# CRISIS AND JOB SATISFACTION IN THE EUROPEAN AREA

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## INTRODUCTION

Since the second half of the last decade, the EU area has been hit by an economic and financial crisis which, with varying intensity, has had a strong impact on the socio-economic and political structure of the individual member states. The scholars who have analyzed the causes, trying to outline the extent of the impact and quantify the repercussions, have adopted diversified explanations. For some, the most frequent comparison is with 1929 and the Great Depression that followed; others point to the ineffectiveness of central banks. Without going into the economic and financial dynamics of the crisis, which would change the focus of this work, it is worth remembering that the origin of the European crisis can be traced back to the global financial crisis of 2007-2009 and the combined effects it produced with the sovereign debt crisis experienced in some euro area countries in the first months of 2010: As public finances have deteriorated, sovereign debt risk has increased and banks' balance sheets as a whole have deteriorated.

What hit Europe was a double crisis – of sovereign and bank debt – which gradually infected many countries (Adler, 2012; Véron, 2011). Moving from the US to Europe, it first hit Ireland, and then other eurozone countries, with greater intensity in Portugal, Greece, Italy and Spain.

European governments have been slow to react to the onset crisis, but institutional responses have not appeared effective in containing the crisis. The adoption of countercyclical policies increased the fiscal deficit, aggravated by the bailout of the banking system, and consequently private debt became public debt. In some eurozone member states, this scenario has fueled many doubts about the future of the single currency, if not of Europe itself, generating problems and tensions that inevitably arise within a monetary union in which imbalances accumulate (Volz, 2012).

The crisis has also called into question the already fragile relationship that binds citizens with their national and European institutions, especially where public debt has increased and austerity measures have become more stringent (Roth, Nowak-Lehmann and Otter, 2011). At the same time, it has eroded the labor market and civil society, eroding the economic stability of families and affecting the future of young people (Rocha 2012; Dietrich 2012; Eurostat 2012).

In particular, by exacerbating gender differences in terms of employment, unemployment, wages and poverty. (Bettio et al., 2012).

As is well known, economic crises, in addition to affecting the labour market, worsen the 'quality' of work, fuelling a vicious circle in which employers, on the one hand, and workers, on the other, sometimes try to survive at the expense of each other: the former, in an attempt to reduce business costs, impose unfavourable economic conditions, while the latter, In order to keep their jobs, they are often inclined to give up basic benefits and guarantees, thus jeopardizing their psycho-physical well-being.

In this context, part-time work has become a lifeline since - increased during the recession, at the beginning of 2012 it was slightly higher than at the beginning of the crisis - in Europe more than in the USA it has been used to reduce layoffs (Hijzen and Venn, 2011). But those who pay the heaviest bill are young people, often employed to cushion the fall in employment that has occurred among adults and those who had now reached the end of their working careers. Temporary and part-time work, although advantageous for those who tried to earn while continuing to search, with considerable difficulty, for a better job, have nevertheless impoverished a large part of workers, especially those who had chosen or who had to involuntarily undergo these types of work.

It is therefore important to ask how satisfied citizens are with their work in times of crisis.

This study analyzes job satisfaction in some European countries by comparing the information collected by the European Values Survey, and allows to investigate the effects that economic and political responses to the crisis have produced on job satisfaction (SL).

## The theoretical aspects

SL, since the second half of the last century, has been a widely studied topic according to multiple approaches (Ghazzawi, 2008). Its diffusion is to be identified in its ability to condition a wide variety of behaviors and contribute to the well-being of those who carry out a work activity (Jones and George, 2008). It is no coincidence that it is considered a good indicator for accounting for individual well-being (Argyle 1989; Diaz-Serrano and Cabral Vieira, 2005), as well as the worker's intentions or decisions (Gazioglu and Tansel, 2006).

SL represents the judgment expressed on the basis of the set of components of the job, i.e. the skills, roles, responsibilities, relationships, benefits and rewards that characterize the individual worker within a specific organization, colleagues and the organizational context (cf. Locke, 1995; Taber and Alliger, 1995). It can therefore be defined as: a) pleasure, in terms of emotional state, resulting from the evaluation of the workplace, b) the affective reaction to one's work, c) an attitude towards one's work (Locke and Weiss, 2001).

