benefits may have disincentive effects and lead to the erosion of work ethos, threatening the sustainability of the welfare state. A welfare resources perspective, on the other hand, predicts that comprehensive welfare provision is rather a productive force, stimulating employment commitment and participation (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Van der Wel & Halvorsen, 2015)

Post-industrial perspective - In line with Bell's (1976) optimistic analysis of the post-industrial society, one school of thought (termed Post-Fordist theory or mutual gain literature) argues that new work systems have led to an improved quality of working life especially in terms of intrinsic rewards (such as job challenge and autonomy), working conditions (such as decreased physical workload) and in terms of material rewards (such as wages). In this view, changing product and labour markets, diffusion of information technology and participative management strategies – amongst others – lead to job enrichment and mutual improvements for both employers and employees (Handel, 2005; Greenan et al., 2013). In contrast, the critical view (termed Neo-Fordist theory), breathes Braverman's (1974) more pessimistic analysis of the post-industrial society and claims that the limited gains that may have accrued to employees are outweighed by increased effort requirements and insecurity. They argue that recent changes in labour markets and work organizations have put individuals under greater pressure and that for many workers material conditions (such as pay and job security) have actually decreased and earnings inequality grew (Handel, 2005; Kalleberg, 2009; Greenan et al., 2013). In this view, employers responded to the economic climate after the post-war growth period “by rolling back many of labor's post-war gains and by institutionalizing a “lean and mean” philosophy of employment relations” (Handel, 2005, p.67).

3. Method

Conceptualization of the value of work

A first issue that a study on the value of work has to address is the question what *level* we are investigating; in this study we distinguish the *general level* and the *individual level*. The general level refers to the (moral) embeddedness of work and the role work plays in people's lives; in a way this level may thus be perceived as containing ‘informal institutions’ on the valuation of work within certain societies. The individual level refers to personal job preferences and utility derived from working.

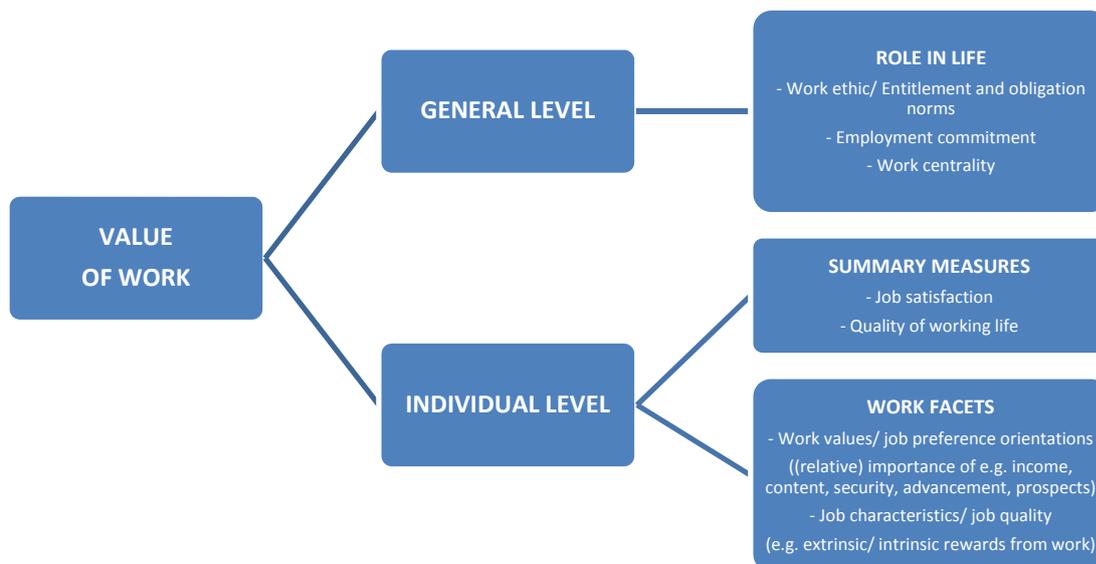


Figure 1. A framework for analysing the value of work

Second, there is not one variable, nor a clear set of variables, that can undisputedly be thought of as summarising what constitutes “the value of work” to individuals. Moreover, theoretical and methodological advances on the subject of the value of work are closely related to data availability and comparability. Departing from these considerations we constructed a framework for analysing the value of work as shown in Figure 1. The main concepts analysed in this article, capturing different dimensions of the value of work at the general level, then are:

- *Work ethic/ Entitlement and obligation norms* – The concept of work ethic refers to the belief in work as a moral good and is based on a set of values centred around the importance of work. ‘No matter what one’s motivation to work is – money, power, social contacts – no matter if one likes certain aspects of a job or not, work ethics precedes these attitudes and evaluations as a core imperative that one should work’ (Ter Bogt et al., 2005). Entitlement norms refer to the belief that individuals are entitled to have work (if they desire), representing the right of individuals and responsibilities of society and organisations. Obligation norms refer to the belief that individuals have a duty to contribute to society by working, representing the duty of individuals to organisations and to society (Harpaz & Fu, 2002).
- *Employment commitment* – Would you continue to work if you had enough money to live comfortably without working? Employment commitment refers to the desire to work for work’s sake and captures non-financial and non-job specific work motivation (Warr, 1982).
- *Work centrality* – Work is a basic and important activity for many individuals in advanced economies, often ranking second only to family and often of more importance to people than leisure, community and religion. Work centrality has been defined as individual beliefs

regarding the value of work or as the degree of importance work plays in one's life (Harpaz & Fu, 2002; Lu et al, 2016).

The main concepts analysed in this article, capturing different dimensions of the value of work to individuals, are:

- *Job satisfaction/ Quality of working life* – Job satisfaction or quality of working life are summary measures containing information about how workers perceive their work life and how they feel about and evaluate their jobs. As such, these constructs have a cognitive dimension and hold an evaluative judgement about one or several aspects of a job. The multidimensionality of the constructs make them difficult to interpret and over time many questions have emerged on what these summary measures are capturing. However, since we do not consider the summary constructs in isolation we believe they still provide valuable, additional insight into cross-national differences and historical-comparative evolutions in the value of work (Green & Tsitsianis, 2005; Brown et al, 2008; Lopes et al., 2014).
- *Work values/ importance of work facets* – Work values signify the importance individuals attribute to various job facets and shed light on the desirable states and goals that individuals seek through working ('in general', rather than from a particular job). Work values have also been termed job expectations, job preferences, job preference orientations, job values, judgements about work and (subjective) work goals. The most commonly applied classification divides individuals' work values into an intrinsic and an extrinsic work orientation. An intrinsic work orientation refers to the idea that the main goal of the work being done is to be found in the work itself (and is as such related to self-actualisation and cognitive work values). An extrinsic work orientation has been used to denote that work is being done because of 'outside' goals, meaning, for example, the pay received for doing it (also referred to as material or instrumental work values). Besides these two basic dimensions, there have been suggestions for additional dimensions of work values, such as social or relational values (related to relations with co-workers and supervisors) and prestige values (related to status, influence and power) (Ross et al., 1999; Harpaz & Fu, 2002; Turunen, 2011; Kalleberg & Marsden, 2013; Hauff & Kirchner, 2015)
- *Job characteristics/ job quality* – Job characteristics or job quality provide insight into dimensions of the value of work and partly follow similar distinctions as work values, such as job characteristics on the extrinsic versus intrinsic dimension and the social climate, but also may include for instance working conditions, health and safety and training provisions. Warr's "vitamin model" (1987) states that some job characteristics linearly relate to 'good jobs', such as earnings or the valued social position (like vitamins C and E), while other only if present within bounds, such as worker's opportunities for skill use or variety (like vitamins A and D). Job quality as a whole is a complex concept to measure and there is not a single accepted definition in the literature. The choice of indicators is often driven by data availability.

