

# Searching for gaps: the work attitudes of the younger generations

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# The structure of the presentation

- The core issues (research questions, methods, and data)
- An illustration (the combined age-period effect)
- The combined age, period and birth cohort effect (the HAPC model)
  - on the importance of work
  - on the attitudes „behind” the importance of work
- The system specific (EU15 versus post-socialist countries) deviations of the HAPC model
- Summary

# Research questions

- (1) Are there significant differences between birth cohorts' attitudes to work?  
and, if yes:
- (2) How have attitudes to work changed in the past decades?
- (3) Are these changes different in post-socialist and in EU15 (i.e. non-post-socialist) countries?

# The research design

We work with a „narrow” definition of “birth cohort”  
(individuals born around the same time, i.e. they go through more or less  
similar historical life events)

instead of using the theories of generation such as GI (or  
Traditionalists or Veterans), Silent, Baby Boomer, Generation X,Y (or  
GenMe, Millennials) or Z (or Nexters, Generation www, Digital generation)

Our aim is exploratory - to test whether attitudes to work  
differ among age groups, periods, and birth cohorts.

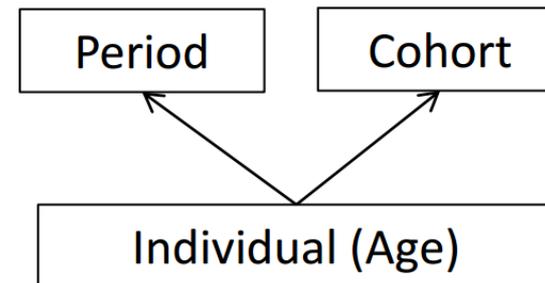
But age, period, and birth cohort are intertwined – special  
models are needed.

# Methodology and data

## Hierarchical age-period-cohort regression model

- Age: individual level variable
- Period and cohort: macro-level variable
- Period: equal (5-years) sequence of the year of the survey
- Multilevel data structure

Cross-classified structure of Yang and Land's HAPC model for repeated cross-sectional data



World Values Survey/European Values Study (WVS/EVS)  
in three periods (1990-1994, 1995-1999, 2005-2009)

# Variables

## **Dependent variables:**

### A) Importance of (paid) work

“How important is work in your life?” 1 – very important, 0 – not very important

### B) Importance of five job aspects

„Here are some more aspects of a job that people say are important. Please look at them and tell me which ones you personally think are important in a job?”

Good pay

Good job security

Good hours

Job is interesting

Job is useful for society

(1 – mentioned, 0 – not mentioned)

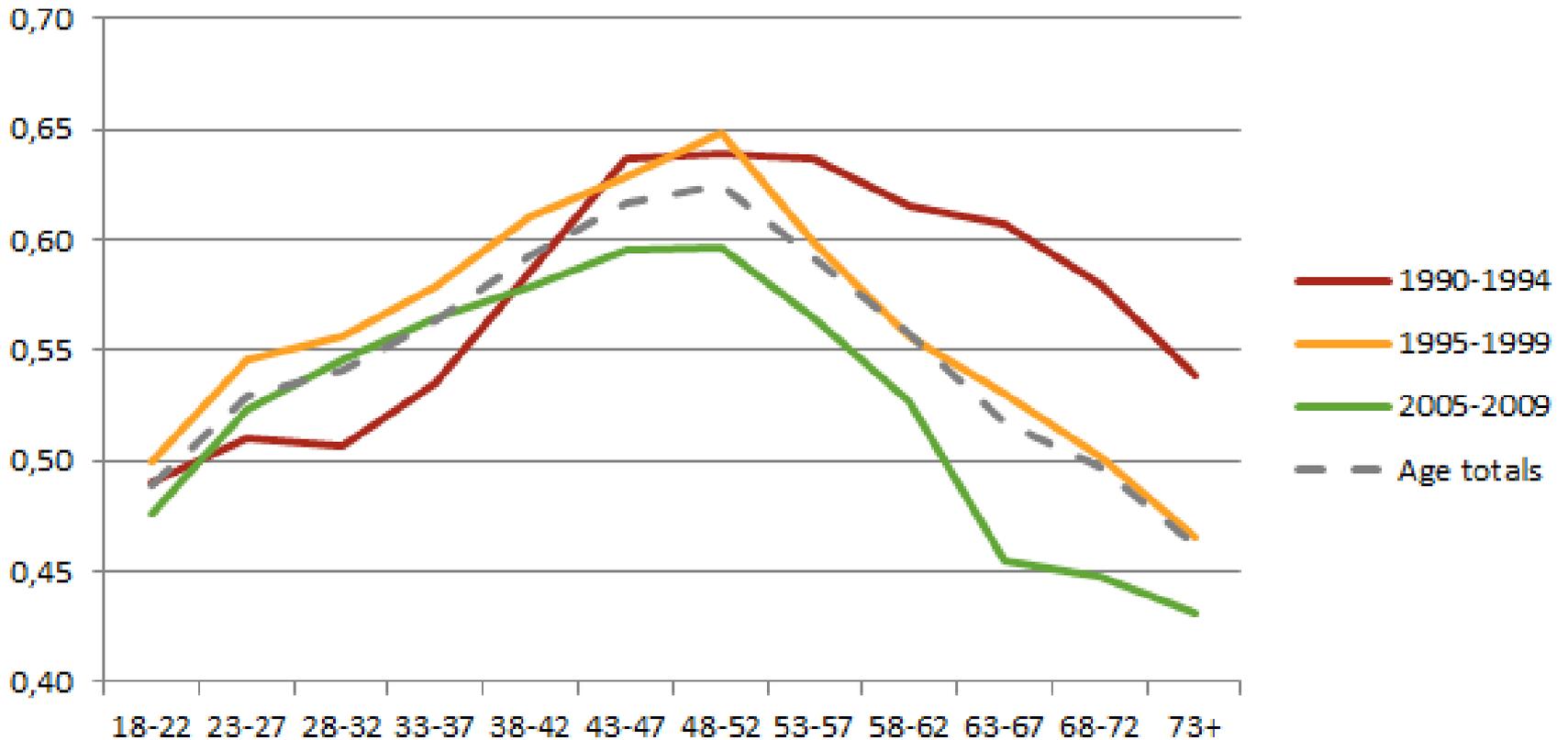
**Control variables:** Gender, education, marital status, labor force status, type of settlement, country

# The importance of work

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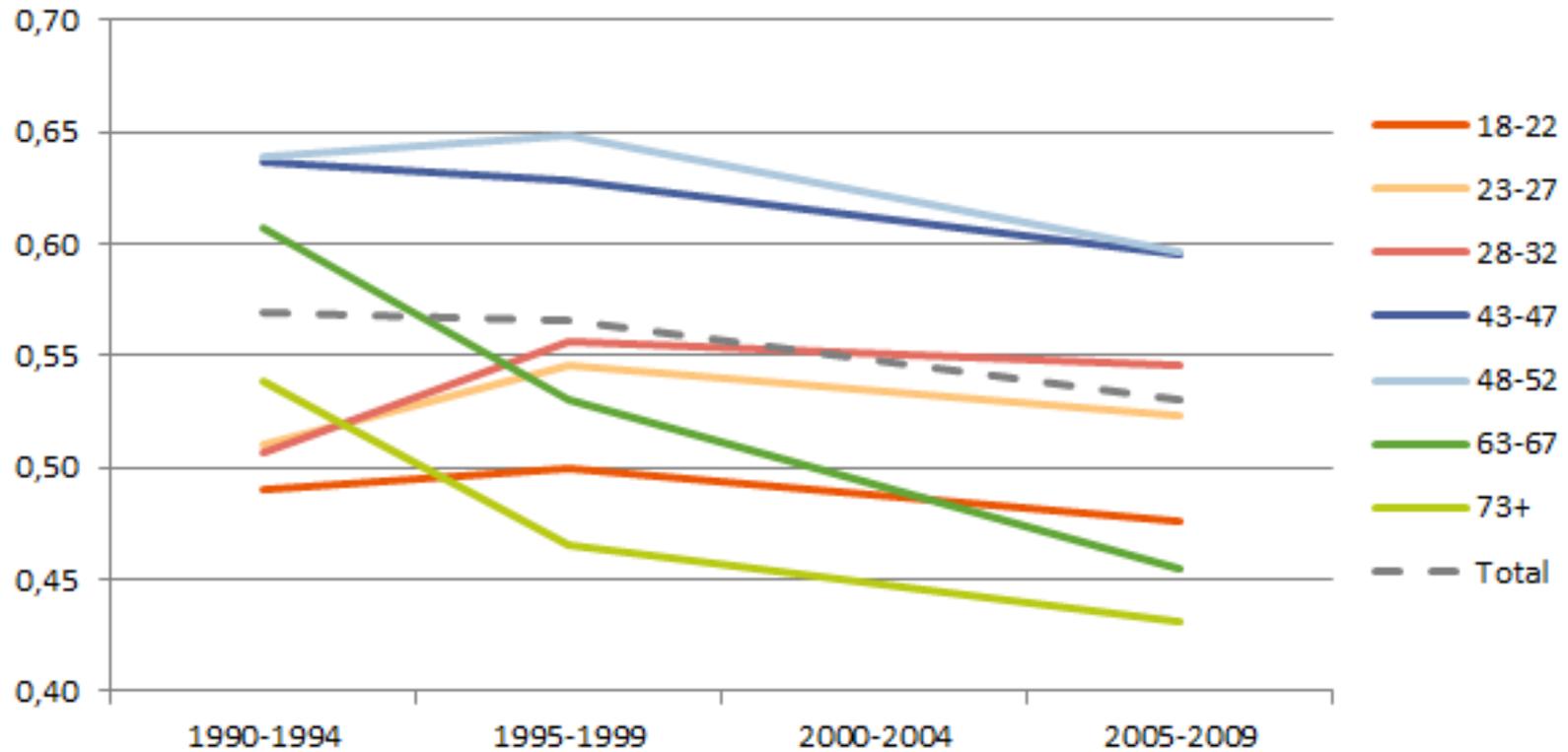
## Illustration – I

