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Changes in the non-financial employment commitment in times of economic crisis among the youth in Spain

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Abstract

Previous researchers have used the lottery question as a measurement of work ethics, but have only done so in Protestant countries – countries considered to have a higher work ethic. We analyzed the lottery question in Spain, a Catholic country, focusing on a younger population. The two main hypotheses that we worked with were that people in tougher economic situations are willing to work more, and people with a lower economic status have a lower work ethic. We distinguished between a long-term work ethic (the lottery question), and a short-term work ethic (where the participants choose between working for 6 months or collecting unemployment benefits for 6 months). Our analysis dealt with the effects of the crisis, comparing data from 2008 and 2011. We found two important results. The first is that economic status is not so important in the case of long-term work ethics, but rather education is; we have found that the positive effect of education has decreased during the crisis. Our second finding is that even though people, in general, are more willing to work more in 2011 (a tougher economic situation) the willingness to work of the unemployed has decreased.

¹ I would like to acknowledge the Instituto Valenciano de Investigaciones Económicas for supplying us with their 2008 and 2011 survey data.

1 Introduction

The recent economic crisis has affected approximately 13% of economically active youths around the world (Pejčinović-Burić, 2011) – the highest figure ever recorded.² Unemployed youths aged 15-24 account for 43.7% of the world's total unemployed population (Pejčinović-Burić, 2011).³ We are facing a large dilemma: in Europe, young people today have a higher education than their parents but have a much more difficult time entering or re-entering into the labour market; Europe could have a “lost generation” (Pejčinović-Burić, 2011). Given the importance of this issue, we are interested to see how the work ethics of Spanish youth have been affected by the crisis. If this “lost generation” has a lower work ethic than usual, as a result of the crisis, Spain will have an even harder time recovering economically.

Work ethics have often been measured with the aid of the “lottery question” – *would you continue to work if you won the lottery?* Answering *yes* indicates that work not only satisfies a financial need, but also provides something more – perhaps a sense of purpose. Work is such a large part of human life – a third of every day is dedicated to this societal necessity – that the importance of work ethics cannot be emphasized enough. There is a difference between a person with a low work ethic, who works, and a person with a high work ethic who works. The former might do the bare minimum in order to complete the job and collect his/her paycheck; whereas the latter might make an extra effort to do his/her job well. It is obvious that a society full of high-work-ethic workers will be more prosperous than one full of low-work-ethic ones. What kind of factors influence work ethics? Does it depend on family background, work conditions or education? How does a crisis affect someone's work ethics? Knowing the answers to these questions could assist governments in maximizing their productivity, as well as their citizens' happiness at work.

As we are in the middle of a crisis, it is intriguing to know how a crisis affects one's work ethics. Previous research has found that in times of economic crisis, when the unemployment rate is high, people are *more* willing to work – answering that they would work if they won the lottery (Highhouse et al., 2010). This result may seem counterintuitive at first because one may think that in a tougher economic situation, people are more disgruntled with the labour market and would prefer not to work at all. However, it appears that people in a tougher economic situation value work more and are, therefore, more willing to work (Highhouse et al., 2010).

Research in this field has mostly been focused on Protestant, or high-work-ethic, countries, such as the United Kingdom, Germany, and the United States; one study has also been done on Japan – also a high-work-ethic country. For this reason, along with the current economic crisis, we decided to analyze and compare Spain, a Catholic country, to the existing

² These statistics were from 2010.

³ Statistics from 2010.

research. More specifically, we decided to center our attention on the youth in Spain, examining factors that affect work ethics as well as the impact of the crisis. Knowing more about these issues could expose future potential problems.

2 Literature Review

The lottery question first emerged in the US, in 1955 when Morse and Weiss posed the following question to an adult working male population: “Would you continue to work if you inherited enough money to live comfortably without working?” (Morse, Weiss, 1955). The result came as a surprise – 80% of the participants answered that they would, in fact, continue working (Morse, Weiss, 1955). Morse and Weiss (1955) concluded that there are more benefits to working than the economic aspect of it; this is how men connect to society (Morse, Weiss, 1955). Vecchio pursued a similar question, in 1980, also in the US, and found that there was a slight decrease, but the majority (72%) still chose to continue working (Vecchio, 1980). In 2010, Highhouse et al. (2010) followed it up and found that 68% would continue working (Highhouse et al., 2010). Researchers in other Protestant countries – countries Max Weber proclaimed to have a high work ethic, started asking similar questions. All of these Protestant countries had similar results – for example, in Great Britain, 69% would continue working, 70% would continue working in Germany, Japan, not a Protestant country, but a high-work-ethic one, had the highest with 93% would continue working; all surveys were conducted among an adult population (Paulsen, 2008).

Work ethics are primarily measured by the lottery question. Most lottery-winners have been found to continue working, whether it be volunteering, working part-time, or working on a project (Paulsen, 2008). The lottery question does not specify which type of work people would engage in. One could interpret this as the job they are currently in or as working in general, perhaps in a job with better conditions. To avoid this discrepancy, Paulsen (2008) makes a distinction between the two possible answers. He calculated that out of the 69% who would continue working, in Great Britain, only 12% would continue in the same job, whereas the rest would work in a different job (Paulsen, 2008). In Germany, the distinction is not as extreme – 31 out of the 70% would continue working in the same job, and the other 39 would work in a different job (Paulsen, 2008). Japan, however, had opposite results – 65.6 out of the 93% would continue working in the same job, whereas the other 27 would choose to work in a different job (Paulsen, 2008). There seems to be a difference in work ethics even among the high-work-ethic countries, but they all share the fact that the majority would continue to work, one way or another.

One of the main findings of Highhouse et al. (2010), on which we will base our first hypothesis, is that people are more willing to work in tougher economic situations (Highhouse et al., 2010). People, worse off economically, have a stronger need for work and therefore believe work is more important. Some other findings by Morse and Weiss (1955), Vecchio (1980), as well as Highhouse et al. (2010) include evidence of younger participants more likely to choose to continue working and women less likely to continue working in comparison with men, but the difference was very small (Highhouse et al., 2010).

Many economic researchers have also been interested in how work ethics are related to economic status. One way this has been studied is the preference for redistribution.⁴ Barr et al. (2011) conducted an experiment in which a group of four people act as individual dictators. They are endowed with a certain amount of money and they have to make allocations to themselves as well as the rest of the group, then the decisions of one of the participants are randomly chosen. However, at first, the group had to perform a real effort task (sorting yellow and blue gravel into various containers); the individual's initial endowment in the dictator task was determined according to his/her success in the real effort task. Some of the initial endowments were simply random, which allowed for a comparison between outcomes where effort was a factor and where it was not. The researchers found that participants with a higher economic status tended to allocate money according to the effort task – coined the *earned endowment effect*, while those with a lower economic status did not (Barr et al., 2011). This experiment was carried out in Capetown, South Africa and Oxford, United Kingdom; results were consistent across both countries signifying that this experiment has strong external validity.

