

Traditional vs. secular values and work-life well being across Europe

Yannis Georgellis
Brunel University, UK

Thomas Lange
Auckland University of Technology, NZ

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines how culture, defined in our analysis by reference to traditional versus secular values, affects the work-life balance across Europe. Specifically, we focus on the factors that affect the propensity of individuals across 30 European countries to exhibit behavioural patterns in the work and life domains consistent with the *segmentation*, *spillover* or *compensation* hypotheses. Testing the latter assertions, our empirical analysis replicates the study by Judge and Watanabe (1994) with data collected in 1999/00, thus bringing dated empirical results into a multi-country, contemporary realm. Based on self-reported job and life satisfaction measures, we then extend the empirical examination by controlling for different cultural values alongside a large set of standard economic and demographic factors. Our results emphasise the important role of views on secular versus traditional values as a main factor influencing respondents' work-life balance and well being. The role of interpersonal trust features as a particularly prominent component in these results.

KEY WORDS

Job satisfaction / life satisfaction / work-life balance / traditional values / secular values

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Corresponding author: Dr Yannis Georgellis, Economics and Finance, School of Social Sciences, Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex UB8 3PH, United Kingdom
E-mail: yannis.georgellis@brunel.ac.uk

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Introduction and research questions

The interplay between job and life satisfaction has attracted considerable interest amongst academics across a number of disciplines including sociology, economics, management, and organisational psychology. Such interest is driven by the desire for a better understanding of what constitutes and impacts upon a desirable work-life balance, a notion increasingly established as a priority among policy makers and human resource practitioners.

At the theoretical level, job and life satisfaction could be either unrelated, implying that there is *segmentation* between the work and life domains, or it could be that a correlation exists as a result of either *spillover* or *compensation* effects. According to the *spillover* hypothesis, attitudes and practices developed in the life domain can spill over into the work domain and vice versa. For example, killing time at work can become killing time in leisure or apathy at work can lead to apathy in family life (Wilensky, 1960).¹ *Compensation* effects are present in situations where workers who are dissatisfied at work, seek compensatory rewards outside work (Mansfield and Evans, 1975; Kabanoff, 1980). As such, the *compensation* hypothesis implies a negative relationship between job and life satisfaction. In contrast, advocates of the *segmentation* hypothesis suggest that job and life experiences are separated and display little or no related properties (Gupta and Beehr, 1981).

¹ The process of *spillover*, in which work satisfaction is a major component of life satisfaction, is better known in the sociology of occupations literature as *complementarity*.

Judge and Watanabe (1994) developed a methodology for testing these three hypotheses, accounting explicitly for the fact that the form of the relationship between job and life satisfaction may differ across individuals. Based on a sample of 804 individuals from the 1973 and 1978 US Quality of Employment Surveys, they found that only about 20 percent of the individuals in their sample belonged to the segmentation group, with their job and life satisfaction not exhibiting any statistically significant correlation. Among the remaining 80 percent of individuals in their sample, with a statistically significant correlation between job and life satisfaction, the majority (68 percent) was classified into the spillover group, with only about 12 percent belonging to the compensation group.

Beyond replication of the Judge and Watanabe (1994) study with more recent data, our aim in this paper is to identify predictors that cause different individuals to belong to the related and segmentation group, paying particular attention to socio-economic and cross-cultural effects. To this end, we use data for 30 European countries from the third wave of the European Values Survey (hereafter EVS).² A unique feature of the EVS data is that it provides information about respondents' views on secular and traditional values, which allows us to investigate whether attitudes towards religion, society and family life matter as determinants of the functional relationship between job and life satisfaction. In the same spirit as Rojas's (2007) *Conceptual-Referent-Theory* (CRT) explanation, we argue that individuals' values and beliefs – as a conceptual referent, moulded by individuals' upbringing, culture, tradition, religion, environment as well as education systems - are important moderating factors of life satisfaction and work-life well being.

² For detailed information about the European Values Survey see the World Values Survey web site (<http://wvs.isr.umich.edu>).