### The importance of work by age groups in the three periods



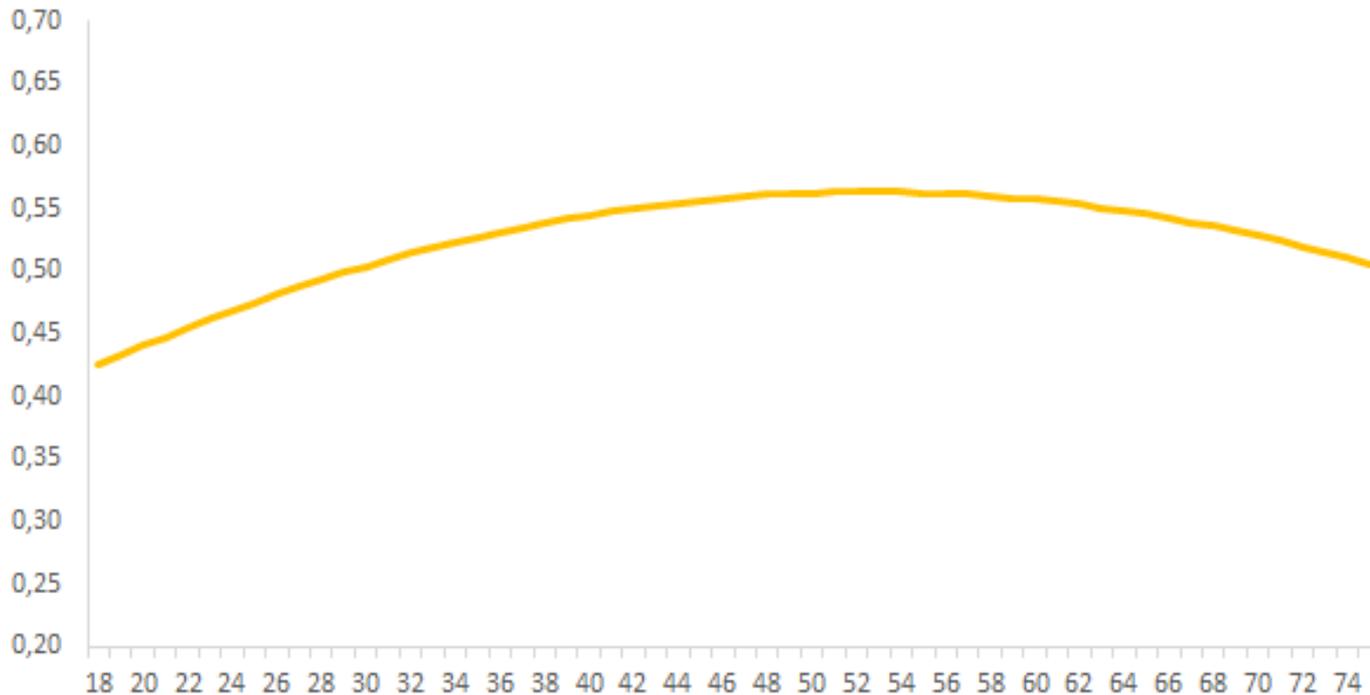
## Illustration – II

### The importance of work by period in six age groups



## The results of the HAPC model - I

### The effect of age on the importance of work

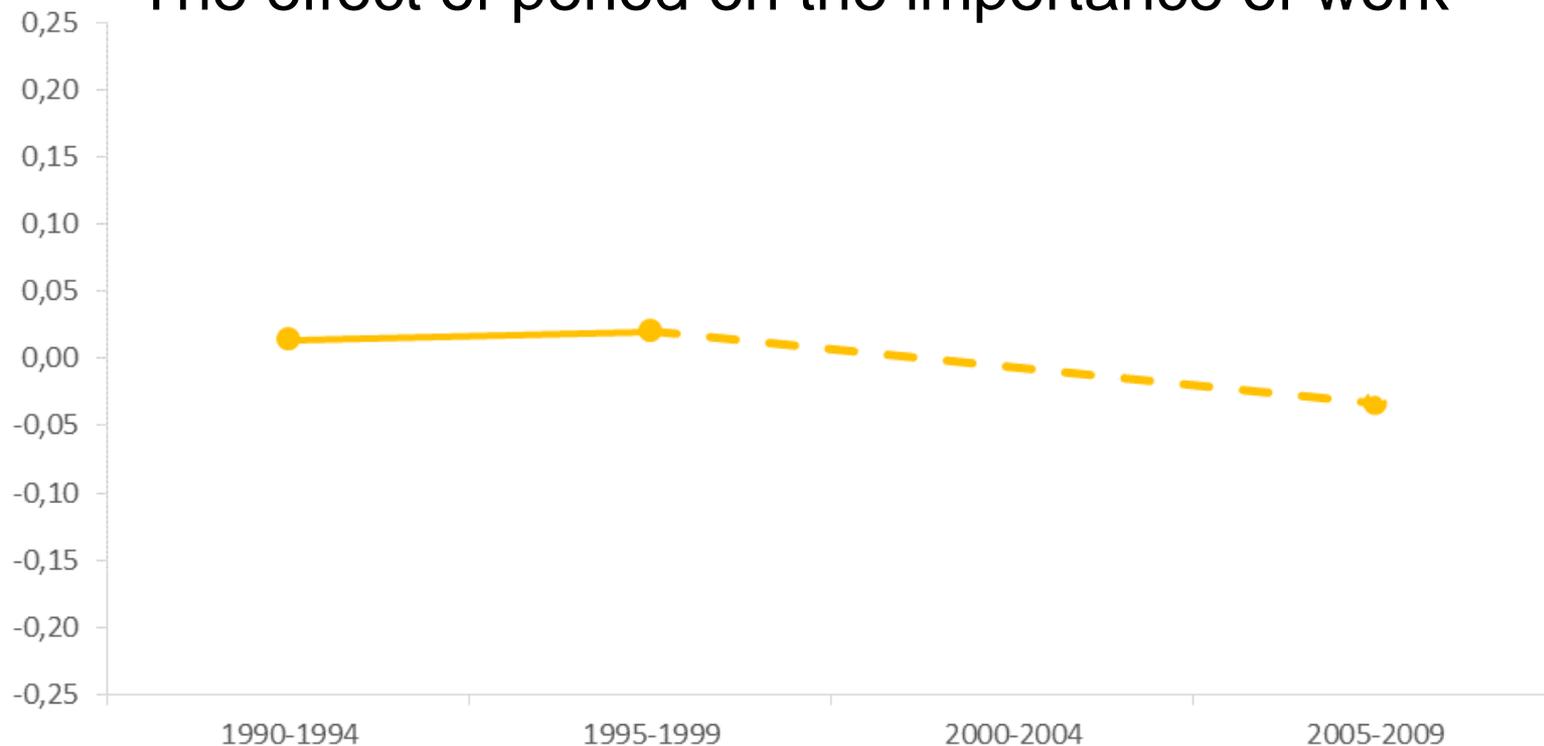


On the y-axis: the predicted value of the dependent variable (the importance of work)

- Age accounts for about 1% of the variance in the importance of work.
- The importance of work increases from age 18, reaching a peak around age 50, and decreases thereafter.

