

DISCUSSION PAPER SERIES

IZA DP No. 16960

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Work Orientations on Effort and Turnover**

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## ABSTRACT

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# Loud or Quiet Quitting? The Influence of Work Orientations on Effort and Turnover\*

This study examines work orientations as a novel determinant influencing job search behaviors, quit intentions, and workplace effort, thereby integrating this concept into the field of labor economics. Work orientations, the intrinsic beliefs regarding the role of work in one's life, relate to viewing work as a paycheck, a career step, or a calling. Drawing on original, nationally representative Dutch data on work orientations, this paper reveals that those who view their work as a calling rather than a job are more committed to their roles, have lower quit intentions and are less likely to be job searching, and do not endorse 'quiet quitting'—the act of fulfilling only the minimum requirements to maintain employment. Conversely, individuals with career-centered work perspectives are more likely to consider leaving their jobs, engage actively in job searches, and show diminished work effort compared to those with a job orientation. However, this group is still unlikely to approve of quiet quitting in comparison to those who view work primarily as an income source. A key finding is that work orientations significantly predict quit intentions, job search behaviors, and effort levels—surpassing the predictive power of job satisfaction and perceived work meaningfulness. Specifically, work orientations account for about 40 % of the variation in quit intentions and job search behaviors. These insights suggest that work orientations could be a crucial, yet overlooked, factor in understanding employee behavior, challenging the conventional perspective of workers as simply income-driven and countering the notion of work as an inherent disutility.

**JEL Classification:** J24, J28, J81, M59

**Keywords:** work orientations, effort, quit intentions, job search

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## 1. Introduction

The COVID shock and the booming post-pandemic labor markets prompted a widespread re-evaluation of career paths and the broader role of work in life (Pearce, 2022). This transformation was marked by significant job resignations, career switches, and a shift in work engagement. This paper investigates work orientations — deeply held beliefs about work's role — and how they may shape behaviors such as job turnover and work effort. This approach extends beyond the traditional economic analysis of workforce behavior, which often focuses on wages and job satisfaction, to consider a more nuanced view of personal work motivations.

Work orientations, as defined in the psychology literature, are the differences in how individuals view and understand the role of work in their lives (Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, & Schwartz, 1997).<sup>1</sup> Some people view work as a job that brings a paycheck, and others see it as a career that can help them achieve things in life, and still others — as a calling or a life purpose (Rosso et al., 2010; Wrzesniewski, 1999; Wrzesniewski et al., 1997). *Job-oriented* individuals focus on leisure aspects of their lives and often cannot wait to stop working, which is consistent with the traditional view of workers in economics. *Career-oriented* people view work as a means to get social recognition and status. Finally, the *calling-oriented* perceive their work as socially relevant because it gives them a life purpose. While these three orientations are not mutually exclusive, individuals tend to associate with one of them (Wrzesniewski, 1999). Work orientations therefore underpin people's motivation for working in the first place and how they carry out their work activities according to the meaning they attach to working (Peterson, Park, Hall, & Seligman, 2009; Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001).

As COVID restrictions were being lifted across the US in 2021, workers started to voluntarily quit their jobs at rates not seen in the past two decades, a trend that has been dubbed “The Great Resignation” (Gittleman, 2022).<sup>2</sup> As many as 48 million people quit their jobs in the US in 2021. In Europe, Japan, Australia, and Singapore, the rates have been more modest, but still sizeable (Horowitz, 2022). In the Netherlands, the country of interest for this paper, job switching was 20% in 2022, which was two times higher than the 2013 level (UWV, 2023).<sup>3</sup>

While rigorous scientific research on the underlying cause of job quits in 2021 is rare, a large literature in labor economics studies the motivations between actual and intended job quits (Böckerman & Ilmakunnas, 2009; Clark, 2001; D'Ambrosio, Clark, & Barazzetta, 2018; Hall & Lazear, 1984; Lazear & Spletzer, 2012; Lee, Gerhart, Weller, & Trevor, 2008). This literature finds that workers stay put in economic downturns and switch jobs in economic booms,

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<sup>1</sup> A similar but distinct concept of “work values” also exists in economics (Clark, 1997, 2010) and sociology (Kalleberg, 1977). Work values are about the end states or outcomes that people would like to achieve through work (e.g., high income, job security, autonomy) (Rosso, Dekas, & Wrzesniewski, 2010). Work orientations are the long-term attitudes towards work, i.e., people's understanding about the role of work in their lives.

<sup>2</sup> Historical data extrapolation for the manufacturing sector suggests that quit rates in the 1960s and 1970s may have been higher than those in 2021 (Gittleman, 2022).

<sup>3</sup> The quit rates in the US have since stabilized and returned to the pre-pandemic levels in a trend that some have dubbed “The Big Stay” (BLS, 2023, 2024; KPMG, 2023). However, surveys on job resignation intentions in Europe indicate that the consideration to quit was a significant concern for employees in 2022 (Bérubé, Maor, Mugayar-Baldocchi, & Reich, 2022).

motivated by push and pull factors, such as wages, working conditions, and job satisfaction. This paper contributes to the literature by studying a new factor underpinning quit intentions and job search behaviors, which is related to people's long-term motivations for working.

A related labor market trend, "Quiet Quitting" started with the TikTok video of Gen-X career coach Bryan Creely in March 2022 (Masterson, 2022). By summer 2022, the term exploded in popularity after the viral 17-second quiet quitting TikTok video of Zaid Khan, a young software engineer in New York. Quiet quitters are not actually leaving their work positions but only do the minimum required at work, and do not try to go above and beyond their immediate job duties and take on additional tasks. They espouse the philosophy that work should not be the main life focus and refuse to perform activities beyond their immediate job description (Zenger & Folkman, 2022). The cited motivations behind this workplace behavior included overwork and burnout, lack of recognition, and work-life imbalance (Hamouche, Koritos, & Papastathopoulos, 2023; Masterson, 2022), but no systematic scientific research exists on the topic. Some experts have linked quiet quitting behavior with poor management rather than with workers' personal drive (Zenger & Folkman, 2022).

There is also a lack of agreement regarding the definition of quiet quitting itself, with some experts claiming that quiet quitting is about setting *boundaries* at work to achieve work-life balance and not getting caught up in the "hustle culture," i.e., "boundary balancing" (Pearce, 2022) or "calibrated contributing" (Detert, 2023). The other interpretation of quiet quitting is that it is about being disengaged and putting in enough effort just so as not to get fired, and collecting the paycheck and taking advantage of talent shortages or online work modes, i.e., "revenge calibrating" (Pearce, 2022) or "work to rule" (Lord, 2022).<sup>4</sup>

The extent to which quiet quitting prevails in the labor market is difficult to assess. The Gallup organization has information on workplace disengagement, which relates to one aspect of the definition of quiet quitting (Hamouche et al., 2023; Johnson, 2023). At the same time, it is unclear whether disengagement is a consequence, cause, or symptom of quiet quitting behavior. The Gallup data show that 59% of global employees are disengaged (i.e., quiet quitting), 18% are actively disengaged (i.e., loud quitting), and only 23% are actively engaged (Gallup, 2023).<sup>5</sup> Some scholars have argued that the underlying behaviors and attitudes behind quiet quitting, such as employee disengagement and doing the bare minimum, have been discussed in organizational behavior and human resource management literature for a long time (Hamouche et al., 2023).

Despite the body of research studying the factors associated with job quit intentions and worker (dis-)engagement in the labor market, no studies to date have systematically examined to what extent the long-term person-specific motivations for working explain

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<sup>4</sup> A 2022 YouGov survey in the United States asked respondents whether they knew about quiet quitting – 56% had not heard about it at all, and another 35% knew "a little" about it. Fully 37% of respondents stated that quiet quitting is about doing the least amount of work possible so as not to get fired, 25% thought it was to resign from a position without telling anyone, 19% thought it referred to declining additional work without compensation, 6% thought that it was about no longer being silent in workplace meetings, and 12% either gave another answer or said they were unsure (YouGov, 2022).

<sup>5</sup> In Europe, 72% of workers are disengaged. For the Netherlands, the Gallup data show only the percentage of actively engaged workers, which is 14%, which is below the world average but slightly above Europe's average of 13%.

workplace choices, attitudes, and actions. Is it that people have different views about the role and importance of work in their lives that also determine their behavior in the labor market? This paper focuses on these differences in people's main motivation for working in the post-COVID-19 labor market in the Netherlands.

Psychologists have operationalized and validated work orientations (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997). However, many knowledge remain, including questions about the long-term stability and formation of work orientations.<sup>6</sup> Data collection efforts have mostly focused on the US and have used small-N surveys. Finally, there is a lack of systematic understanding of the explanatory power of work orientations and how much of our labor market choices they determine.

While the three work orientations are not mutually exclusive, individuals tend to strongly favor one of them (Dekas & Baker, 2014; Wrzesniewski, 1999). Yet, recent work in psychology has called for moving away from grouping individuals into a single exclusive work orientation category and allowing for overlapping definitions of work orientations (Schabram, Nielsen, & Thompson, 2023).

This paper addresses the association between work orientations and workplace decisions and actions concerning job quit intentions and effort. It also examines the variations in how work orientations influence labor market behaviors across different socio-demographic factors. Using newly-collected survey data as part of the Dutch LISS panel study, this paper finds that work orientations are key predictors of quit intentions and on-the-job-search, as well as self-reported effort, and attitudes towards work. Work orientations are often more important determinants of the outcomes I study than socio-demographic factors, as well as working conditions, job satisfaction, and work meaningfulness. The strong association between work orientations and workplace behaviors is furthermore independent of personality traits. These findings suggest that work orientations can potentially help labor economists, well-being scholars, and organizational scientists to open the black box in our understanding of the world of work.

Understanding the role of work orientations for job quits and effort is important for several reasons. Turnover is contagious and coworkers' job search behavior triggers job quitting in others (Felps et al., 2009). Turnover is also costly for firms – the departure of one worker costs 63 days in terms of wages, and a 10% increase in turnover is as costly as a 0.6% *permanent* increase in wages (Kuhn & Yu, 2021).<sup>7</sup> Likewise, disengagement – which fits with one aspect of the definition of quiet quitting – costs the world economy \$8.8 trillion per year, which constitutes 9% of global GDP (Gallup, 2023).

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<sup>6</sup> Dekas and Baker (2014) provide suggestive evidence for the intergenerational transmission of work orientations values. The study examines the correlation between the work orientations of parents and their children, utilizing a cohort of 109 American students. This research offers initial insights and shows that personality traits correlate with work orientations yet are statistically distinct from them. Nonetheless, its conclusions are restricted by the sample's lack of representativeness and potential recall bias arising from students' reports of their parents' historical work orientations.

<sup>7</sup> Another way to quantify the costs of turnover to firms is in terms of Return on Assets (ROA). One standard deviation increase in turnover leads to 1.59 decrease in ROA in the next quarter (Li, Lourie, Nekrasov, & Shevlin, 2022).

This paper makes several contributions to the labor economics literature. First, to my knowledge, it is the first to investigate how work orientations influence labor market behaviors and opinions using nationally representative data. Second, the paper identifies a new determinant of job search and effort, which previous studies in labor economics have overlooked. In doing so, the results in this paper help contribute to a more complex and nuanced understanding of workers and the consequences of their innate motivations for working. As such, this study builds on and contributes to a burgeoning literature in economics that tries to understand the meaning of work for ordinary people beyond traditional economics models that are centered on wages and the disutility of working (Cassar & Meier, 2018; del Rio-Chanona et al., 2023; Nikolova & Cnossen, 2020).

## 2. Related literature

A substantial body of literature in economics studies the factors underpinning actual and intended job quits, as well as effort. Specifically, quit rates are typically pro-cyclical, with peaks in economically advantageous times and ebbs during recessions (Akerlof, Rose, Yellen, Ball, & Hall, 1988; Hall & Lazear, 1984; Lazear & Spletzer, 2012).<sup>8</sup> In line with economic theory, workers typically quit their jobs to get better wages elsewhere (Faberman & Justiniano, 2015; Tanaka, Warren, & Wiczer, 2023).

Yet, wages and favorable economic conditions are not the only reasons why individuals switch their jobs (Sullivan & To, 2014). Job dis-amenities, such as occupational hazards, a lack of promotion possibilities, or night shifts (Böckerman & Ilmakunnas, 2009; Cottini, Kato, & Westergaard-Nielsen, 2011), as well as fairness concerns (D'Ambrosio et al., 2018; Dube, Giuliano, & Leonard, 2019), are non-wage factors explaining turnover and quits. Satisfaction with pay, job (in)security, and the nature of the work itself are further job characteristics that matter the most for job quits (Clark, 2001). In addition, a large and long-standing body of literature has used job satisfaction as a proxy for overall working conditions to predict (intended) job quits (Böckerman & Ilmakunnas, 2009; Clark, 2001; Clark, Georgellis, & Sanfey, 2012; Cornelißen, 2009; Freeman, 1978; Lévy-Garboua, Montmarquette, & Simonnet, 2007).<sup>9</sup> These studies find that job satisfaction is a good predictor of job tenure, quit intentions, job search, and actual quitting.

Research that specifically studies the COVID-19 and post-pandemic trends in job quits and quiet quitting is rare. In one exception, del Rio-Chanona et al. (2023) used data from the US blogging platform Reddit between 2018-2021. Mental health across the globe worsened as a result of the pandemic, especially in the early months (Aknin et al., 2022; Xiong et al., 2020). These scarring mental health concerns explain the exceptionally high job quit rates in the US in 2021, above and beyond job switching and job vacancies that typically increase following a

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<sup>8</sup> Yet, as del Rio-Chanona et al. (2023) suggest, pro-cyclicality is unlikely to explain the full scope of job separations during the period of the Great Resignation in the United States as the favorable economic conditions following the pandemic are only the pull factors. The push factors related to the psychological burdens of working and dealing with the pandemic is a shock that has triggered people to think about quitting, in a wave of “pandemic epiphanies.”

<sup>9</sup> Workers typically improve their job satisfaction after job switches (Nikolova, 2019) (Akerlof et al., 1988) though the improvements may be temporary (Chadi & Hetschko, 2018).

recession. In this sense, del Rio-Chanona et al. (2023), argue that the Great Resignation is unlike other episodes we have witnessed in recent history and the mental distress it caused underpinned job quits.

Finally, a related literature investigates the factors influencing job *effort*.<sup>10</sup> In standard economic models, exerting effort is a *disutility* for which people are compensated through wages that finance their consumption and leisure. According to this perspective, “work” is synonymous with “paycheck” and holds no further significance for people’s well-being (Cassar & Meier, 2018; Spencer, 2014). Therefore, the only way to motivate workers to exert more effort is to offer financial incentives.