Identification of the literature

The starting point for the literature review is the compilation of published empirical studies exploring and explaining the value of work. To create the sample, we started with an electronic database search for relevant overview studies covering cross-national comparisons and time-trends in the value of work in the time period between 1990 and 2017. The electronic databases that were used to obtain the relevant literature were: ISI Web of Science, Scopus and Google scholar. Key words used included: ‘work centrality’, ‘work ethic’, ‘work ethos’, ‘employment commitment’, ‘job satisfaction’, ‘satisfaction at work’, ‘quality of working life’, ‘pay satisfaction’, ‘dissatisfaction’, ‘job quality’, ‘quality of working life’, ‘work values’ and ‘job values’. Our search furthermore included examination of references in empirical studies to other studies that may report on the value of work. Note that all concepts included in Figure 1, and therefore also in our key words, are in principle potential ‘output measures’ or ‘explained variables’ on the value of work. It would have been possible to also address the value of work as an ‘input measure’, or explanatory variable of a non-work explained variable, for example by including studies addressing the question to what extent and how work adds to the overall happiness or well-being of individuals. However, since we anticipated that including additional studies from this area would a) add an extra level of complexity to our analyses of the literature and b) such studies are likely to focus rather on the explanatory mechanisms than on cross-national comparisons or trends over time, we felt this research area would be beyond the scope of our literature review.

We included overview studies examining the value of work 1) in at least two OECD countries or country clusters, and/or; 2) between at least two points in time and/or 3) providing an overview of research on determinants of the value of work in a cross-national or historical-comparative framework setting. This means that - for instance - we did not include empirical studies performing determinants of job satisfaction in one country in one year. Otherwise, our search would lead to an unmanageable amount of relevant studies. Since the primary goal of this study is to provide an outline of marked gaps in the literature in cross-national research and on time trends rather than summarizing the exact determinants and mechanisms underlying the value of work, we considered these to be just cut-off criteria. Future studies may want to address specific subareas in more detail. The search was completed in April 2017 and led to a sample of 35 relevant studies for cross-national research on the value of work in OECD countries and 23 relevant studies for changes in the value of work over time. As it turned out, cross-national and historical-comparative studies in this area predominantly include European countries (including non-OECD members such as Romania or Bulgaria) and the United States, while outcomes of other OECD countries (like Australia, Japan or Mexico) are often unknown or left out. To manage expectations, we therefore minimized usage of the umbrella term ‘OECD countries’ throughout the rest of this article (unless a study is discussed with a specific focus on OECD countries, such as Clark, 2005; Corneo, 2012) and instead choose to – more loosely – refer to the group of countries included as ‘advanced economies’.

4. Results

The value of work in cross-national comparative studies¹

To what extent does the value of work differ between countries? The upper panel of Annex A enlists the included cross-national studies regarding *general* valuations (i.e. general valuations of work which could in principle be addressed by individuals both inside and outside the workforce).

Firstly, several studies address the variation in work ethic of the population by using constructs that capture work as a moral duty. These constructs include obligation norms; norms which derive from “standards of reasoning about internalized personal responsibility and social or institutional commitment” (Harpaz and Fu, 2002, p.642). Studies in this area tend to find considerable variation in work ethic scores between European countries. Many of the higher scores regarding work ethic can be found in countries in Central-Eastern Europe [CEE] and Southern European countries relative to countries in Continental and Nordic countries (Vecerník, 2003; Stam et al, 2013). Lindbeck and Nyberg (2006) and Corneo (2012) focus on another work norm by using the question ‘Here is a list of qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important? Please choose up to five’. One of the qualities in the list is ‘Hard work’ and this measure is interpreted as an indicator of strong work ethic. ‘Strong work ethic’ was mostly found in Anglo-Saxon and Southern European countries and least in Nordic countries, with Continental European countries in between.

Secondly, variation between countries has been studied in terms of non-financial employment commitment [NFEC], referring to the non-monetary and non-job specific motivation to work (e.g. “I would enjoy having a paid job even if I did not need the money”). Studies addressing non-financial employment commitment among all citizens (Svallfors et al, 2001; Snir, 2014; Van der Wel & Halvorsen, 2015) find that countries with the highest NFEC scores are mainly Nordic, Continental European and Anglo-Saxon while countries with the lowest scores were mostly CEE, Southern-European and non-European countries. Although NFEC could in principle be addressed by all citizens, some studies make a restriction by including only individuals currently in employed work (Hult & Svallfors, 2002; Hult & Stattin 2009; Turunen, 2011) or use the so-called ‘lottery question’ (Kuchinke et al, 2011), which assumes one is currently working for pay; these studies show similar country patterns in non-financial employment commitment². Given the low reliability measures in various studies on non-financial employment commitment based on 2-item scales (Cronbach’s alpha is often

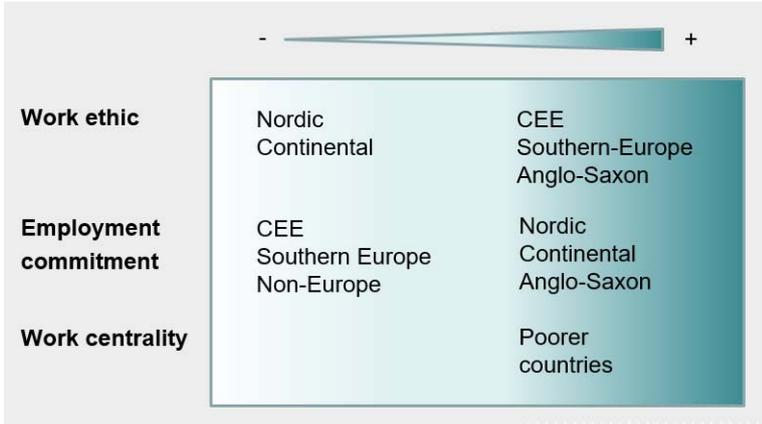
¹ Although cross-national findings in this study may suggest a certain extent of homogeneity in the groups of Nordic, Continental, Anglo-Saxon, Southern and CEE countries, some warning may be in place. Firstly, several studies consist of only a limited number of countries (for instance, one ‘representative’ country for the different welfare states), which tends to depend on country availability in the data used. That means that for instance Hungary is often the representative for CEE countries, whereas this country may differ substantially from other CEE countries in their valuation of work. Second, even when working with larger numbers of countries, some countries do not ‘fit’ their cluster allocation on a regular base. For example “Slovenia should not be bundled uncritically into the central and eastern European cluster as it displays characteristics that in many regards are rather similar to the continental countries” (Leschke & Watt, 2014, p. 12).

² Although there is a substantial difference for the United States between the NFEC and the lottery question; US ranks lowest on the lottery question in Kuchinke et al (2011).

below 0,5), Hult & Edlund (2008) provide an alternative by identifying clusters of respondents with low, medium, high and mixed employment commitment profiles. In this study, low employment commitment was found to be more prevalent in Germany than in the Nordic countries Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

Finally, work centrality refers to individual beliefs with respect to the importance of work in one’s life; this concept is in most studies we encountered applied only to individuals currently in employed work. Compared to the importance of other life domains work centrality tends to rank second to the importance of family in most countries (Harpaz & Fu, 2002; Vecerník, 2003; Kuchinke et al, 2011). On an overarching level, the relative centrality of work seems higher if people live in poorer countries (Lu et al, 2016), but work centrality also varies to some degree between advanced economies (Kuchinke et al, 2011; Frege & Godard, 2014); Germany for instance scores relatively high on work centrality.