## The results of the HAPC model - II

### The effect of period on the importance of work

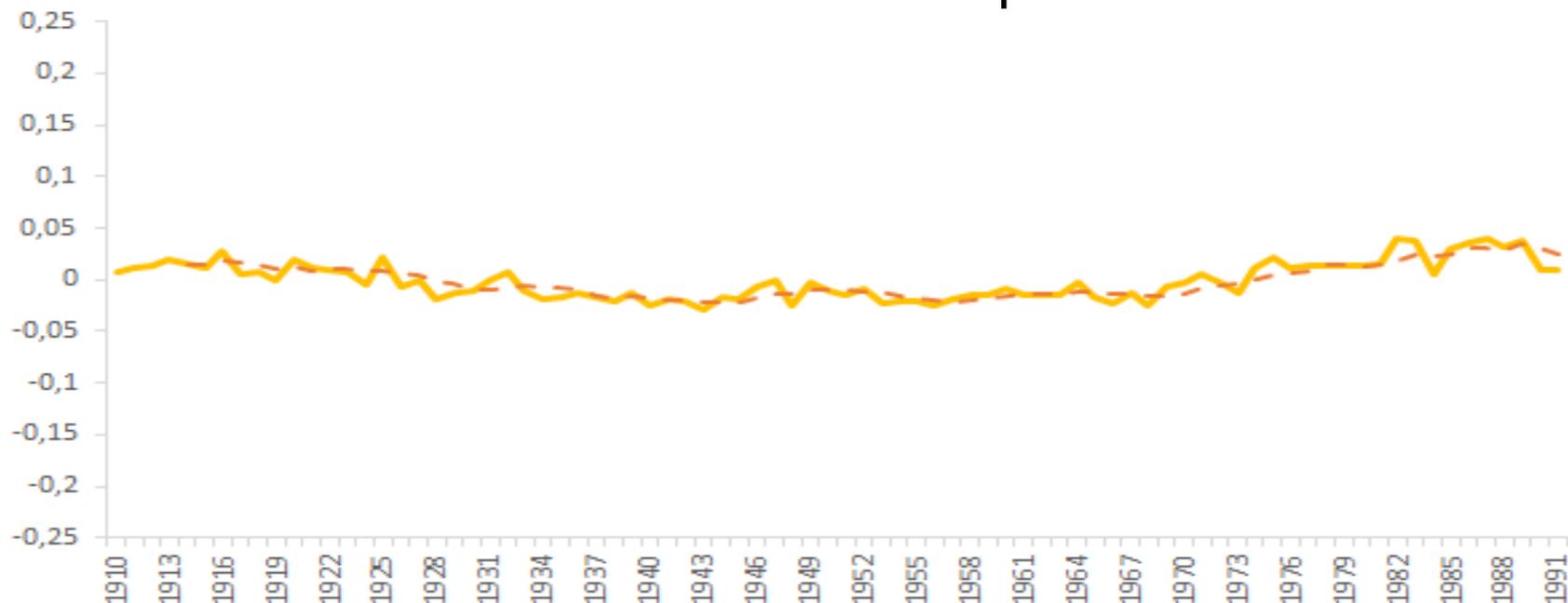


On the y-axis 0 represents the grand mean across all cohorts and countries holding age constant.  
The dashed line shows the result of intrapolation for the years with missing data.

- Period accounts for only 0.3% of the variance in the importance of work.
- The importance of work is significantly lower in 2005-2009 than in the 1990s.

## The results of the HAPC model - III

### The birth cohort effect on the importance of work



On the y-axis 0 represents the grand mean across all periods and countries holding age constant.  
The dashed line displays the 5-year moving average.

- Birth cohort accounts for only 0.2% of the variance in the importance of work.
- Work is somewhat less important for cohorts born in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## The results of the HAPC model – IV Other effects on the importance of work

- Importance of work is **higher** among
  - men
  - those married or divorced (compared to single individuals)
- Importance of work is **lower** among
  - the most educated
  - city dwellers
  - widowed individuals (compared to single individuals)

# Job aspects “behind” the importance of work

## Extrinsic

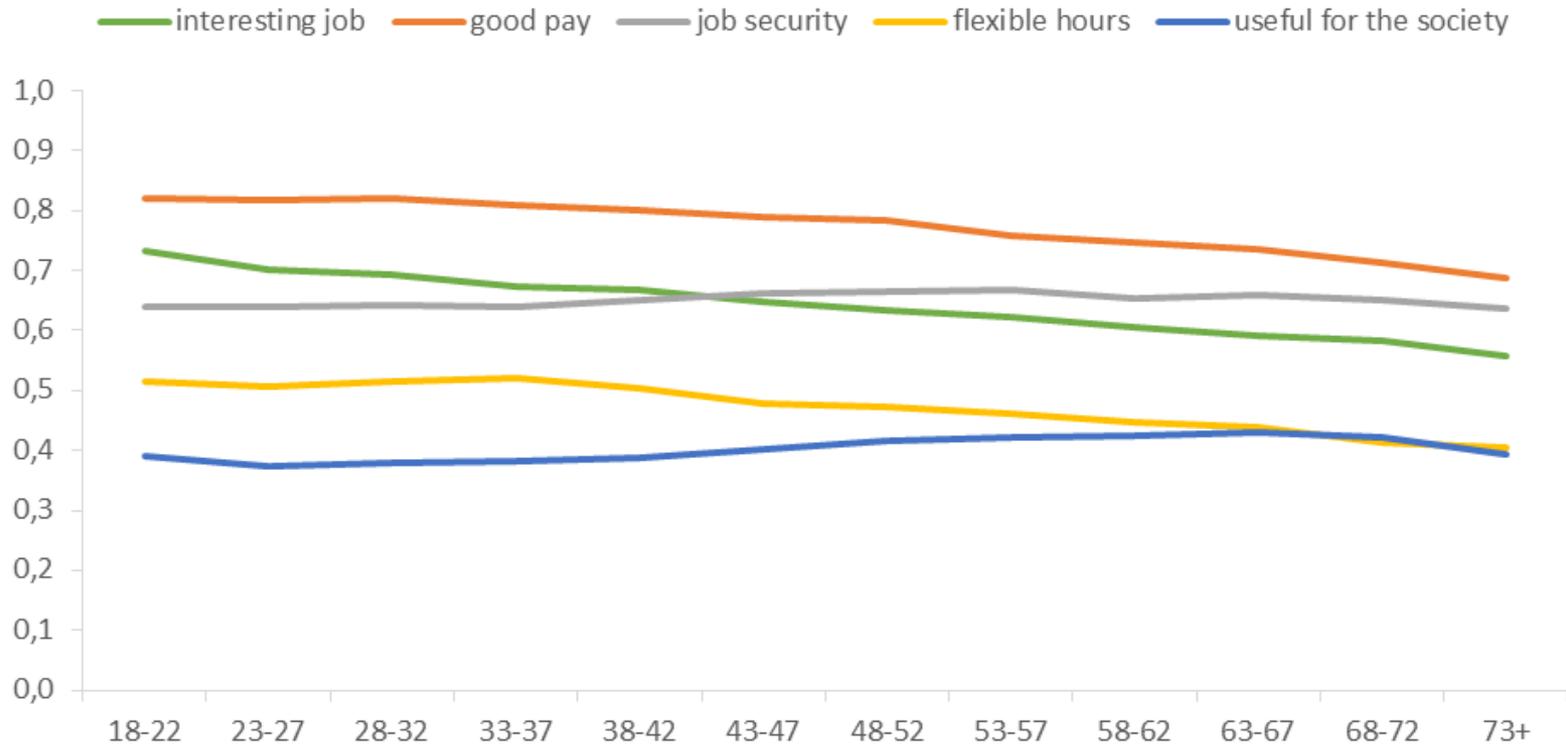
- Good pay
- Good job security
- Good (flexible) hours