According to Akerlof and Yellen’s “fair wage-effort hypothesis,” workers have a particular reference wage in the back of their minds, which is informed by prior wages, outside options, and the wages of relevant peers. According to this theory, workers match their effort to the wages they deem fair. Consequently, once employees receive what they consider a fair wage, further increases in pay do not typically lead to greater effort, as their perceived equity has already been satisfied (Akerlof & Yellen, 1990).

Indeed, empirical evidence demonstrates that performance-based pay and financial incentives increase effort (Charness, Cooper, & Redding, 2020). Furthermore, income differentials relative to the peer group – a proxy for unfairness – are a strong predictor of effort (Clark, Masclot, & Villeval, 2010). At the same time, studies in psychology and economics find that high pay can crowd out intrinsic motivation (Charness et al., 2020; Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999). In addition, excessive managerial control and monitoring of workers, which signal distrust, reduce effort (Falk & Kosfeld, 2006; Frey, 1993).

Furthermore, recent studies in economics relying on self-reported and experimental data have demonstrated that non-monetary work aspects matter for effort and productivity (Camerer & Malmendier, 2007; Cassar & Meier, 2018; Charness et al., 2020; Nikolova & Cnossen, 2020). For example, informing subjects about their work’s importance increases labor supply and productivity (Ariely, Kamenica, & Prelec, 2008; Chadi, Jeworrek, & Mertins, 2016; Chandler & Kapelner, 2013; Grant, 2008; Kosfeld, Neckermann, & Yang, 2017).

### **3. Hypotheses Development**

A priori, the relationships work orientations and labor market outcomes and attitudes are a priori unclear. For example, individuals with a job orientation may be both more likely to quit their jobs and engage in quiet quitting. Those with career and calling orientations may also engage in quiet quitting or want to leave their jobs if their aspirations for career advancement or meaningful work are not met. In this section, I rely on the predictions from neo-classical economics, identity economics, and organizational citizenship behavior theory

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<sup>10</sup> The organizational behavior and management literatures study the factors impacting employee engagement - as a positive and rewarding mental state related to work, characterized by energy, enthusiasm, and deep focus, which is linked to various measures of performance (Motyka, 2018). This state is enduring and broad, not limited to specific objects, situations, individuals, or actions, reflecting an overall emotional and cognitive involvement in work (Schaufeli, Salanova, González-Romá, & Bakker, 2002). Engaged employees typically exert more effort, which impacts productivity.

to derive testable hypotheses about how work orientations influence job search, quit intentions, and effort.

### **3.1. Neoclassical Economics**

Traditional economics models assume that work is an unpleasant effort, a disutility. This model posits that individuals derive utility (U) from income (Y) which is a function of wages (w) and effort (e), but experience disutility (C) from the effort of working itself. The tenets of this model imply that workers only value work for the paycheck it brings (finances consumption and leisure) and therefore have a “job orientation.”

In line with this framework, individuals with a job orientation, who primarily value work for the paycheck it provides, would be more likely to quit their current job for a higher wage elsewhere since their main motivation is financial. Such individuals might be disengaged at work and do the bare minimum required—because any extra effort is not directly compensated and is therefore irrational.

The actions of those with a career orientation may also be driven by monetary incentives but with a stronger emphasis on career advancement opportunities. They may quit a job or engage in quiet quitting if they perceive a lack of upward mobility or recognition.

Because it ignores non-monetary motivations for working, the traditional labor-leisure model has little to say in terms of how those with a calling orientation may behave in the workplace. While the neoclassical model suggests financial compensation is the sole motivator, it may be too narrow to capture the nuances of how work orientations influence workplace behavior.

### **3.2. Identity Economics**

Akerlof and Kranton’s seminal identity utility theory posits that individuals gain satisfaction or utility from conforming to the norms and behaviors of a relevant social group to which they think they belong (Akerlof & Kranton, 2000). Identity theory in the workplace differentiates between insiders, who identify with a group and conform to its norms, and outsiders, who do not (Akerlof & Kranton, 2005).

Insiders derive satisfaction and identity utility from their work, leading to higher effort without the need for extra compensation. Insiders go the extra mile, are committed to the goals of the firm, and experience a loss of identity if they exhibit low effort. The parallel with the work orientations concept is that insiders strongly exhibit the behaviors of workers with a calling orientation.

Outsiders see their work merely as a means to an end (a paycheck), and any additional effort may detract from their sense of self, requiring additional compensation to incentivize extra effort.

Insider behavior from identity economics is similar to organizational citizenship behavior theory (OCB) (Organ, 1988, 2014). OCB encompasses voluntary actions by employees that contribute positively to the organization but are not outlined in their formal job duties. These

actions are at the individual's discretion, remain unrecognized by official reward systems. Such behaviors can range from watering the plants to helping colleagues and doing extra work to promote the organization's mission.

People with a strong workplace identity (i.e., "insiders") may display more OCB, as these behaviors align with their values and the expectations of their reference group. Conversely, those who feel like 'outsiders' may exhibit less OCB, as their actions are more transactionally motivated and less influenced by group identity. Thus, work orientations influenced by identity can predict the level of OCB, with identity-aligned behaviors fostering a conducive environment for OCB.

Given identity utility theory, individuals with a calling orientation are expected to exert more effort at work, be engaged, and are less likely to have quit intentions. Their high intrinsic motivation and satisfaction derived from conforming to the norms of a relevant group, such as a professional community or the firm's culture, foster a strong commitment to the goals of the organization. They perceive their work as a fundamental part of their identity, and therefore, they go the extra mile without the need for additional financial compensation.

Conversely, individuals with a job orientation are expected to exert less effort and are more likely to engage in job search behaviors. For these individuals, work is primarily a means to a paycheck. They do not derive identity utility from their jobs and may experience a loss of identity utility if they exert high effort. Therefore, they need extra compensation to incentivize hard work and to compensate for the loss of identity utility.

Identity theory can extend its predictions to individuals with a career orientation by suggesting that their professional identity is strongly linked to career advancement and success. If career-oriented individuals see alignment between their job roles and their career goals, they are likely to exhibit high levels of effort and commitment, akin to insiders, because these behaviors are congruent with their identity and the norms of the aspirational groups they wish to join or maintain status in. They derive identity utility from achievements that signify progress, such as promotions or recognition of their expertise.

Conversely, if career-oriented individuals perceive that their roles do not facilitate their career progression, they may behave similarly to outsiders within the identity theory framework. Without the reinforcement of their career-driven identity, they may reduce their effort or consider leaving their positions to seek opportunities that better align with their career aspirations. Therefore, identity theory would predict that the effort and engagement of career-oriented individuals are conditional upon how well their jobs serve their career development goals.

Specifically, I will test the following hypotheses:

**H1:** Individuals with a **job orientation** are more likely to have higher job quit intentions and engage actively in job search, as their main connection to work is financial. Their effort levels are likely to be minimal, aligning with their transactional view of work.

**H2:** Those with a **career orientation** may display lower job quit intentions and job search behavior if their current role offers advancement opportunities. They are likely to exert higher effort when their job aligns with their career goals and provides a path for progression.

**H3:** People with a **calling orientation** exert higher effort and are less likely to quit or search for new jobs, as their work is intrinsically rewarding and tied to their identity.

## 4. Methods, Data, and Measurement

### 4.1. Regression Analysis

To understand the role of work orientations in influencing job quit intentions, job search behavior, effort, and attitudes towards quiet quitting, I estimate:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 W_{i,career} + \beta_2 W_{i,calling} + \gamma X_i + \epsilon_i \quad (1)$$

where  $Y_i$  represents the dependent variables capturing the different aspects of workplace behaviors and attitudes for each individual  $i$ , which include job quit intentions, job search behavior, effort, and opinions about quiet quitting. Furthermore,  $W$  denotes work orientations: job (reference group), career, and calling.  $X_i$  is a vector of control variables that consists of age, biological sex, marital status, children in the household, home ownership, urban versus rural residence, education, income, status as an employee or self-employed individual, occupation, working hours, public employee status, permanent contract status, and tenure. Given the binary nature of all dependent variables, Equation (1) is estimated using a logistic regression and the reported coefficients are average marginal effects.

In separate regressions, I also include the three continuous measures of work orientations rather than the discrete categories of job, career, and calling dummies. In addition, I provide results with and without the control variables.

### 4.2. Data Collection

The main dataset used in this paper is collected via Dutch Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social Sciences (LISS). The LISS is a monthly Internet-based nationally representative Dutch household panel with 7,500 individuals living in 5,000 households completing monthly computer-assisted web questionnaires (Das & Knoef, 2019; Scherpenzeel, 2011) collected by CenterData. Researchers can add questions to the panel and link them with the existing information on the respondents. The collected dataset is nationally representative.

Specifically, 2,512 respondents answered the questionnaire outlined in Appendix A and B, yielding a response percentage of 73.3%. The survey was conducted in both April and May, 2023. The corresponding fieldwork periods were as follows: April 3, to April 25, and May 1, to May 30. The median response time was 5 minutes.

The LISS panel is in principle representative of the Dutch population. Within the panel, the survey firm selected all working panel members at the time, so the gross sample is representative of the working population.

I drop from the analysis sample those who have a non-working status as of May 2023 (16 observations), respondents who are officially retired and aged over 67 (48 observations), and 3 individuals who listed their biological sex as “other.” I further dropped 78 respondents who did not provide answers to the dependent variables (quit intentions, doing best at work, only doing the paid work, and acceptability of quiet quitting). The final analysis sample comprises 2,380 individuals.

#### **4.3. Additional LISS Data**

I merged in information from the Work and Schooling LISS Core Study Wave 16 (data file cw23o, collected in April-May 2023, i.e., at the same time as my survey on work orientations). Specifically, I use information on occupation, job satisfaction, tenure (number of years with the same employer), a permanent/non-permanent contract, public/private employee, and working hours. This is the most recent Core dataset collected by the LISS panel.

For occupation, I used the variable profession (cw23o404), which is LISS-specific and different than the ISCO occupational classification, because it had fewer missing observations compared to the ISCO information. I combined the categories of Basic Manual Labor (Cleaner, Packer) and Agricultural Work (Farm Worker, Farmer) due to the very small number of observations in each category.

I also used information from the Personality data file (study cp22n) on the Big-5 personality traits (variables cp22n020 - cp22n069) based on Goldberg’s IPIP scale (Goldberg, 1992), collected in May and June 2022, which is the most recent information available.

#### **4.4. Measuring Work Orientations**

Following Wrzesniewski et al. (1997), I included 10 items to measure job, career, and calling orientations.<sup>11</sup> I first performed exploratory factor analysis (using varimax rotation) to investigate the factor loadings (pattern coefficients) of the work orientation items. The first three factors with an eigenvalue above 1 accounted for 60% of the variance in the sample, which is similar to what Gandal, Roccas, Sagiv, and Wrzesniewski (2005) report as well for a sample of US and Israeli students.

Table 1 presents the three-factor solution loadings, whereby the respective job, career, and calling items mainly load on one respective factor.

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<sup>11</sup> Following the advice from Amy Wrzesniewski, I only included 10 items from the original 18 items.

Table 1: Factor Loadings (pattern coefficients) of the work orientation items

	Factor 1 (calling)	Factor 2 (career)	Factor 3 (job)
<b>Job</b>			
My main reason for working is financial: to support my family and lifestyle	-0.021	0.077	<b>0.834</b>
I am eager to retire	-0.198	-0.180	<b>0.721</b>
<b>Career</b>			
I expect to be in a higher-level job in five years	0.105	<b>0.903</b>	-0.051
I view my job as a stepping stone to other jobs	-0.001	<b>0.914</b>	0.011
I expect to be doing the same work in five years (reversed)	-0.438	<b>0.424</b>	0.021
<b>Calling</b>			
I enjoy talking about my work with others	<b>0.719</b>	0.094	-0.090
My work is one of the most important things in my life	<b>0.671</b>	0.018	-0.238
If I was financially independent, I would continue my current work even if I wasn't getting paid for it	<b>0.486</b>	0.029	-0.552
My work makes the world a better place	<b>0.663</b>	0.195	0.021
I would choose my current line of work again if I had the chance	<b>0.729</b>	-0.027	-0.197

Note: N=2,380

Given this exploratory analysis and because of the non-continuous nature of the underlying variables, I used polychoric principal component analysis (Olsson, 1979) to create each of the indices.<sup>12</sup> I standardized all items before creating each index.

The Cronbach's alpha (scale reliability coefficient) underpinning the job orientation is 0.51, which is similar to the one reported by Dekas and Baker (2014). I keep the first principal component, which explains 70% of the variation and has an eigenvalue of 1.39.

The Cronbach's alpha for the items in the career orientation scale is 0.65, which is lower than the 0.77 reported by Wrzesniewski (1999) and the 0.83 by Dekas and Baker (2014). Nevertheless, the sample of Wrzesniewski (1999) is based on job seekers and that in Dekas and Baker on US economics students. I again keep the first polychoric principal component, which explains 65% of the variance and has an eigenvalue of 1.96.

Finally, the calling orientation index is based on the following items, which have a Cronbach's alpha of 0.74.