By synthesizing the feelings, attitudes or preferences of individuals regarding work (Chen, 2008), SL expresses, therefore, the set of feelings and beliefs that people have about their work (George and Jones, 2008), where both the affective and cognitive dimensions take on an important role (Saari and Judge, 2004).

A different perspective is offered by Rose (2001), according to whom SL is a two-dimensional concept composed of intrinsic satisfactions and extrinsic satisfactions at work. The former represent the symbolic or qualitative aspects of work, and depend on the individual characteristics of the person, such as the possibility of using the initiative, relations with supervisory authorities or the work activity that the person actually performs. The latter - what Rose calls extrinsic sources of satisfaction - are situational and depend on the environment, such as pay, career chances or job security. According to the scholar, both extrinsic and intrinsic factors make up the many facets underlying job satisfaction and only a fair representation of them allows to obtain a satisfactory composite measure of the degree of job satisfaction.

What is the best strategy to aggregate these conceptual dimensions is difficult to define, but the intrinsic aspects seem to have greater relevance in the empirical definition of SL. In fact, the characteristics related to the workplace, the performance of tasks that require a sense of responsibility and that often involve recognition by superiors, improve SL, compared to other activities where working conditions, and routine activities negatively affect not only SL, but sometimes also the entire organization of the production process.

Suffice it to say that where the SL is low, both turnover and absenteeism can increase (Koys, 2001; Mossholder, Settoon, and Henagan, 2005), as well as inappropriate social behaviors in the workplace (LePine, Erez, and Johnson, 2002).

Moreover, as pointed out by Skalli, Theodossiou and Vasileiou (2008) and Judge, Heller and Mount (2010), intrinsic factors make it possible to predict overall satisfaction better than pay.

An alternative approach to the one previously described is offered by Sousa Poza and Sousa-Poza (2000). According to the two scholars, job satisfaction depends on the balance between labor inputs - such as education, working hours, effort - and labor outputs - wages, fringe benefits, status, conditions, the intrinsic aspects of work: where outputs are greater than inputs, job satisfaction increases.

Times change as well as working methods, but satisfaction does not seem particularly affected by changes. According to Staw and Ross (1985), job satisfaction is characterized by an undoubted stability over time - for a period of five years - and does not seem to contract significantly even when the job changes, with a new job or a new employer.

However, according to the analysis of Steel and Rentsch (1997), satisfaction is higher among those who, despite having to change company or workplace, continue to do a job similar to the previous one, while it declines among those who are forced to carry out different work activities.

A third line of research sees cultural aspects as the determinants of SL. According to Hofstede (1980, 1985), one of the pioneers of this current of study, intercultural understanding and differences in employee attitudes can be understood through four main dimensions, namely: individualism-collectivism; uncertainty with respect to risk; power and orientation towards realization.

More recent studies have shown that the country or national culture has significant effects not only on workers' attitudes, but also on the type of work that is carried out (Saari and Erez, 2002; Saari and Schneider, 2001).

It is worth mentioning how the SL is also used as a proxy for the quality of work. Numerous studies (cf. D' Addio, Eriksson and Frijters, 2007; Eurofound, 2006; Green, 2006; Levy-Garboua and Montmarquette, 2004), starting from the assumption that people are able to balance the various aspects and characteristics of work, underline that employees are able to arrive at an overall assessment of the quality of work (Kalleberg and Vaisey, 2005).

SL is relevant not only in the workplace, but also in the organizational one. Organizations, as is well known, produce significant effects on individuals and on the perception they have of their work (Spector, 1997). While employers benefit from satisfied employees, as they are more likely to profit from low turnover and achieve higher productivity if they experience a high SL level, the same can be said of employees with high SL, who would be happier in a job they can engage in throughout their working lives (Nguyen, Taylor and Bradley, 2003).

## Job satisfaction among EU citizens

A lot has changed within Europe in the last decade.

The introduction of the euro and the growing number of EU memberships have strengthened an area that, not without difficulty, is trying to impose itself both with respect to the major international economic players and with respect to those still in embryo, who are trying to emerge strongly in the wake of the economic and financial crisis that grips the major industrial democracies.

How has the perception that European public opinion has of its work changed with the beginning of the crisis?