## Intrinsic

- A job that is interesting
- A useful job for society

## Illustration - I

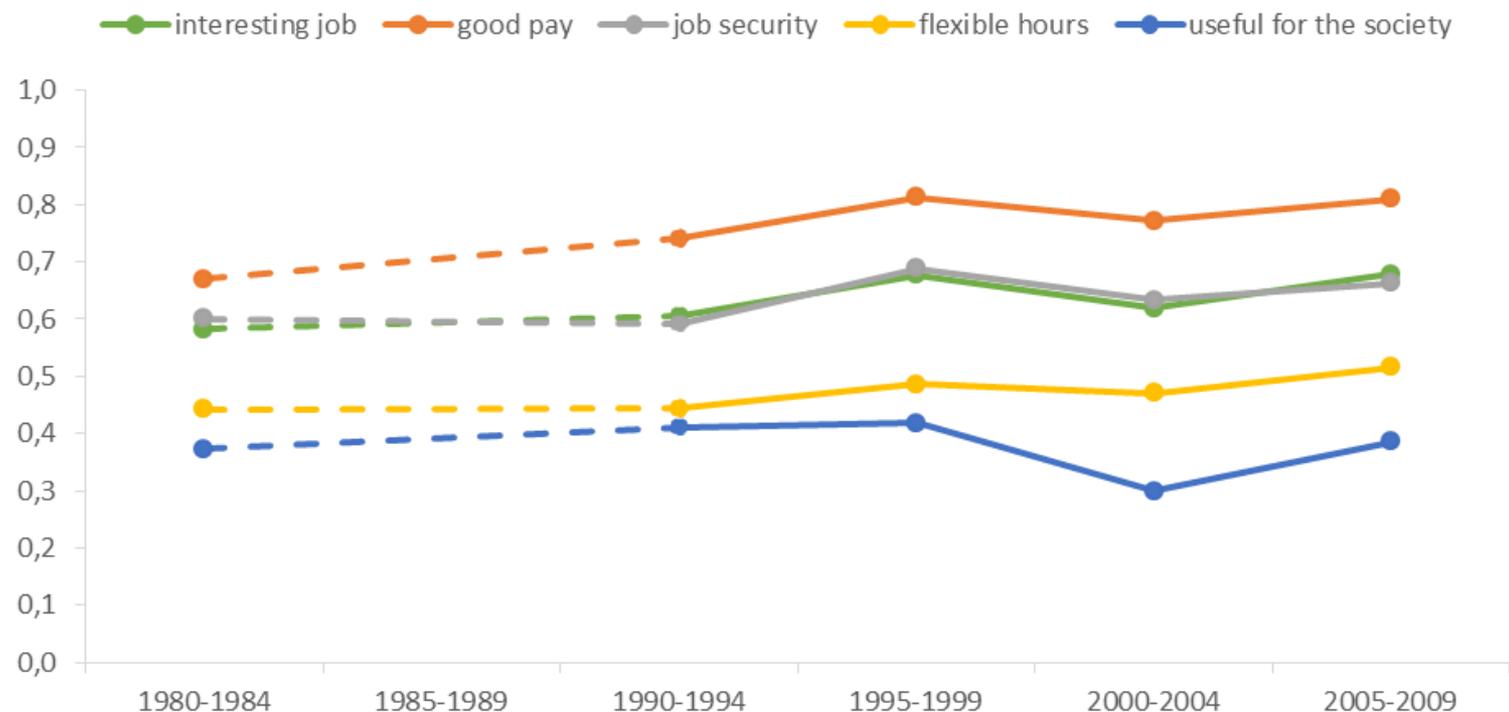
# The importance of five job aspects by age groups



**The importance of “good pay,” “interesting job” and “flexible hours” decrease with age. The importance of “usefulness” is the highest in the age group 63-67.**

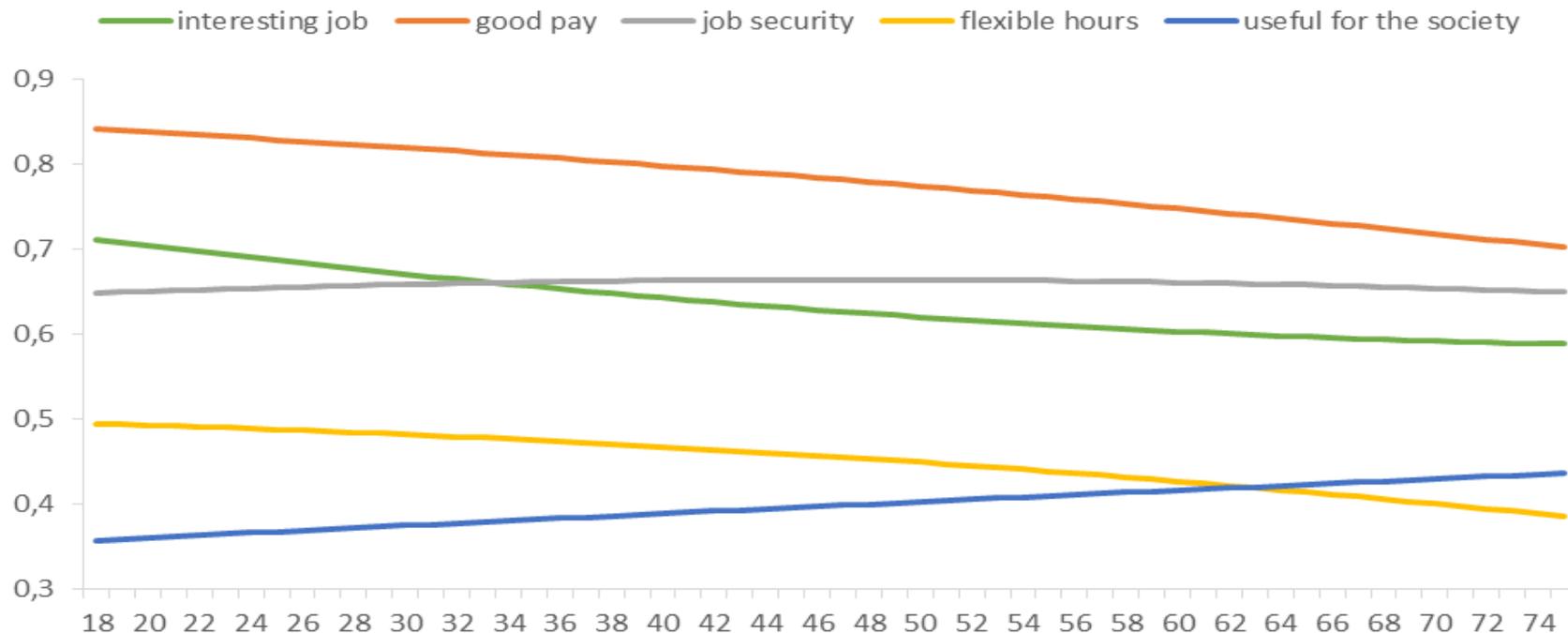
## Illustration – II

### The importance of five job aspects by period



**Similar and increasing trends but the decline of “usefulness” between 1995-1999 and 2000-2004 is especially sharp. Linear increase of „flexibility”.**