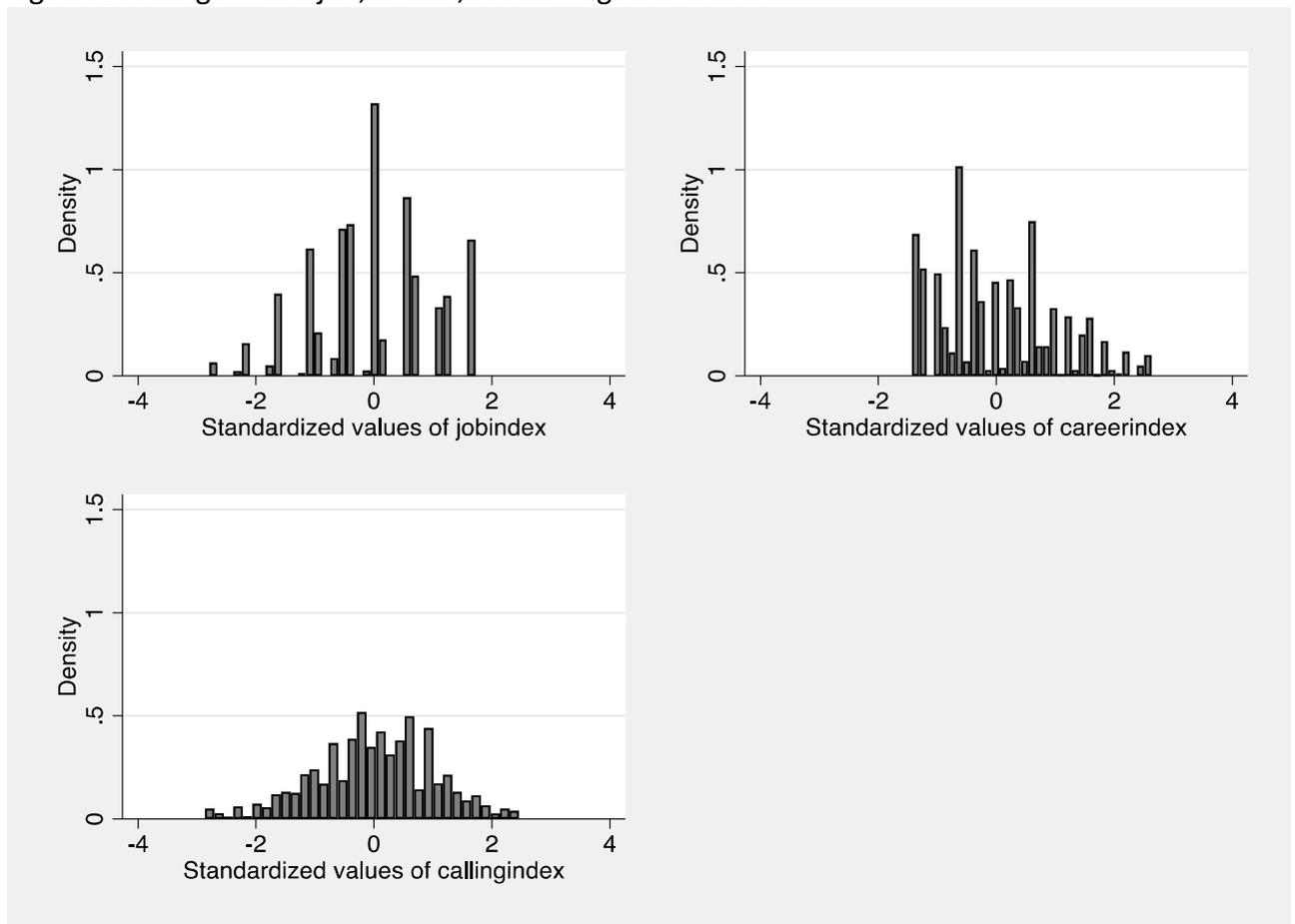
- I enjoy talking about my work with others
- My work is one of the most important things in my life
- My main reason for working is financial: to support my family and lifestyle (Reversed)
- I am eager to retire (Reversed)

<sup>12</sup> Because job and calling orientations are typically perceived to be the opposite responses to similar items (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 2008; Wrzesniewski et al., 1997), I could have kept just one factor for both dimensions. However, given the exploratory factor analysis, it seemed appropriate to keep both the job and calling orientations as separate indices.

If I was financially independent, I would continue my current work even if I wasn't getting paid for it  
 My work makes the world a better place  
 I would choose my current line of work again if I had the chance

The first polychoric principal component (eigenvalue=2.67) explains 53% of the variance. All three indices are standardized to range between 0 and 1 for ease of interpretation. Figure 1 denotes the distribution. The median of the job orientation index is 0.08, that of the career orientation index is -0.21, and finally, the median of the calling index is 0.03.

Figure 1: Histograms of job, career, and calling orientations



Note: N=2,380.

Table 2: Correlation matrix, work orientations indices

	Job orientations index	Career orientations index	Calling orientations index
Job orientations index	1		
Career orientations index	-0.050	1	
Calling orientations index	-0.386	0.034	1

Note: N=2,380.

Furthermore, Table 2 demonstrates that the job, career, and calling indices are distinct from one another – the highest correlation of -0.4 is between the job orientations and the calling orientations index, but they do not appear to be the opposites of the same construct, which justifies using them separately.

Following the literature, I classified respondents as having one distinct orientation based on the highest values of the (standardized) job, career, and calling orientation – there are no individuals who have the same index value (standardized or unstandardized) on either of the three dimensions. A third (33%) of respondents fall exclusively in the job orientation category, 31% in the career orientation category, and 36% in the calling orientation group.

Nevertheless, given that recent work has called into question the appropriateness of classifying respondents into a distinct work orientation category (Schabram et al., 2023), I also provide results with the continuous values of the index.

#### **4.5. Measuring Quit Intentions, Job Search, Effort, and Quiet Quitting Attitudes**

I measure quit intentions using a standard question about the likelihood of finding a job with another firm or organization within the next 12 months, with possible answers ranging from very unlikely to very likely (See Appendix A). For the regression analyses, I recoded the quit intentions variable as a 1 = Yes if respondents were likely (6.9%) or very likely (4.5%) to quit their job in the next 12 months and 0 if they chose any of the other answer categories (17.8% neither; 47.7% very unlikely 23.2% unlikely).

A natural question is whether quit intentions are informative about actual behavior (Manski, 1990). In fact, quit intentions are reasonably good predictors of future turnover. For example, Böckerman and Ilmakunnas (2009) and Kristensen and Westergård-Nielsen (2004) show that actual quit intentions are correlated with job search behavior in Finland and Denmark, respectively.<sup>13</sup> The intention to quit is a significant predictor of actual employee turnover, as revealed in the 0.50 correlation between intentions and turnover in Steel and Ovalle's (1984) meta-analysis of 34 studies. Similarly, Tett and Meyer (1993) find that turnover intention is the strongest predictor of turnover ( $\rho=0.65$ ) among the determinants they studied, based on a meta-analysis of 155 studies. At the time of writing, no subsequent LISS data waves are available that allow to follow-up the individuals and whether they actually quit their jobs, which would be possible in the future.

Respondents who indicated that they were neither likely nor unlikely, very likely, or likely to quit their job received a follow-up question probing into the concrete activities undertaken to look for a job, ranging from updating one's CV to applying for job openings. Based on this information, I created an additional job search variable, which indicates that 19% of respondents in the sample were engaged in such activities. The correlation coefficient

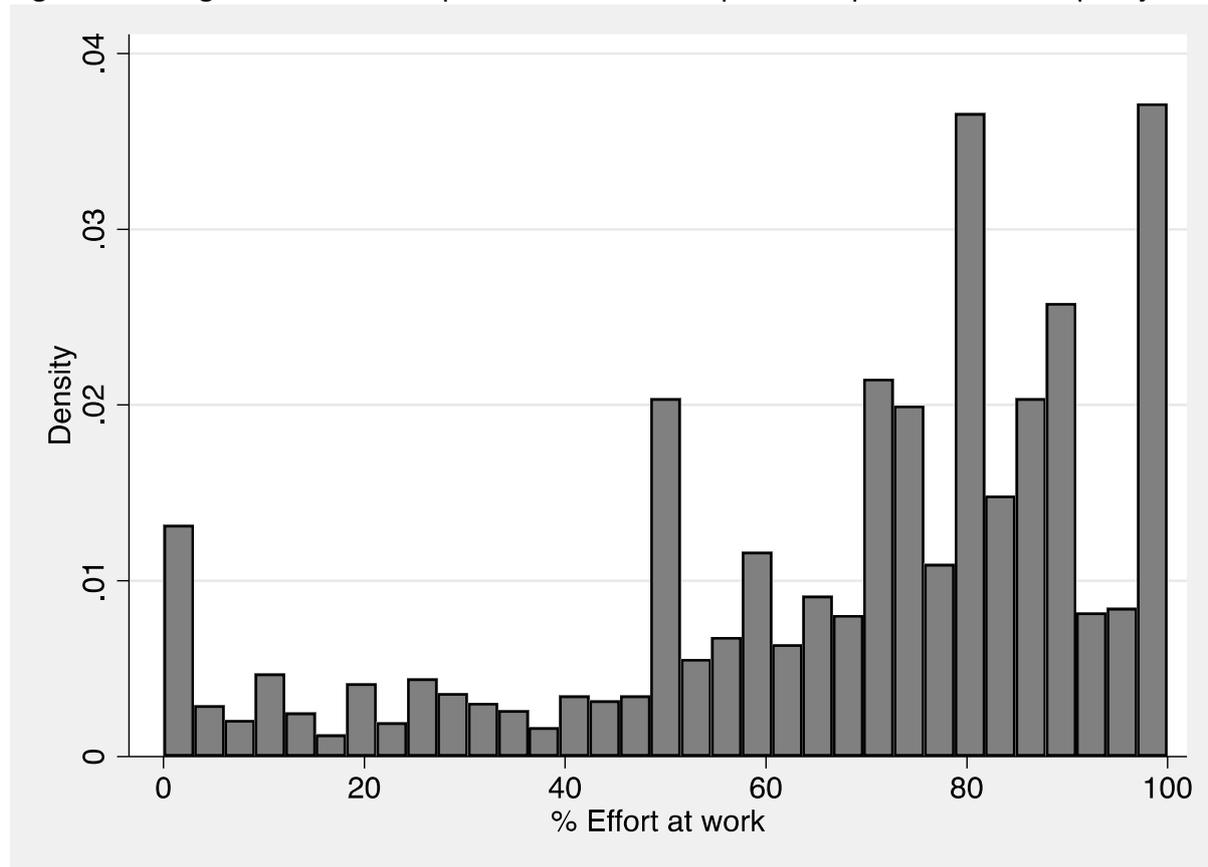
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<sup>13</sup> For example, Böckerman and Ilmakunnas (2009) report that the probability of actual job switches is most closely associated with having searched for another job during the last four weeks, whereby half of those who searched in this timeframe actually changed their job during their study period.

between quit intentions and job search is 0.54, suggesting that these variables capture different aspects of the actual quitting process.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, effort is measured on a scale of 0 to 100 based on the question “How much are you currently putting into your main paid job?” Dutch respondents appear to be hard workers, with the median respondent estimating their effort at work at 75% (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Histogram of the self-reported effort that respondents put in their main paid job



Note: N=2,380

To have all dependent variables measured on the same scale, I dichotomized the effort variable, such that effort at or above 80% is coded as 1 and 0 otherwise. Fully 45% of the sample reports giving at working at least 80% of their maximum effort.

Furthermore, I elicited self-reported effort and the acceptability of quiet quitting behaviors at work by modifying YouGov (2022) poll questions based on i) setting boundaries on the amount of extra work and ii) being disengaged and putting in minimum effort (Detert, 2023; Pearce, 2022).

Specifically, the following statements capture respondents’ views on the effort and commitment at work, using a five-point agree-disagree scale:

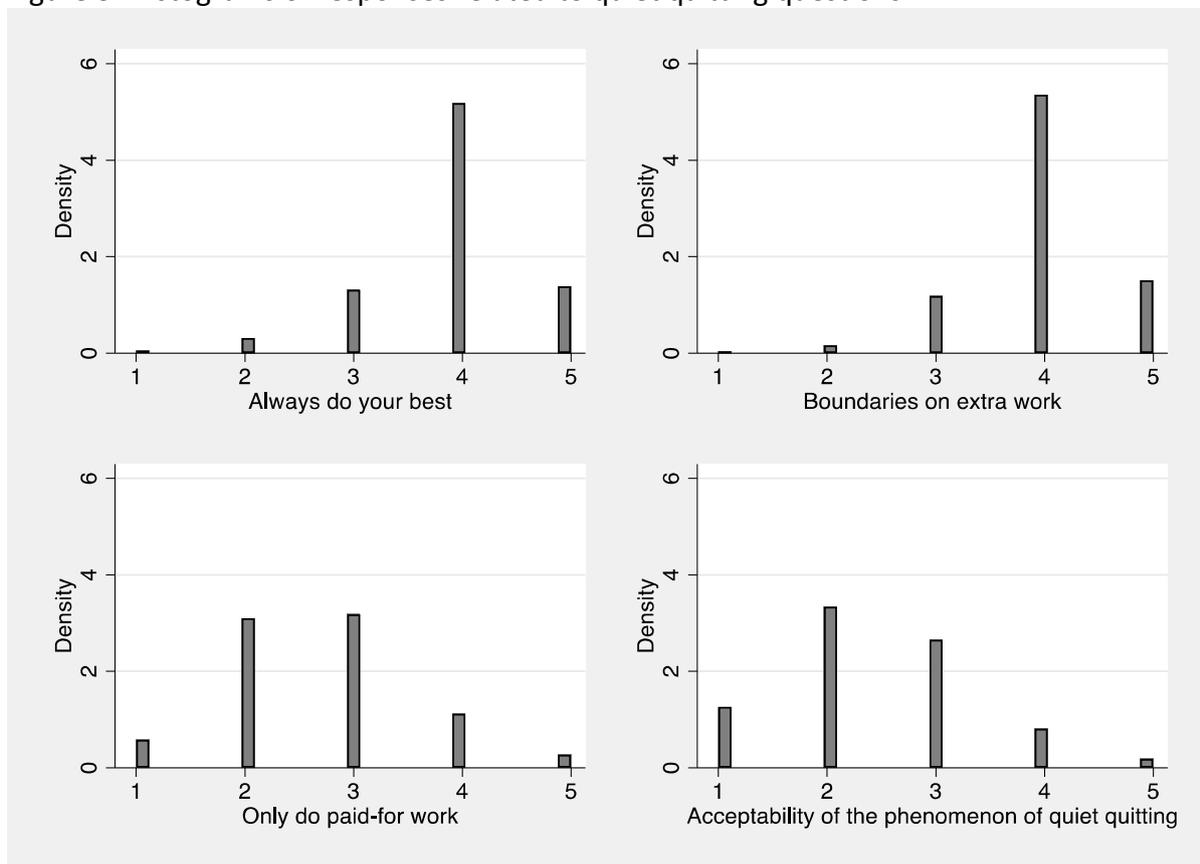
<sup>14</sup> If I instead code the quit intention variable as 1 if respondents were neutral, likely, or very likely to look for another job, then the correlation with job search behavior is 0.76.

*Employees should always try to do their best at work*  
*Employees should set boundaries around the amount of extra work they do*  
*Employees should only do the work they are paid for, no more and no less*

The final question in the survey introduced the concept of quiet quitting to respondents: “Some employees do only the bare minimum of what they are asked to do to keep their jobs. They do not put in extra effort if there is no compensation in return.” It then asked respondents how acceptable this behavior is, according to them.

The phrasing of the answer scale in terms of acceptability of the behavior may have suggested to some respondents that quiet quitting is implicitly undesirable, so the question’s wording includes a normative stance and as such, the responses to it should be treated with caution.