Figure 2 Summary of findings: general valuations in cross-national studies



The lower part of Annex A enlists the included cross-national studies regarding *individual job* valuations (i.e. valuations of the own job and job attributes which can be addressed only by individuals inside the workforce). Sousa-Poza & Sousa-Poza (2000) find that workers in most countries are in general quite satisfied with their jobs and presume this to be an indication of job satisfaction being predominantly based on comparisons with one’s own environment. The range of variation in job satisfaction seems higher within than across countries, but some cross-national differences are noticeable. First of all, workers from CEE countries often evince relatively low satisfaction with their work, also after controlling for demographic background variables and income (Blanchflower & Freeman, 1997; Sousa-Poza & Sousa-Poza, 2000; Vecerník, 2003; Borooah, 2009; Pichler & Wallace, 2009; Mysíková & Večerník, 2013), and experience greater inequality in the distribution of job satisfaction (Borooah, 2009). Nordic countries report the highest levels of job satisfaction (Sousa-Poza & Sousa-Poza, 2000; Pichler & Wallace, 2009; Mysíková & Večerník, 2013). There seems to be no clear pattern in the ranking of Anglo-Saxon and Continental countries, while several Southern-

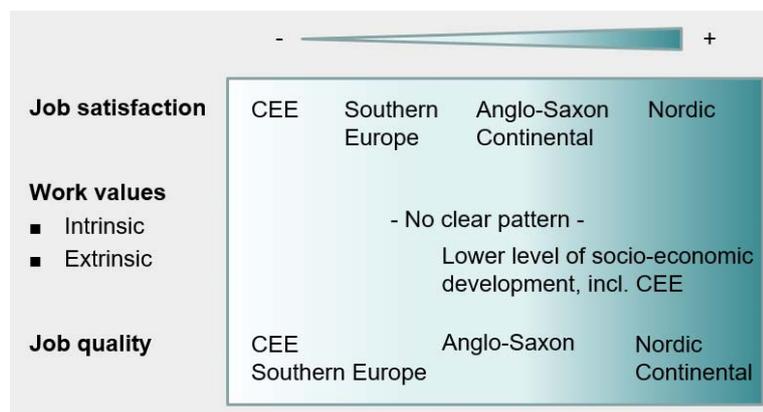
European countries (apart from Spain) are often in the lower echelons (Sousa-Poza & Sousa-Poza, 2000; Kristensen & Johansson, 2008; Olsen et al, 2010; Mysíková & Večerník, 2013). After controlling for variety in national response patterns, Kristensen & Johansson (2008) find that Nordic countries rank somewhat lower on job satisfaction while workers from the Netherlands were found to have the highest level of job satisfaction.

Cross-national empirical studies on work values focus for the most part on European countries. In relative terms, the share of respondents indicating that ‘intrinsic values’ (such as having an interesting job) are of value to them tends to be larger than the share for whom ‘extrinsic values’ (such as income) are of value (Clark, 2005; Kalleberg & Marsden, 2013). The findings furthermore show that extrinsic values are more important in countries with a lower level of socio-economic development, including CEE countries, and less important in richer countries (Vecerník, 2003; Borooah, 2009; Kaasa, 2011). No clear regularities or patterns were found with respect to the importance of intrinsic values (Kaasa, 2011). Zooming in on Western European economies, it was found that intrinsic values are stronger in Nordic countries, whereas extrinsic values were stronger in Germany, Britain and Spain (Gallie, 2007; Turunen, 2011). Hauff & Kirchner (2015) argue that different work values and their hierarchical organization are not independent of each other; they identify work value *patterns* for five advanced countries. Respondents from the USA consist of a relatively large group of ‘high demanders’ (valuing both extrinsic and intrinsic values highly), in Norway a relatively high share of ‘postmodern demanders’ was found (combining a moderate importance on job security, income and career opportunities with a high importance of having an interesting job and work independently) and in Hungary a relatively high share of ‘income and security demanders’ was found. In both Germany and the United Kingdom ‘moderate demanders’ and ‘postmodern demanders’ formed the largest groups.

Dimensions of perceived job quality provide further insight into the utility individuals derive from their work. The patterns regarding extrinsic job quality show that on dimensions such as wages and job security CEE countries tend to score relatively low, followed by Southern European countries; Nordic and Continental European countries often report relatively high extrinsic job quality levels. Although rewards from wages are relatively high in Anglo-Saxon countries, they score lower on the security dimension of extrinsic rewards (Gallie, 2003; Davoine et al, 2008; Olsen et al, 2010; Leschke & Watt, 2014; Frege & Godard, 2014). Intrinsic job quality is more difficult to capture, as ‘intrinsic’ refers to different dimensions in various studies, but includes for instance having an interesting job or having a job considered useful to society. Nordic and Continental European countries often report relatively high intrinsic job quality levels, followed by Anglo-Saxon countries, whereas workers from Southern-European and CEE countries are less likely to gain high intrinsic value from their jobs (Blanchflower & Freeman, 1997; Sousa-Poza & Sousa-Poza, 2000; Gallie, 2003; Olsen, 2010; Green et al, 2013; Frege & Godard, 2014).

Recently, overall job quality indices seem to be gaining ground in the literature, partly in response to the aims formulated in the European Employment Strategy on this topic (Muñoz de Bustillo et al, 2011; Fernández-Macías et al, 2014). These indices often include extrinsic and intrinsic job quality measures, but also for instance attributes on working conditions, health, safety and work intensity. The pattern emerging from these studies is roughly the same as outlined above: Nordic countries often score relatively high on job quality indices, followed by Continental and Anglo-Saxon countries, whereas workers from Southern and especially CEE countries tend to have relatively low job quality index scores (Fernández-Macías et al, 2014; Leschke & Watt, 2014). Finally, given that quality consists of multiple facets and job characteristics do not necessarily have to be ‘gradational’, Van Aerden et al (2013) opt for a typological approach towards employment quality, finding for instance that SER-like jobs [SER=standard employment relationship] are more prevalent in Nordic countries.

Figure 3 Summary of findings: individual job valuations in cross-national studies



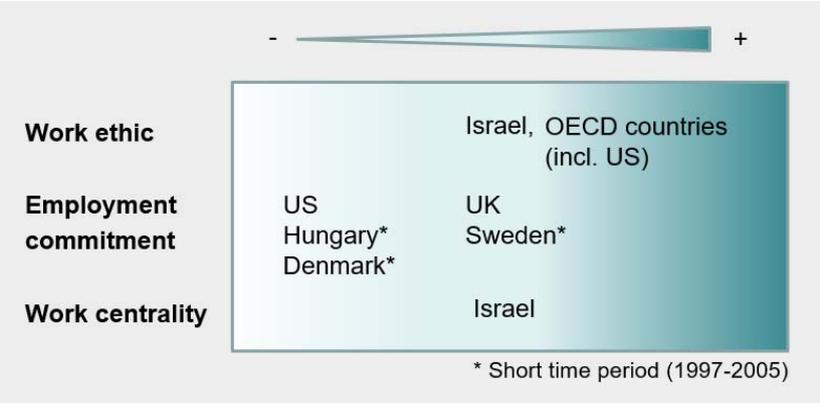
How have cross-national differences in value of work constructs been explained? With respect to general level valuations, it was found that between-country variation in work ethic was hardly explained by composition effects, but to a much larger extent by institutional and cultural characteristics of the countries – such as religious heritage and welfare state generosity (Stam et al, 2013; Shirokanova, 2015). In contrast with general level valuations, individual level characteristics and composition effects do seem to play a relatively large part in explaining individual level job valuations (Gallie, 2007; Pichler & Wallace, 2009). Although institutional and cultural characteristics of countries are also expected to play a role, we mainly encountered ‘circumstantial evidence’ in this area. Several authors (e.g. Blanchflower & Freeman, 1997; Vecerník, 2003) refer for instance to the legacies of the communist regime as an explanation for the relatively low job satisfaction levels and different job values and characteristics in CEE countries. Workers’ deprivation of market modes during communist times may have led to poorer working conditions as workers often neither had an ‘exit’ option nor a ‘voice’ option to change things for the better. This legacy is also reflected in the characteristics of a job they consider important in their jobs (e.g. rewards, job promotions) (Vecerník,

2003; Borooah, 2009). In several CEE countries having a well-paying job thus has a relatively strong effect on job satisfaction, whereas in many (other) countries, having an interesting job, having good relations with one’s boss, work pressure and the amount of security embodied in a job have relatively strong effects (Sousa-Poza & Sousa-Poza, 2000; Borooah, 2009, Lopes et al, 2014).