In this study, in order to give rise to a comparison not only synchronic but also diachronic of SL, the data collected by the European Value Survey (EVS) between 1999-2001 and 2008-2010 were examined. Of the current twenty-eight EU member countries, only twenty-one were considered, those for which information was available. In general, among the employed (Table 8-1) there is an appreciable level of satisfaction with their work, with a slightly downward trend that appears to characterize many social categories.

While men more than women reveal the greatest dissatisfaction over time, the gender gap in terms of SL tends to narrow significantly. A similar trend can also be found with regard to education. Those who do not have any educational qualification or have a low level of education (elementary) record a much greater contraction than those who have a middle school diploma or a degree.

This is certainly not a new phenomenon that underlines how a low educational qualification, not always guaranteeing an economically advantageous employment condition, does not allow one to improve one's working conditions in this way as well as the know-how that this requires.

A similar trend also seems to affect in particular those who reside in small towns (up to 2,000 inhabitants), where with the crisis the already fragile labor market has suffered a sharp contraction and work offers few opportunities for growth and career, or in metropolitan cities, where subsistence costs are high and making ends meet has become increasingly difficult.

As income increases, the levels of SL certainly increase, but in the transition from the two-year period 1999-2001 to 2008-2010, the negative effects have also characterized those who have a high income, and live in a couple (married).

An exception is represented by singles and cohabitants who, probably, without the burden of stringent ties or family burdens that require a greater availability of economic resources and time, although they are no more satisfied than those who have a different family condition, record an undoubted growth in the level of SL over time.

#### Table showing satisfaction levels in Europe

		1999-2001	2008-2010	Delta
job satisfaction		7.450	7.320	-0.130
	Gender			
male		7.490	7.340	-0.150
female		7.410	7.310	-0.100
Instruction				
no educational qualifications		7.380	7.020	-0.360
elementary		7.430	7.150	-0.280
lower average		7.460	7.340	-0.120
upper middle school		7.410	7.340	-0.070
degree		7.570	7.450	-0.120

Age					
18 to 29 years old	7.250	7.200	-0.050		
30 to 49 years old	7.450	7.300	-0.150		
50 to 65 years old	7.690	7.450	-0.240		
Employment status					
full-time (more than 30 hours per week)	7.470	7.330	-0.140		
part-time (less than 30 hours per week)	7.220	7.200	-0.020		
Autonomous	7.810	7.460	-0.350		
Income					
low	7.100	6.780	-0.320		
medium	7.420	7.270	-0.150		
high	7.650	7.550	-0.100		
Matrimonial status					
Married	7.610	7.390	-0.220		
cohabiting	7.200	7.390	0.190		
Divorced	7.420	7.230	-0.190		
Separated	7.490	7.310	-0.180		
widower	7.630	7.150	-0.480		
single	7.210	7.220	0.010		
Territory size (inhabitar	nts)				
up to 2000	7.680	7.280	-0.400		
from 2001 to 5000	7.550	7.370	-0.180		
5001 to 10,000	7.640	7.420	-0.220		
from 10,001 to 20,000	7.620	7.420	-0.200		
from 20,001 to 50,000	7.440	7.310	-0.130		
from 50,001 to 100,000	7.340	7.290	-0.050		
from 100,001 to 500,000	7.360	7.310	-0.050		
from 500,001 and above 7.280 7.060 -0.220 Developing countries					
		7 700	0.400		
Belgium	7.550	7.730	0.180		
Denmark Extensio	8.040 7.010	8.010	-0.030		
Estonia Finland	7.640	7.500	-0.140		
France	7.040	7.300	0.140		
Germany	7.700	7.540	-0.160		
Greece	6.890	7.070	0.180		
Ireland	7.790	8.170	0.380		
Italy	7.310	7.300	-0.010		
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Latvia	7.140	7.140	
Lithuania	7.190	7.190	
Holland	7.520	7.720	0.200
Poland	7.450		
Portugal	7.500	7.040	-0.460
United Kingdom	7.430	7.550	0.120
Czech Republic	7,430		
Romania	7,320		
Slovakia	7,580		
Spain	7.300	7.300	0.000
Sweden	7.290	7.660	0.370
Hungary	7.020		

A patchy distribution of the phenomenon under analysis can be found when comparing countries. In general, an increase in job satisfaction is recorded in more than half of the European countries considered in this job. In Denmark and Ireland, SL levels in 2008-2010 stood at 8,010, but it is in the latter and in Sweden where the growth in SL levels is substantial. As established democracies move from the North to the Centre and then to the South of Europe, the SL attenuates significantly, as in the case of Portugal where the level of the SL between 1999 and 2010 is 7,020. As far as Eastern European countries are concerned, more than half have SL levels below the European average. There are exceptions, as the case of Slovakia and the Republic of Italy shows.