This difference of results according to economic status is believed to be due to a self-serving bias – where one's view depends on their own economic status. People tend to think that their success is due to their effort and ability, while their failures are due to bad luck (Babcock, Loewenstein, 1997). Babcock and Loewenstein (1997) show this with their experiment that is based on a trial that occurred in Texas where a driver hit a motorcyclist who ended up suing the driver. Subjects were given the same information and were randomly assigned the roles of plaintiff or defendant and then were asked what a fair settlement would be. As a control condition, some of the participants learned of their role before they read the case materials while others learned of it afterwards. Babcock and Loewenstein (1997) found that there were smaller discrepancies between plaintiffs and defendants when participants learned of their roles afterward in comparison to those who learned of it before. In the latter case, people chose to remember parts of the case that would support their bias (Babcock, Loewenstein, 1997). If people display a bias simply when assigned to an imaginary role, it is no surprise that they display the same bias in their everyday lives. Self-serving bias may also help

⁴ See Alesina and Giuliano (2009) for a review of preference for redistribution.

explain high rates of unemployment; if people have an inflated assessment of their own productivity, they will have higher expectations of what jobs they can get (Babcock, Loewenstein, 1997). One way to deflate these expectations is to use a job search assistance program which, as a result, directs them to find employment more quickly (Babcock, Loewenstein, 1997). Whenever people face a trade-off between what is morally righteous and what is best for them, their view of what is morally correct is skewed in order to support what is best for them (Babcock, Loewenstein, 1997).

This paper focuses on these two hypotheses; the first focuses on the need to work. People who are in worse economic situations believe work is more important, than those who are not, because there is a need for work. The second hypothesis is that people with a low-economic position are demoralized and have a lower work ethic.

3 Data

The data we are working with is 2008 and 2011 survey data from the Valencian Institute of Economic Research (Instituto Valenciano de Investigaciones Económicas 2008; 2011). In the 2008 sample, the 3,000 participants are between the ages of 16 and 30 and are all new labour market entrants, meaning they have applied for a job at least once in the 5 previous years. We only have data from 12 out of the 50 Spanish provinces.

The Valencian Institute of Economic Research conducted a similar survey in 2011 as well. In this sample, there were 1,995 participants, within the same age range and, again, new labour market entrants. Instead of having a province variable, the Institute used a *city* variable instead. In order to remain consistent and thus be able to compare the two data samples, we created *community* variables and merged the provinces from 2008, as well as the cities from 2011, into their respective communities. The 2008 sample contained 9 communities and the 2011 sample contained 15 communities.

This is not a panel survey; the two samples are highly comparable, but they are not identical. When pooling the two samples together we could only consider the communities they both had in common, which was 88.8% of the sample.

3.1 Descriptive Statistics

3.1.1 The 2008 sample including employment history

In the 2008 sample, 1,286 participants were men and 1,714 participants were women. The mean age of our sample was 22.4 years old. The vast majority of the sample – 91% was Spanish and the rest were simply categorized as foreign. Half of the participants had a

secondary education (53%), 6.6% only had a primary education, 19% had some sort of vocational studies, and 21% were at a university level. When asked: “What was your working situation last week”, 55.5% answered they were doing some sort of paid work, 3.1% were employed but did not work either due to illness or because the job had not started yet, 11.5% did not work but searched for work, 13% did not work and did not search for work, and 16.9% were inactive for other reasons. The mean family income was between 1200 and 2400 Euros per month. The majority of participants (48.3%) were from small cities of less than 50,000 inhabitants, 30% were from cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants but less than 500,000, and 21.7% were from large cities (with 500,000 or more inhabitants). The majority of the sample is comprised of single participants – 84% were single, 10.4% were married, 5% were in a relationship, and the remaining 0.6% were either separated, divorced, or widowed.

Regarding the jobs in general, several of which may have belonged to the same respondent, the average duration was 386 days. The majority of contracts, 43%, were temporary and 18.75% were permanent. The previous contracts had an even higher rate of temporary contracts – 52%, with only 11.5% permanent. This suggests that younger people start with temporary contracts and eventually move up to permanent contracts as they get older. 70.5% of the jobs were full-time and the rest were part-time. Out of the respondents who were working part-time, 35% responded that they were working part-time because they did not want to work full-time, 25% said they were studying and 17% answered that it was due to the type of activity – perhaps the job was only available in a part-time environment. When asked if the work was appropriate to his/her qualifications or experience, 64% answered yes, while 33% answered his/her job was lower than his/her qualifications (the remainder, 3%, answered it was above his/her qualifications). The majority of the jobs, 42%, were in smaller companies – between 2 and 11 employees in total.

When asked what the main reason was for terminating their job, 42% answered to return to their studies and 33% left it for another job. When asked the main reason for being terminated from their job, 86% answered it was because it was the end of the contract. Out of the respondents who left their job, or were terminated, 78% did not have the right to collect unemployment benefits.

When asked about their work experience, 21% said they had not worked in the last 5 years, but the remaining 79% claimed they had worked in the previous 5 years (answered in 2008).

3.1.2 The 2011 sample including employment history

The 2011 data sample had fewer participants than the 2008 data sample, but was generally composed of similar statistics. Out of the 1,995 participants in 2011, 1,039 were women and 956 were men. The mean age of this sample was 23.3 years old. Again, the

majority of the participants were Spanish (93.5%) while the rest were simply labelled as foreign. Slightly more than half only had completed their secondary education (52%), only 4% of participants did not continue their studies after their primary education, 19.65% had vocational studies and 24% had completed their university studies. When asked: "What was your working situation last week", 45% claimed they were doing some sort of paid work, 1.3% were employed but did not work either due to illness or because the job had not started yet, 22.9% did not work but searched for work, 15.45% did not work and did not search for work, and 15.2% were inactive for other reasons. As we can see, the percentage of participants who did not work but searched for work doubled since 2008, where only 11.5% of participants were in this category. The mean family income was slightly lower than the one in 2008 – it was between 1,000.01 and 1,800 Euros per month. The majority of participants (47%) were again from small cities of less than 50,000 inhabitants, 23.9% were from cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants but less than 500,000, and 29% were from large cities (with 500,000 or more inhabitants). Most of the participants in the sample were single – 81.3%, 5.51% were married, 12.5% were in a relationship, and the remaining 0.7% were either separated, divorced, or widowed.

Only considering the jobs, rather than the participants (since several of which might belong to the same respondent), the average duration was 385 days, almost identical to 2008. Again, the majority of contracts, 40.54%, were temporary and 17.92% were permanent. Like before, the previous contracts had an even higher rate of temporary contracts – 47.73%, with only 8.83% permanent. Younger people are still starting with temporary contracts eventually moving up to permanent contracts as they get older. With regards to the type of commitment, not much had changed since 2008 – 69.5% of the jobs were full-time and the rest were part-time. Now the main reason for working part-time was not having found full-time (29.4%), 25.26% said they were studying and 19.85% answered that it was due to the type of activity, and only 16.62% responded that it was because they did not want to work full-time – a big change from the 35% in 2008. When asked if the work was appropriate to his/her qualifications or experience, 68% answered yes, while 28% answered his/her job was lower than his/her qualifications (the remainder, 3.8%, answered it was above his/her qualifications); more people thought that their job was appropriate to their qualifications in 2011 than in 2008. The majority of the jobs, 50%, were in smaller companies – between 2 and 11 employees in total, an increase since 2008 which is slightly surprising since one would expect the smaller companies to go bankrupt in a depression.

When asked what the main reason was for terminating their job, 47.7% answered it was to return to their studies (an increase since 2008) while only 23.5% left it for another job (a 10% decrease). When asked the main reason for *being* terminated from their job, 76.6% answered it was because it was the end of the contract (a 10% decrease since 2008), while 9% were because of a dismissal (a 3% increase). Out of the respondents who left their job, or were

terminated, 79% did not have the right to collect unemployment benefits, similar to the 2008 data sample.