Figure 3: Histograms of responses related to quiet quitting questions



Note: N=2,380

Fully 80% of the respondents agree or strongly agree that employees should always strive to do their best at work, yet a roughly equal share (83%) also believe in setting boundaries on accepting extra work. Meanwhile, only 17% of respondents state that workers should only do what they are paid for, and only 12% think that quiet quitting is acceptable.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Compared with 1000 US respondents asked by YouGov between August 22-25, 2022, the Dutch respondents report lower acceptance of quiet quitting. For example, 67% of US respondents agreed or strongly agreed that “employees should always try to go above and beyond at work,” 71% reported that employees net to set boundaries around extra work, and 45% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that workers should only

I recoded the answers to all quiet quitting opinions into binary variables such that all responses including neutral and disagree/unacceptable are coded as 0 and all responses with agree (or strongly agree) as 1. The means of all dependent variables are reported in each regression table. Based on exploratory factor analysis results, it is not possible to combine the quiet quitting variables into a single composite index.

#### **4.6. Respondent Characteristics and Control Variables**

Table 3 details the characteristics of respondents fitting into the discrete job, career, and calling orientations based on the items described in the previous section (N=2,380).

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do the work they are paid for. The question about the acceptability of quiet quitting was phrased differently in the YouGov poll. Specifically, it asked respondents: "Quiet quitting generally refers to doing a job without taking on additional work without compensation. Do you support or oppose quiet quitting?" Fully 47% strongly support or support quiet quitting, which is substantially higher than the findings in my Dutch sample.

Table 3: Summary statistics, analysis sample

Variable	Analysis sample, N=2,380		Job orientation, N=778		Career orientation, N=740		Calling orientation, N=862	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Age	46.982	12.182	51.922	10.223	39.823	11.220	48.671	11.779
Biological sex								
Female	0.505	0.500	0.455	0.498	0.507	0.500	0.549	0.498
Male	0.495	0.500	0.545	0.498	0.493	0.500	0.451	0.498
Marital status								
Not married (single, divorced/separated, widowed)	0.483	0.500	0.420	0.494	0.609	0.488	0.432	0.496
Married	0.517	0.500	0.580	0.494	0.391	0.488	0.568	0.496
Children in household								
No children	0.540	0.499	0.564	0.496	0.528	0.500	0.528	0.500
One or more children	0.460	0.499	0.436	0.496	0.472	0.500	0.472	0.500
Home ownership								
Renter	0.228	0.420	0.229	0.420	0.296	0.457	0.169	0.375
Owner	0.772	0.420	0.771	0.420	0.704	0.457	0.831	0.375
Urbanity								
Non-urban	0.506	0.500	0.510	0.500	0.442	0.497	0.558	0.497
Urban	0.492	0.500	0.488	0.500	0.555	0.497	0.441	0.497
No information	0.002	0.041	0.001	0.036	0.003	0.052	0.001	0.034
Higher education								
No	0.478	0.500	0.608	0.489	0.422	0.494	0.408	0.492
Yes (WO and HBO)	0.517	0.500	0.388	0.488	0.570	0.495	0.588	0.492
No information	0.005	0.071	0.004	0.062	0.008	0.090	0.003	0.059
Personal net income tertile								
Poorest	0.315	0.465	0.351	0.478	0.292	0.455	0.303	0.460

Middle	0.316	0.465	0.317	0.466	0.338	0.473	0.295	0.456
Richest	0.314	0.464	0.280	0.449	0.307	0.461	0.352	0.478
No information	0.055	0.228	0.051	0.221	0.064	0.244	0.051	0.220
Employee status								
Self-employed	0.100	0.301	0.077	0.267	0.055	0.229	0.160	0.367
Employee	0.900	0.301	0.923	0.267	0.945	0.229	0.840	0.367
Profession								
Advanced Academic/Professional (Architect, Physician, Scholar)	0.129	0.335	0.069	0.254	0.155	0.363	0.159	0.366
Senior Management (Manager, Director, Company Owner)	0.089	0.286	0.054	0.226	0.095	0.293	0.117	0.322
Intermediate Professional (Teacher, Artist, Nurse)	0.268	0.443	0.220	0.414	0.234	0.424	0.342	0.475
Mid-Level Supervisory/Commercial (Department Manager, Shopkeeper)	0.106	0.308	0.117	0.322	0.136	0.344	0.071	0.257
Clerical and Support Work (Administrative Assistant, Accountant)	0.167	0.373	0.215	0.411	0.164	0.370	0.128	0.334
Skilled Manual Work (Car Mechanic, Foreman)	0.052	0.221	0.077	0.267	0.041	0.197	0.038	0.192
Semi-Skilled Manual Work (Driver, Factory Worker)	0.058	0.234	0.098	0.297	0.046	0.210	0.032	0.177
Basic Manual Labor (Cleaner, Packer) and Agricultural Work (Farm Worker, Farmer)	0.036	0.187	0.045	0.207	0.032	0.177	0.031	0.174
Missing information	0.094	0.292	0.105	0.307	0.097	0.297	0.081	0.273
Working hours								
Less than 30 hours per week	0.319	0.466	0.335	0.472	0.273	0.446	0.343	0.475
31-40 hours per week	0.477	0.500	0.495	0.500	0.522	0.500	0.423	0.494
>40 hours per week	0.155	0.362	0.117	0.322	0.143	0.351	0.198	0.399
Missing information	0.049	0.216	0.053	0.224	0.062	0.242	0.035	0.183
Public employee								

Not a public employee	0.537	0.499	0.581	0.494	0.623	0.485	0.425	0.495
Public employee	0.320	0.466	0.292	0.455	0.274	0.446	0.384	0.487
Missing information	0.143	0.350	0.127	0.333	0.103	0.304	0.191	0.394
Permanent contract								
Yes	0.784	0.412	0.815	0.389	0.791	0.407	0.749	0.434
No	0.168	0.374	0.132	0.339	0.149	0.356	0.216	0.412
Missing information	0.049	0.215	0.053	0.224	0.061	0.239	0.035	0.183
Number of years with the employer								
1 year or less	0.128	0.334	0.091	0.288	0.191	0.393	0.108	0.310
2-5 years	0.247	0.431	0.194	0.396	0.327	0.469	0.225	0.418
6 or more years	0.568	0.495	0.657	0.475	0.411	0.492	0.624	0.485
Missing information	0.057	0.231	0.058	0.234	0.072	0.258	0.043	0.203
Job satisfaction								
Score 1-7	0.389	0.488	0.410	0.492	0.459	0.499	0.310	0.463
Score 8-10	0.547	0.498	0.524	0.500	0.461	0.499	0.643	0.479
Missing information	0.063	0.244	0.066	0.248	0.080	0.271	0.048	0.213
Work meaningfulness (WAMI)	58.092	20.068	46.846	19.571	56.396	17.431	69.699	15.958

Note: N=2,380

Table 4 furthermore details the probability of being classified into the job, career, and calling orientations categories, based on individual characteristics, obtained after logistic estimations and reported in terms of average marginal effects.

Specifically, the likelihood of identifying with the job orientation increases with age, while younger individuals are more likely to be career-oriented. Men are less calling-oriented than women. Interestingly, there are no differences according to income and education levels, but employees are more likely to be job-oriented and less likely to view work as a calling compared to the self-employed. Low- and middle-skilled professionals are generally more likely to view their work as a job and less likely to consider it a calling, relative to those with professions such as an academic, architect, or doctor.

Concerning the working conditions, working longer hours (more than 40 hours per week) is more common among those with a calling orientation and less likely among those with a career orientation. Furthermore, public employees are less likely than non-public employees to have a career orientation. Those who are satisfied with their jobs and view their jobs as meaningful are more likely to have a calling orientation and are less likely to have a career orientation, meanwhile. Lower work meaningfulness is also more prevalent among the job-oriented.

Table 4: The determinants of being classified as having a distinct job, career, or calling orientation

	(1) Job orientation category	(2) Career orientation category	(3) Calling orientation category
Age	0.016** (0.007)	0.001 (0.006)	0.009 (0.006)
Age squared/100	-0.008 (0.007)	-0.015** (0.007)	-0.004 (0.007)
Male	0.032 (0.020)	0.013 (0.020)	-0.045** (0.019)
Married	0.024 (0.019)	-0.040** (0.019)	0.016 (0.019)
Children in household	-0.011 (0.018)	0.011 (0.018)	0.012 (0.018)
Home owner	-0.023 (0.023)	-0.037* (0.022)	0.069*** (0.022)
Urban resident	0.023 (0.018)	0.040** (0.018)	-0.062*** (0.017)
Urbanity missing	0.150 (0.297)	0.080 (0.230)	-0.207 (0.127)
College education	-0.016 (0.021)	0.029 (0.022)	-0.011 (0.021)

Education missing	-0.061 (0.152)	0.181 (0.111)	-0.138 (0.103)
Middle income tertile	0.007 (0.024)	-0.008 (0.024)	-0.006 (0.025)
Richest income tertile	0.017 (0.027)	0.013 (0.029)	-0.032 (0.027)
Income missing	0.016 (0.041)	0.039 (0.038)	-0.061 (0.040)
Employee	0.121** (0.056)	-0.049 (0.068)	-0.093* (0.056)
Senior Management (Manager, Director, Company Owner)	-0.019 (0.037)	0.067* (0.037)	-0.030 (0.036)
Intermediate Professional (Teacher, Artist, Nurse)	0.080** (0.033)	-0.035 (0.029)	-0.023 (0.030)
Mid-Level Supervisory/Commercial (Department Manager, Shopkeeper)	0.064* (0.037)	0.086** (0.037)	-0.119*** (0.036)
Clerical and Support Work (Administrative Assistant, Accountant)	0.079** (0.036)	0.007 (0.035)	-0.047 (0.036)
Skilled Manual Work (Car Mechanic, Foreman)	0.104** (0.046)	-0.043 (0.048)	-0.050 (0.049)
Semi-Skilled Manual Work (Driver, Factory Worker)	0.112** (0.049)	-0.011 (0.048)	-0.104** (0.053)
Basic Manual Labor (Cleaner, Packer) and Agricultural Work (Farm Worker, Farmer)	0.041 (0.053)	-0.014 (0.056)	-0.027 (0.057)
Profession missing	0.099** (0.046)	-0.003 (0.049)	-0.069 (0.047)
Working hours 31-40	0.010 (0.021)	0.005 (0.021)	-0.009 (0.021)
Working hours >40	-0.034 (0.028)	-0.049* (0.027)	0.089*** (0.030)
Working hours missing	-0.341*** (0.016)	0.672*** (0.017)	-0.374*** (0.016)
Public employee	0.011 (0.020)	-0.043** (0.021)	0.028 (0.020)
Public employee missing	0.082 (0.082)	-0.202*** (0.055)	0.102 (0.068)
Non-permanent contract	-0.025	0.005	0.017

	(0.036)	(0.033)	(0.035)
Permanent contract missing	0.655***	-0.321***	0.604***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.018)
2-5 years with the same employer	0.025	-0.035	0.014
	(0.033)	(0.030)	(0.030)
6 or more years with the same employer	0.034	-0.075**	0.046
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.030)
Number of years with employer missing	-0.108	0.052	-0.003
	(0.127)	(0.160)	(0.113)
Job satisfaction score 8 or above	-0.021	-0.056***	0.075***
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Job satisfaction missing	-0.075	0.015	0.116
	(0.086)	(0.099)	(0.093)
Work meaningfulness (WAMI)	-0.008***	-0.002***	0.011***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	2,380	2,380	2,380
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.202	0.178	0.244

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, the reported estimates are average marginal effects obtained after logistic estimators. The reference categories are: for profession - Advanced Academic/Professional (Architect, Physician, Scholar); for working hours is 0-30 hours, for public employee - non-public employee; for contract type - permanent contract; for tenure - 1 year or less with the employer; for job satisfaction - job satisfaction scores of 7 and below.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

## 5. Results

### 5.1. Main results

I examine the relationship between work orientations and workplace behaviors and attitudes (Table 5). Panel A of Table 5 presents the results, in terms of average marginal effect using age, its square term, and biological sex as controls. In addition to these two controls, Panel B includes marital status, children in the household, home ownership, urban/rural residence, college degree, personal income tertile, employee or self-employed status, occupation, working hours, permanent/non-permanent contract, job tenure, and public/private employee status. Some of these variables (e.g., income or working hours) may be “bad controls” (Angrist & Pischke, 2009) because they are outcomes of work orientations themselves. Nevertheless, the magnitude of the coefficient estimates differs only very slightly between Panel A and Panel B, suggesting that the results are stable regardless of whether controls are used or not.

Based on the coefficient estimates in Table 5, Panel B, Models (1) and (2), individuals who approach their roles with a career mindset appear to exhibit about 7.7-7.8 percent higher chance to consider leaving their current positions and actively exploring new opportunities elsewhere, compared to their peers who work primarily for a paycheck.

Meanwhile, the calling-oriented are 4.8 percent less likely to want to quit and 10 percent less likely to be job hunting, compared with those with a job orientation. Career-oriented individuals are 8.4 percent less likely to be putting their maximum effort at work, while the calling-oriented are 7 percent more likely to do that, compared with those who view work as a paycheck.

Similarly, concerning the normative questions and the opinion of whether employees should always do their best at work, those with a career orientation are less likely to agree, while those with a calling orientation are more likely to agree.

When it comes to the rest of the normative “quiet quitting” variables in Models (5)-(7) – both career and calling-oriented individuals diverge from the paycheck-driven group. Both groups are less likely than those with a job orientation to think that workers should set boundaries on the amount of extra work they do, or that they should only focus on the work they actually get paid to do, and are less likely to think that quiet quitting is acceptable compared with those with a job orientation. This suggests a shared belief between the career and calling groups in the value of proactive engagement and contribution beyond the minimum, despite their other differences in work engagement and job-seeking behavior.