Where SL levels are far higher than those recorded in some industrial democracies in southern Europe.

## Working hypotheses

The contents that characterize good work positively influence SL (Clark, 2005). In fact, according to some scholars, the network that individual workers structure with their supervisors, colleagues and customers (Borzaga and Depedri, 2005; 2009), as well as the salary or economic benefits provided by the company (Skalli, Theodossiou and Vasileiou, 2008; Siebern-Thomas's, 2005) contribute to feeding SL and push workers to feel more connected to their work than to the organizations themselves (cf. Stroh, Brett, and Reilly, 1994). Not all scholars, however, seem to agree on the usefulness of the attitudes expressed by employees

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about their work (Hamermesh, 2001; Levy-Garboua and Montmarquette, 2004) as they are too 'subjective'.

Despite this, in this essay, starting from eleven explanatory indicators of some aspects that characterize the work, after analysis in main components, the following are two latent dimensions related to SL have been identified. The first dimension synthesizes the extrinsic factors of work, while the second the intrinsic factors. Starting from the two indices obtained and considering that intrinsic and extrinsic factors produce differentiated effects on overall satisfaction (cf. Skalli, Theodossiou and Vasileiou 2008; Judge, Heller and Mount 2010), the following hypotheses can be formulated:

- H1a: as the intrinsic factors of work (autonomy, aspirations, etc.) increase, SL increases;
- H1b: as the factors extrinsic to work (salary, benefits, etc.) increase, the SL increases;
- H1c: the impact produced by intrinsic factors on SL is greater than that produced by extrinsic factors.

The relationship linking SL and the propensity to join a trade union has attracted numerous scholars in recent decades. In particular, the existing literature has also focused on the link that connects trade union associations with SL, highlighting how the analysis is, in fact, complicated as the presence of unobservable factors influences both SL and the decision to join the union (cf. Heywood, Siebert and Wei, 2002).

Not only that. Studies that have analysed this relationship reveal conflicting results. Some researchers have highlighted an inverse link between trade union associations and SL (Garcia-Serrano, 2009; Miller, 2008; Bryson, Cappellari and Lucifora, 2004): unionized workers have a lower level of SL than that of non-members, feeding, in many respects, a paradoxical situation if only because unions should safeguard if not improve the working conditions of members, which in fact pushes individual workers to associate.

More recent studies question these empirical findings, revealing a positive relationship between the two indicators: looking at the relationship from a longitudinal perspective, it is found that in the first year of unionization there is a clear growth in SL among both men and women (Powdthavee, 2011).

It can therefore be assumed that:

• H2a: Being a member of the union increases the level of SL.

In the past, when communism still marked the regime of the Eastern countries, in these regions the union acted as a political transmission belt, thus failing in the role of independent representative institution, demotivating and demoralizing workers (Lange and Georgellis, 2007).

Considering that with the advent of democracy in many regions of Eastern Europe and their relative annexation to the EU, the vision that Eastern European citizens have towards trade unions has changed, becoming more positive than in the past, it is possible to hypothesize that:

- H3a: in Eastern European countries the level of SL is lower than in other European regions;
- H3b: in Eastern European countries, SL is higher among those who are union members.

Party membership is often seen as an 'investment in political capital' that can lead to favourable jobs, increased endowments as well as layoffs (Appleton et al. 2009).

In countries where citizens work for mainly state-owned companies, as is the case in China, being a member of a party increases the worker's SL (Heywood, Siebert and Wei, 2009), but in contexts where work is mainly in private companies, the ideological component obviously plays a different role.

In countries where parties are closer to citizens, in terms of needs and requirements, the latter will be more likely to reward them during the election (Powell 2004; Memoli 2011; 2013) and to support them during the legislature.

The same reasoning can be put forward for the government and its component parties, which also have responsibility for employment, social affairs and inclusion policies, as they coordinate and monitor national policies, promote the sharing of best practices in areas such as employment, poverty, social exclusion and pensions, and adopt legislation by monitoring its application in areas such as workers' rights and social security. coordination of social security systems.