When asked about their work experience, not much had changed since 2008, 22% said they had not worked in the last 5 years (a decrease), but the remaining 77% claimed they had worked in the previous 5 years (with respect to 2011).

3.2 Measures

For both samples, we worked with two dependent variables. The first deals with absolute work centrality, it poses the following question: “If I won the lottery where I wouldn't have to work for the rest of my life, I would not work.” Participants could choose their answer from a 5-point scale: 1 (Very much disagree) – or in other words, the participant chooses to continue working, 2 (Disagree), 3 (Indifferent), 4 (Agree), and lastly 5 (Very much agree) – the participant chooses to stop working. In order to compare our results with that of the previous researchers mentioned in the literature review, we grouped 1 and 2 as “continue to work” and 4 and 5 as “would not work”.

Our second dependent variable deals with centrality of work and is a more realistic possibility. Participants are asked: “Suppose you are entitled to unemployment benefits during the next 6 months, and you get a job offer with an identical wage to the subsidy and for the same duration. Would you accept the job or not?” This time, participants choose between *yes*, *it depends*, or *no*.

The first dependent variable deals with work ethics in a more general way, and we considered it to be more of a long-run work ethic, while the second dependent variable is more short-run since it is only for 6 months.

Since the outcomes of both dependent variables have a natural rank to them, or are ordered rather than arbitrary, with more than two ranked categories, we used an ordered probit model. At first, we used the same control variables as Highhouse et al. (2010), to have a clear comparison. Then, we expanded it by investigating relationships with other variables – ones related to work conditions for example. Once we ran an ordered probit, we analyzed the results using marginal effects and also conducted individual t-tests in order to tests significance levels. The marginal effects for an ordered probit measure what happens to the probability (if it increases or decreases), with an infinitesimal increase of a specific variable. For continuous variables, marginal effects were calculated from the mean, while for dummy variables, they were calculated as discrete changes (or changes from 0 to 1). Our marginal effects were calculated with respect to the probability of working, so a positive coefficient signifies willingness to work and a negative sign means not willing to work, and this is the case for both of our dependent variables.

Participants also rated their satisfaction with different aspects of a job, as well as the importance of those aspects, for example, “The importance of doing useful work for society”. They had to rate their answer on a 5-point scale: 1 (Very much disagree), 2 (Somewhat disagree), 3 (Indifferent), 4 (Somewhat agree), 5 (Very much agree). Others were rated on a 10-point scale. Some of the questions were grouped together and averaged according to aspects they had in common – for example 7 questions were averaged to represent the importance of extrinsic aspects of employment. Three questions were averaged to represent personal initiatives of young people at work.

We also have data on the family income, employment history of both the participant and his/her parents in terms of what kind of contracts they have had, what industry they work for, etc.

4 Differences in views between 2008 and 2011 using raw data

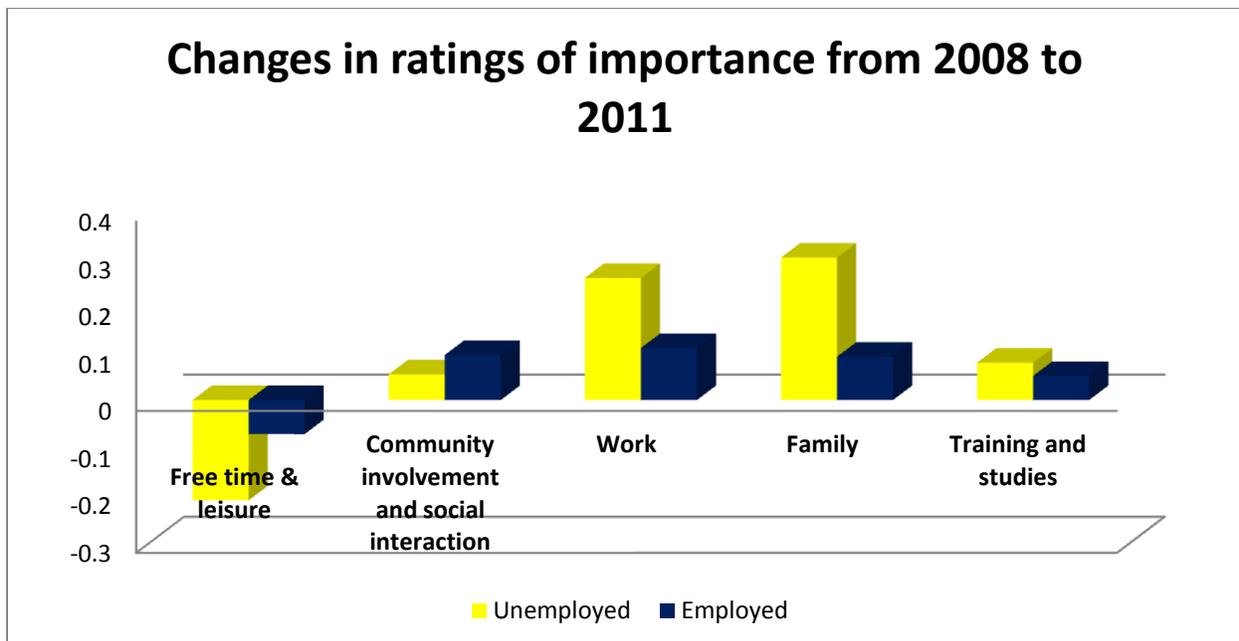
Before proceeding with our analysis, we wanted to examine if there were any differences in the raw data between the two samples. Regarding our second dependent variable, where the participant had to choose between working for six months, or collecting unemployment benefits for 6 months, we checked the results according to the region and compared the two data samples together.

When given the choice between working for 6 months and receiving unemployment benefits for 6 months, 48.9% of participants answered they would continue working, 34.3% answered “it depends”, and 16.8% said they would not work, there was an increase in 2011 – 56% chose to work, 30.5% were indifferent and only 13% would choose not to work. We examined this result even further, according to the regions. In 2008, in only two out of eight of the regions, did more than 50% of the participants choose to work, the other six regions chose the benefits (or less than 50% of the participants chose to work). The two regions that chose to work were Valencia and Andalucia – coincidentally the two regions that had the highest unemployment rates in 2008, so there was a real need for work in those regions. In 2011, however, all but two of the regions chose to work (more than 50% of participants in those regions chose the job). Madrid chose the benefits in 2011, as it did in 2008, and Andalucia went from choosing the job in 2008 to choosing the benefits in 2011. The biggest increase in participants choosing the job was in the four northern regions (Galicia, the Basque Country, Aragon, Catalonia), and this was due to the increase in the unemployment rate in those regions since 2008 – in 2011, there was a need for work due to the deteriorating economic conditions. There was not a big change in Madrid, in both samples Madrid chose not to work. The smallest increases in the number of people choosing the job in 2011 (or a very big decrease), were in the southern regions – Valencia, Murcia, and Andalucia with the large decrease. It seems that participants in these regions were now demoralized. In 2008, the economic situation was poor

and there was a need for work, as there was in the north in 2011, but in the south, in 2011, the economic situation got even worse which caused people to get demoralized. It appears that up to a certain point a tough economic situation causes the need for work, but if the economic situation is really tough, people simply get demotivated about work.