The value of work in historical-comparative studies

Annex B provides an overview of the included studies with respect to developments in both *general* and *individual job* valuations over time. Although it is sometimes put forward that general valuations of work (e.g. work ethic, employment commitment, the centrality of work) would be declining in advanced societies over time due to changing institutions and modernisation (Lindbeck and Nyberg, 2006) the findings do not necessarily support this view. Corneo (2012) finds no sign of a declining work ethic among citizens in any of the OECD countries. His study shows that between 1981 and 2008 the share of those who believe hard work is an important quality for children to learn has been rather stable or increased (for instance in Italy and Anglo-Saxon countries). Harpaz and Fu (2002) also find a highly stable pattern of work centrality and entitlement norms among those in the workforce in Israel between 1981 and 1993, while obligation norms are moderately stable. Also in the United Kingdom (1985-2001 and 1997-2005) and Sweden (1997-2005) non-financial employment commitment among those currently in employment seems rather stable (Rose, 2005; Hult & Stattin, 2009). However, there indeed are some studies indicating a declining trend. Highhouse et al (2010) find a relatively steady downward trend in employment commitment in the United States from 1980 through approximately 1993, levelling off from 1994 to 2006. However, note that Corneo (2012) found – with a different measure – an increasing trend in the United States. Hult & Stattin (2009) find employment commitment has decreased between 1997 and 2005 in Hungary and Denmark.

Figure 4 Summary of findings: general valuations in historical-comparative studies



Overall job satisfaction seems to be either stable or declining in advanced economies that have been examined (Jürges, 2003; Clark, 2005; Green & Tsitsianis, 2005; Handel, 2005; Olsen et al.,

2010); both Great Britain and Germany witnessed a decline in job satisfaction during the early '80s and the '90s (Jürges, 2003; Clark, 2005; Green & Tsitsianis, 2005). According to Olsen et al (2010) findings on job satisfaction in West-Germany, Great Britain, Norway and USA mainly show stability in the period between 1989 and 2005. Handel (2005) also finds a constant pattern in job satisfaction for the USA between 1989 and 1998. Using a different measurement form, Green et al (2016) find that job-related well-being was stable in Great Britain between 2001 and 2006, and declined during the crisis years between 2006 and 2012.³

Based on *absolute* measurements of work values, some studies find that work values have been rather stable in OECD countries (Clark, 2005; Vecernik, 2006), whereas others find – at odds with modernisation theory - an increasing appreciation of especially extrinsic values (Harpaz & Fu, 2002; Turunen, 2011). Handel (2005) and Gallie et al (2012) find an increase in intrinsic or nonmaterial job values for both the USA and Great Britain, accompanied by a growing importance of job security in the USA and a growing importance of good pay in Great Britain. Other studies, using *relative* job values, also find an increasing priority placed on income (Karl & Sutton, 1998; Clark, 2005; Kalleberg & Marsden, 2013); note though that these studies are restricted to Anglo-Saxon countries. Job security became less important for British workers (Clark, 2005), whereas an increase in the relative priority of job security was found in the USA (Karl & Sutton, 1998; Kalleberg & Marsden, 2013). Modest support for Inglehart's modernisation thesis is provided by the study by Hauff & Kirchner (2015), who find a relatively high and increasing share of 'post-modern demanders' (a cluster of individuals who attach moderate importance to job security, high income and career opportunities, and high importance to having an interesting job and work independently) in for instance Norway.

Finally, does the evolution of job outcomes show a clear improvement or decline? Overall, job quality tends to show relative stability or rather small changes over time and often follows inconsistent trends (Clark, 2005; Olsen et al, 2010; Green et al, 2013; Fernández-Macías et al., 2014). In terms of trends in extrinsic job rewards, workers in various advanced countries did not seem to evaluate their earnings or promotion opportunities very differently over time (Clark, 2005; Handel, 2005; Brown, 2008; Olsen, 2010), but there is controversy – even for the same countries and time periods – on whether job security actually increased or decreased (*cf.* Clark, 2005; Handel, 2005; Brown et al, 2008; Olsen, 2010); Clark (2005) finds that job-security satisfaction fell for British workers in pooled but not in panel data during the same period. Similarly, evidence on changes in intrinsic rewards from work also point into different directions – sometimes even for the same countries. For instance, Handel (2005) finds a significant decline in interesting work among US workers, whereas Olsen et al (2010) find a significant increase among US workers. More consistently, several pieces of evidence show detrimental evolutions in the area of work intensity and physical and emotional strain as well as

³ Note that these studies include only a small fraction of OECD countries, and we did not encounter for instance any studies on changes in job satisfaction in CEE countries.

decreases in work complexity and work autonomy (both procedural and content) in various advanced economies (Clark, 2005; Brown, 2008; Olsen et al., 2010; Greenan et al, 2013; Lopes et al, 2014).

Table 1 Summary of findings: individual job valuations in historical-comparative studies

	Summary of findings	Geographical coverage
Job satisfaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various studies find that JS has been rather stable • Though declining during some periods/ countries ('80s, crisis) 	Germany, GB, Norway, US Germany, GB
Work values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various studies find that WVs have been rather stable • Some studies find an increasing appreciation of <i>extrinsic</i> values 	Various countries Various countries
Job quality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extrinsic and intrinsic JQ seems relatively stable • If any changes, they tend to be either small or follow inconsistent trends • Exception: consistent findings in the area of increasing work intensity/ physical and emotional strain 	Various countries Various countries

In explanatory terms, changes in job satisfaction are only to a limited extent explained from compositional shifts and changes in individuals' work values (Jürges, 2003; Clark, 2005; Handel, 2005), but are rather attributed to the intensification of work effort, declining task discretion or work autonomy, and increases in stress and hard work (Clark, 2005; Green & Tsitsianis, 2005; Lopes et al., 2014). During the crisis years in Britain, the fall in job-related well-being was partly accounted for "by accelerations in the pace of workplace change, rising job insecurity, increased effort and changing participation" (Green et al., 2016).

Kalleberg and Marsden (2013) find that groups most vulnerable to insecurity (with respect to their job, employability and economic situation) were most apt to place high importance on income and security and that recent cohorts place greater emphasis on income relative to security, short hours and accomplishment. Furthermore, especially groups such as clerical and blue-collar workers seem to have experienced deteriorating conditions (Handel, 2005; Lopes et al, 2014). Brown et al (2008) show that changes in HRM practices did not explain much of the observed changes in satisfaction with sense of achievement over time, while job security and management responsiveness did. At the meso-level, Greenan et al (2013) show that occupation is an important predictor in variations in quality of working life. Olsen et al (2010) observe an converging trend in job security and work intensity over time.

5. Conclusion: a research agenda

In the past few decades, research on the value of work has made substantial progress towards a more coherent picture of how transformations in the organisation of work have impacted individuals' experiences and valuations of work across nations and time. Collectively, the sociology, economics, management, psychology and industrial relations literatures have employed a rich and diverse set of theories, concepts and empirical findings in studies on the value of work. These studies have

uncovered numerous notable findings of which the main insights have been addressed in the previous section.

In terms of gaps in the current literature, we conclude from the findings that there are only a few studies addressing how general valuations of work (i.e. concepts like work ethic, employment commitment, work centrality) have been changing over time. Although it is sometimes put forward that general valuations of work would be declining in advanced societies over time due to modernisation and changing institutions (Inglehart, 1997; Lindbeck and Nyberg, 2006), findings in this area seem hardly conclusive.

Furthermore, we conclude that there is a need for more in-depth analyses and small-scale country comparisons to obtain a more holistic picture of cross-national variation and developments over time. For instance, the findings on Nordic countries show relatively low work ethic combined with high employment commitment and high individual job valuations. Although puzzling at first sight, these findings may be explained from more in-depth analyses of the different constructs and an examination of the constructs in relation to the institutional or cultural embeddedness. In addition, the findings in this literature review lead us to the observation that in the present form several outcomes seem to be affected by methodological issues: different measurements of the same construct sometimes lead to different outcomes for the same country, several studies depart from low reliability measures on their dependent variables (e.g. with employment commitment and work ethic) and some concepts seem to suffer from the fact that individuals from different countries “scale” responses differently (Hofstede, 1985). Blanchflower & Freeman state (1997):

“Americans may be relatively optimistic, with an “everything will work out” mentality that leads them to respond more positively than a comparable British group to the question “Are you satisfied with your job” even though their true satisfaction, on some objective scale, is the same as that of the (possibly more reserved) British” (p.449).