From this perspective, if citizen A is ideologically aligned with party B and agrees with issue C of which B is the bearer, not only will A support party B by voting for it, but he will probably also support the government of which the same party will eventually be part as the bearer of its own demands (C). Starting from this assumption, it is possible to hypothesize that:

• H3a: The greater the ideological distance between the citizen and the government, the smaller the SL will be.

### The explanatory model

In order to estimate the effects of independent variables on SL, it was considered appropriate to use a regression model, whose formalization is as follows:

where

Y = job satisfaction;

= the intrinsic factors of work;

= the factors extrinsic to work;

= be a member of the trade union;

= reside in an Eastern European country;

= interaction between being a member of the trade union and residing in an Eastern country of Europe;

= ideological distance between citizen and government;

= control variables.

The effects produced by the five explanatory variables on the dependent variable are controlled through an additional four indicators () – education, age, employment and trust in government.

The main results relating to the two two-year periods analysed, shown in Table 2, outline substantially different scenarios where the socioeconomic transformations that have characterised the individual member states are reflected in the perception that workers have of SL.

In model 1, which includes the consolidated democracies of the EU, it is noted that the dimension that synthesizes the intrinsic factors of work has a significant and positive influence on the dependent variable (beta = 0.108). On the other hand, the size that aggregates the factors extrinsic to work has an opposite effect (beta = -0.072).

These results only partially confirm our hypotheses (H1a and H1c, but not H1b) and reveal an undoubtedly interesting scenario. In the two-year period 2008-2010, when the effects of the crisis were evident among EU countries, intrinsic factors lose ground in determining SL, while the effect of extrinsic factors increases. From this perspective, the insecurities generated by the crisis and the choices of individual governments appear to have conditioned the motivational factors of European workers who look to the future with greater pessimism.

As far as trade unions are concerned, if in the two-year period 1999-2001 this indicator did not produce significant effects on the SL among the fourteen EU countries, in 2008 in line with the most recent studies the relationship between the two variables is positive even if the intensity of the effect recorded is not particularly consistent (H2a; beta = 0.016). Therefore, those who work and are union members have a higher level of SL than those who are not unionized.

As far as the H3a and H3b hypotheses are concerned, although the sign of the relationships is correct, the effects are statistically insignificant due, probably, to the sample size, especially among the countries of Eastern Europe. This is a result that should be deepened with ad hoc studies, if only because some research, differentiating the geographical areas that make up Europe, confirms that even in the countries of Eastern Europe those who are unionized reveal a greater SL (cf. Georgellis and Lange, 2009).

As far as the ideological distance from the government is concerned, it is worth remembering that according to the literature on the spatial theory of voting (cf. Downs, 1957; Adams, Merrill and Grofman, 2006) voters tend to vote for the party whose program is most in line with their policy preferences (cf. Kedar, 2005).

Compared to the past, the ideological component that orients workers and connects them to the institutional political system (government) has become decisive among EU countries in the definition of SL (H3a; beta=-0.020). The fears generated by the crisis in public opinion have certainly not pushed citizens to share the governments' choices – as the case of Greece has shown – but it has certainly strengthened the bond of those who already felt close to these institutions, fueling an optimism among the latter that is probably also reflected in the SL.

Checking the relationships indicated above (Table 8-2) through the use of some socio-demographic and political variables, very important aspects emerge.

Some studies have found that SL declines among the less educated, while it increases among those with a high level of education (Clark, 2005). Other studies have shown that it is correlated, in some cases, negatively to SL (Skalli Theodossiou and Vasileiou, 2008; Gazioglu and Tansel, 2006), or even has no effect on it (Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza, 2000; Clark, 1997).

In the two-year period 1999-2001, education played an important role in determining SL among established democracies: with the exception of those in possession of a high school qualification, all levels of education reveal a positive relationship with the dependent variable. In 2008-2010, the relationship between the level of education and the dependent variable was not statistically significant and, with the exception of the degree, the effects of the various qualifications took on a negative sign. In other words, cultural capital does not contribute to accounting for SL.