Table 5: The relationship between work orientations and quit intentions, effort, and quiet quitting

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Quit intention	Job search	Effort	Best work	Boundaries	Only renumerated work	Quiet quitting acceptability
Panel A: With Exogenous Individual Controls							
Work orientations (ref: job)							
Career	0.084*** (0.019)	0.091*** (0.024)	-0.079*** (0.027)	-0.071*** (0.025)	-0.080*** (0.022)	-0.085*** (0.023)	-0.048** (0.020)
Calling	-0.045*** (0.014)	-0.097*** (0.018)	0.069*** (0.025)	0.097*** (0.019)	-0.029* (0.017)	-0.163*** (0.019)	-0.101*** (0.017)
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.074	0.079	0.0200	0.047	0.0222	0.041	0.061
Panel B: With Full Set of Individual Controls							
Work orientations (ref: job)							
Career	0.077*** (0.020)	0.078*** (0.024)	-0.084*** (0.027)	-0.065*** (0.025)	-0.086*** (0.021)	-0.075*** (0.022)	-0.050*** (0.019)
Calling	-0.048*** (0.015)	-0.100*** (0.019)	0.070*** (0.025)	0.103*** (0.019)	-0.038** (0.017)	-0.145*** (0.019)	-0.101*** (0.017)
Mean DV	0.113	0.191	0.449	0.797	0.832	0.168	0.120
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.107	0.114	0.050	0.080	0.085	0.073	0.110

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, the reported estimates are average marginal effects obtained after logistic estimators. The individual controls in Panel A are age, age squared, and biological sex. The additional controls in Panel B are marital status, children in the household, home ownership, urban/rural residence, college degree, personal income tertile, employee or self-employed status, occupation, working hours, public employee status, permanent contract status, and tenure. The means of the dependent variables are the same across panels A and B. All dependent variables are binary. The work orientations indices are standardized to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. N=2380 except in Models (1) and (2) in Panel B, where N=2,376 as the marginal effect of missing urbanity is not estimable. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

## 5.2. Heterogeneity

Table 6 details that there are a few differences between younger and older generations and the genders in terms of quit intentions, effort, and quiet quitting attitudes. Yet, there are no differential influences of work orientations on the outcomes based on age and biological sex.<sup>16</sup>

This suggests that there is a rather universal feature to work orientations and that how they determine our work behavior is similar across diverse groups of individuals. Given the lack of research insights into this topic, this last statement remains a hypothesis that future research should pursue.

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<sup>16</sup> Additional heterogeneity results, which are available upon request, suggest that while the college educated are less likely to believe that one should do their best at work, having a career orientation in combination with a college degree almost offsets the negative impact of being college educated. Interestingly, the support for quiet quitting behaviors is concentrated among the college-educated Dutch respondents with a career orientation.

Table 6: The relationship between work orientations and quit intentions, effort, and quiet quitting, by age groups and gender

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Quit intention	Job search	Effort	Best work	Boundaries	Only renumerated work	Quiet quitting acceptability
Panel A: Interaction with Age Group							
Work orientations (ref: job)							
Career	0.930*** (0.227)	0.689*** (0.179)	-0.387*** (0.150)	-0.566*** (0.172)	-0.706*** (0.184)	-0.191 (0.185)	-0.252 (0.230)
Calling	-0.625** (0.258)	-0.855*** (0.194)	0.200 (0.122)	0.700*** (0.177)	-0.249 (0.164)	-1.254*** (0.199)	-1.005*** (0.235)
Gen Z and Millennials	0.459 (0.296)	0.499** (0.234)	-0.058 (0.191)	-0.431** (0.219)	0.369 (0.322)	0.435** (0.216)	0.586** (0.243)
Career× Gen Z and Millennials	-0.405 (0.351)	-0.322 (0.286)	0.198 (0.246)	0.494* (0.276)	0.167 (0.376)	-0.443 (0.289)	-0.160 (0.333)
Calling× Gen Z and Millennials	-0.223 (0.420)	-0.007 (0.331)	0.405* (0.244)	0.344 (0.313)	-0.287 (0.382)	0.281 (0.322)	-0.112 (0.373)
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.102	0.105	0.0500	0.0799	0.0847	0.0726	0.103
Panel B: Interactions with Gender							
Work orientations (ref: job)							
Career	0.538** (0.225)	0.489** (0.191)	-0.550*** (0.162)	-0.101 (0.192)	-0.611*** (0.237)	-0.485** (0.198)	-0.521** (0.240)
Calling	-0.898*** (0.264)	-0.767*** (0.206)	0.139 (0.148)	0.952*** (0.209)	-0.200 (0.229)	-1.138*** (0.210)	-1.232*** (0.268)
Male	-0.418 (0.281)	0.002 (0.212)	-0.812*** (0.165)	-0.346* (0.200)	-0.320 (0.237)	0.221 (0.192)	0.569** (0.236)
Career× Male	0.330	-0.051	0.358	-0.486*	-0.095	-0.003	0.137

	(0.327)	(0.260)	(0.218)	(0.251)	(0.297)	(0.264)	(0.309)
Calling× Male	0.444	-0.226	0.314	-0.293	-0.225	0.011	0.278
	(0.410)	(0.316)	(0.209)	(0.287)	(0.293)	(0.300)	(0.370)
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.108	0.114	0.0506	0.0820	0.0855	0.0733	0.110

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, the reported estimates are coefficient estimates obtained via logistic estimators. The controls include age (omitted in Panel A), age squared (omitted in Panel A), biological sex, marital status, children in the household, home ownership, urban/rural residence, college degree, personal income tertile, employee or self-employed status, occupation, working hours, public employee status, permanent contract status, and tenure. All dependent variables are binary. The work orientations indices are standardized to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. N=2,380 except in Models (1) and (2) in Panel B, where N=2,376 as the marginal effect of missing urbanity is not estimable. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

### **5.3. How Important are Work Orientations?**

A first step towards gauging the importance of work orientations for labor market behaviors and opinions is including additional predictors of workplace behavior that the previous literature has identified: job satisfaction (0-10 scale) and work meaningfulness (0-100 scale). The regressions already include workplace controls (occupation, working hours, tenure, permanent contract, and public employee status).

Next to these, I add a job satisfaction control, which I recoded, such that 1 denotes values of 7 or lower (which describes 39% of the sample), 2 denotes values of 8 to 10 (which captures 55% of the sample), and 3 if the respondent provided no response (representing 6% of the sample). In addition, I also control for work meaningfulness measured using the Work As Meaning Inventory (WAMI) (Steger, Dik, & Duffy, 2012). The WAMI was collected together in the same questionnaire as the work orientations (See Appendix A and B).

The results in Panel A of Table 7 demonstrate that adding the job satisfaction control does not change much the coefficient estimates of the work orientation variables, compared to the main estimates in Table 5, Panel B.

When it comes to the work meaningfulness control in Panel B, the career orientation retains its significant coefficient estimate, but the coefficient estimate for the calling orientation is no longer statistically significantly associated with quit intentions and effort. The correlation coefficient between the WAMI and the calling orientation is 0.44, which suggests that the calling orientation and WAMI variables are not simply tautological.

Table 7: The relationship between work orientations and quit intentions, effort, and quiet quitting, controlling for job satisfaction and work meaningfulness

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Quit intention	Job search	Effort	Best work	Boundaries	Only renumerated work	Quiet quitting acceptability
Panel A: With a Job Satisfaction Control							
Work orientations (ref: job)							
Career	0.076*** (0.019)	0.075*** (0.023)	-0.083*** (0.027)	-0.060** (0.024)	-0.086*** (0.021)	-0.075*** (0.022)	-0.051*** (0.019)
Calling	-0.046*** (0.015)	-0.094*** (0.019)	0.066*** (0.025)	0.095*** (0.019)	-0.039** (0.018)	-0.143*** (0.019)	-0.099*** (0.017)
Job satisfaction (ref: values between 1 and 7)							
Job satisfaction 8 or above	-0.032** (0.014)	-0.074*** (0.017)	0.029 (0.021)	0.090*** (0.017)	0.003 (0.016)	-0.021 (0.017)	-0.021 (0.014)
Missing job satisfaction	-0.066 (0.059)	-0.017 (0.082)	-0.365*** (0.053)	-0.167 (0.104)	-0.057 (0.093)	-0.010 (0.072)	0.055 (0.080)
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.110	0.123	0.0549	0.0950	0.0855	0.0741	0.112
Panel B: With a Work Meaningfulness Control							
Work orientations (ref: job)							
Career	0.088*** (0.018)	0.091*** (0.023)	-0.101*** (0.027)	-0.077*** (0.024)	-0.088*** (0.021)	-0.079*** (0.023)	-0.041** (0.019)
Calling	-0.018 (0.015)	-0.065*** (0.020)	0.018 (0.028)	0.068*** (0.021)	-0.046** (0.019)	-0.154*** (0.021)	-0.080*** (0.018)
WAMI	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.002*** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.001** (0.000)
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.120	0.123	0.0556	0.0879	0.0856	0.0738	0.114

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Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, the reported estimates are average marginal effects obtained after logistic estimators. The controls include age, age squared, biological sex, marital status, children in the household, home ownership, urban/rural residence, college degree, personal income tertile, employee or self-employed status, occupation, working hours, public employee status, permanent contract status, and tenure. Age squared is omitted in regression (1) in Panel B because the model did not converge otherwise. All dependent variables are binary. N=2,380 except in Models (1) and (2), where N=2,376 as the marginal effect of missing urbanity is not estimable.  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

All in all, it appears that work orientations are important predictors of the outcomes I study, above and beyond job satisfaction and, in most cases, above and beyond work meaningfulness.

Another way to gauge the relative importance of work orientations is based on the Shapley decompositions of the  $R^2$ , which involves calculating the marginal contribution of each predictor to the  $R^2$  value across all possible combinations of predictors. This process considers the added value of each predictor to the model's explanatory power when it is included in combination with others, averaging these contributions over all possible subsets. As such, the Shapley-based decompositions determine the unique contribution of each included regressor to the overall explained variation as captured by the  $R^2$  (Israeli, 2007; Juarez, 2012; Shorrocks, 2013).

Tables 8 and 9 show that work orientations are the biggest determinant of quit intentions and job search behavior, and the second biggest determinant of effort. Furthermore, work orientations are the most important explanatory factor for several workplace opinions, including about doing one's best work, and doing only the work you are paid to do, and are the second most important determinant of quiet quitting acceptability. Importantly, work orientations are several times more important in explaining these workplace behaviors and opinions compared to job satisfaction and work meaningfulness.

Taken together, Tables 7-9 suggest that work orientations are a very important, yet overlooked determinant of job behaviors and opinions and deserve further explorations in future work in labor economics.

Table 8: Relative Contribution of Explanatory Variables to Overall Variation in All Dependent Variables (Percent Contribution to  $R^2$ )

Variable	Quit intention	Job search	Effort	Best work	Bound aries	Only renumerated work	Quiet quitting acceptability
Panel A: No job satisfaction control							
<b>Work orientations</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>17</b>
Age	12	14	4	5	5	6	18
Gender	1	0	19	12	7	2	9
Marital status	2	2	6	1	0	2	6
Children	0	0	3	0	0	2	1
Home owner	2	1	1	6	0	13	12
Urbanity	5	7	0	5	4	1	4
Education	3	1	0	6	16	2	2
Income	0	1	3	1	6	4	4
Employee status	1	5	2	0	5	2	0
Working hours	2	1	22	12	10	3	6
Public employee	1	3	2	1	8	1	0
Permanent contract	9	10	2	3	4	1	3

Tenure	15	8	6	3	4	1	8
Profession	3	5	10	6	23	25	10
R <sup>2</sup>	0.076	0.104	0.065	0.077	0.076	0.064	0.080

Panel B: With job satisfaction control

<b>Work orientations</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Job satisfaction</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>
Age	11	12	4	4	6	5	18
Gender	2	1	17	9	7	2	8
Marital status	1	2	5	1	0	2	6
Children	0	0	2	0	0	2	1
Home owner	2	1	1	5	0	12	11
Urbanity	5	6	0	4	4	1	4
Education	2	1	0	6	16	2	2
Income	0	0	3	1	6	3	4
Employee status	1	4	2	0	5	2	0
Working hours	2	1	21	10	10	3	6
Public employee	1	3	2	1	8	1	0
Permanent contract	9	9	3	2	4	1	3
Tenure	15	7	4	3	4	1	8
Profession	3	5	10	5	23	24	10
R <sup>2</sup>	0.078	0.111	0.070	0.091	0.076	0.065	0.082

Notes: Based on Shapley-based variance decompositions based on OLS regressions with all control variables. N=2,380.

Table 9: Relative Contribution of Explanatory Variables to Overall Variation in All Dependent Variables (Percent Contribution to R<sup>2</sup>)

Variable	Quit intention	Job search	Effort	Best work	Boundaries	Only remunerated work	Quiet quitting acceptability
<b>Work orientations</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Work meaningfulness (WAMI)</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
Age	11	14	3	5	5	6	19
Gender	1	1	16	10	7	2	8
Marital status	1	2	5	1	0	2	6
Children	0	0	2	0	0	2	1
Home owner	2	1	1	6	0	13	12
Urbanity	4	6	0	4	4	1	4
Education	3	1	1	7	15	2	2
Income	0	1	3	1	6	4	4
Employee status	1	4	2	0	5	2	0
Profession	4	5	8	6	22	24	10

Working hours	2	1	19	10	10	3	5
Public employee	1	3	1	1	8	1	1
Permanent contract	8	9	2	2	3	1	3
Tenure	13	8	5	3	4	1	8
R <sup>2</sup>	0.087	0.112	0.072	0.085	0.076	0.064	0.083

Notes: Based on Shapley-based variance decompositions based on OLS regressions with all control variables. N=2,380

## 6. Robustness Checks

### 6.1. Controlling for Personality Traits

The cross-sectional nature of the analysis here raises endogeneity concerns. First, it is unclear whether unobserved factors are driving both work orientations and workplace opinions and behaviors. Second, it is unclear whether work orientations drive behavior or having made particular choices (e.g., to put in limited effort or to quit one's job), makes workers modify their outlook on work.

To explore these issues, I controlled for the Big-5 personality traits using Goldberg's IPIP scale available in the LISS panel (50 items, extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, imagination). The personality traits data were collected approximately one year before my survey and are available for 2,109 out of the 2,380 respondents.

Dekas and Baker (2014) show that the Big-5 personality traits are unassociated with any of the work orientations scores. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether this finding is generalizable beyond their sample of 109 MBA students.

Table 10: Correlation matrix, work orientations and personality traits

	Job orientation	Career orientation	Calling orientation	Extraversion	Agreeableness	Conscientiousness	Emotional Stability	Imagination
Job orientation	1							
Career orientation	-0.468	1						
Calling orientation	-0.529	-0.502	1					
Extraversion	-0.115	0.054	0.061	1				
Agreeableness	-0.051	-0.098	0.144	0.325	1			
Conscientiousness	-0.005	-0.108	0.108	0.139	0.313	1		
Emotional Stability	-0.023	-0.093	0.111	0.249	0.077	0.266	1	
Imagination	-0.111	0.009	0.100	0.291	0.265	0.266	0.195	1

Table 10 demonstrates that the correlations between the work orientations categories and personality traits are very low – at most about 0.10, suggesting that the concept of work orientations is independent of the personality traits.

Furthermore, Table 11 demonstrates that the main results and conclusions presented in Table 5 are independent of controlling for the Big-5 personality traits, which is in line with the Dekas and Baker (2014) conclusion. The inclusion of personality traits also alleviates certain endogeneity concerns related to omitted variables bias and self-selection.

## **6.2. Common Method Variance**

Furthermore, common method variance is a concern, given that both the dependent and key independent variables are measured in the same survey instrument. Moreover, some of the key dependent variables are opinion variables, leading to regressions involving subjective outcomes being regressed on self-reported subjective work orientations.