In the light of evidence attributing differing levels of job satisfaction and respective behavioural patterns to cultural differences (e.g. Saari and Judge, 2004; Kaiser, 2007), providing answers to these questions remains a worthwhile endeavour. In fact, the role of culture has arguably been the most important theme in the sociological literature, and modernization theorists from Karl Marx to Daniel Bell put forward arguments in support of the assertion that economic development results in pervasive cultural changes (Bell 1973, 1976; Marx 1867). Others, from Max Weber to Samuel Huntington, contend that cultural values display an enduring influence on societal institutions, which continue to influence a society's political and economic performance (Huntington 1993, 1996; Weber 1905). Whilst the terminology of culture has been applied in a wide variety of contexts (e.g. individual culture, organisational culture, culture as a synonym for "nation", "ethnic group" or "social norm") we define cultural differences in this study by reference to traditional vs. secular-rational values. This differentiation has gained in prominence following the influential work by Inglehardt and Baker (2000). Although as modernisation categorisations not universally accepted (e.g. Haller 2002) they have informed a number of recent empirical investigations concerned with the role of cultural values and the latter's influence on behavioural traits (Dalton et al. 2002; Oosterbeek et al. 2004; Halman and Draulans 2006).

In a similar vein, sociological scholars have long been concerned with the impact of work on social life. So note Wilson and Musick (1997:251) that "Marx and Durkheim both believed that jobs have consequences for workers' lives outside the workplace, and subsequent research by Kohn, Wilensky, and others confirms that complex and self-directed jobs encourage social participation." From early analyses (Mills, 1953; Wilensky, 1960, 1961; Kanter, 1977; Champoux 1978, 1981) to the

present (Snir and Harpaz 2002; Grosswald 2003; Ammons and Markham, 2004; Montgomery et al., 2005; Rotolo and Wilson 2007), contributions to the sociological literature include a number of influential studies that examine work-life relations by explicit reference to spillover, segmentation and compensation theories. However, although valuable and insightful in many ways most of these studies are based on national data sets with relatively small sample sizes, which make attempts to arrive at empirical generalisations a difficult task.

Against this background, our contribution focuses on the impact of cultural values on the functional work-life satisfaction interlink. It utilises a relatively large, cross-European data set and is positioned within ongoing, empirically based studies that investigate the impact of traditionalism and secularism on socio-economic phenomena.

Methods

Data

We use data for 30 countries from the 1999-2000 wave of the European Values Survey (EVS), which provides information on work, personal finances, the economy, politics, allocation of resources, contemporary social issues, technology and its effect on society, and attitudes towards family life, religion and traditional values. Respondents were also queried about their attitudes toward the importance of work, with questions on their subjective evaluation and level of the respondent's job and life satisfaction. Demographic information includes family income, number of children in the family, size of locality, region of residence, occupation of the head of household,

whether the respondent was the family's main earner, marital status and the respondent's age, sex, occupation, education, and union membership. We restrict our sample to salaried employees aged 18-65, not in farming/agriculture or the armed forces, resulting in a sample size of 5397 and 5010 observations for males and females, respectively.

Measures

Job and life satisfaction

Job satisfaction and life satisfaction variables are self-reported, ordinal variables on a scale of 1-10, with 1 representing complete dissatisfaction and 10 representing complete satisfaction. The life satisfaction variable is compiled by responses to the question: "*All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?*" Values of the job satisfaction variable correspond to responses to the question: "*Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your job?*" The job satisfaction question in the EVS data refers to satisfaction with a specific job with a specific employer covered by specific contractual terms, rather than satisfaction with work or occupation, which is not available in the EVS data. Such a distinction between job and work satisfaction could be potentially important as satisfaction with a specific job might have a different influence on life satisfaction than that of satisfaction with work or occupation in general. As Rose (2003) points out, although any given job is characterised by a unique set of contractual arrangements and work experiences, such experiences tend to fit with patterns of experience associated with given occupations or career paths.