Kristensen & Johansson (2008), using anchoring vignettes, indeed find cross-national differences in the way individuals perceive subjective questions about job satisfaction. Hauff and Kirchner (2015), studying work value patterns, find a relatively high share of what they term ‘high demanders’ among American respondents; individuals who value every work dimension to be ‘very important’ with a high probability. Although a high importance of both extrinsic and intrinsic work values may be the effect of a comparatively low socio-economic security system combined with high individualism (fostering the importance of values in both the area of income and security and independent work), it may also indicate Americans have different response patterns. And Frege & Godard (2014) find that “German workers are, in an objective sense, better-off [in terms of job quality than U.S. workers], but this tends to be masked by their more critical evaluative standards” (p.960). To account for the issue of variety in national patterns of response, some studies add responses to unrelated questions that may index national patterns of response in their analyses (Blanchflower & Freeman, 1997) or compare results from ‘subjective’ outcome measures with more ‘objective’ outcome measures (e.g. ‘job satisfaction’ and ‘work-related health problems’ in Lopes et al, 2014). Other authors have

circumvented the problem by focusing on *trends* rather than *levels* in the value of work (Corneo, 2012; Green & Tsitsianis, 2005; Green, 2006; Lopes et al, 2014). In-depth analyses and small-scale country comparisons using a combination of different constructs may further advance the understanding of the value of work and provide more insight in the various dimensions of the value of work in today's changing labour markets.

Finally, we turn attention to our suggestions for new directions for future research on the value of work. These recommendations are not intended to be exhaustive, but rather represent our perceptions of the most impactful directions scholars may pursue. First, despite tremendous societal changes over the past decades, cross-national and historical-comparative studies seem to show a rather stable picture. These findings raise the question whether patterns on the value of work are indeed that constant, or whether there is happening more 'beneath the surface'? For instance, little attention has been paid thus far to *inequality* in the value of work (some exceptions include Clark, 2005; Borooh, 2009), which is in sharp contrast with the emergence on research in the area of wealth and income inequality (Piketty, 2014). From a post-industrial perspective, large variation and developments regarding the value of work are expected by types of employment relations, sector of industry etc., but thus far this area of research has received only limited attention. Accordingly, another aspect that merits attention in research on the value of work in cross-national and historical-comparative settings is gender – also in a life course perspective (Treas & Widmer, 2000); as most studies tend to treat gender rather as a 'control factor' than making a true notion of potential gender differences. Along with the increase in female labour force participation, the role of the work domain is likely to have changed and along with emancipatory movements regarding the combination of work and motherhood (traditional, feminist or egalitarian essentialism; see Cotter et al., 2011) work facets may have changed accordingly. Moreover, with the increase in one-and-a-half and dual earner families the role of work may have changed for both men and women differently, and the role of the work domain as a social institution may have gained prominence (Jahoda, 1982). Some studies (e.g. Kalleberg & Marsden, 2013) have started to explore 'underlying movements', but thus far this research area remains largely unexplored territory.

Second, the meso level – largely absent in any explanatory analysis of cross-national findings and historical-comparative studies – may deserve a larger role in future research on the value of work. The value of work is not only determined by individual traits and macro-level factors, but is also expected to be highly influenced by attitudes and behaviour of meso level actors, shaping and interacting with the other levels in determining the value of work. The changing organisational structures and demand for workers (for instance reflected in the increase in blended organisations, contingent work, gig work), the role organisations play in establishing new working environments and their effects of human capital accumulation are all important aspects on their central role in influencing the value of work of individual workers.

References

- Ashmos, D. P., & Duchon, D. (2000). Spirituality at work: A conceptualization and measure. *Journal of management inquiry*, 9(2), 134-145.
- Becker, G.S. (1962). Investment in human capital: A theoretical analysis. *Journal of Political Economy*, 70(5), 9-49.
- Becker, G. (1981). *A treatise on the family*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bell, D. (1976). *The coming of post-industrial society: A venture in social forecasting*. New York: Basic Books.
- Blanchflower, D. G., & Freeman, R. B. (1997). The attitudinal legacy of communist labor relations. *ILR Review*, 50(3), 438-459.
- Borooah, V. K. (2009). Comparing levels of job satisfaction in the countries of Western and Eastern Europe. *International Journal of Manpower*, 30(4), 304-325.
- Braverman, H. (1974). *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Brewster, K. L., & Padavic, I. (2000). Change in gender ideology, 1977–1996: The contributions of intracohort change and population turnover. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(2), 477-487.
- Brooks, C., & Bolzendahl, C. (2004). The transformation of US gender role attitudes: Cohort replacement, social-structural change, and ideological learning. *Social Science Research*, 33(1), 106-133.
- Brown, A., Forde, C., Spencer, D., & Charlwood, A. (2008). Changes in HRM and job satisfaction, 1998–2004: evidence from the Workplace Employment Relations Survey. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 18(3), 237-256.
- Bustillo, R., Fernandez-Macias, E., Esteve, F., & Anton, J. I. (2011). E pluribus unum? A critical survey of job quality indicators. *Socio-Economic Review*, 9(3), 447-76.
- Clark, A. E. (2005). Your money or your life: Changing job quality in OECD countries. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 43(3), 377-400.
- Corneo, G. (2012). Work norms and the welfare state. *CESifo Economic Studies*, 58(4), 599-625.
- Cotter, D., Hermsen, J. M., & Vanneman, R. (2011). The end of the gender revolution? Gender role attitudes from 1977 to 2008. *American Journal of Sociology*, 117(1), 259-89.
- Crompton, R., Brockmann, M., & Lyonette, C. (2005). Attitudes, women's employment and the domestic division of labour: a cross-national analysis in two waves. *Work, employment and society*, 19(2), 213-233.
- Davoine, L., Erhel, C., & Guergoat-Lariviere, M. (2008). Monitoring quality in work: European Employment Strategy indicators and beyond. *International Labour Review*, 147(2-3), 163-198.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Fernández-Macías, E., Muñoz de Bustillo, R., & Antón, J. I. (2014). Job quality in Europe in the first decade of the 21st Century.

- Frege, C., & Godard, J. (2014). Varieties of capitalism and job quality: The attainment of civic principles at work in the United States and Germany. *American Sociological Review*, 79(5), 942-965.
- Gallie, D. (2003). The quality of working life: is Scandinavia different? *European sociological review*, 19(1), 61-79.
- Gallie, D. (2007). Welfare regimes, employment systems and job preference orientations. *European Sociological Review*, 23(3), 279-293.
- Gallie, D., Felstead, A., & Green, F. (2012). Job preferences and the intrinsic quality of work: the changing attitudes of British employees 1992–2006. *Work, Employment and Society*, 26(5), 806-821.
- Gill, F. (1999). The meaning of work: Lessons from sociology, psychology, and political theory. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 28(6), 725-743.
- Green, F., Felstead, A., Gallie, D., & Inanc, H. (2016). Job-related well-being through the great Recession. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 17(1), 389-411.
- Green, F., Mostafa, T., Parent-Thirion, A., Vermeylen, G., Van Houten, G., Biletta, I., & Lyly-Yrjanainen, M. (2013). Is job quality becoming more unequal? *ILR Review*, 66(4), 753-784.
- Green, F., & Tsitsianis, N. (2005). An investigation of national trends in job satisfaction in Britain and Germany. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 43(3), 401-429.
- Greenan, N., Kalugina, E., & Walkowiak, E. (2013). Has the quality of working life improved in the EU-15 between 1995 and 2005? *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 23(2), 399-428.
- Hall, P.A. & Soskice, D. (eds.) (2001). *Varieties of Capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Handel, M. J. (2005). Trends in perceived job quality, 1989 to 1998. *Work and occupations*, 32(1), 66-94.
- Harpaz, I., & Fu, X. (2002). The structure of the meaning of work: A relative stability amidst change. *Human relations*, 55(6), 639-667.
- Hauff, S., & Kirchner, S. (2015). Identifying work value patterns: cross-national comparison and historical dynamics. *International Journal of Manpower*, 36(2), 151-168.
- Highhouse, S., Zickar, M. J., & Yankelevich, M. (2010). Would you work if you won the lottery? Tracking changes in the American work ethic. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95(2), 349.
- Hofstede, G.H. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hofstede, G.H. (1991). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind*. London: McGraw-Hill.
- Hofstede, G.H. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hult, C., & Edlund, J. (2008). Age and labour market commitment in Germany, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. *Work, employment and society*, 22(1), 109-128.