## The results of the HAPC model – I The age effect on the five job aspects

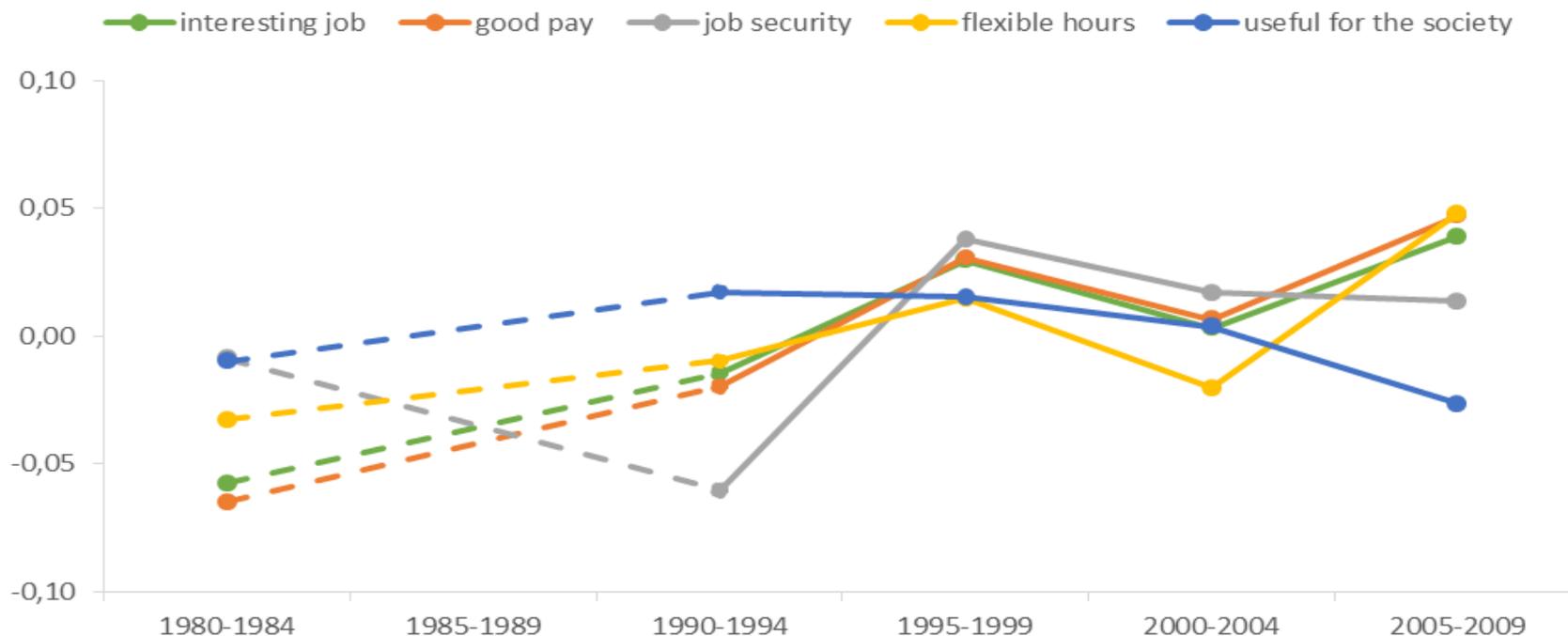


On the y-axis: the predicted value of the dependent variable.

**“Job security” is equally important for all age groups.  
The importance of “interesting job,” “good pay” and “flexible hours” decreases with age.  
The importance of “usefulness” increases with age.**

## The results of the HAPC model – II

### The period effect on the five job aspects



On the y-axis 0 represents the grand mean across all cohorts and countries holding age constant.  
The dashed line shows the result of intrapolation for the years with missing data.

**The importance of having “interesting job,” “good pay,” and “flexible hours” is increasing.**

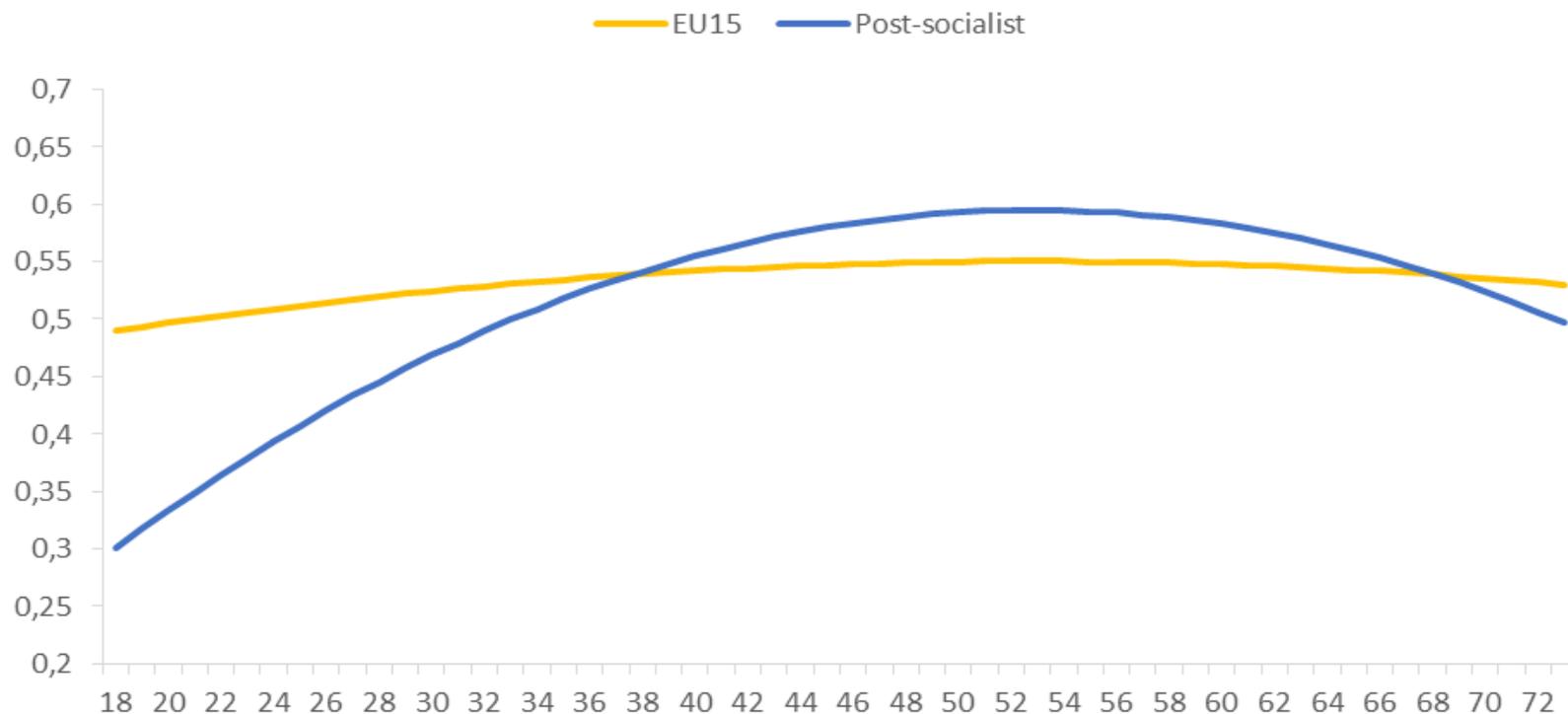
**The importance of “usefulness” is the highest in the 1990s.**

# The system specific importance of work

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## The results of the HAPC model – I