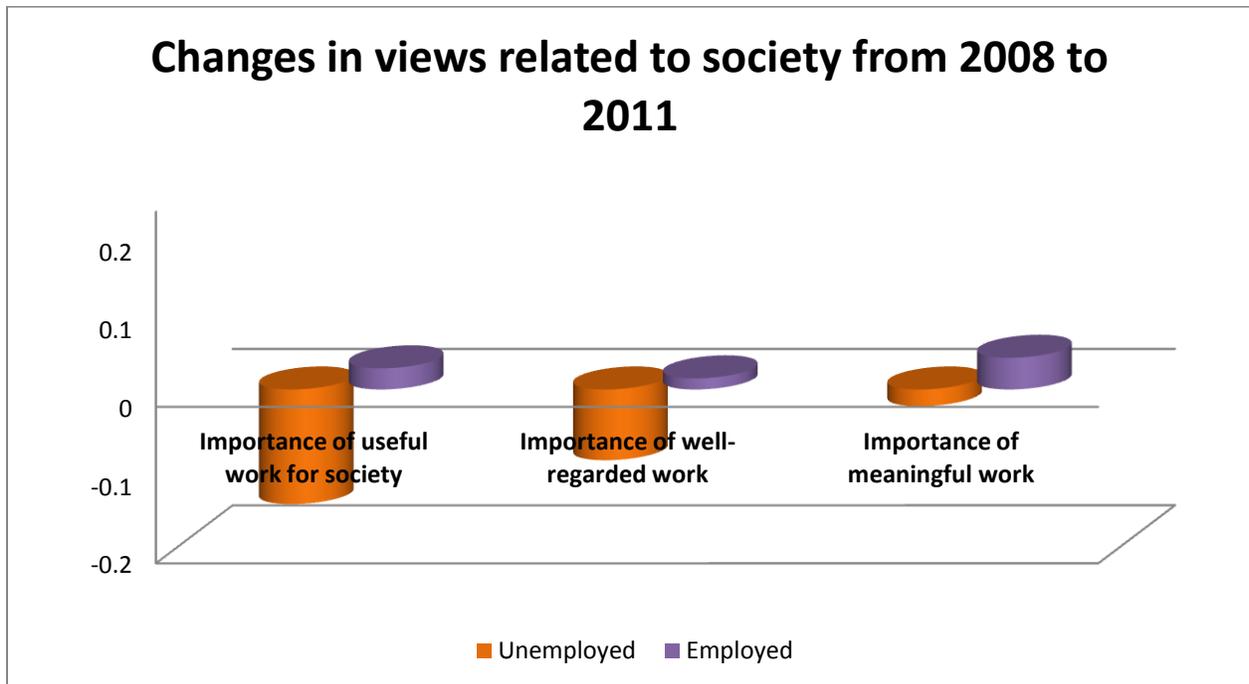
The participants who were not working were asked to choose the top three most difficult things about finding a job, whereas the participants who were working were asked to choose the top three factors that can influence employment. When comparing views of those who have not worked with those who have, we found some similarities and one clear difference. The three most difficult things about finding a job, for those who were not working, were lack of experience, lack of studies, and bad luck (in 2011 they chose lack of contacts instead of lack of studies). The three factors, that influence looking for employment, were that they were showing initiative, still studying, and experience (it remained the same in 2011). Both groups mentioned studies and experience, but where they differed was that those who were not working believed bad luck was also one of the top reasons, whereas only a small portion of those working believed luck had anything to do with it, but rather initiative – or effort – was significant. This is an instance of self-serving bias – those without jobs believe bad luck is to blame and those with jobs believe their effort is the reason they are successful (Babcock, Loewenstein, 1997).

In both surveys, participants rated the importance, on a scale from one to ten, of five different aspects: free time and leisure, community involvement and society interaction, work, training and studies, and family. Taking the mean of the responses in 2008 and comparing them to the mean in 2011, separately for the employed and unemployed population, we found some relative differences.



There was only one decrease in importance among the five categories, and it was in both the unemployed and employed populations – free time and leisure. Using odds ratios⁵, the importance decreased by 8% for the unemployed and by 2.8% for the employed. This is an expected result, during a time of crisis, people realize they cannot have the same amount of free time as before but, rather, need to work more. The biggest increase for the unemployed population was in the importance of work – an increase of 17.2% and for the employed, an increase of 5.16%. The importance of family was the second highest for the unemployed, an increase of 9.3%, only a 3% increase for the employed. This is also not a surprise since unemployed people are usually supported by their families, especially in Spain. The highest increase for the employed population, and the only category for which the change was bigger among the employed than the unemployed, was for the community involvement and society interaction. The importance increased by 12.6% for the employed population and only by 6.8% for the unemployed.

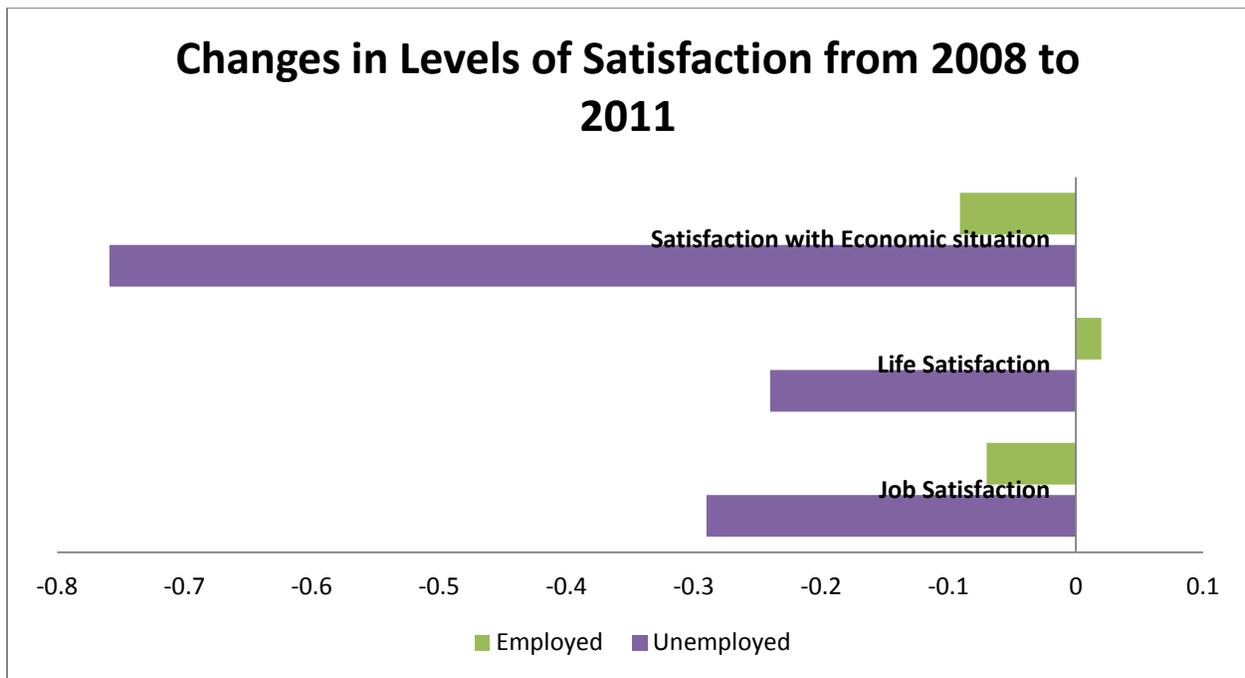
The last result led us to have a closer look at three questions related to society from the survey. Participants rated the importance, on a scale from one to five, of useful work for society, well-regarded work and meaningful work. Similarly, we examined the answers of both employed and unemployed (again separately), and compared the means of the answers between the two years.