- Hult, C., & Stattin, M. (2009). Age, policy changes and work orientation: Comparing changes in commitment to paid work in four European countries. *Journal of Population Ageing*, 2(3-4), 101-120.
- Hult, C., & Svallfors, S. (2002). Production regimes and work orientations: A comparison of six western countries. *European Sociological Review*, 18(3), 315-331.
- Inglehart, R. (1977). *The silent revolution: changing values and political styles amongst western publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization: Cultural, economic and political change in 43 societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jahoda, M. (1982). *Employment and Unemployment: A Social-Psychological Analysis*. Cambridge, MA: University of Cambridge Press.
- Jürges, H. (2003). Age, cohort, and the slump in job satisfaction among West German workers. *Labour*, 17(4), 489-518.
- Kaasa, A. (2011). Work values in European countries: Empirical evidence and explanations. *Review of International Comparative Management*, 12(5), 852-862.
- Kalleberg, A.L., (2009). Precarious work, insecure workers: employment relations in transition. *American Sociological Review*, 74, 1–22.
- Kalleberg, A.L. (2011). *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs: The rise of polarized and precarious employment systems in the United States, 1970s to 2000s*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Kalleberg, A. L., & Marsden, P. V. (2013). Changing work values in the United States, 1973–2006. *Social Science Research*, 42(2), 255-270.
- Karl, K. A., & Sutton, C. L. (1998). Job values in today's workforce: A comparison of public and private sector employees. *Public Personnel Management*, 27(4), 515-527.
- Kristensen, N., & Johansson, E. (2008). New evidence on cross-country differences in job satisfaction using anchoring vignettes. *Labour economics*, 15(1), 96-117.
- Kuchinke, K. P., Ardichvili, A., Borchert, M., Cornachione, E. B., Cseh, M., Kang, H. S., ... & Zav'jalova, E. (2011). Work meaning among mid-level professional employees: A study of the importance of work centrality and extrinsic and intrinsic work goals in eight countries. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources*, 49(3), 264-284.
- Leschke, J., & Watt, A. (2014). Challenges in constructing a multi-dimensional European job quality index. *Social indicators research*, 118(1), 1-31.
- Lindbeck, A., & Nyberg, S. (2006). Raising children to work hard: altruism, work norms, and social insurance. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 121(4), 1473-1503.
- Lopes, H., Lagoa, S., & Calapez, T. (2014). Work autonomy, work pressure, and job satisfaction: An analysis of European Union countries. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 25(2), 306-326.

- Lu, Q., Huang, X., & Bond, M. H. (2016). Culture and the Working Life: Predicting the Relative Centrality of Work Across Life Domains for Employed Persons. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 47*(2), 277-293.
- Maslow, A.H. (1954). *Motivation and personality*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Mysíková, M., & Večerník, J. (2013). Job satisfaction across Europe: differences between and within regions. *Post-communist economies, 25*(4), 539-556.
- Olsen, K. M., Kalleberg, A. L., & Nesheim, T. (2010). Perceived job quality in the United States, Great Britain, Norway and West Germany, 1989-2005. *European Journal of Industrial Relations, 16*(3), 221-240.
- Osterman, P. (2013). Introduction to the special issue on job quality: What does it mean and how might we think about it? *Industrial & Labor Relations Review, 66*(4), 739-752.
- Pichler, F., & Wallace, C. (2009). What are the reasons for differences in job satisfaction across Europe? Individual, compositional, and institutional explanations. *European Sociological Review, 25*(5), 535-549.
- Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge, MA/ London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Polachek, S.W. & W.S. Siebert (1993). *The Economics of earnings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, M. (2005). Do rising levels of qualification alter work ethic, work orientation and organizational commitment for the worse? Evidence from the UK, 1985–2001. *Journal of Education and Work, 18*(2), 131-164.
- Scott, J., Alwin, D. F., & Braun, M. (1996). Generational changes in gender-role attitudes: Britain in a cross-national perspective. *Sociology, 30*(3), 471-492.
- Shirokanova, A. (2015). A comparative study of work ethic among Muslims and Protestants: Multilevel evidence. *Social Compass, 62*(4), 615-631.
- Snir, R. (2014). Non-financial employment commitment: some correlates and a cross-national comparison. *Cross Cultural Management, 21*(1), 39-54.
- Sousa-Poza, A., & Sousa-Poza, A. A. (2000). Well-being at work: a cross-national analysis of the levels and determinants of job satisfaction. *The journal of socio-economics, 29*(6), 517-538.
- Stam, K., Verbakel, E., & De Graaf, P. M. (2013). Explaining Variation in Work Ethic in Europe: Religious heritage rather than modernisation, the welfare state and communism. *European Societies, 15*(2), 268-289.
- Svallfors, S., Halvorsen, K., & Andersen, J. G. (2001). Work orientations in Scandinavia: Employment commitment and organizational commitment in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. *Acta Sociologica, 44*(2), 139-156.
- Ter Bogt, T., Raaijmakers, Q., & Van Wel, F. (2005). Socialization and development of the work ethic among adolescents and young adults. *Journal of vocational behavior, 66*(3), 420-437.

- Treas, J., & Widmer, E. D. (2000). Married women's employment over the life course: Attitudes in cross-national perspective. *Social Forces*, 78(4), 1409-1436.
- Turunen, T. (2011). Work orientations in flux? Comparing trends in and determinants of subjective work goals in five European countries. *European Societies*, 13(5), 641-662.
- Van Aerden, K., Moors, G., Levecque, K., & Vanroelen, C. (2014). Measuring employment arrangements in the European labour force: a typological approach. *Social indicators research*, 116(3), 771-791.
- Van der Wel, K. A., & Halvorsen, K. (2015). The bigger the worse? A comparative study of the welfare state and employment commitment. *Work, employment and society*, 29(1), 99-118.
- Van Egmond, M., Baxter, J., Buchler, S., & Western, M. (2010). A stalled revolution? Gender role attitudes in Australia, 1986–2005. *Journal of Population Research*, 27(3), 147-168.
- Vecerník, J. (2003). Skating on thin ice: a comparison of work values and job satisfaction in CEE and EU countries. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 44(5), 444-471.
- Vecerník, J. (2006). Work values and job attitudes in the Czech Republic between 1997 and 2005. *Sociologický časopis/Czech Sociological Review*, 42(6), 1219-1240.
- Warr, P. (1982). A national study of non-financial employment commitment. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 55, 297–312.
- Warr, P. (1987). *Work, Unemployment, and Mental Health*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

ANNEX A Summary of included studies general valuations and individual job valuations, cross-national studies