Whilst acknowledging the existence of a potential conceptual overlap between job and life satisfaction, the use of the above measures is based on the presumption

that the relationship between job and life satisfaction is a highly complex one and varies between groups. Mastekaasa's (1984) empirical findings, rejecting the multiplicative model of life satisfaction, further quash criticisms regarding such a conceptual overlap. As Mastekaasa explains, it is unrealistic to expect that individuals are aware of what domains contribute the most to their overall life satisfaction, appealing to the true limitations of individuals' *self-insight*. Apparently, such limitations are more evident in the case of life satisfaction than in the case of job satisfaction. Based on data from the German Socio-economic Panel, Van Praag et. al. (2003) further confirm the complexity of the relationship between job and life satisfaction by showing that life satisfaction is a weighted average of six domain satisfaction measures, with job satisfaction being one of them. The remaining five domains are health, finance, leisure, housing, and environment. In the light of such evidence, we proceed with our investigation to uncover the main moderating factors of such a complex relationship between job and life satisfaction, rather than resigning to the prospect of job satisfaction simply being the only or main component of overall life satisfaction.

Finally, the more general issue of the use of single-item measures of complex attitude structures remains a controversial one, as such measures tend to have only marginally acceptable internal consistency (see e.g. Wanous *et al.*, 1997; Rose, 2005). On a positive note, the meta-analysis of US data sets by Wanous *et al.* (1997) gives the use of single-item measures a cautious thumbs-up. Rose (2005) raises similar concerns on the use of single-item measures, but he also adopts a more pragmatic attitude towards the use of such measures and proceeds with his analysis of employee despondency in the UK.

Control variables

The EVS data allows us to control for key socio-economic and demographic characteristics based on data collected and collated in a consistent way across a large number of European countries. Given the well-documented differences in labour market opportunities and occupational strategies between men and women, such differences also dominate the work-life balance debate.³ Indeed, evidence of occupational segregation along gender lines is well documented in the literature and the debate on whether the pay gap between men and women could be attributed to discrimination is still an ongoing one. Thus, we include a *sex* dummy variable that allows male and female job and life equations to have different intercepts. However, because the inclusion of a dummy variable alone does not allow for the effects of all other factors to vary across men and women, we also estimate multivariate regressions separately for men and women.

The second main factor we control for is *income*, as potentially one of the most important moderating factors influencing job and life satisfaction (Clark and Oswald 1996). In our multivariate analysis, we use income data, provided in the EVS, capturing the relative position of a respondent in the income distribution, that is, whether a respondent enjoys low, middle or high income within his or her own country.

Our main variable of interest in this context is the *traditional/secular-rational values* index in the EVS, which allows us to capture the role of culture and religion as important determinants of how individuals perceive the relationship between job and life satisfaction. The *traditional/secular-rational values* index is constructed by

³ Examples of recent studies highlighting differences in how men and women value various job attributes include Clark (1997) and Georgellis and Lange (2007), among others.

Inglehart and Welzel (2005), based on responses of individuals to a number of questions on their religious beliefs and their attitudes towards work, family and societal values. Low values of the index represent traditional values, reflecting an increased emphasis on the importance of religion, family values, parent-child ties and abortion. A more detailed description of the variables used to construct the index is provided in the Appendix. In our regression analysis, we also use the constituent variables described in the Appendix as explanatory variables.

Other controls in our regressions include demographic and labour market characteristics, such as age, education, number of children, marital status, whether respondent is the main earner in the household, union membership, occupation, whether working part-time and size of town of residence.

Analysis

The purpose of our empirical analysis is twofold. First, we replicate the Judge and Watanabe (1994) analysis in order to determine spillover, compensation and segmentation groups across the 30 European countries in our sample. Second, we use multivariate regression analysis to explore further the factors that determine the probability of an individual belonging to one of these groups. More formally, we test the following hypotheses.

H₀: The association between job satisfaction and life satisfaction is equally predictable between all subgroups.

H₁: Job satisfaction and life satisfaction are unrelated (*segmentation*).

H₂: Among ‘non-segmented’ cases, job satisfaction and life satisfaction are positively correlated (*spillover*).

H₃: Among ‘non-segmented’ cases, job satisfaction and life satisfaction are negatively correlated (*compensation*).