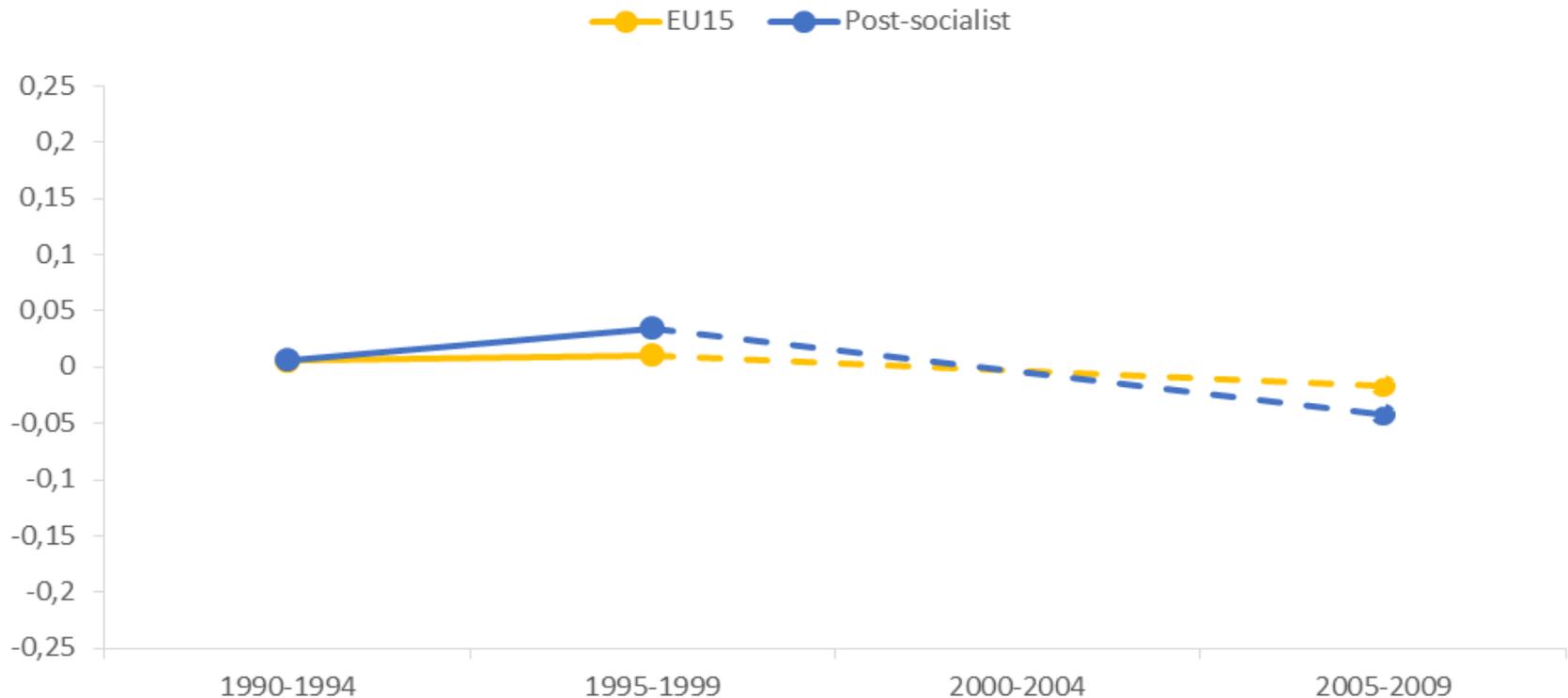
### The age effect on the importance of work in EU15 and post-socialist countries



On the y-axis: the predicted value of the dependent variable.

# The results of the HAPC model – I

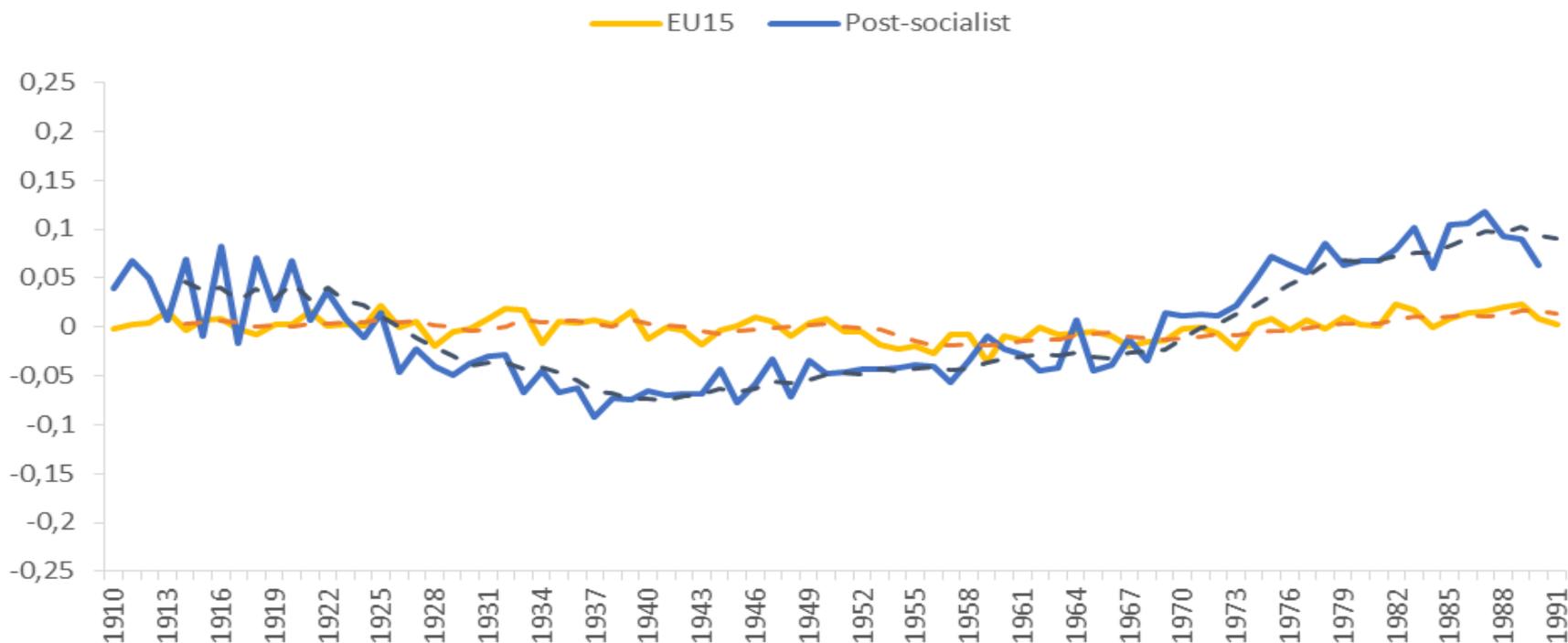
## The period effect on the importance of work in EU15 and post-socialist countries



On the y-axis 0 represents the grand mean across all cohorts and countries holding age constant.

## The results of the HAPC model – I

### The cohort effect on the importance of work in EU15 and post-socialist countries



On the y-axis 0 represents the grand mean across all periods and countries holding age constant. The dashed lines display 5-year moving averages.

# Other system specific effects

In the EU15 countries the absolute importance of work is lower, in the post-communist countries it is higher among those with high education.

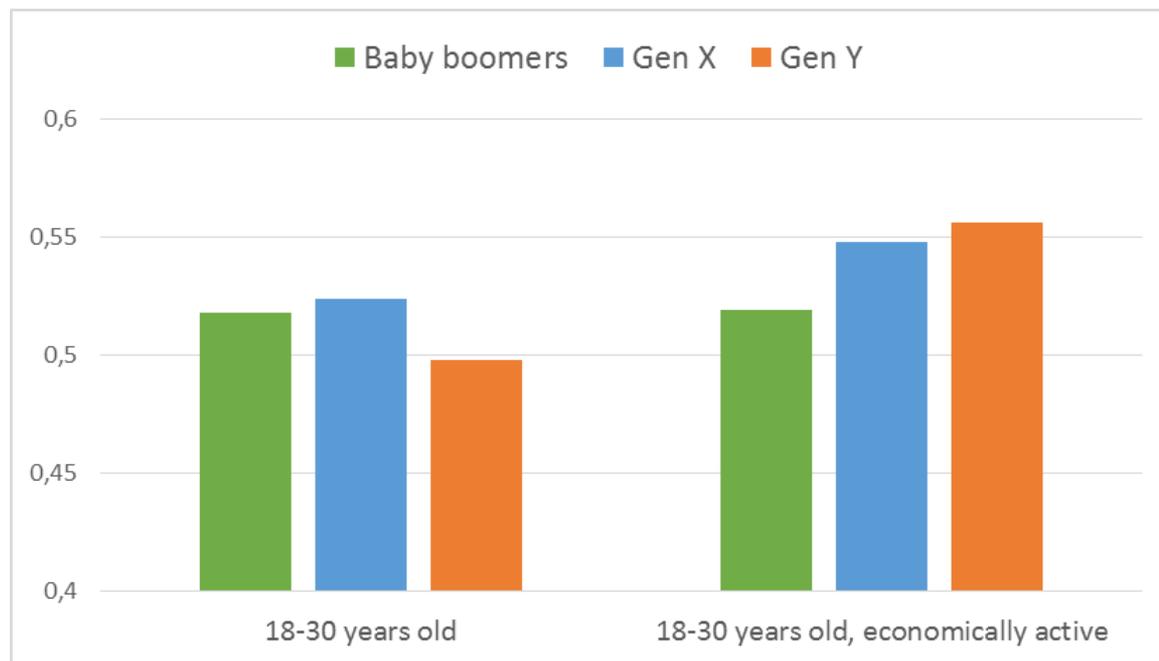
The effects of gender is stonger in the EU15 countries.