Studies	Geographical coverage	Method	Valuation characteristics
General valuations			
<i>Citizens</i>			
Corneo (2012)	OECD countries	Data from various waves of the World Values Survey/ European Values Survey (1981-2008)	Work ethic (1-item): Important qualities to learn children at home: hard work (dummy variable)
Lindbeck & Nyberg (2006)	OECD countries	Data from three waves of the World Values Survey (1981-1984, 1990-1993, 1995-1997)	Work ethic (1-item): Important qualities to learn children at home: hard work (dummy variable)
Shirokanova (2015)	World (55 countries)	Data from waves 4 (1999-2000) and 5 (2005-2008) of the World Values Survey	Work ethic (1-item); "Work is a duty towards society" (1 = <i>agree completely</i> ; 5 = <i>completely disagree</i>)
Snir (2014)	World (31 countries)	Data from the 2005 ISSP module on Work Orientation	Non-financial employment commitment (2-item scale); "A job is just a way to earn money – no more", "I would enjoy having a paid job even if I did not need the money" (1 = <i>strongly disagree</i> ; 5 = <i>strongly agree</i>)
Stam et al. (2013)	Europe (44 countries)	Data from wave 4 (2008) of the European Values Study	Work ethic (5-item scale); Sample item: "Work is a duty towards society" (1 = <i>agree completely</i> ; 5 = <i>completely disagree</i>)
Svallfors et al. (2001)	Denmark, Norway, Sweden	Data from the 1997 ISSP module on Work Orientation	Non-financial employment commitment (2-item scale); "A job is just a way to earn money – no more", "I would enjoy having a paid job even if I did not need the money" (1 = <i>strongly disagree</i> ; 5 = <i>strongly agree</i>)
Van der Wel & Halvorsen (2015)	Europe (18 countries)	Data from the European Social Survey 2010	Non-financial employment commitment (1-item); "I would enjoy working in my current job even if I did not need the money" (1 = <i>strongly agree</i> ; 5 = <i>strongly disagree</i>)
Vecernik (2003)	Europe (9 countries)	Data from the 1997 ISSP module on Work Orientation, from wave 3 (1999) of the European Values Study	Work centrality (importance of various areas in respondent's life), work ethic (6 items); sample item: "Work is a duty towards society" (1 = <i>agree completely</i> ; 5 = <i>completely disagree</i>)
<i>Employed persons</i>			
Frege & Godard (2014)	Germany, US	Data from a 2009 telephone survey among U.S. and German workers	Work centrality; "Has always, by nature, tended to view work as central to who you are" (1 = <i>strongly agree</i> ; 5 = <i>strongly disagree</i>)
Hult & Svallfors (2002)	Great Britain, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, US, West Germany	Data from the 1997 ISSP module on Work Orientation, selection currently in employed work	Non-financial employment commitment (2-item scale); "A job is just a way to earn money – no more", "I would enjoy having a paid job even if I did not need the money" (1 = <i>strongly disagree</i> ; 5 = <i>strongly agree</i>)
Hult & Edlund (2008)	Denmark, Germany, Norway, Sweden	Data from the 1997 ISSP module on Work Orientation, selection currently in employed work	Unit of analysis is: Cluster on 'low employment commitment' (LCA), derived from 2 items; "A job is just a way to earn money – no more", "I would enjoy having a paid job even if I did not need the money" (1 = <i>strongly disagree</i> ; 5 = <i>strongly agree</i>)
Hult & Stattin (2009)	Denmark, Hungary, Sweden, UK	Data from the 1997 and 2005 ISSP module on Work Orientation, selection currently in employed work	Non-financial employment commitment (2-item scale); "A job is just a way to earn money – no more", "I would enjoy having a paid job even if I did not need the money" (1 = <i>strongly disagree</i> ; 5 = <i>strongly agree</i>)
Kuchinke et al (2011)	Brazil, Germany, Hungary, South Korea, Kyrgyzstan, Poland, Russia, US	Data from 1542 surveys among mid-level professional employees	Work centrality, employment commitment (lottery question); "Imagine that you won a lottery or inherited a large sum of money and could live comfortably for the rest of your life without working. What would you do about work?" (1 = <i>stop working</i> , 2 = <i>continue to work in the same job</i> , 3 = <i>continue to work, but under different conditions</i>)
Lu et al (2016)	World	Data from wave 5 (2005-2008) of the World Values	Relative centrality of work (6 life domains); work ethic (5-item scale) functions as predictor

Turunen (2011)	(45 countries) Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Sweden	Survey, selection currently in employed work Data from the 2005 ISSP module on Work Orientation, selection currently in employed work	Non-financial employment commitment (2-item scale); “A job is just a way to earn money – no more”, “I would enjoy having a paid job even if I did not need the money” (1 = <i>strongly disagree</i> ; 5 = <i>strongly agree</i>)
Individual valuations			
Blanchflower & Freeman (1999)	Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Russia	ISSP data from various modules between 1987 and 1993	Job satisfaction; Job quality (items: “My job is interesting”, “How often do you work in dangerous conditions?”, “How often do you work in unhealthy conditions”)
Borooah (2009)	Europe (33 countries)	Data from the 1999-2002 Values Survey Integrated Data File	Job satisfaction, work values, job quality (extrinsic rewards)
Davoine et al (2008)	EU27	Analysis of European indicators from various sources, including the European Working Conditions Survey and European Labour Force Survey	Job quality, including Laeken indicators (four areas: (1) <i>socio-economic security</i> , (2) <i>education and training</i> , (3) <i>working conditions</i> , (4) <i>work-family reconciliation</i>)
Fernández-Macías et al (2014)	Europe (15 countries)	Data from the European Working Conditions Survey 2000-2010	Non-pecuniary aspects of job quality (Job Quality Index (JQI) composed of (1) <i>intrinsic quality of work</i> , (2) <i>employment quality</i> , (3) <i>health and safety</i> , (4) <i>work-life balance</i>)
Frege & Godard (2014)	Germany, US	Data from a 2009 telephone survey among U.S. and German workers	Job quality (composite index, based on multiple-item scales in the areas of (1) <i>Freedom</i> , (2) <i>Fulfillment</i> , (3) <i>Security</i> , (4) <i>Fraternity</i> , (5) <i>Dignity</i> , (6) <i>Empowerment</i> , (7) <i>Fairness</i> , (8) <i>Justice</i>).
Gallie (2003)	Europe (14 countries)	Data from the Employment in Europe Survey 1996	Quality of work. Indices of four aspects: (1) <i>Intrinsic job quality</i> (4-item scale; sample item: “There is a lot of variety in the work”); (2) <i>Participation and Consultation</i> ; (3) <i>Training and Career Opportunities</i> , (4) <i>Job security</i>
Gallie (2007)	Denmark, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Sweden	Data from two surveys undertaken for the European Commission by DG Employment in 1996 and 2001	Work values, intrinsic and extrinsic values (factor analysis)
Green et al (2013)	Europe (15 countries)	Data from the European Working Conditions Survey 1995-2010	Non-wage aspects of job quality. Summative indices of four job quality aspects: (1) <i>Work Quality</i> , (2) <i>Work Intensity (negative)</i> , (3) <i>Good Physical Environment</i> , (4) <i>Working Time Quality</i>
Hauff & Kirchner (2015)	Great Britain, Hungary, Norway, US, West Germany	Data from the 1989, 1997 and 2005 ISSP module on Work Orientation	Work values; three extrinsic (sample item: “high income”) and two intrinsic (sample item: “interesting job”) values.
Huang & Van Vliert (2003)	World (41 countries)	Data from a survey conducted in 2000 in a multinational company.	Job satisfaction; job quality
Kaasa (2011)	Europe (45 countries)	Data from the European Values Study 2010	Work values; intrinsic and extrinsic values (factor analysis)
Kristensen & Johansson (2008)	Denmark, France, Greece, The Netherlands, Spain, Finland, UK	Data collected in 7 EU countries in 2004	Job satisfaction, use of anchoring vignettes
Leschke & Watt (2014)	EU27	Data from various sources, including the European Working Conditions Survey and European Labour Force Survey	Job quality, index compiled of six sub-indices: (1) <i>wages</i> , (2) <i>non-standard forms of employment (inverted)</i> , (3) <i>working time and work-life balance</i> , (4) <i>working conditions and job security</i> , (5) <i>access to training and career development</i> , and (6) <i>collective interest representation</i>
Lopes et al (2014)	EU-15	Data from the European Working Conditions Surveys 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010	Job quality (two indices: (1) <i>work autonomy</i> and (2) <i>work pressure</i>)
Mysíková & Večerník (2013)	Western Europe, Eastern Europe	Data from the European Social Survey 2010	Job satisfaction

Olsen et al (2010)	Great Britain, Norway, US, West Germany	Data from the 1989, 1997 and 2005 ISSP module on Work Orientation	Job satisfaction; job quality (defined in terms of five dimensions – (1) <i>extrinsic rewards</i> , (2) <i>intrinsic rewards</i> , (3) <i>work intensity</i> , (4) <i>working conditions</i> and (5) <i>interpersonal relationships</i>).
Pichler & Wallace (2009)	Europe (27 countries)	Data from the European Quality of Life Survey	Job satisfaction; job characteristics
Smith et al (2008)	Europe (31 countries)	Data from the European Working Conditions Surveys 2005	Job quality along three dimensions: (1) <i>job content</i> , (2) <i>autonomy</i> and (3) <i>working conditions</i>
Sousa-Poza & Sousa-Poza (2000)	World (21 countries)	Data from the 1997 ISSP module on Work Orientation	Job satisfaction; work-role input (5 items: sample items “years of schooling”, “working in a physically demanding job”) and work-role output (9 items: sample items: “compensation”, “job security”, “good relationship with colleagues”).
Turunen (2011)	Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Spain and Sweden	Data from the World Values Surveys and European Values Studies collected in 1990-1999/2000	Work values; intrinsic values (sample item: “opportunity to use initiative”), convenience values (sample item: “good hours”) and financial values (sample item: “good pay”)(principal component analysis)
Van Aerden et al (2014)	EU27	Data from the 4 th European Working Conditions Survey	Employment quality, operationalised by indicators on: (1) <i>employment stability</i> , (2) <i>material rewards</i> , (3) <i>working rights and social protection</i> , (4) <i>working time arrangements</i> , (5) <i>employability opportunities</i> , (6) <i>collective organisation</i> , (7) <i>interpersonal power relations</i> , (8) <i>intrinsic job quality</i> .
Vecernik (2003)	Europe (9 countries)	Data from the 1997 ISSP module on Work Orientation, from wave 3 (1999) of the European Values Study, Households-Work-Flexibility Survey (2001)	Work values, job characteristics, satisfaction with work