⁵ These were calculated by: $\frac{2011 \text{ mean}}{2008 \text{ mean}}$

The changes were not as big as with the previous five questions, but there were some relative changes between the two populations. The importance decreased for all three questions among the unemployed (by 0.53%, 2.3% and 4%), whereas it slightly increased for the employed population (by 1%, 0.359% and 0.7%). It appears as if the employed feel somewhat of a duty to improve conditions in society since they are lucky enough to have jobs, while the unemployed do not care as much about society because their own economic situation is not very good.

Lastly, we compared the levels of satisfaction of three aspects – satisfaction with their economic situation, with their job and with their lives in general. Participants rated their levels of satisfaction on a scale from one to ten, and as we had done before, we compared the means of the answers between the two years and calculated it separately for the employed and unemployed populations.



The changes were much bigger for the unemployed population than for the employed population. The biggest change was in the level of satisfaction with their economic situation – the satisfaction level decreased for the unemployed by 11.2% (using odds ratios), while it only decreased by 1.35% for the employed population. There was also a decrease among both populations in job satisfaction – 4.6% for the unemployed and only 1% for the employed. The smallest decrease in satisfaction among the unemployed was in life satisfaction (only by 3%), and there was a slight increase for the employed – by 0.25%.

A lot of these results were expected (although maybe not to the same degree), but it is important to notice that there are differences in views not only between the two years, but also between employed and unemployed people – people in different situations, change their minds differently.

5 Results

5.1 Long-run work ethic 2008 compared to the literature

Regarding the lottery question, we got the opposite result to those of the Protestant countries – 30.3% would continue to work, 60.8% would not work and 8.9% were indifferent (the results in 2011 were almost identical). It is important to notice that our sample is slightly different from the working adult sample other researchers have worked with. First of all, our sample is a younger sample – all participants are between the ages of 16 and 30. However, recall the result Highhouse et al. (2010) got where younger people were more likely to continue working. The more important distinction between the two samples is that the participants in our sample may or may not be working. A 16-year-old who has never worked before may be more likely to be a “dreamer” and not realize the necessity of working from the social aspect. Nevertheless, since there is such a considerable difference between the outcomes of Protestant countries and that of Spain, it certainly suggests that they do differ in their work ethic.

First, with respect to the lottery question, age is insignificant (see Table 1 in the appendix). This is a slightly different result from what Morse and Weiss (1955) found, but recall that we are already dealing with a younger population, so difference in age among this sample appears not to be significant. The youngest age cohort used by Morse and Weiss (1955), as well as by Highhouse et al. (2010), was ages 21 to 34, quite similar to our data sample, but perhaps if they had analyzed the sample within the youngest cohort, they would not have found it to be significant. Employment status (all of the different unemployment variables) is also insignificant. This is a little surprising, but we will check if working conditions, such as type of contract, the industry, etc. are better indicators. Being married is also statistically insignificant, as well as being foreign and being a student; the first two variables represent only a minority of the sample. Family income does not seem to have an effect on the lottery question; all of the dummy variables are statistically insignificant. We are using community dummy variables as control variables.

Female is statistically significant at the 1% significance level. The sign is positive which means that women are more likely to continue working than men. This result is opposite of what Highhouse et al. (2010) found – recall that he found a minor difference where women were *less* likely to work than men. This result may be due the difference in cultural norms between the two countries. Across the globe, many generations ago, women tended to be housewives excluded from the labour force. This of course has changed drastically, but this

change has occurred earlier in some countries, than others. In Spain, this modernization has been slightly delayed with respect to the UK or the US. The gender gap in the US or the UK is inconsequential and has been consistent over the last 13 years (<http://stats.oecd.org/>). In the UK, approximately 43-45% of women work (out of the total female population) and around 55% of men work (out of the total male population (<http://stats.oecd.org/>). In Spain, the percentage of working men has been almost identical to that of the UK, consistent over the last 13 years, but the percentage of women has seen a substantial increase in only 13 years (<http://stats.oecd.org/>). In 1999 only 33.3% of women worked, in 2005 this percentage increased to 38.7% and in the last quarter of 2011, 44% of women worked – the same as in the UK (<http://stats.oecd.org/>). It could be the case that younger females, who may have grown up with grandmothers who had never had a job, are more willing to work in order to fight the outdated notion of gender roles. This can be seen clearly when taking a closer look at age cohorts. In 1999, 40% of the employed population aged 15-24 were women; in the US, it was 48% (<http://stats.oecd.org/>). By 2011, Spain reached the same proportion of working women aged 15-24. Only 36% of the employed population aged 25-54 were women, in 1999; in the US, it was 46.5% (<http://stats.oecd.org/>). The difference had almost disappeared entirely by 2011. Among the employed population aged 55-64, only 28% were women, in 1999; in the US, it was 45% (<http://stats.oecd.org/>). A gap in this age cohorts still exists today between the two countries, even though it has decreased, it has not faded entirely. Even though there does not seem to be a gender gap between the two sexes in the younger cohort, traditional gender roles may still be fresh in their mind, since this gender equality in the work force, has only been reached recently. Another possible explanation is that if Highhouse et al. (2010) had used a dummy variable for *young females*, they would have arrived at a different result.

All dummy variables of the participant's education, as well as his/her father's education are statistically significant, the most significant being university at a 0.2% significance level. Since all of the signs, for these dummy variables, are positive, with respect to primary education (the reference dummy variable), education, as well as father's education, has a positive effect on the willingness to work even in the case of winning the lottery.

The only dummy variable for the size of the participant's city that is significant at a 5% significance level, is the medium-sized city (50,000-499,999 inhabitants) variable, with respect to a small city (less than 50,000 inhabitants). The sign is negative which means that people in medium-sized cities are less likely to continue working. When we used provinces as control variables instead of communities, the big-city variable was also significant, with the same result. Both of the urban variables being significant is supported by the theory proposed by Highhouse et al. (2010) where people in tough economic situations are more willing to work because there is a need for it. It is general knowledge that it is easier to find a job in a bigger city, so those in smaller cities do experience a tougher economic situation than those in big cities. The reason only one of them is significant, when using communities as control variables, might be because

of the correlation between some of the communities and big cities; for example, both of the Catalonia and Madrid communities have almost a 50% correlation with the big city variable.

5.2 Long-run work ethics 2008 vs. 2011

After running an ordered probit for the 2011 sample, with the same exact control variables, we found some differences we had not expected to between the two years (see Table 2 in the appendix). I will only mention the differences we found, when analyzing the marginal effects, in the 2011 sample from the 2008 sample. Firstly, the female variable is not significant anymore; it went from being significant at a 1% significance level to a 39.2% significance level – quite a large change. Since we do not have more information about why the participants chose to work, we can only speculate at the interpretation. Perhaps in a crisis, women are not as focused on being equal in the workforce because there are other issues that are more pressing. The student variable is suddenly significant at an 8.6% significance level, with a positive sign which means they are more willing to work. Students perhaps have it the hardest; they graduate from university or high school with no work experience and face a really difficult time finding a job. Because the economic situation is tougher for them, they are willing to work more – because there is a need for work (this is supported by our first hypothesis). The foreign variable is now significant at a 6.6% significance level and they are willing to work. Again, foreigners usually have a more difficult time finding jobs than natives, so because of this there is a need for work. Furthermore, the second highest family income variable (2600 – 3400 €) is now significant at a 7.3% significance level and are willing to work. We interpret this as the upper-middle class starting to feel the threat of the crisis.