To determine spillover, compensation and segmentation groups we follow Judge and Watanabe (1994) and define a measure of association, D1, between job satisfaction and satisfaction with life as the absolute difference between the standardised job and life satisfaction scores. Higher values of D1 imply that job satisfaction and life satisfaction are unrelated whilst lower values indicate the existence of a relationship, positive or negative. For example, for an individual reporting a life satisfaction score 1.5 standard deviations above the mean and a job satisfaction score 1.5 standard deviations below the mean, the D1 score will be high, implying that the individual occupies a significantly different position in the job satisfaction distribution compared to the respective position in the life satisfaction distribution. In contrast, for an individual reporting job and life satisfaction scores, which both are 1.5 standard deviations above the mean scores, the D1 score will be low, implying the existence of a correlation between job and life satisfaction. Thus, high values of D1 tend to support H₁, the *segmentation* hypothesis, while low values tend to reject H₁. Conditional on *non-segmentation*, we test hypotheses H₂ and H₃ using a summary measure of association D2, as defined by Judge and Watanabe (1994). Low values of D2 indicate a positive correlation between reported job and life satisfaction scores, consistent with the *spillover* hypothesis (H₂), while high values of D2 indicate a negative correlation, supporting the *compensation* hypothesis (H₃). These results are summarised in Table 1.

To explore further the factors that determine the probability that job and life satisfaction are related we use multivariate regression analysis of D1 against a set of

moderating factors, including the secular-traditional values index, as well as its constituent variables, as the main regressors of interest. These results are shown in Table 2.

Results

Determining spillover, compensation and segmentation groups

The top panel of Table 1 reports the proportion of workers in each country belonging to the segmented vs. the related group, as determined by the *DI* scores. For example, 77.8 percent of workers in Austria belong to the related group, with relatively low values for *DI*. This implies that their reported job and life satisfaction scores are significantly correlated in a statistical sense, with a correlation coefficient of $r_{LS, JS} = 0.412$. In contrast, only 22.2 percent of workers belong to the segmentation group. These results are broadly consistent with the results of Judge and Watanabe (1994) based on US data from the 1970s. A similar pattern emerges when looking at the results for a number of European countries with roughly similar GDP per capita as Austria (e.g. Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and Netherlands). In contrast, the proportion of workers in the segmented group tends to be relatively high in Eastern European, lower GDP per capita countries such as Bulgaria, Belarus, Croatia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Russia, Slovakia and Ukraine. Interestingly, the proportion of workers classified in the segmented group also tends to be higher in some of the more secular, less traditional societies, including Finland and several Eastern European countries (e.g. Bulgaria, Latvia,

Lithuania, Russia, Ukraine).⁴ Ireland, Northern Ireland and Croatia are notable exceptions with a high proportion of workers in the segmented group, albeit at the lower end of the traditional/secular values spectrum.

[Table 1 near here]

As the results in the lower panel of Table 1 show, for the majority of workers in the related group, spillover effects tend to dominate compensation effects. In the case of Austria, we observe for the spillover group (64.8 percent of the total) a positive and significant relationship between job and life satisfaction ($r_{LS, JS} = 0.863$), while the opposite is true for the compensation group, with a correlation coefficient of $r_{LS, JS} = -0.882$. This is a common pattern across all countries in our sample, with spillover rather than compensation effects being the main reason behind any statistically significant correlations between job and life satisfaction.

Although the above analysis allows us to identify segmentation, spillover and compensation groups within each country, disentangling the effect of cultural values from the effect of income and other factors on the propensity of individuals to belong to either the related or segmented group requires multivariate regression analysis.

Multivariate analysis

Table 2 summarises the multivariate regression (Ordinary Least Squares) results for assessing the factors that affect the value of *DI*, in order to examine the propensity of individuals in our sample to belong in the related or the segmented

⁴ These countries are classified as secular, less traditional, based on their average value of the traditional/secular values index, placing them at the upper end of the traditional/secular values spectrum.

group. As the estimated coefficients suggest, being the main earner in the household has a negative and significant effect on *DI*, implying an increased propensity for main earners to belong to the related group. However, estimating the model separately for men and women reveals that the effect of being a main earner is statistically stronger for men than that for women. This has been explained by reference to conventional expectations of gender roles, responsibilities in the home and men's sense of adequacy as the family's main breadwinner, with women deriving satisfaction from the ability to access financial resources (Menaghan and Parcel, 1990; Stanley et al, 1986; Crowley, 1998). Working part-time increases the propensity of individuals to be in the segmentation group, with an effect that is also stronger for men than women. This perhaps reflects the fact that part-time work may be the result of constraints or inferior labour market opportunities that women are more likely to face compared to their male counterparts.