Respondents may have particular patterns in answering questions, especially those that are measured on the same scale. CMV can lead to over- or under-estimation of the true parameter estimates. CMV is thus an omitted variables bias problem. The results using personality traits alleviate CMV concerns. Furthermore, the fact that I also include subjective variables in the regressions in Table 7, namely job satisfaction and work meaningfulness, and that the results remain similar in magnitude, provides additional reassurance that the main conclusions are not entirely driven by endogeneity caused by CMV.

Table 11: The relationship between work orientations and quit intentions, effort, and quiet quitting, with Big-5 controls

	(1) Quit intention	(2) Job search	(3) Effort	(4) Best work	(5) Boundaries	(6) Only renumera- ted work	(7) Quiet quitting acceptability
Work orientations (ref: job)							
Career	0.084*** (0.021)	0.080*** (0.026)	-0.078*** (0.028)	-0.075*** (0.025)	-0.084*** (0.022)	-0.077*** (0.024)	-0.044** (0.020)
Calling	-0.051*** (0.015)	-0.110*** (0.019)	0.059** (0.027)	0.086*** (0.020)	-0.037* (0.019)	-0.141*** (0.021)	-0.092*** (0.018)
Extraversion	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Agreeableness	0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.001)
Conscientiousness	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)	0.010*** (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.002)
Emotional Stability	-0.002** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.002)	0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)
Imagination	0.003** (0.002)	0.005*** (0.002)	0.004 (0.002)	-0.004** (0.002)	0.005*** (0.002)	0.006*** (0.002)	0.004** (0.002)
Mean DV	0.114	0.191	0.440	0.799	0.826	0.173	0.118
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.123	0.133	0.0628	0.120	0.109	0.0814	0.113

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, the reported estimates are average marginal effects obtained after logistic estimators. The controls include age, age squared, biological sex, marital status, children in the household, home ownership, urban/rural residence, college degree, personal income tertile, employee or self-employed status, occupation, public employee status, and tenure. Having a permanent contract and the working hours variable are included but their marginal effects were not estimable. All dependent variables are binary. The personality traits are standardized to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. N=2,109 except in Models (1) and (2) in Panel B, where N=2,105 as the marginal effect of missing urbanity is not estimable. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

### 6.3. Do Respondents Really Have One Predominant Work Orientation?

The majority of papers on work orientations classify respondents into a distinct work orientations category based on the highest value of the job, careers, or calling index. Nevertheless, Schabram et al. (2023) call for moving beyond such classifications because work orientations, and particularly the career and calling ones - can co-exist – individuals may have a calling orientation but also view their work as a way to succeed in their career.

In my data, all respondents had a predominant work orientation, i.e., they had the highest score on one work orientation index. Table 12 below demonstrates the standardized values of each work orientations index (continuous measure) based on the discrete categorizations of respondents in the mutually exclusive job, career, and calling categories. Categorizing respondents as fitting within one single category is justified by the patterns in the data. For example, those categorized as having job orientations tend to have high positive values on the job orientations index on average, and negative values on the career and calling orientations indices.

Table 12: Summary statistics for each work orientation index, by work orientation category

Variable	Job orientation, N=778		Career orientation, N=740		Calling orientation, N=862	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Job orientation index	<b>0.865</b>	0.652	-0.234	0.848	-0.580	0.838
Career orientation index	-0.550	0.636	<b>1.042</b>	0.729	-0.398	0.759
Calling orientation index	-0.727	0.786	-0.233	0.806	<b>0.856</b>	0.624

Note: the work orientation indices were standardized to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1 to allow for easier comparisons.

Table 13: The relationship between the continuous work orientations indices and quit intentions, effort, and quiet quitting

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Quit intention	Job search	Effort	Best work	Boundaries	Only renumerated work	Quiet quitting acceptability
Panel A: With Exogenous Individual Controls							
Job orientations index	0.008 (0.007)	0.014* (0.008)	0.036*** (0.011)	0.003 (0.009)	0.029*** (0.008)	0.063*** (0.010)	0.029*** (0.008)
Career orientations index	0.088*** (0.007)	0.109*** (0.008)	-0.039*** (0.012)	-0.045*** (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	0.015* (0.009)	0.012 (0.008)
Calling orientations index	-0.051*** (0.006)	-0.061*** (0.008)	0.087*** (0.011)	0.074*** (0.008)	0.008 (0.008)	-0.033*** (0.009)	-0.031*** (0.008)
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.184	0.136	0.0326	0.0603	0.0218	0.0574	0.0736
Panel B: With Full Set of Individual Controls							
Job orientations index	0.009 (0.007)	0.014* (0.009)	0.030*** (0.011)	0.001 (0.009)	0.030*** (0.008)	0.057*** (0.009)	0.028*** (0.008)
Career orientations index	0.089*** (0.007)	0.105*** (0.008)	-0.048*** (0.012)	-0.042*** (0.009)	0.004 (0.009)	0.016* (0.009)	0.010 (0.008)
Calling orientations index	-0.054*** (0.007)	-0.064*** (0.008)	0.086*** (0.011)	0.079*** (0.009)	-0.000 (0.008)	-0.028*** (0.009)	-0.034*** (0.008)
Mean DV	0.114	0.191	0.440	0.799	0.826	0.173	0.118
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.195	0.150	0.0461	0.082	0.076	0.085	0.106

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, the reported estimates are average marginal effects obtained after logistic estimators. The individual controls in Panel A are age and biological sex. The additional controls in Panel B are marital status, children in the household, home ownership, urban/rural residence, college degree, personal income tertile, employee or self-employed status, occupation, public employee status, and tenure. The means of the dependent variables are the same across panels A and B. All dependent variables are binary. The work orientations indices are standardized to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. N=2,380 except in Models (1) and (2) in Panel B, where N=2,376 as the marginal effect of missing urbanity is not estimable. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table 13 shows the associations between the work orientations variables and the job search, quit intentions, effort, and quiet quitting opinions using the standardized values of the work orientations indices as opposed to the categorizations of respondents into mutually exclusive work orientations categories as in Table 5.

Comparing Tables 5 and 13 yields similar conclusions. Specifically, those with a calling orientation are less likely to have quit intentions and be looking for another job, they are more likely to put high levels of effort into their jobs and believe that individuals should do their best work and are less likely to condone quiet quitting or believe that employees need to limit their work activities to those that they are paid for.

Those with a career orientation are more likely to want to switch jobs, less likely to put in their maximum effort, and less likely to believe that they should do their best work at all times.

When it comes to the rest of the quiet quitting attitudes, having a career orientation does not seem to matter, but those with a job orientation are more likely to believe in setting boundaries and be supportive of quiet quitting.

The main conclusion from the checks in this section is that the main results reported in this paper are not a function of the distinct categorization of individuals into job, career, and calling groups based on the highest of the three index values. In the next section, I check whether the results are robust to using an alternative measure of work orientations.

As a final check, Table 14 demonstrates the relationship between each of the 10 standardized items comprising the job, career, and orientation indices and the outcome variables.

Specifically, having a financial motivation for working aligns with increased effort and a commitment to performing at one's best. However, it also correlates with setting limits on additional tasks, focusing on duties that are remunerated, and a perception that 'quiet quitting'—or doing no more than the minimum job requirements—is acceptable. Furthermore, those with a strong desire to retire show a higher tendency to search for new job opportunities and a lower propensity to put in their best effort at work. They are more inclined to limit their tasks to what they are specifically paid for and are more accepting of quiet quitting.

Furthermore, the results suggest a positive association of all three items within the career orientations index with job search behavior and intentions to quit. This is in line with the findings presented in Table 5. Additionally, the negative correlation between career orientations related to effort and the belief in performing one's best at work predominantly pertains to individuals who regard their current job as a step toward future opportunities. Those anticipating a promotion tend to endorse the setting of work boundaries, whereas individuals who see their job as a stepping stone tend to avoid establishing such boundaries, probably because they consider extra work as a strategic investment for future career advancement. Lastly, those with a perspective of their job as a stepping stone appear more inclined to accept the notion of quiet quitting.

Finally, regarding items comprising the calling orientations index, the negative association between quit intentions seems to be driven by respondents saying that they would choose their job again if they had the chance. Additionally, the reduced inclination towards job searching among the calling-oriented is driven by both individuals who would opt for their job again and those for whom work holds a central place in life. Moreover, those who are enthusiastic about discussing their work, would choose their work again, and regard their work as a crucial element of their existence, demonstrate a higher likelihood of exerting effort and doing their best at work. The relationship between calling and work boundaries shows variability, with some aspects positively associated and others negatively. Notably, believing in work centrality aligns negatively with the belief in limiting one's efforts to paid tasks, and similarly, it is inversely related to the acceptability of quiet quitting.

Table 14: The relationship between work orientation items and quit intentions, effort, and quiet quitting

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Quit intention	Job search	Effort	Best work	Boundaries	Only renumerated work	Quiet quitting acceptability
Panel A: With Exogenous Individual Controls							
<b>Job</b>							
Q6 My main reason for working is financial: to support my family and lifestyle	0.008 (0.007)	-0.004 (0.008)	0.025** (0.011)	0.031*** (0.009)	0.012 (0.008)	0.027*** (0.010)	0.014 (0.009)
Q7 I am eager to retire	0.002 (0.007)	0.021** (0.009)	0.013 (0.012)	-0.031*** (0.009)	0.008 (0.009)	0.046*** (0.009)	0.020** (0.008)
<b>Career</b>							
Q11 I expect to be in a higher-level job in five years	0.029*** (0.010)	0.026** (0.012)	0.016 (0.017)	-0.012 (0.013)	0.037*** (0.013)	-0.014 (0.011)	-0.015 (0.010)
Q12 I view my job as a stepping stone to other jobs	0.030*** (0.009)	0.050*** (0.011)	-0.072*** (0.016)	-0.041*** (0.012)	-0.024** (0.012)	0.035*** (0.011)	0.025*** (0.010)
Q13 I expect to be doing the same work in five years (reversed)	0.054*** (0.008)	0.060*** (0.009)	0.013 (0.012)	0.007 (0.009)	0.008 (0.009)	-0.012 (0.009)	0.002 (0.009)
<b>Calling</b>							
Q4 I enjoy talking about my work with others	-0.002 (0.007)	0.003 (0.009)	0.025** (0.012)	0.040*** (0.009)	0.042*** (0.008)	-0.019** (0.009)	-0.008 (0.008)
Q5 My work is one of the most important things in my life	0.002 (0.007)	-0.014 (0.009)	0.070*** (0.012)	0.046*** (0.010)	-0.031*** (0.010)	-0.019** (0.009)	-0.023*** (0.008)

Q8 If I was financially independent, I would continue my current work even if I wasn't getting paid for it	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.002 (0.009)	-0.013 (0.012)	-0.004 (0.010)	-0.040*** (0.009)	-0.007 (0.009)	-0.003 (0.009)
Q9 My work makes the world a better place	-0.004 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.008)	0.021* (0.011)	-0.015* (0.009)	0.007 (0.008)	0.014* (0.008)	0.001 (0.007)
Q10 I would choose my current line of work again if I had the chance	-0.043*** (0.007)	-0.046*** (0.009)	0.018 (0.012)	0.032*** (0.010)	0.021** (0.009)	-0.016* (0.009)	-0.008 (0.009)
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.011***	0.022***	0.006	0.015***	0.002	-0.001	-0.006

Panel B: With Full Set of Individual Controls

**Job**

Q6 My main reason for working is financial: to support my family and lifestyle	0.012* (0.007)	0.002 (0.008)	0.019* (0.011)	0.028*** (0.009)	0.016** (0.008)	0.023** (0.010)	0.013 (0.008)
Q7 I am eager to retire	0.003 (0.007)	0.020** (0.009)	0.012 (0.012)	-0.031*** (0.009)	0.008 (0.009)	0.042*** (0.009)	0.021*** (0.008)

**Career**

Q11 I expect to be in a higher-level job in five years	0.032*** (0.010)	0.022* (0.012)	0.008 (0.016)	-0.015 (0.012)	0.033** (0.013)	-0.011 (0.012)	-0.011 (0.010)
Q12 I view my job as a stepping stone to other jobs	0.027*** (0.008)	0.050*** (0.010)	-0.076*** (0.015)	-0.040*** (0.011)	-0.022* (0.012)	0.034*** (0.011)	0.024** (0.009)
Q13 I expect to be doing the same work in five years (reversed)	0.051*** (0.008)	0.058*** (0.009)	0.018 (0.012)	0.011 (0.009)	-0.002 (0.009)	-0.011 (0.009)	-0.002 (0.009)

**Calling**

Q4 I enjoy talking about my work with others	-0.003 (0.007)	0.005 (0.009)	0.022* (0.012)	0.038*** (0.009)	0.039*** (0.009)	-0.013 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.008)
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Q5 My work is one of the most important things in my life	0.005 (0.007)	-0.017* (0.009)	0.063*** (0.012)	0.040*** (0.010)	-0.031*** (0.009)	-0.018** (0.009)	-0.020** (0.008)
Q8 If I was financially independent, I would continue my current work even if I wasn't getting paid for it	-0.009 (0.008)	0.001 (0.009)	-0.006 (0.012)	-0.000 (0.010)	-0.033*** (0.009)	-0.011 (0.009)	-0.005 (0.008)
Q9 My work makes the world a better place	-0.010 (0.007)	-0.013 (0.009)	0.019 (0.012)	-0.004 (0.009)	-0.011 (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	-0.008 (0.008)
Q10 I would choose my current line of work again if I had the chance	-0.045*** (0.007)	-0.046*** (0.009)	0.022* (0.012)	0.032*** (0.010)	0.018* (0.009)	-0.012 (0.009)	-0.009 (0.008)
Mean DV	0.113	0.191	0.449	0.797	0.832	0.168	0.120
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.242	0.187	0.0697	0.113	0.106	0.0945	0.126

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, the reported estimates are average marginal effects obtained after logistic estimators. The individual controls in Panel A are age and biological sex. T The means of the dependent variables are the same across panels A and B. All dependent variables are binary. All independent variables are standardized. N=2,380 except in Models (1) and (2) in Panel B, where N=2,376 as the marginal effect of missing urbanity is not estimable.

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

#### 6.4. Vignette Measures of Work Orientations

I also measured work orientations using a validated survey instrument with three vignettes (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997), available in Part 1 in the questionnaires listed in Appendix A and B. The LISS panel randomized the order of the vignettes for respondents. Respondents in Group A primarily view work as a paycheck, Group B – as a career, and Group C- as a calling. Individuals can simultaneously identify with all three dimensions.