If citizens appear increasingly satisfied with increasing age, where professional status makes the difference, the relationship is reversed. In the two-year period 1999-2001, part-time employees were less satisfied (beta=-0.077) than those in full-time employment (beta=-0.057). This trend was confirmed in the two-year period 2008-2010 and was more evident among those who work full-time. In other words, with the economic and financial crisis, dissatisfaction with work increased, affecting the guarantees and security of full-time work and complicating the reconciliation of the needs (of care, study, etc.) of those who work part-time.

As far as trust in the government is concerned, whose effects in terms of intensity (beta) on the dependent variable are greater than those found by analyzing the other variables, in both waves, citizens who place their trust in the government appear to be characterized by a higher level of SL.

The empirical results obtained show that with the new millennium there has been a clear change in the attitudes and behaviours of workers, which are indirectly accompanied by structural changes within the EU, dictated by the accession of new member countries, and by the crisis that continues to suffocate the weaker countries. Governments, adopting economic cuts and austerity policies, have depressed national economies even more, while citizens, while satisfied with their jobs, tend to be increasingly less optimistic about the future.

#### Table The explanatory model

Beta Error	Model 1: 1999-2001 Beta Error Standard			Model 2: 2008-2010		
intrinsic factors: autonomy and Aspirations	Robust a 0.108	and ro ****	bust 0.022	0.095	****	0.017
Extrinsic factors:						
Salary and benefits Associations (0=not associated; 1=associate) Eastern European countries	-0.072 -0.005 -0.015	****	0.020 0.048 0.039	-0.096 0.016	****	0.017 0.046
of Europe (0=no; 1=yes) Associations trade unions*countries of Eastern Europe	0.015		0.101	0.010		0.100
distance ideological instruction	-0.010	*	0.018	-0.020	**	0.012
elementary	0.064	*	0.145	-0.059		0.291
lower average	0.067	*	0.145	-0.013		0.290
High school	0.045		0.144	-0.010		0.290
degree	0.045	*	0.148	0.008		0.292
Age (18-65 years)	0.077	****	0.002	0.029	****	0.002
Part-time employment	-0.077	****	0.085	-0.070	****	0.075
(self-employed) full-time	-0.057	****	0.068	-0.073	****	0.057
trust in the government (0=no; 1=yes)	0.132	****	0.011	0.130	****	0.008
Constant (b) Square R Anova (Mr.) Squared error medium	6.267 0.048 0.000 1.829	***	0.191 0.053 0.000 1.861	7.108	****	0.306
N	8.029		13.363			

Note: Model 1 shows estimates for 14 EU countries in 1999: Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Holland, Portugal, United Kingdom, Spain, Sweden; in model 2 the estimates refer to 23 EU countries: Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom. p<0.001, \*\*\*p<0.01, \*\*p<0.05, \*p<0.10.

## CONCLUSIONS

This work analysed SL across EU countries using different explanatory components. The differentiation between intrinsic and extrinsic factors of the work has made it possible to diversify the components that orient and determine the SL. The socio-economic and structural changes that have characterised Europe are also reflected in the attitudes and behaviour of workers. If in the past the motivational component seemed to drive SL, today it seems to have lost ground, giving way to a materialistic attitude (extrinsic factors at work) that does not go well with SL and its relative growth.

The data in our possession do not allow us to estimate the effects of these two components in more recent periods, i.e. with the consolidation of the crisis, but they certainly suggest deepening these links if only because workers seem demotivated compared to the past and the motivational aspects appear to significantly affect SL. If trade union associations positively feed the evaluation that citizens express about their work, an aspect that certainly requires further study since the literature on the subject is still controversial, national governments find themselves having to deal with an international economic scenario in which the relaunch of labor and development policies are held back by growth that is struggling to take off. Despite this, those who find themselves ideologically in line with the governments' choices appear more satisfied. Perhaps it is the optimism instilled by the same governments that are trying hard to revive the already fragile national economies. Obviously not without economic cuts also to education which, at one time, represented the litmus test of the SL, but which nowadays loses value in an asphyxiated labor market, where the differences between part-time and full-time work are reduced to a minimum and none of the working conditions allow the citizen to be fully satisfied with his or her work.

It is difficult to estimate what future developments will be, but without a revival of the economy and new reforms for the labor market, even the most optimistic employed will look at the labor market with less confidence and will be, in the absence of job security, stability and security, increasingly dissatisfied, even with their political institutions.

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