The results also show that for both, men and women higher educational achievement increases the interplay between life and job satisfaction. In a similar vein, the results suggest that as people move up the income distribution scale, the association between job and life satisfaction becomes stronger for both, men and women. These results are consistent with findings by Fahey et al. (2005) who note that across 28 European countries income goes hand in hand with the quality of life. They contend that broadly speaking better off EU countries, including a number of previous communist nations have a higher quality of life, as measured by both, observable and subjective (self-reported) measures, than poor EU countries. However, how income affects work-life well being remains a controversial issue, especially in the light of an ongoing debate about whether income could buy happiness. As Easterlin (1975, 2001) argues, income growth does not cause well

being to rise, either for higher or lower income persons. This is because increases in income generate equivalent growth in material aspirations, with a negative effect on well being. In contrast, Frijters et al. (2004) note that significant increases in household income in the regions of East Germany post German unification led to sustained gains in life satisfaction over time, implying that income does buy happiness after all.⁵

The positive and significant coefficient for traditional/secular values suggests that for individuals with less traditional values the association between job and life satisfaction is weaker than for those who hold more traditional values. Inglehart and Baker (2000) explain this result when reporting on a significant and positive correlation between traditional values and the statement “*Work is very important in a respondent’s life*”. They also observe that secular values emphasize the opposite. Lalive and Stutzer (2004), examining equal rights and sex differences in well being, provide further support for our findings. They report that women in conservative areas, with strong disapproval of equal rights and a large gender wage gap, are nevertheless more satisfied with their life than men, supporting previous findings of higher satisfaction scores for women despite lower earnings. However, it is interesting to note that no corresponding differences between women and men were observed in more liberal communities where equal rights are more widely accepted and the gender wage gap is smaller.

In columns (2), (4) and (6) we replace the traditional/secular index with variables that were used to construct it in an attempt to identify which one of the

⁵ For a comprehensive review of the literature on income and happiness see Clark et al. (2007).

constituent components of the index drives the results.⁶ It becomes apparent that the impact of interpersonal trust features prominently among these variables.

In previous studies, higher levels of trust have been linked with higher levels of well being and happiness in life even after controlling for other socio-demographic variables (Helliwell, 2003). Similarly, interpersonal trust in an organizational setting has been shown to have a significant and positive impact on job satisfaction and other workplace attitudes and behaviours (Dirks and Ferrin, 2001). Our results suggest that interpersonal trust also serves as a strong predictor of the probability that job and life satisfaction are correlated. As the estimated coefficient indicates, trusting others has a negative effect on D1, implying a higher probability that the work and life domains are related. This finding builds on results by Liou et al. (1990) who show that the impact of social trust⁷ on work and non-work factors supports the spillover hypothesis. It is also complementary to observations in the psychology and organizational science literature, which links interpersonal trust in a non-work setting to both, positive views and behaviours in life and ‘organizational citizenship’, i.e. individual co-operative attitudes and behaviours at the level of the firm (Rotter, 1980; van Dyne et al., 2000).

[Table 2 near here]

⁶ To avoid potential endogeneity problems, the general happiness variable has been excluded from the list of individual constituent components.

Concluding Remarks

Few human resources concepts have enjoyed the kind of widespread policy influence that a beneficial work-life balance has had. Testament to this claim is the increasingly widespread introduction of child friendly policies, sponsored childcare facilities and recreational activities for employees, by policy makers and human resource managers aiming at countering potentially detrimental effects of an imbalance in the work-life relationship. Work-life imbalance has been associated with stress, ill health, family breakdown (divorce), lower child welfare, children's mental and academic development, and even crime (Crutchfield and Pitchford, 1997). This growing prominence of work-life balance dilemmas, not only in the academic literature but also in the popular press, may suggest that the attention devoted to potentially problematic interactions in work and life domains constitutes a new area for discussion and debate. However, this would be a misleading conclusion. In fact, the possible tension between the management of paid work and family life has been the focus of scholarly inquiries for several decades (see, e.g. Rapoport and Rapoport, 1965). Whilst the work-life balance discourse can thus be located in a historical context, surprisingly little is known about the influence of different cultural values on work-life balances and imbalances. In support of this observation, Lewis et al. (2007) remind us that "the use of the WLB discourse in diverse cultures masks an assumption that this is culture free."