Importance of work is lower among widowed individuals (compared to single individuals) in EU15 countries, but there is no difference in post-socialist countries.

# Summary - the importance of work - I

There are no significant differences among generations in their attitudes towards the importance of work.

Instead of generational differences we should emphasize **generational similarities** (Kowske et al, 2010, and Constanza et al, 2012).



However, minor and controversial generational differences:

- For GenY work is less central,
- but the opposite is the case if they are economically active.

(bivariate relationship)

# Summary - the importance of work - II

There are, however, minor differences in the importance of work by age, period and birth cohort such as

The importance of work is higher in **the middle-age** groups than among the younger or older ones

- **being economically active – work in the core of the value system?**

The importance of work is higher in the cohorts born **in the middle of the 20th century** (around 1940-1955) [small effect size!]

- **those who entered the education system and the labor market in the 1960ies and 1970ies intrinsic motivation is more important than extrinsic motivation?**

The impact of period is linear and slightly decreasing [small effect size!]

- **slight shift from modernity towards post-modernity?**

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## Summary – the five job aspects „behind” the importance of work

The importance of having interesting job, good pay, and flexible working hours decrease, the importance of usefulness increases with age

-changing age-specific mix of the importance of job?

The importance of having interesting job, good pay, flexible working hours, and job security increase with period.

The importance of usefulness is the highest in the 1990ies.

- extrinsic elements are increasing mixed with an individualistic intrinsic aspect and only temporarily with a holistic intrinsic aspect?

# Summary - EU15 vs. post-socialist countries

The general trend of the importance of work is **similar**  
but

the quasi-bell curve of age is significantly sharper in post-socialist countries: **pragmatism, i.e. being economically active has stronger impact on the work attitudes**

the U curve of cohort effect is sharper in post-socialist countries than in the EU15 countries

**those inactive during socialism less indoctrinated by the communist work ethic (alternatively those (non)-entering the post-socialist labour market are more work oriented because of fear of unemployment, impoverishment, etc.)?**

# Thank you for your attention!

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# The trend of the importance of work

The means of the importance of work by age group and period (cohort uncontrolled)

| Age          | Period       |              |              | Total        |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|              | 1990-1994    | 1995-1999    | 2005-2009    |              |
| 18-22        | 0,490        | 0,500        | 0,476        | 0,489        |
| 23-27        | 0,510        | 0,545        | 0,523        | 0,529        |
| 28-32        | 0,507        | 0,557        | 0,545        | 0,541        |
| 33-37        | 0,536        | 0,579        | 0,565        | 0,564        |
| 38-42        | 0,585        | 0,611        | 0,579        | 0,593        |
| 43-47        | 0,637        | 0,628        | 0,595        | 0,617        |
| 48-52        | 0,639        | 0,649        | 0,596        | 0,625        |
| 53-57        | 0,636        | 0,599        | 0,564        | 0,592        |
| 58-62        | 0,616        | 0,556        | 0,526        | 0,557        |
| 63-67        | 0,607        | 0,531        | 0,454        | 0,518        |
| 68-72        | 0,580        | 0,501        | 0,448        | 0,497        |
| 73+          | 0,539        | 0,466        | 0,432        | 0,462        |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>0,569</b> | <b>0,566</b> | <b>0,531</b> | <b>0,553</b> |

# The trend of the importance of work

The means of the importance of work by birth cohort and age group (period uncontrolled)

| Cohort    | Age   |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       | Total |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|           | 18-22 | 23-27 | 28-32 | 33-37 | 38-42 | 43-47 | 48-52 | 53-57 | 58-62 | 63-67 | 68-72 | 73+   |       |
| -1916     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       | 0,495 | 0,495 |
| 1917-1921 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       | 0,549 | 0,477 | 0,507 |
| 1922-1926 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       | 0,604 | 0,538 | 0,449 | 0,513 |
| 1927-1931 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       | 0,591 | 0,531 | 0,516 | 0,422 | 0,512 |
| 1932-1936 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       | 0,622 | 0,591 | 0,547 | 0,421 | 0,467 | 0,540 |
| 1937-1941 |       |       |       |       |       |       | 0,634 | 0,610 | 0,565 | 0,408 | 0,460 |       | 0,543 |
| 1942-1946 |       |       |       |       |       | 0,632 | 0,627 | 0,609 | 0,478 | 0,478 |       |       | 0,569 |
| 1947-1951 |       |       |       |       | 0,579 | 0,629 | 0,658 | 0,522 | 0,549 |       |       |       | 0,597 |
| 1952-1956 |       |       |       | 0,531 | 0,598 | 0,632 | 0,562 | 0,584 |       |       |       |       | 0,589 |
| 1957-1961 |       |       | 0,499 | 0,567 | 0,616 | 0,588 | 0,612 |       |       |       |       |       | 0,584 |
| 1962-1966 |       | 0,518 | 0,543 | 0,580 | 0,570 | 0,599 |       |       |       |       |       |       | 0,567 |
| 1967-1971 | 0,490 | 0,503 | 0,559 | 0,555 | 0,584 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       | 0,546 |
| 1972-1976 | 0,487 | 0,555 | 0,552 | 0,569 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       | 0,549 |
| 1977-1981 | 0,504 | 0,518 | 0,542 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       | 0,521 |
| 1982-1986 | 0,495 | 0,526 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       | 0,516 |
| 1987-1991 | 0,467 |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       | 0,467 |
| Total     | 0,489 | 0,529 | 0,541 | 0,564 | 0,593 | 0,617 | 0,625 | 0,592 | 0,557 | 0,518 | 0,497 | 0,462 | 0,553 |

# The multilevel model of the importance of work

| Individual effects             | B            | SE      |
|--------------------------------|--------------|---------|
| Age                            | 0.0016***    | (0.000) |
| Age squared                    | -0.0001***   | (0.000) |
| Female                         | -0.0310***   | (0.002) |
| Education: more than secondary | -0.0113***   | (0.003) |
| Employment status: working     | 0.0965***    | (0.003) |
| Type of settlement: city       | -0.0217***   | (0.003) |
| Marital status: single         | ref.         |         |
| Married/living with partner    | 0.0144***    | (0.004) |
| Divorced/ separated            | 0.0399***    | (0.006) |
| Widowed                        | -0.0224***   | (0.006) |
| Intercept                      | 0.5583***    | (0.020) |
| Variance components            | Variance     | SE      |
| Individual                     | 0.2371***    | (0.000) |
| Period                         | 0.0007***    | (0.000) |
| Cohort                         | 0.0004***    | (0.000) |
| Country                        | 0.0061***    | (0.001) |
| N                              | 166487       |         |
| AIC                            | 233215.7     |         |
| Deviance(df)                   | 233187,7(14) |         |

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

# EU15 and post-socialist countries

|                                | EU15         |         | Post-socialist |         |
|--------------------------------|--------------|---------|----------------|---------|
|                                | B            | SE      | B              | SE      |
| Individual effects             |              |         |                |         |
| Age                            | 0.0007***    | (0.000) | 0.0034***      | (0.000) |
| Age squared                    | -0.0000***   | (0.000) | -0.0002***     | (0.000) |
| Female                         | -0.0388***   | (0.004) | -0.0160***     | (0.004) |
| Education: more than secondary | -0.0253***   | (0.005) | 0.0108**       | (0.005) |
| Employment status: working     | 0.0798***    | (0.004) | 0.1078***      | (0.004) |
| Type of settlement: city       | -0.0206***   | (0.004) | -0.0275***     | (0.004) |
| Marital status: single         | ref.         |         | ref.           |         |
| Married/living with partner    | 0.0138**     | (0.005) | 0.0259***      | (0.006) |
| Divorced/separated             | 0.0401***    | (0.008) | 0.0418***      | (0.009) |
| Widowed                        | -0.0301***   | (0.009) | -0.0054        | (0.009) |
| Intercept                      | 0.5479***    | (0.024) | 0.5832***      | (0.028) |
| Variance components            | Variance     | SE      | Variance       | SE      |
| Individual                     | 0.2380***    | (0.001) | 0.2345***      | (0.001) |
| Period                         | 0.0002***    | (0.000) | 0.0012***      | (0.001) |
| Cohort                         | 0.0003***    | (0.000) | 0.0036***      | (0.001) |
| Country                        | 0.0070***    | (0.001) | 0.0039***      | (0.001) |
| N                              | 71681        |         | 72262          |         |
| AIC                            | 100694.0     |         | 100558.0       |         |
| Deviance (df)                  | 100666,0(14) |         | 100530,0(14)   |         |