The most surprising results were the outcomes for education. In 2008, all of the education variables, including the father's education variable, were significant and positive. However, in 2011, all of the variables, but one, are suddenly insignificant; vocational studies is still significant at a 9.9% significance level, but the sign is now negative, so they are not willing to work. This result is surprising because people with a higher education generally have higher expectations when it comes to work, but now they are demoralized and there is not a distinction from people with a lower education, or lower expectations. Thus, the education premium has decreased. Also, regarding the father's education, it appears that upbringing has a positive effect on work ethics, as we saw with the 2008 results, but not at a time of crisis.

After running the same model from the literature, we also decided to include other variables, as well as ones related to work conditions, to see if they had some effect on the willingness to work. When expanding the model to include other variables, we found that the level of satisfaction with doing a well-regarded work was significant at a 1.1% significance level. The sign was positive, so the more satisfied the participant is with this aspect, the higher probability he/she would choose to continue working. The survey included several assessments

of intrinsic aspects of jobs such as importance of a variety of tasks, learning opportunities, autonomy of the job, skills the job requires, etc. The survey also included an averaged response of all of the questions pertaining to the intrinsic aspects of a job. This value was found to be significant at a 2.4% significance level; since the sign is negative, the more important these aspects are to a participant, the more like he/she is to choose to continue working. It could be said that people who value intrinsic aspects of jobs, rather than extrinsic ones, which deal with promotion opportunities, good time schedules, good salary, etc., value work more in general. People who have a low work ethic tend to search for jobs solely for financial purposes, so they value extrinsic aspects of the job more than intrinsic ones. However, most people value extrinsic aspects of the job, not just those with a lower work ethic since good time schedules, the salary, job security, etc. are important aspects of the job. For this reason, the averaged response of all questions related to extrinsic aspects of the job is not significant, since it tends to be important to most people. Despite the low significance level at 38.8%, we can see that the sign is negative, which means that people who value these aspects of the job are inclined to choose not to work, which supports our theory.

Participants who strongly agreed with the statement: "If I could, I would leave this job today." were found to be less likely to work, at a significance level of 0.6%. Also, participants who strongly agreed with this statement: "At the moment, there is little point in making plans for my future career." were also found to be less likely to work, at a significance level of 0%. Neither of these results should come as a surprise, people who are unhappy in their current employment situation or who are demotivated about their future careers would most likely be ecstatic at the chance of not having to work.

We found two results that may be surprising. First of all, participants who strongly agreed with the statement: "In the current labour market situation it's possible for me to find the type of job for which I have prepared myself/have experience." were more likely to not continue working. The significance level of this result was a 0.1% significance level. This result might be due to inflated evaluations of one's own ability to get a good job; these unrealistic views associated with the labour market match the dreamer-like answer to not working even after winning the lottery. Second of all, when including the employment status of the mother, only some of the possible answers were relevant. If the mother has been unemployed for more than 2 years; this is significant at a 2.2% significance level, with a negative sign. So, if the participant's mother has suffered a long unemployment spell, it is less likely that the participant will choose to work. Also, at a slightly higher significance level of 1.8%, if the mother is deceased, the participant is less likely to continue working. This may be because the participant has a slightly more negative outlook on life because of the hardship he/she has gone through, or perhaps the family was left with a low income. What is interesting is that the father's employment history has no effect on the respondent's willingness to work, only the mother's.

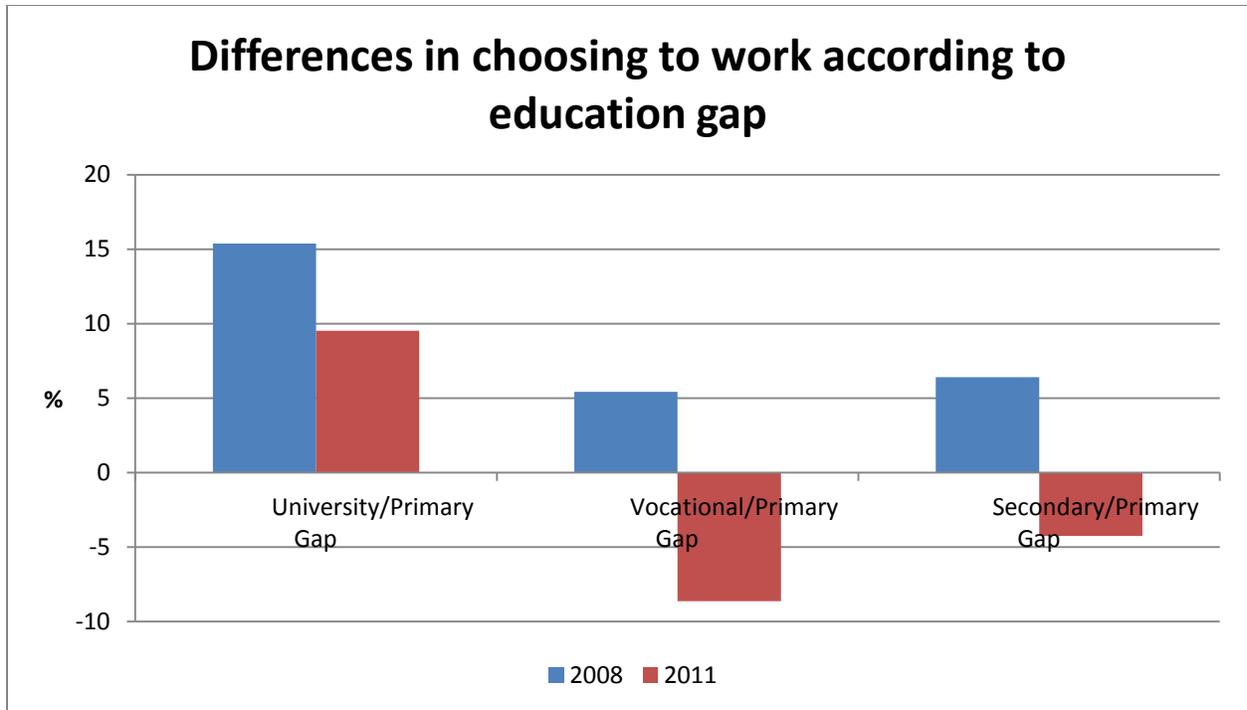
Including different work conditions, such as industry, type of employer (public, private, etc.), contract type, part-time/full-time, or the right to collect unemployment did not affect our previous outcome with education, nor did it have a strong impact on the willingness to work. The right to collect unemployment was significant in 2008, but not in 2011, and they were not willing to work because there was not a need to work in 2008. Part-time (with respect to full-time) was not significant in 2008, but it was significant and positive in 2011, so people in worse economic situations (those working part-time) are more willing to work in a time of crisis. None of the dummy variables for employment status are significant, none of the industry variables are significant nor is the type of employer. All of the 12 categories for the type of contract are insignificant in 2008. In 2011, contract type, in general, is insignificant as well – out of 12 categories, only two are significant and only one of those is willing to work: if the participant did not have a contract, they are less willing to work, and if the participant had a replacement contract, they are more willing to work.

5.3 Long-run work ethics: pooled data

After getting such different results, with respect to education, between the two samples, we decided to pool the two data samples together, combine variables and see if there was an interaction effect (see Table 3 in the appendix). We created a dummy variable for the year (1 if it was 2011 and 0 for 2008), we included our education variables, and then combined each education variable with the year⁶, and we controlled for the same variables as in the basic models.