In this paper, we contend that if work and family life are segmented there will be no reason to worry about any detrimental effects of a work-life imbalance.

⁷ An index comprising factor-analysed variables such as faith in others, feelings about social class and the relationship between individuals' abilities and success

However, evidence of significant spillover and compensation effects creates urgency for tackling such an imbalance. In an attempt to differentiate between these two scenarios, we replicate the study by Judge and Watanabe (1994) with more recent, multi-country data. Although a number of studies examine the interplay between job satisfaction and life satisfaction, they generally fall short of identifying the proportion or characteristics of individuals by *spillover*, *compensation* and *segmentation* relationships (see e.g. Bamundo and Kopelman, 1980; Keon and McDonald, 1982; Heady et al., 1991; Iverson and Maguire, 2000; Near and Rechner, 1993; Blanchflower and Oswald, 2004). In this respect, the Judge and Watanabe (1994) study is particularly notable. We then extend the analysis by controlling for a large set of moderating variables to explicitly examine the role of different cultural values alongside standard economic and demographic variables.

Our analysis identifies a common set of moderating factors that affect the propensity of individuals across European countries to exhibit a segmentation, spillover or compensation type of behaviour in the work and family aspects of their life. To this end, we rely on respondents' self-reported job and life satisfaction, based on the premise that such responses are reliable measures of how individuals' well being at work and in family domains interacts. Our results confirm the important role of respondents' views on culture, defined in this study by reference to secular versus traditional values, as a determinant of work-life balance and well being. After replacing the traditional/secular value index with constituent variables our results suggest that it appears to be primarily the role of interpersonal trust, which drives the cultural impact on the job-life satisfaction interlink.

We conjecture that extending our analysis to include a larger set of countries with more salient cultural differences will further strengthen our findings on the role

of religion, trust and family values as an important influence on individuals' work-life balance. Finally, and from a methodological point of view, we concede that the availability and therefore the use of single-item measures for job and life satisfaction provide limitations for our analysis. It follows that performing future examinations based on domain satisfaction variables will serve as an insightful way forward.

APPENDIX: The *traditional/secular* values index

As Inglehart and Welzel (2005) describe, the index is constructed by using factor analysis on the following ten variables from the World Values Survey:

- Q1 Importance of God: *“How important is God in your life? Please use this scale to indicate where 10 means very important and 1 means not at all important.”*
- Q2 Teach Children Obedience and Faith rather than Independence and Determination: *“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.” The list includes ten qualities, including “obedience,” “religious faith,” “independence,” and “determination, perseverance.”*
- Q3 Disapproval of Abortion: *“Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between, using this card.” The card shows a 1 to 10 scale where 1 means “never justifiable” and 10 means “always justifiable.” Among the statements asked one states simply “abortion.”*
- Q4 National Pride: *“How proud are you to be FRENCH? (substitute your own nationality for 'French')”.*
- Q5 Respect for Authority: *“I'm going to read out a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind?” Among the listed changes is “greater respect for authority.”*
- Q6 Priority for Economic and Physical Security (Materialist Values): *“People sometimes talk about what the aims of this country should be for the next ten years. On this card are listed some of the goals which different people would give top priority. Would you please say which one of these you, yourself, consider the most important?” After showing the list, the next question is: “And which would be the next most important?” The list includes the following goals: “Maintaining order in the nation,” “giving people more say in important government decisions,” “fighting rising prices” and “protecting freedom of speech.”*
- Q7 Feeling of Unhappiness: *“Taking all things together, would you say you are [read out]: 1 Very happy, 2 quite happy, 3 not very happy, 4 not at all happy.”*
- Q8 Disapproval of Homosexuality: *“Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between, using this card.” Among the listed statements one simply states “homosexuality.”*
- Q9 Abstaining from Signing Petitions: *“Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never, under any circumstances, do it.”*
- Q10 Distrusting in Other People: *“Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people? 1 Most people can be trusted, 2 need to be very careful.”*