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

# The multilevel model of the importance of work

|                                | (0)                   |         | (1)                    |         | (2)                    |         | (3)                    |         | (4)                    |         | (5)                    |         |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|
| Individual effects             | B                     | SE      | B                      | SE      | B                      | SE      | B                      | SE      | B                      | SE      | B                      | SE      |
| Age                            |                       |         | 0.0002 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0003 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0011 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0017 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0016 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) |
| Age squared                    |                       |         | -0.0002 <sup>***</sup> | (0.000) | -0.0002 <sup>***</sup> | (0.000) | -0.0002 <sup>***</sup> | (0.000) | -0.0001 <sup>***</sup> | (0.000) | -0.0001 <sup>***</sup> | (0.000) |
| Female                         |                       |         |                        |         |                        |         |                        |         | -0.0334 <sup>***</sup> | (0.003) | -0.0310 <sup>***</sup> | (0.002) |
| Education: more than secondary |                       |         |                        |         |                        |         |                        |         | -0.0202 <sup>***</sup> | (0.003) | -0.0113 <sup>***</sup> | (0.003) |
| Employment status: working     |                       |         |                        |         |                        |         |                        |         | 0.0858 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.003) | 0.0965 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.003) |
| Type of settlement: city       |                       |         |                        |         |                        |         |                        |         | -0.0273 <sup>***</sup> | (0.003) | -0.0217 <sup>***</sup> | (0.003) |
| Marital status: single         |                       |         |                        |         |                        |         |                        |         | ref.                   |         | ref.                   |         |
| Married/living with partner    |                       |         |                        |         |                        |         |                        |         | 0.0101 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.004) | 0.0144 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.004) |
| Divorced/separated             |                       |         |                        |         |                        |         |                        |         | 0.0192 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.006) | 0.0399 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.006) |
| Widowed                        |                       |         |                        |         |                        |         |                        |         | -0.0296 <sup>***</sup> | (0.006) | -0.0224 <sup>***</sup> | (0.006) |
| Intercept                      | 0.5529 <sup>***</sup> | (0.001) | 0.5999 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.002) | 0.6019 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.011) | 0.6176 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.014) | 0.5813 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.015) | 0.5583 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.020) |
| Variance components            | Variance              | SE      | Variance               | SE      | Variance               | SE      | Variance               | SE      | Variance               | SE      | Variance               | SE      |
| Individual                     | 0.2472 <sup>***</sup> | (0.000) | 0.2448 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.2444 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.2441 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.2420 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.2371 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) |
| Period                         |                       |         |                        |         | 0.0004 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0006 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0005 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0007 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) |
| Cohort                         |                       |         |                        |         |                        |         | 0.0006 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0007 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0004 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) |
| Country                        |                       |         |                        |         |                        |         |                        |         |                        |         | 0.0061 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.001) |
| N                              | 166487                |         | 166487                 |         | 166487                 |         | 166487                 |         | 166487                 |         | 166487                 |         |
| AIC                            | 239799.8              |         | 238151.8               |         | 237906.5               |         | 237861.7               |         | 236414.9               |         | 233215.7               |         |
| Deviance(df)                   | 239795.8(2)           |         | 238143,8(4)            |         | 237896,5(5)            |         | 237849,7(6)            |         | 236388,9(13)           |         | 233187,7(14)           |         |

Standard errors in parentheses  
\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

## The multilevel models of the attitudes “behind” the importance of work

|                                | (1)<br>Interesting job |         | (2)<br>Good pay        |         | (3)<br>Job security    |         | (4)<br>Flexible hours  |         | (5)<br>Useful for the society |         |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|---------|
| Individual effects             | B                      | SE      | B                      | SE      | B                      | SE      | B                      | SE      | B                             | SE      |
| Age                            | -0.0022 <sup>***</sup> | (0.000) | -0.0024 <sup>***</sup> | (0.000) | -0.0000                | (0.000) | -0.0019 <sup>***</sup> | (0.000) | 0.0014 <sup>***</sup>         | (0.000) |
| Age squared                    | 0.0000 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | -0.0000 <sup>***</sup> | (0.000) | -0.0000 <sup>***</sup> | (0.000) | -0.0000 <sup>***</sup> | (0.000) | -0.0000                       | (0.000) |
| Female                         | -0.0033                | (0.002) | -0.0490 <sup>***</sup> | (0.002) | -0.0058 <sup>**</sup>  | (0.002) | 0.0563 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.002) | 0.0138 <sup>***</sup>         | (0.003) |
| Education: more than secondary | 0.0915 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.003) | -0.0397 <sup>***</sup> | (0.002) | -0.0900 <sup>***</sup> | (0.003) | -0.0562 <sup>***</sup> | (0.003) | 0.0714 <sup>***</sup>         | (0.003) |
| Employment status: working     | 0.0116 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.003) | 0.0061 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.002) | 0.0034                 | (0.003) | 0.0098 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.003) | 0.0065 <sup>**</sup>          | (0.003) |
| Type of settlement: city       | 0.0291 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.003) | 0.0017                 | (0.002) | -0.0277 <sup>***</sup> | (0.003) | 0.0064 <sup>**</sup>   | (0.003) | -0.0011                       | (0.003) |
| Marital status: single         | ref.                   |         | ref.                   |         | ref.                   |         | ref.                   |         | ref.                          |         |
| Married/living with partner    | -0.0123 <sup>***</sup> | (0.003) | 0.0208 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.003) | 0.0266 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.003) | 0.0150 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.004) | -0.0095 <sup>**</sup>         | (0.004) |
| Divorced/separated             | -0.0172 <sup>***</sup> | (0.005) | 0.0171 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.005) | 0.0129 <sup>**</sup>   | (0.005) | 0.0073                 | (0.006) | -0.0097                       | (0.006) |
| Widowed                        | -0.0308 <sup>***</sup> | (0.006) | 0.0365 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.005) | 0.0164 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.006) | 0.0081                 | (0.006) | -0.0298 <sup>***</sup>        | (0.006) |
| Intercept                      | 0.6288 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.021) | 0.7846 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.026) | 0.6638 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.024) | 0.4569 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.023) | 0.3965 <sup>***</sup>         | (0.023) |
| Variance components            | Variance               | SE      | Variance               | SE      | Variance               | SE      | Variance               | SE      | Variance                      | SE      |
| Individual                     | 0.2145 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.1568 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.2112 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.2377 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.2270 <sup>***</sup>         | (0.000) |
| Period                         | 0.0013 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0017 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.001) | 0.0013 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0009 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0004 <sup>***</sup>         | (0.000) |
| Cohort                         | 0.0000 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0000 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0000 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0001 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.000) | 0.0002 <sup>***</sup>         | (0.000) |
| Country                        | 0.0066 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.001) | 0.0122 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.001) | 0.0125 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.001) | 0.0116 <sup>***</sup>  | (0.001) | 0.0144 <sup>***</sup>         | (0.002) |
| <i>N</i>                       | 171388                 |         | 171272                 |         | 171129                 |         | 171042                 |         | 133575                        |         |
| <i>AIC</i>                     | 222774.5               |         | 168956.8               |         | 219798.0               |         | 239926.3               |         | 181300.8                      | All fi  |
| Deviance(df)                   | 222746,5(14)           |         | 168928,8(14)           |         | 219770,0(14)           |         | 239898,3(14)           |         | 181272,8(14)                  |         |

Standard errors in parentheses  
<sup>\*</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , <sup>\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.05$ , <sup>\*\*\*</sup>  $p < 0.01$

- Control variables
  - Gender
  - Education
    - Binary variable, 1=more than secondary education
  - Marital status
    - Married/living with partner, divorced/separated, widowed or never married
  - Labor force status
    - Binary variable, 1= respondent has a job, i.e. her/his employment status is “working”
  - Type of settlement
    - Binary variable, 1= respondent lives in a city (with population over 100.000 people)