Following Wrzesniewski et al. (1997), I placed respondents in a single work orientation category based on the highest vignette rating. To do so, I excluded respondents who gave the same rating to more than one vignette, which comprised nearly two-thirds (65%) of the sample. That percentage of 65% is quite significant – as it indicates that the majority of respondents do not necessarily view the meaning of work in a uni-dimensional way when measured using the vignettes and as related to the discussion in the previous subsection. At the same time, as I argue below, the vignettes are not the most opportune way of measuring work orientations.

I could therefore classify only 1,524 respondents as belonging exclusively to one of the categories. Roughly a third of these 1,524 respondents strictly identified with each work orientation (34% job orientation, 35% career orientation, 31% calling orientation), which is similar to the findings in Wrzesniewski et al (1997).

Even though respondents answered the vignettes at the beginning of the survey, it seems that many of them gave noisy and inconsistent responses, likely due to not carefully reading the rather lengthy vignette paragraphs. A further indication that the vignette questions were cognitively difficult for respondents, is that it took them longer to answer the vignettes (average 112 seconds, median=75 seconds), compared with the items questions (average = 68 seconds, median = 51 seconds).<sup>17</sup>

Table C1 details the probability of being classified as having job, career, and calling orientations for the sample of 1,524 respondents with a unique work orientation based on the vignettes. I exclude the working conditions variables (tenure, working hours, permanent contract, public employee status) because there is not enough variation in this smaller sample to estimate all coefficient estimates. There are very few differences across socio-demographic characteristics in how respondents answered the vignette questions, which suggests that these measures are quite noisy.

In addition, in Table 15, I correlated the indicators of belonging to each of the work orientations categories, created using the items (N=2,380) and the vignettes (N=1,524).

There is barely any overlap between individuals belonging to each of the job, career, and calling orientations based on the vignettes and the items measures. For example, the correlation between having a job orientation based on the items and vignettes is only 0.18, suggesting that the vignettes answers are noisy and inconsistent.

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<sup>17</sup> I am thankful to Stein Jongerius for double-checking this information.

Table 15: Correlation between work orientation categories, items, and vignettes

	Job orientation, items	Career orientation, items	Calling orientation, items	Job orientation, vignettes	Career orientation, vignettes	Calling orientation, vignettes
Job orientation, items	1					
Career orientation, items	-0.4605	1				
Calling orientation, items	-0.5801	-0.456	1			
Job orientation, vignettes	-0.018	0.013	0.006	1		
Career orientation, vignettes	-0.021	0.013	0.009	-0.525	1	
Calling orientation, vignettes	0.040	-0.026	-0.016	-0.481	-0.494	1

Table C2 replicates the main analyses from Table 5 with the vignette work orientation classifications, which do not show any clear patterns of association with the outcome variables, suggesting again that the vignette-based measures are quite noisy.

Only 498 respondents provided consistent responses to both the vignette and the survey items. A robustness check with this subset of individuals is presented in Table C3, which suggests that the patterns of association between work orientations and the outcome variables are similar to those in the main specification (Table 5) for the quit intentions and job search outcomes. For the rest of the outcomes, the statistical significance is often lacking, which suggests that there may be power issues, though the coefficient patterns remain similar.

## 7. Discussion and Conclusion

This paper studies a novel determinant of job search behavior, quit intentions, and effort, which the labor economics literature has ignored so far. In doing so, it utilizes a newly-collected data on work orientations as part of the Dutch LISS study and explores to what extent work orientations influence workplace behaviors and opinions.

Specifically, I proposed and tested three hypotheses to explore the relationship between work orientations and various workplace behaviors and attitudes. The findings generally provide empirical support for the hypotheses. Individuals with a job orientation, who work mainly for financial reasons, exhibit higher quit intentions and job search behaviors, aligning with Hypothesis 1. Hypothesis 2 is partially supported; while career-oriented individuals may exhibit higher effort, presumably because their job matches their career aspirations, they also

display a surprising inclination towards quitting, likely in search of better opportunities elsewhere. Hypothesis 3 is strongly supported, as those with a calling orientation are less likely to quit or search for jobs and more likely to exert greater effort, indicating that a sense of calling fosters greater job commitment and satisfaction. Among those with calling and career orientations, there's a normative stance against condoning quiet quitting.

This paper suggests that work orientations are an important, yet often neglected mechanism explaining workplace behavior. Consequently, incorporating work orientations into labor economics can offer an understanding of the world of work and the recent trends that puzzle employers and policymakers. For example, work orientations could potentially help shed light on apparent paradoxes in labor economics, such as why despite being unhappy, some unemployed take a long time to find a job (Gielen & Van Ours, 2014), why some people remain in their jobs despite finding them socially useless (Dur & van Lent, 2018) or why certain workers retire while others remain working past retirement age. Work orientations provide a guide into understanding heterogeneous motivations for working and conduct at work.

This heterogeneity may be crucial to understanding the world of work. Recent research suggests that not *all* workers care solely about the paycheck and not *all* of them search for meaning. For example, although some scientists accept a pay cut to work in jobs that allow them to publish (Hamermesh, 2018; Stern, 2004), a fifth of all PhD candidates do not care about publishing in their future jobs (Sauermann & Roach, 2014). Moreover, while the self-employed are happier than regular workers (Binder & Blankenberg, 2020), entrepreneurship can decrease the job satisfaction of those who like hierarchy (Fuchs-Schündeln, 2009). Yet, very little is known about the factors driving these heterogeneities in work attitudes and behaviors. I argue that work orientations are one important piece of the puzzle.

The labor market behavior of individuals who tend to value work only for the paycheck may be best understood under the “disutility of work” framework. Such individuals may postpone finding a job upon becoming unemployed, look forward to retirement, and not mind having a socially useless job as long as it pays the bills. At the other extreme, those with a calling orientation will likely have a strong labor market attachment because they derive meaning from the process of working. Therefore, studying whether and how work orientations determine differences in labor market preferences can open a black box in our understanding of labor market outcomes and inform policies related to designing job-seeking programs, retirement policies, and incentive schemes in firms.

The paper has several limitations. First, it is a snapshot in time and takes the pulse of how Dutch workers thought about their work motivation and job changes as of April-May 2023. Therefore, there is no longitudinal component and it is impossible to study whether and how work orientations change over time and how labor market experiences themselves shape work orientations. Collecting longitudinal data on work orientations as part of nationally representative samples is crucial to understanding more about work orientations, including the stability of work orientations over time following the career paths of individuals.

Second, the paper focuses on workers’ perspectives only and fully ignores the employers’ characteristics, leadership and management styles, and corporate cultures. This suggests an implicit normative stance suggesting that workers that effort is desirable and that quiet and

loud quitting is not, and that these workplace attitudes and behaviors are solely the choices of the worker. Ideally, work orientations should be collected as part of linked employer-employee surveys that also collect information on working conditions, management practices, and worker voice and representation. This would allow for a more comprehensive understanding of how work orientations interplay with the working environment and firm practices that workers face.

This paper introduces the concept of work orientations in labor economics and calls for a new research agenda that incorporates work orientations as part of standard labor economics models. Future research needs to prioritize longitudinal data collection to unravel the dynamic nature of work orientations and their long-term effects on labor market behaviors. A balanced examination, inclusive of both employee and employer perspectives, will illuminate how organizational practices and work orientations mutually influence each other. Additionally, a granular analysis of working conditions linked to work orientations promises to offer a more intricate understanding of the interplay between an individual's work values and their professional environment.

## APPENDIX A: English questionnaire (Translated from Dutch, see Appendix B)

### PART 1: WORK ORIENTATIONS

Below are three descriptions of categories of people. Please read all three carefully. For each category, indicate how well this category describes you.

**Category A** people work primarily to earn enough money to support their lives outside of their jobs. If they were financially secure, they would no longer continue with their current line of work, but would really rather do something else instead. To these people, their jobs are basically a necessity of life, a lot like breathing or sleeping. They often wish the time would pass more quickly at work. They greatly anticipate weekends and vacations. If these people lived their lives over again, they probably would not go into the same line of work. They would not encourage their friends and children to enter their line of work. Category A people are very eager to retire.

**Category B** people basically enjoy their work, but do not expect to be in their current jobs five years from now. Instead, they plan to move on to better, higher-level jobs. They have several goals for their futures pertaining to the positions they would eventually like to hold. Sometimes their work seems a waste of time, but they know that they must do sufficiently well in their current positions in order to move on. Category B people can't wait to get a promotion. For them, a promotion means recognition of their good work, and is a sign of their success in competition with coworkers.

For **Category C** people, work is one of the most important parts of life. They are very pleased that they are in their line of work. Because what they do for a living is a vital part of who they are, it is one of the first things they tell people about themselves. They tend to take their work home with them and on vacations, too. The majority of their friends are from their places of employment, and they belong to several organizations and clubs relating to their work. They feel good about their work because they love it, and because they think it makes the world a better place. They would encourage their friends and children to enter their line of work. Category C people would be pretty upset if they were forced to stop working, and they are not particularly looking forward to retirement.

How well does each of the above categories describe you?

*Question type:* Table

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Sub-questions:*

**Q1** Category A

**Q2** Category B

### Q3 Category C

*Categories:*

1. Not at all like me
2. Not really like me
3. A bit like me
4. Exactly like me

---

To what extent do the following statements about you, your work and/or career apply?

*Question type:* Table

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Sub-questions:*

**Q4** I enjoy talking about my work with others

**Q5** My work is one of the most important things in my life

**Q6** My main reason for working is financial: to support my family and lifestyle

**Q7** I am eager to retire

**Q8** If I was financially independent, I would continue my current work even if I wasn't getting paid for it

**Q9** My work makes the world a better place

**Q10** I would choose my current line of work again if I had the chance

**Q11** I expect to be in a higher-level job in five years

**Q12** I view my job as a stepping stone to other jobs

**Q13** I expect to be doing the same work in five years

*Categories:*

1. 1 Not applicable at all
2. 2
3. 3 Neutral
4. 4
5. 5 Completely applicable

---

## PART 2: WORK MEANINGFULNESS

To what extent do the following statements about you, your work and/or career apply?

*Question type:* Table

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Sub-questions:*

- Q14** I have found a meaningful career  
**Q15** I understand how my work contributes to my life's meaning  
**Q16** I have a good sense of what makes my job meaningful  
**Q17** I have discovered work that has a satisfying purpose  
**Q18** I view my work as contributing to my personal growth  
**Q19** My work helps me better understand myself  
**Q20** My work helps me make sense of the world around me  
**Q21** My work really makes a difference to the world  
**Q22** I know my work makes a positive difference in the world  
**Q23** The work I do serves a greater purpose

*Categories:*

1. 1 Not applicable at all
  2. 2
  3. 3 Neutral
  4. 4
  5. 5 Completely applicable
- 
- 

### **PART 3: QUIT INTENSIONS**

**Q24** How likely is it that you will try to find a job with another firm or organization within the next 12 months?

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Categories:*

1. Very unlikely
  2. Unlikely
  3. Neither unlikely nor likely
  4. Likely
  5. Very likely
- 
- 

If Q24 > 2

**Q25** Why do you think you may no longer be working at your current job within the next 12 months? Choose the main reason.

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Categories:*

1. The organization/workplace will close down
2. I will be declared redundant
3. I will reach normal retirement age

4. My contract of employment will expire
  5. I will take early retirement
  6. I will decide to leave and work for another employer
  7. I will decide to leave and work for myself as self-employed
  8. I will leave to look after home/children/family
  9. I will leave to participate in education/educational program
  10. Running my own business is no longer financially worthwhile
  11. Other, namely: \_\_\_\_\_ (Answer type: String)
- 
- 

If Q24 > 2

**Q26** What steps, if any, have you taken to find a job with another firm or organization?

*Multiple answers are possible.*

*Answer type: Checkboxes*

*Subquestions:*

**Q26\_\_1** I have updated my CV

**Q26\_\_2** I have searched online job boards

**Q26\_\_3** I have applied for job openings at other companies

**Q26\_\_4** I have reached out to my professional network for job leads or recommendations

**Q26\_\_5** I have attended job fairs or networking events

**Q26\_\_6** I have contacted a recruiter or employment agency

**Q26\_\_7** I have considered going back to school or pursuing additional training

**Q26\_\_8** I have spoken with a career counselor or coach

**Q26\_\_9** Other, namely: \_\_\_\_\_ (Answer type: String)

**Q26\_\_10** I have not taken any steps to find a job with another firm or organization

*Categories:*

0. No

1. Yes

---

---

#### **PART 4: QUIET QUITTING**

**Q27** How much effort are you currently putting into your main paid job?

*Answer type: Slider*

*Label left: No effort 0%*

*Label right:* A lot of effort 100%

*Min:* 0

*Max:* 100

---

---

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

*Question type:* Table

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Sub-questions:*

**Q28** Employees should always try to do their best at work

**Q29** Employees should set boundaries around the amount of extra work they do

**Q30** Employees should only do the work they are paid for, no more and no less

*Categories:*

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Agree
5. Strongly agree

---

---

**Q31** Some employees do only the bare minimum of what they are asked to do to keep their jobs. They do not put in extra effort if there is no compensation in return. This phenomenon is called “quiet quitting.” How acceptable do you find it when someone does this?

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Categories:*

1. Not acceptable at all
2. Unacceptable
3. Neither unacceptable nor acceptable
4. Acceptable
5. Fully acceptable

## APPENDIX B: Dutch questionnaire

### The Great Resignation, Quiet Quitting, and Work Orientations Vragenlijst

#### DEEL 1: WORK ORIENTATIONS

Hieronder staan drie omschrijvingen van groepen mensen. Leest u deze alle drie goed door. Geef voor elke groep aan hoe goed deze groep u omschrijft.

Mensen uit **groep A** werken vooral om voldoende geld te verdienen om te leven. Als ze financieel onafhankelijk zijn, zullen ze het werk niet blijven doen, maar liever iets anders gaan doen. Deze groep ziet een baan als iets dat nodig is om te leven, zoals ademen of slapen. Vaak hopen ze dat de tijd sneller gaat als ze aan het werk zijn. Ze kijken erg uit naar weekenden en vakanties. Als ze hun leven nog eens over mochten doen, zouden ze waarschijnlijk niet het werk doen dat ze nu doen. Ze moedigen hun vrienden en kinderen niet aan om hetzelfde werk te doen. Mensen uit groep A kunnen niet wachten om met pensioen te gaan.