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Table 1. Determining segmentation, spillover and compensation

	<i>AUSTRIA</i>	<i>BELGIUM</i>	<i>BULGARIA</i>	<i>BELARUS</i>	<i>CROATIA</i>	<i>CZECH REPUBLIC</i>	<i>DENMARK</i>	<i>ESTONIA</i>	<i>FINLAND</i>	<i>FRANCE</i>	<i>GERMANY</i>	<i>GREECE</i>	<i>HUNGARY</i>	<i>ICELAND</i>	<i>IRELAND</i>
Segmented vs. related															
Related group ($r_{LS, JS}$)	0.412*	0.569*	0.825*	0.786*	0.735*	0.484*	0.459*	0.653*	0.887*	0.469*	0.529*	0.497*	0.577*	0.919*	0.956*
Percent lowest D1 scores	77.8	79.1	44.7	49.8	34.3	78.1	79.1	78.9	37.7	74.0	89.2	89.7	59.0	27.8	33.6
Segmentation group ($r_{LS, JS}$)	0.086	0.119	0.177	0.300	0.180	0.242	-0.064	0.024	0.233	-0.011	-0.107	-0.066	0.055	0.126	0.051
Percent highest D1 scores	22.2	20.9	55.3	50.2	65.7	21.9	20.9	21.1	62.2	26.0	10.8	10.3	41.0	72.2	66.4
Spillover vs. compensation															
Spillover group ($r_{LS, JS}$)	0.863*	0.853*	0.987*	0.945*	0.994*	0.841*	0.840*	0.899*	0.062	0.796*	0.797*	0.812*	0.948*	0.053	0.140
Percent lowest D2 scores	64.8	70.1	34.0	44.5	26.9	63.8	70.1	60.6	<i>ns</i>	65.9	79.6	75.6	46.9	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
Compensation group ($r_{LS, JS}$)	-0.882*	-0.782*	-0.942*	-0.964*	-0.964*	-0.875*	-0.947*	-0.752*	-0.111	-0.862*	-0.816*	-0.753*	-0.963*	-0.225	-0.109
Percent highest D2 scores	13.1	9.1	10.1	5.3	7.4	14.2	8.6	18.3	<i>ns</i>	8.0	9.6	14.1	12.1	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>
<i>Total sample</i> ($r_{LS, JS}$)	0.323*	0.393*	0.435*	0.391*	0.342*	0.398*	0.247*	0.452*	0.341*	0.272*	0.418*	0.414*	0.344*	0.249*	0.279*
<i>Number of observations</i>	487	516	188	319	312	597	303	251	300	511	529	234	273	478	277