The dummy variable for 2011 was significant at a 4.4% significance level, and it was positive, this again shows that people in a tougher economic situation (which it undoubtedly was in 2011 in comparison to 2008) were more willing to work. All of the education dummy variables were positive – so they were willing to work, but all of the interaction effects were negative. This means that the effect of education is smaller in 2011 than in 2008; it is not as strong, and this is exactly what we had seen when comparing the two data samples separately. To see this graphically, simply using raw data:

⁶ We created the variables by multiplying: secondary x 2011 , vocational x 2011 , university x 2011



To compose this graph, we had a closer look at the participants who chose to work in the lottery question, and we analyzed them according to their level of education, always with respect to the lowest – primary. We calculated the difference, or the gap between each level of education with respect to primary⁷. We noticed that the gap was the biggest when comparing university-educated people with primary-educated people, but this gap decreased by 38% (again using the odds-ratios) in 2011. The gaps were smaller among the secondary and vocational-educated people in 2008, but then in 2011, there were more primary-educated people willing to work than secondary or vocational-educated people (the gap decreased by 159% for vocational-educated people and by 66% for secondary-educated people).

5.4 Short-run work ethics 2008 vs. 2011

Our second dependent variable, where the participants have to decide between working or collecting unemployment benefits for the next 6 months, is a little less clear and there is no comparison with literature. We ran the same basic model with the same control variables and compared the two years, later extending it to see if work conditions had an effect on this dependent variable.

Similar to the basic model of the lottery question from 2008, marital status, nationality and the student variable are all insignificant in both years. All of the dummy variables of family

⁷ We calculated this gap by taking the percentage of people choosing to work according to education levels: %university - %primary, %vocational - %primary, %secondary - %primary

income, apart from one, are also insignificant. The significance level decreases with each level of earnings and the only one that is actually significant (at a 5% significance level in 2008 and 10% in 2011) is the highest level – when the family earns more than 3400 Euros per month. The sign is negative so the participant is less likely to work when the family earns more than 3400 Euros per month. These participants likely come from a rich family and do not feel the pressures to work.

Furthermore, whether the participant lives in a medium-sized city is significant, but living in a big city is insignificant. The sign of living in a medium-sized city is positive in 2008 but negative in 2011, so participants living in cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants but less than 500,000 inhabitants chose to work instead of taking the benefits in 2008 but not in 2011 (we obtained the same result when using provinces as control variables instead of communities). This may be due to the different sampling strategies, again without more information on why the participants choose to work, we can only speculate.

The education dummy variables, as well as that of the father's education, are all insignificant in 2008, and all but one are insignificant in 2011: vocational-educated people are more willing to work in 2011. Age was significant at a 1.9% significance level in 2008, with a negative sign, so younger participants were more willing to work than older participants. This may be because older participants are more discouraged by working conditions than younger participants because they have been in the labour market longer. The female variable is insignificant in both 2008 and 2011; we also controlled for different regions.

One of the unemployed variables, with respect to being employed, was significant at a 5% significance level in 2008; the sign was positive so participants who were unemployed last week and did not search for work chose they would work instead of accepting the unemployment benefits. However, in 2011, this variable, along with the other employment dummy variables, was insignificant. We were expecting this variable, as well as more of the unemployed variables, to be significant and willing to work in 2011, in support of the needs theory. As we have seen with the different regions of Spain, it appears that unemployed people were demoralized in 2011 because the situation was so poor and, hence, were less willing to work. In 2008, unemployed people would have accepted the job, but in 2011 they do not, so the willingness to work has decreased for the unemployed population.

Again, we wanted to see if working conditions had an effect on this short-run work ethic. The right to collect unemployment was insignificant for both samples, as was whether they worked part-time or full-time. The other variables were more significant in this case. The type of employer was insignificant in 2008, but in 2011, if the participant was part of a co-operative business, he/she was less likely to work. The types of contract had a slightly larger effect in the short-run than the long-run work ethics. In 2008, participants who had a seasonal, probation or a replacement contract were more willing to work, perhaps because their work conditions were not the best and there was a need for work. In 2011, only participants with a

probation contract remain significant but suddenly they are less willing to work. We could interpret this result the same way we have interpreted the results according to region and work status – now the conditions for participants with a probation contract are even worse than in 2008 (where they were willing to work), that they are demoralized and demotivated to work. Industry is now more significant as well, in 2008 if a participant was from a trade, construction, textile, or cafe/hotel/restaurant industry, they were less likely to work. This changed in 2011, where the construction industry was the only one that was significant and was now more likely to work, since conditions in the construction industry had worsened possibly the most, out of all industries.

For the short-run work ethics, education is no longer a factor, but employment status, as well as work conditions, is now significant.

5.5 Short-run work ethics: pooled data

After comparing the two data samples, we again pooled them together, created similar interactive dummy variables using employment status multiplied by the year, ran an ordered probit and then analyzed the marginal effects.

Once again, the year (2011) dummy variable was significant at a 0% significance level; people in a tougher economic situation were more willing to work. All of our employment variables (with respect to employed last week) were positive, so they were more willing to work, but the interaction effects were negative. In 2011, the unemployed people were less willing to work than in 2008 – they had become demotivated to work. This is exactly what we have seen when we compared the two samples.

6 Discussion

Returning to our first hypothesis regarding the willingness to work in more difficult times, we saw evidence of this in both pooled data analyses. The year variable (2011) was significant and positive in both cases, so people in a tougher economic situation are more willing to work because there is a higher need for work. Nonetheless, this willingness has decreased for unemployed people; we saw this in both the comparison between the two years of the short-run work ethics, as well as the pooled data analysis for short-run work ethics. According to the needs hypothesis, unemployed people should be more willing to work in 2011 than in 2008, but this is not what we found. It appears that there is a limit to how bad the

economic situation can get; if it keeps getting worse, people will just get demoralized rather than more willing to work.

This outcome can cause serious problems in society. If unemployed people are not willing or motivated to work, the government will have a large population on their hands that they will have to support financially. The longer these people remain unemployed, the harder it will be for them to get a job and the more demotivated they will get, so the government will have to continually support these people.

The second hypothesis dealt with people in low-economic positions being demoralized and having a lower work ethic. We did not find this result. Economic status is not important when it comes to the long-run work ethic, but rather, education is. A working paper supports this conclusion as well; Jakiela et al. (2010) found that education creates a general respect for individual work, or work ethic (Jakiela et al., 2010). Our results showed that the positive effect of education on work ethics, or the education premium, decreased during the crisis.

This can also cause some problems in society. Education could lose its value; highly-educated people, such as doctors, professors, etc. will not appreciate work as much. If people stop caring about their jobs, especially in these high places that affect other people, the work quality will decline. Moreover, highly-educated people, who previously passed down a higher work ethic to their children (as we have seen with the significance of the father's education variables) could start passing down a lower work ethic, which could create a whole generation of people with lower work ethics.

A good idea for future research would be to use a panel survey to compare changes in views and work ethics within the same individuals, in order to avoid any sampling problems.