Mensen uit **groep B** houden wel van hun werk, maar verwachten niet dat ze over vijf jaar nog hetzelfde werk doen. Ze zijn bezig om een betere baan op een hoger niveau te krijgen. Ze hebben verschillende doelen voor hun toekomst als het gaat om de functies die ze uiteindelijk willen bereiken. Hun werk lijkt soms tijdsverspilling, maar ze weten dat ze het redelijk goed moeten doen om hogerop te komen. Mensen uit groep B kunnen niet wachten om promotie te krijgen. Promotie is een erkenning dat ze hun werk goed doen, en een teken dat ze succesvol zijn in vergelijking met hun collega's.

Voor mensen uit **groep C** is werk één van de belangrijkste dingen in het leven. Ze zijn heel blij met het werk dat ze doen. Het is een wezenlijk deel van wie ze zijn, en het is daarom een van de eerste dingen waarover ze vertellen aan anderen. Ze hebben de neiging hun werk mee te nemen naar huis en op vakantie. Het grootste deel van hun vrienden hebben ze door hun werk verkregen. Ze zitten in verschillende organisaties en clubs die met hun werk te maken hebben. Ze voelen zich goed over hun werk omdat ze ervan houden, en omdat ze denken dat het nuttig is voor de maatschappij. Ze moedigen hun vrienden en kinderen aan om hetzelfde werk te gaan doen. Mensen uit groep C zouden overstuurd zijn als ze moesten stoppen met werken, en ze kijken er niet echt naar uit om met pensioen te gaan.

Hoe goed beschrijft elke van de bovenstaande groepen u?

*Question type:* Table

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Sub-questions:*

**Q1** Groep A

**Q2** Groep B

### Q3 Groep C

*Categories:*

5. Helemaal niet zoals ik
  6. Niet echt zoals ik
  7. Een beetje zoals ik
  8. Precies zoals ik
- 

In welke mate zijn de volgende uitspraken over u, uw werk en/of carrière van toepassing?

*Question type:* Table

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Sub-questions:*

- Q4** Ik vind het leuk om met anderen over mijn werk te praten
- Q5** Mijn werk is één van de belangrijkste dingen in mijn leven
- Q6** Mijn belangrijkste reden om te werken is financieel, zodat ik kan zorgen voor mijn gezin en kan leven zoals ik leef
- Q7** Ik kijk ernaar uit om met pensioen te gaan
- Q8** Als ik financieel onafhankelijk was, zou ik blijven werken in de baan die ik nu heb, ook als ik er niet voor zou worden betaald
- Q9** Mijn werk verbetert de wereld
- Q10** Als ik de kans had, zou ik opnieuw kiezen voor het werk dat ik nu heb
- Q11** Ik verwacht over vijf jaar een baan te hebben op een hoger niveau
- Q12** Ik zie mijn baan als een opstap naar andere banen
- Q13** Ik verwacht over vijf jaar hetzelfde werk te doen als dat ik nu doe

*Categories:*

6. 1 Helemaal niet van toepassing
  7. 2
  8. 3 Neutraal
  9. 4
  10. 5 Helemaal van toepassing
- 

## DEEL 2: WORK MEANINGFULNESS

In welke mate zijn de volgende uitspraken op u, uw werk en/of carrière van toepassing?

*Question type:* Table

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Sub-questions:*

**Q14** Ik heb een zinvolle carrière gevonden

**Q15** Ik begrijp hoe mijn werk bijdraagt aan het doel van mijn leven

**Q16** Ik heb een goed idee bij wat mijn werk zinvol maakt

**Q17** Ik heb werk gevonden dat een bevredigend doel heeft

**Q18** Ik zie mijn werk als een bijdrage aan mijn persoonlijke groei

**Q19** Mijn werk helpt mij mezelf beter te begrijpen

**Q20** Mijn werk helpt mij om de wereld om mij heen beter te begrijpen

**Q21** Mijn werk maakt echt een verschil in de wereld

**Q22** Ik weet dat mijn werk een positief verschil maakt in de wereld

**Q23** Het werk dat ik doe dient een groter doel

*Categories:*

6. 1 Helemaal niet van toepassing
  7. 2
  8. 3 Neutraal
  9. 4
  10. 5 Helemaal van toepassing
- 

### **DEEL 3: QUIT INTENTIONS**

**Q24** Hoe waarschijnlijk is het dat u in de komende 12 maanden een baan gaat zoeken bij een ander bedrijf of een andere organisatie?

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Categories:*

6. Erg onwaarschijnlijk
  7. Onwaarschijnlijk
  8. Niet onwaarschijnlijk en niet waarschijnlijk
  9. Waarschijnlijk
  10. Erg waarschijnlijk
- 

If Q24 > 2

**Q25** Waarom denkt u dat u over 12 maanden misschien niet meer werkt in de baan die u op dit moment hebt? Kies de belangrijkste reden.

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Categories:*

12. De organisatie/werkplek gaat sluiten
13. Ik zal overbodig zijn

14. Ik bereik de pensioengerechtigde leeftijd
  15. Mijn arbeidsovereenkomst loopt af
  16. Ik ga met vervroegd pensioen
  17. Ik zal besluiten om te vertrekken om voor een andere werkgever te gaan werken
  18. Ik zal besluiten om te vertrekken om voor mijzelf te gaan werken als zelfstandige
  19. Ik zal vertrekken om voor huis/kinderen/familielid te zorgen
  20. Ik zal vertrekken om een opleiding/cursus te volgen
  21. Een eigen bedrijf hebben is financieel niet meer de moeite waard
  22. Anders, namelijk: \_\_\_\_\_ (Answer type: String)
- 

If Q24 > 2

**Q26** Wat hebt u eventueel gedaan om een baan te vinden bij een ander bedrijf of een andere organisatie?

*Meerdere antwoorden mogelijk*

*Answer type: Checkboxes*

*Subquestions:*

**Q26\_\_1** Ik heb mijn CV bijgewerkt

**Q26\_\_2** Ik heb op online vacaturesites gezocht

**Q26\_\_3** Ik heb gesolliciteerd op vacatures bij andere bedrijven

**Q26\_\_4** Ik heb contact gezocht met mijn professionele netwerk voor vacatures of aanbevelingen

**Q26\_\_5** Ik heb banenbeurzen of netwerkevenementen bezocht

**Q26\_\_6** Ik heb contact gehad/gezocht met een recruiter of uitzendbureau

**Q26\_\_7** Ik heb erover nagedacht weer terug naar school te gaan of een aanvullende opleiding te volgen

**Q26\_\_8** Ik heb met een loopbaanadviseur of -coach gesproken

**Q26\_\_9** Anders, namelijk: \_\_\_\_\_ (Answer type: String)

**Q26\_\_10** Ik heb niets gedaan om een baan te vinden bij een ander bedrijf of andere organisatie

*Categories:*

2. Nee
  3. Ja
- 

**DEEL 4: QUIET QUITTING**

**Q27** Hoeveel moeite doet u op dit moment in uw belangrijkste betaalde baan?

*Answer type:* Slider

*Label left:* Geen moeite 0%

*Label right:* Zeer veel moeite 100%

*Min:* 0

*Max:* 100

---

Bent u het oneens of eens met de volgende uitspraken?

*Question type:* Table

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Sub-questions:*

**Q28** Werknemers moeten altijd proberen hun uiterste best te doen

**Q29** Werknemers moeten grenzen stellen aan de hoeveelheid extra werk dat ze doen

**Q30** Werknemers moeten alleen het werk doen waarvoor ze betaald krijgen, niet meer en niet minder

*Categories:*

6. Helemaal niet mee eens
  7. Niet mee eens
  8. Niet eens, niet oneens
  9. Mee eens
  10. Helemaal mee eens
- 

**Q31** Sommige medewerkers van een bedrijf doen alleen het minimale van wat ze gevraagd wordt om hun baan te behouden. Ze spannen zich niet extra in als daar geen compensatie tegenover staat. Dit wordt 'quiet quitting' of 'stil stoppen' genoemd. Hoe acceptabel vindt u het als iemand dit doet?

*Answer type:* Radio buttons

*Categories:*

6. Helemaal niet acceptabel
7. Niet acceptabel
8. Niet onacceptabel en niet acceptabel
9. Acceptabel
10. Volledig acceptabel

## Appendix C

Table C1: The determinants of work orientations based on vignettes

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Job orientation, vignettes	Career orientation, vignettes	Calling orientation, vignettes
Age	-0.021** (0.008)	0.007 (0.009)	0.014 (0.009)
Age squared/100	0.024*** (0.009)	-0.009 (0.010)	-0.015 (0.009)
Male	0.021 (0.028)	-0.031 (0.028)	0.009 (0.027)
Married	0.036 (0.027)	0.014 (0.027)	-0.049* (0.026)
Children in household	0.014 (0.027)	0.012 (0.027)	-0.026 (0.026)
Home owner	-0.002 (0.031)	0.005 (0.032)	-0.004 (0.031)
Urban resident	-0.014 (0.025)	-0.019 (0.025)	0.034 (0.025)
College education	-0.076** (0.030)	0.048 (0.030)	0.027 (0.029)
Education missing	0.129 (0.191)	-0.164 (0.142)	0.035 (0.183)
Middle income tertile	0.005 (0.033)	0.009 (0.033)	-0.013 (0.032)
Richest income tertile	0.004 (0.037)	-0.025 (0.038)	0.021 (0.037)
Income missing	0.061 (0.059)	-0.069 (0.057)	0.009 (0.058)
Employee	0.034 (0.041)	-0.019 (0.043)	-0.015 (0.042)
Senior Management (Manager, Director, Company Owner)	0.012 (0.056)	0.003 (0.055)	-0.014 (0.049)
Intermediate Professional (Teacher, Artist, Nurse)	-0.025 (0.045)	-0.036 (0.044)	0.059 (0.042)
Mid-Level Supervisory/Commercial (Department Manager, Shopkeeper)	-0.008 (0.055)	-0.039 (0.054)	0.045 (0.052)
Clerical and Support Work (Administrative Assistant, Accountant)	-0.043	0.027	0.015

	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.047)
Skilled Manual Work (Car Mechanic, Foreman)	-0.062 (0.065)	-0.012 (0.070)	0.073 (0.068)
Semi-Skilled Manual Work (Driver, Factory Worker)	0.008 (0.068)	0.039 (0.070)	-0.051 (0.060)
Basic Manual Labor (Cleaner, Packer) and Agricultural Work (Farm Worker, Farmer)	-0.061 (0.074)	-0.032 (0.077)	0.093 (0.075)
Profession missing	-0.012 (0.065)	-0.070 (0.064)	0.081 (0.067)
Job satisfaction score 8 or above	0.008 (0.026)	0.020 (0.026)	-0.028 (0.026)
Job satisfaction missing	0.033 (0.068)	0.039 (0.071)	-0.069 (0.063)
Work meaningfulness (WAMI)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Observations	1,522	1,522	1,522
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.008	0.009	0.011

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, the reported estimates are average marginal effects obtained after logistic estimators. The reference category for profession is Advanced Academic/Professional (Architect, Physician, Scholar) and for job satisfaction - scores between 1 and 7. The analysis sample is 1,522 and not 1,524 because the marginal effect of urbanity missing is not available

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table C2: The relationship between work orientations and quit intentions, effort, and quiet quitting, based on vignette measures

	(1) Quit intention	(2) Job search	(3) Effort	(4) Best work	(5) Boundaries	(6) Only renumerated work	(7) Quiet quitting acceptability
Panel A: With Exogenous Individual Controls							
Work orientations (ref: job)							
Career	0.001 (0.019)	-0.008 (0.024)	-0.005 (0.031)	-0.024 (0.024)	0.028 (0.023)	0.014 (0.023)	0.024 (0.020)
Calling	0.010 (0.019)	-0.005 (0.024)	0.001 (0.032)	0.006 (0.025)	0.020 (0.024)	0.050** (0.025)	-0.005 (0.020)
Observations	1,524	1,524	1,524	1,524	1,524	1,524	1,524
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.050	0.048	0.007	0.018	0.018	0.008	0.043
Panel B: With Full Set of Individual Controls							
Work orientations (ref: job)							
Career	0.001 (0.019)	-0.008 (0.024)	0.003 (0.030)	-0.019 (0.024)	0.022 (0.023)	0.016 (0.023)	0.022 (0.020)
Calling	0.008 (0.019)	-0.006 (0.024)	0.002 (0.031)	0.010 (0.024)	0.012 (0.023)	0.051** (0.025)	-0.008 (0.020)
Mean DV	0.106	0.185	0.446	0.806	0.830	0.180	0.123
Observations	1,522	1,522	1,522	1,516	1,524	1,516	1,516
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.067	0.070	0.026	0.036	0.070	0.044	0.071

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, the reported estimates are average marginal effects obtained after logistic estimators. The individual controls in Panel A are age and biological sex. The additional controls in Panel B are age, biological sex, marital status, children in the household, home ownership, urban/rural residence, college degree, personal income tertile, employee or self-employed status, and occupation. The means of the dependent variables are the same across panels A and B. All dependent variables are binary. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table C3: The relationship between work orientations and quit intentions, effort, and quiet quitting, based on vignette measures

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Quit intention	Job search	Effort	Best work	Boundaries	Only renumera- ted work	Quiet quitting acceptability
Panel A: With Exogenous Individual Controls							
Work orientations (ref: job)							
Career	0.131*** (0.051)	0.120** (0.056)	-0.006 (0.062)	-0.138** (0.056)	-0.018 (0.047)	-0.044 (0.053)	-0.011 (0.041)
Calling	-0.055* (0.028)	-0.103*** (0.038)	0.056 (0.054)	0.052 (0.039)	-0.008 (0.041)	-0.115*** (0.042)	-0.089** (0.035)
Observations	498	498	498	498	498	498	498
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.100	0.104	0.012	0.048	0.009	0.021	0.058
Panel B: With Full Set of Individual Controls							
Work orientations (ref: job)							
Career	0.121** (0.052)	0.087* (0.052)	-0.005 (0.062)	-0.131** (0.058)	-0.023 (0.048)	-0.016 (0.054)	-0.009 (0.045)
Calling	-0.065** (0.030)	-0.097** (0.040)	0.080 (0.057)	0.057 (0.042)	0.001 (0.043)	-0.093** (0.043)	-0.086** (0.037)
Mean DV	0.120	0.193	0.446	0.805	0.829	0.191	0.106
Observations	489	496	496	496	496	496	485
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.135	0.149	0.030	0.072	0.060	0.065	0.089

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses, the reported estimates are average marginal effects obtained after logistic estimators. The sample is based on the 498 respondents who were categorized in each respective work orientation using the item and vignette methods. The individual controls in Panel A are age and biological sex. The additional controls in Panel B are age, biological sex, marital status, children in the household, home ownership, urban/rural residence, college degree, personal income tertile, employee or self-employed status, and occupation. The means of the dependent variables are the same across panels A and B. All dependent variables are binary. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

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