Table 1. -Continued

	<i>ITALY</i>	<i>LATVIA</i>	<i>LITHUANIA</i>	<i>LUXEMBOURG</i>	<i>MALTA</i>	<i>NETHERLANDS</i>	<i>POLAND</i>	<i>PORTUGAL</i>	<i>ROMANIA</i>	<i>RUSSIA</i>	<i>SLOVAKIA</i>	<i>SLOVENIA</i>	<i>SPAIN</i>	<i>UKRAINE</i>	<i>NORTHERN IRELAND</i>
Segmented vs. related															
Related group ($r_{LS, JS}$)	0.757*	0.547*	0.661*	0.517*	0.910*	0.411*	0.472*	0.545*	0.561*	0.562*	0.751*	0.399*	0.632*	0.796*	0.592*
Percent lowest D1 scores	64.3	52.9	49.8	69.7	44.6	93.8	67.8	63.5	54.6	57.8	58.8	79.5	39.7	38.3	34.1
Segmentation group ($r_{LS, JS}$)	0.293	0.160	0.049	-0.031	-0.042	0.325	0.160	0.171	0.144	-0.140	0.233	0.192	0.310	0.152	0.204
Percent highest D1 scores	35.7	47.1	50.2	30.3	55.4	6.2	32.2	36.5	45.4	42.2	41.2	20.5	60.3	61.7	65.9
Spillover vs. compensation															
Spillover group ($r_{LS, JS}$)	0.929*	0.945*	0.978*	0.926*	0.138	0.689*	0.987*	0.905*	0.965*	0.955*	0.984*	0.881	0.966*	0.982*	0.072
Percent lowest D2 scores	57.6	40.7	29.2	52.8	Ns	72.5	53.6	54.4	38.7	40.3	37.1	62.3	26.4	31.6	ns
Compensation group ($r_{LS, JS}$)	-0.967*	-0.933*	-0.439*	-0.911*	-0.217	-0.041	-0.936*	-0.966*	-0.928*	-0.877*	-0.725*	-0.824*	-0.980*	-0.981*	-0.059
Percent highest D2 scores	6.6	12.2	20.6	16.9	Ns	21.3	14.2	9.1	16.0	17.6	21.3	17.2	5.0	6.6	ns
<i>Total sample</i>	0.509*	0.345*	0.319*	0.269*	0.332*	0.369*	0.348*	0.369*	0.371*	0.265*	0.480*	0.330*	0.409*	0.366*	0.319*
<i>Number of observations</i>	524	189	209	195	368	502	295	263	269	752	461	366	239	256	138

Notes: D1= $||ZLS|-|ZJS||$ and D2= $|ZLS-ZJS|$, where ZLS= standardised life satisfaction score and ZJS= standardised job satisfaction score; * implies significance at 1 percent.

Table 2. Determining segmentation (Dependent variable: D1)

	ALL		MALES		FEMALES	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Constant	0.370**	0.387**	0.327**	0.346**	0.398**	0.425**
Male	0.006	0.009				
Age	0.007*	0.009*	0.010*	0.011*	0.007	0.008
Age ²	-0.008	-0.009*	-0.011*	-0.013*	-0.006	-0.008
Main earner	-0.041**	-0.041**	-0.062**	-0.063**	-0.025*	-0.030**
Union member	0.006	0.006	0.003	0.005	0.004	0.004
Working part-time	0.046**	0.048**	0.098**	0.103**	0.034*	0.034*
Number of children						
Children under 5	0.023*	0.020*	0.013	0.010	0.040*	0.037*
Children 5-12	0.002	0.001	-0.012	-0.014	0.014	0.014
Children 13-17	-0.008	-0.008	0.006	0.006	-0.022	-0.022
Marital status						
Married	-0.031*	-0.034*	-0.014	-0.014	-0.039	-0.043
Divorced	0.007	0.011	0.016	0.021	-0.005	-0.002
Separated	0.065	0.072	0.094	0.103	0.048	0.054
Widowed	0.040	0.041	0.068	0.070	0.013	0.015
Education						
Middle	-0.034**	-0.025*	-0.043*	-0.035*	-0.024	-0.016
Upper	-0.065**	-0.053**	-0.070**	-0.057**	-0.060**	-0.049*
Income						
Middle	-0.017	-0.016	-0.002	-0.001	-0.035*	-0.036*
Upper	-0.060**	-0.060**	-0.054**	-0.055**	-0.062**	-0.062**
Traditional/secular values index	0.044**		0.035**		0.055**	
Traditional/secular values						
Importance of God		-0.004*		-0.005*		-0.004
Important to teach children obedience and faith		0.016*		0.018		0.013
Abortion justifiable		0.001		-0.001		0.005
National pride		-0.010		0.013		-0.035*
Materialistic priorities		-0.002		-0.008		0.004
Tolerate homosexuality		0.003		0.004		0.002
Abstaining from signing Petitions		0.016		0.026		0.006
Trust in others		-0.094**		-0.097**		-0.086*
<i>Adjusted R²</i>	0.055	0.052	0.052	0.049	0.058	0.053
<i>Number of observations</i>		10681		5435		5246

* p < .05 , ** p < .01. All the numbers reported are the standard regression coefficients. All regressions include size of town, occupational, and country dummy variables.