ANNEX B Summary of included studies regarding general valuations and individual job valuations, historical-comparative studies

Studies	Geographical coverage	Method	Valuation characteristics
General valuations			
<i>Citizens</i>			
Corneo (2012)	OECD countries	Data from various waves of the World Values Survey/ European Values Survey (1981-2008)	Work ethic (1-item): Important qualities to learn children at home: hard work (dummy variable)
<i>Employed persons</i>			
Harpaz & Fu (2002)	Israel	Data from the Meaning of Work project (1981 and 1993)	Work centrality (absolute and relative measure); entitlement norms (sample item: “If a worker’s skills become outdated, his or her employer should be responsible for retraining”); obligation norms (sample item: “It is the duty of every able-bodied citizen to contribute to society by working”)
Highhouse et al (2010)	US	Data from the General Social Survey (1980-2006)	Non-financial employment commitment (lottery question); “Imagine that you won a lottery or inherited a large sum of money and could live comfortably for the rest of your life without working. What would you do about work?” (1 = <i>continue to work</i> , 0 = <i>stop working</i>)
Hult & Stattin (2009)	Denmark, Great Britain, Hungary and Sweden	Data from the 1997 and 2005 ISSP module on Work Orientation	Non-financial employment commitment (2-item scale); “A job is just a way to earn money – no more”, “I would enjoy having a paid job even if I did not need the money” (1 = <i>strongly disagree</i> ; 5 = <i>strongly agree</i>)
Rose (2005)	UK	Data from various sources, including British Household Panel Survey, Employment in Britain Survey, Office for National Statistics Omnibus Survey	Non-financial employment commitment; “If you were to get enough money to live as comfortably as you would like for the rest of your life, would you continue to work, not necessarily in your present job, or would you stop working?” (<i>Yes/No/Don’t know</i>).
Individual valuations			
Brown et al (2008)	UK	Data from the Workplace Employment Relations Surveys, 1998-2004	Job satisfaction in terms of satisfaction with “sense of achievement”, “influence” and “pay” (1 = <i>very dissatisfied</i> ; 5 = <i>very satisfied</i>) and measures of job quality ((1) <i>influence</i> , (2) <i>job security</i> , (3) <i>stress</i> , (4) <i>effort</i> , (5) <i>climate of employment relations</i> , (6) <i>management responsiveness</i>)
Clark (2005)	OECD countries	Data from the 1989 and 1997 ISSP module on Work Orientation and the British Household Panel Survey (1991-1999)	Work values, job quality, job satisfaction
Fernández-Macías et al (2014)	Europe (15 countries)	Data from the European Working Conditions Survey 2000-2010	Job quality (Job Quality Index (JQI) composed of five dimensions: (1) <i>pay</i> , (2) <i>intrinsic quality of work</i> , (3) <i>employment quality</i> , (4) <i>health and safety</i> , (5) <i>work-life balance</i>
Gallie et al (2012)	UK	Data from the cross-sectional British Skills Surveys, 1992 and 2006	Job preferences, factor analysis resulting into four dimensions: (1) <i>extrinsic dimension</i> , (2) <i>intrinsic dimension</i> , (3) <i>job permitting work-life balance</i> ⁴ , (4) <i>social climate</i> .
Green & Tsitsianis (2005)	Great Britain, Germany	Data from various source, including the British Household Panel Study, Employment in Britain Survey, Skills Survey, German Socio-Economic Panel, International Social Survey Programme	Job satisfaction
Green et al (2013)	Europe (15 countries)	Data from the European Working Conditions Survey 1995-2010	Non-wage aspects of job quality. Summative indices of four job quality aspects: <i>Work Quality</i> , <i>Work Intensity (negative)</i> , <i>Good Physical Environment</i> , <i>Working Time Quality</i>

⁴ Komt inhoudelijk redelijk overeen met ‘convenience values’ in Turunen (2011)

Green et al (2016)	UK	Data from the cross-sectional British Skills and Employment Surveys, 2001, 2006 and 2012	Job-related well-being, two scales (“Thinking of the past few weeks, how much of the time has your job made you feel each of the following..?”): (1) <i>Enthusiasm</i> scale (sample items: “depressed”, “enthusiastic”), (2) <i>Contentment</i> scale (sample items: “worried”, “contented”)(1 = <i>never</i> ; 6 = <i>all of the time</i>).
Greenan et al (2013)	EU-15	Data from the European Working Conditions Surveys 1995, 2000 and 2005.	Quality of working life, summative indices on three dimensions: (1) <i>physical strain</i> , (2) <i>work intensity</i> , (3) <i>work complexity</i> .
Hauff & Kirchner (2015)	Great Britain, Hungary, Norway, US, West Germany	Data from the 1989, 1997 and 2005 ISSP module on Work Orientation	Work values; three extrinsic (sample item: “high income”) and two intrinsic (sample item: “interesting job”) values.
Handel (2005)	US	Data from the General Social Survey (1989-1998)	Job satisfaction; job values; job quality on four dimensions: (1) <i>material rewards</i> , (2) <i>intrinsic rewards</i> , (3) <i>working conditions</i> , (4) <i>workplace interpersonal relations</i>
Harpaz & Fu (2002)	Israel	Data from the Meaning of Work project (1981 and 1993), held among individuals in the labour force	Economic orientation (sample item: “importance of income”); interpersonal contacts (sample item: “interesting contacts”); expressive orientation (sample item: “satisfying work”)
Jürges (2003)	Germany	Data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (1984-2001)	Job satisfaction
Kalleberg & Marsden (2013)	US	Data from the General Social Survey (1973-2006)	Work values (high income, security, advancement, short hours, importance and sense of accomplishment)
Karl & Sutton (1998)	US	Data from a 1992 survey among U.S. workers	Work values
Lopes et al (2014)	EU-15	Data from the European Working Conditions Surveys 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010	Job satisfaction ⁵ ; Job quality, two indices: (1) <i>work autonomy</i> and (2) <i>work pressure</i>
Olsen et al (2010)	Great Britain, Norway, US, West Germany	Data from the 1989, 1997 and 2005 ISSP module on Work Orientation	Job satisfaction; job quality (defined in terms of five dimensions – (1) <i>extrinsic rewards</i> , (2) <i>intrinsic rewards</i> , (3) <i>work intensity</i> , (4) <i>working conditions</i> and (5) <i>interpersonal relationships</i>).
Rose (2005)	UK	Data from various sources, including British Household Panel Survey, Employment in Britain Survey, Office for National Statistics Omnibus Survey	Job satisfaction, intrinsic and extrinsic work values, rationale of work
Turunen (2011)	Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Spain and Sweden	Data from the World Values Surveys and European Values Studies collected in 1990-1999/2000	Work values; intrinsic values (sample item: “opportunity to use initiative”), convenience values (sample item: “good hours”) and financial values (sample item: “good pay”)(principal component analysis)
Vecernik (2006)	Czech Republic	Data from the 1997 and 2005 ISSP module on Work Orientation	Work values, job characteristics, job satisfaction

⁵ Although the authors term their dependent variable ‘job satisfaction’, the European Working Conditions Surveys only seems to measure ‘satisfaction with working conditions’.