Appendix

Table 1: Long-run work ethics 2008

Variables	Coefficients
age	0.0023893 (0.0066)
age squared	-7.50e-08 (0.00014)
female	0.0164334*** (0.00634)
employed but didn't work (illness/vacation/hadn't started) (<i>with reference to doing some paid work</i>)	-0.0108598 (0.00979)
unemployed but sought employment	0.012045 (0.0094)
unemployed and didn't search for employment	-0.0013281 (0.00689)
others (inactive)	-0.0012426 (0.00617)
student	0.0063914 (0.00582)
married	-0.0040837 (0.00639)
secondary education (<i>primary as reference</i>)	0.0263063** (0.01194)
vocational education	0.0219112* (0.01243)
university education	0.0532054*** (0.01689)
father's secondary education	0.0226644** (0.00901)
father's vocational education	0.0311538** (0.01382)
father's university education	0.0212315* (0.01133)
medium-sized city (<i>small city as reference</i>)	-0.0097516* (0.00499)
big city	-0.0074764 (0.00652)
foreign	-0.0050612 (0.00695)
family income (1000 - 1800€)	0.0089256

	(0.00959)
family income (1800 - 2600€)	0.0038941 (0.00899)
family income (2600 - 3400€)	-0.0046357 (0.00903)
family income (3400€+)	0.0165318 (0.01172)

* signifies a 10% significance level

** signifies a 5% significance level

*** signifies a 1% significance level

Table 2: Long-run work ethics 2008 and 2011

Variables	2008	2011
age	0.0023893 (0.0066)	0.012974 (0.01192)
age squared	-7.50e-08 (0.00014)	-0.0002611 (0.00025)
female	0.0164334*** (0.00634)	0.0072203 (0.00843)
employed but didn't work (illness/vacation/hadn't started)	-0.0108598 (0.00979)	-0.0115226 (0.02533)
unemployed but sought employment	0.012045 (0.0094)	-0.0131386 (0.01045)
unemployed and didn't search for employment	-0.0013281 (0.00689)	-0.0115774 (0.01108)
others (inactive)	-0.0012426 (0.00617)	-0.0019068 (0.01332)
student	0.0063914 (0.00582)	0.0225551* (0.01316)
married	-0.0040837 (0.00639)	-0.0209349 (0.01443)
secondary education (primary as reference)	0.0263063** (0.01194)	-0.0299583 (0.02138)
vocational education	0.0219112* (0.01243)	-0.0364477* (0.02211)
university education	0.0532054*** (0.01689)	0.012442 (0.0243)
father's secondary education	0.0226644** (0.00901)	0.0165179 (0.01261)
father's vocational	0.0311538**	0.0222602

education	(0.01382)	(0.01666)
father's university education	0.0212315* (0.01133)	0.0170255 (0.01543)
medium-sized city (<i>small city as reference</i>)	-0.0097516* (0.00499)	-0.0175227* (0.01027)
big city	-0.0074764 (0.00652)	0.0479768** (0.02032)
foreign	-0.0050612 (0.00695)	0.0393914* (0.0214)
family income (1000 - 1800€)	0.0089256 (0.00959)	0.0150091 (0.01783)
family income (1800 - 2600€)	0.0038941 (0.00899)	0.0241599 (0.01968)
family income (2600 - 3400€)	-0.0046357 (0.00903)	0.0426799* (0.02379)
family income (3400€+)	0.0165318 (0.01172)	0.0333993 (0.0255)

Table 3: POOLED DATA for long-run work ethics

Variables	Coefficients
Age	0.00446 (0.0068)
Age²	-0.00006 (0.00014)
Female	0.01113** (0.0054)
y_2011	0.06668** (0.0331)
student	0.01556** (0.0070)
married	-0.00735 (0.0078)
secondary (<i>primary as reference</i>)	0.0250* (0.0147)
vocational	0.02133 (0.0160)
university	0.0587*** (0.0190)
secondary x 2011	-0.03234***

	(0.0098)
vocational x 2011	-0.03606*** (0.0098)
university x 2011	-0.02520** (0.0120)
father's secondary	0.01880** (0.0080)
father's vocational	0.0306** (0.0125)
father's university	0.0235** (0.0109)
medium-sized city (small city as reference)	-0.0085 (0.00586)
big city	0.00770 (0.0072)
foreign	0.00312 (0.0080)
family income (1000 - 1800€)	0.00995 (0.0101)
family income (1800 - 2600€)	0.00539 (0.0098)
family income (2600 - 3400€)	0.00457 (0.01029)
family income (3400€+)	0.0235* (0.0136)

Table 4: Short-run work ethics 2008 and 2011

Variables	2008	2011
age	-0.0808571** (0.03451)	0.0025891 (0.03775)
age squared	0.0016674** (0.00074)	1.11e-06 (0.0008)
female	0.0041857 (0.02138)	0.0105388 (0.02488)
employed but didn't work (illness/vacation/hadn't started)	0.0750447 (0.06513)	-0.0215358 (0.11945)
unemployed but sought employment	0.0358685	0.0140378

	(0.03822)	(0.03249)
unemployed and didn't search for employment	0.0696472** (0.03552)	0.0285766 (0.0385)
others (inactive)	-0.0329865 (0.03186)	-0.0489897 (0.04457)
student	0.040074 (0.02541)	0.0259037 (0.02937)
married	0.0157292 (0.03282)	-0.0665546 (0.05911)
secondary education (primary as reference)	-0.0217769 (0.04666)	-0.0119509 (0.06072)
vocational education	0.0548211 (0.04934)	0.1106416* (0.06513)
university education	0.0198405 (0.04893)	0.0885169 (0.06411)
father's secondary education	-0.0267082 (0.02557)	-0.0158669 (0.03142)
father's vocational education	-0.0211911 (0.0385)	-0.0023312 (0.04204)
father's university education	-0.0185264 (0.03591)	0.0031132 (0.03889)
medium-sized city (small city as reference)	0.0999652*** (0.02566)	-0.1228495*** (0.03711)
big city	0.0392856 (0.04084)	0.01599 (0.03115)
foreign	0.0039674 (0.03976)	0.0722114 (0.05198)
family income (1000 - 1800€)	-0.0019321 (0.04676)	-0.0211104 (0.05135)
family income (1800 - 2600€)	-0.0197143 (0.04602)	-0.0525261 (0.05295)
family income (2600 - 3400€)	-0.0450841 (0.04885)	-0.0819682 (0.0573)
family income (3400€+)	-0.1017059** (0.05179)	-0.1050864* (0.06393)

Table 5: POOLED DATA for short-run work ethics

Variable	Coefficients
Age	-0.0488* (0.0267)
Age ²	0.00102* (0.00057)
Female	-0.00126 (0.01717)
y_2011	0.1086*** (0.0255)
employed but didn't work (illness/vacation/hadn't started) (A)	0.1127* (0.0679)
unemployed but sought employment (B)	0.06532* (0.03828)
unemployed and didn't search for employment (C)	0.0770** (0.0354)
others (inactive) (D)	-0.00332 (0.0318)
(A) x 2011	-0.2234* (0.1174)
(B) x 2011	-0.0706 (0.0467)
(C) x 2011	-0.0717 (0.0493)
(D) x 2011	-0.0641 (0.0513)
students	0.0165 (0.0203)
married	-0.00207 (0.0304)
secondary (<i>primary as reference</i>)	-0.0345 (0.0380)
vocational	0.0629 (0.04121)
university	0.0395 (0.0409)
father's secondary	-0.0131 (0.0207)
father's vocational	0.0121 (0.0307)
father's university	0.01131

	(0.0278)
medium-sized city (<i>small city as reference</i>)	0.0614*** (0.02344)
big city	0.02316 (0.0240)
foreign	0.0081 (0.0329)
family income (1000 - 1800€)	-0.00536 (0.0362)
family income (1800 - 2600€)	-0.0302 (0.0360)
family income (2600 - 3400€)	-0.0532 (0.0383)
family income (3400€+)	-0.0985** (0.0412)

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