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Policy Entrepreneurs and the Design of Public Policy: The Case of the National Health Insurance Law in Israel

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Abstract²

How do policy entrepreneurs implement in practice the things theory suggests they should do? This article suggests various insights into the influence of policy entrepreneurs on the formulation of public policy. Using a broad definition of the concept of policy entrepreneur, the article identifies the main characteristics of entrepreneurial activities, describes various strategies that the policy entrepreneur may employ, and develops a model of successful and effective policy entrepreneurship. Using an analysis of the design of the Israel National Health Law of 1994 as a case study, the article emphasizes the importance of policy entrepreneurs in the public policy arena and provides several insights into the conditions for their activity, their motivations and main strategies.

Keywords: Policy Entrepreneurship, Policy Change, Health Care Policy, Reform.

Introduction

Over the last decades the concept of *entrepreneurship* has diffused into the scholarly discourse that deals with public policy and management (Roberts & King, 1991). Since the 1980's, a variety of studies have used this idea to explain various case studies and policy results. Many scholars use concepts such as *political entrepreneur* (Meydani, 2008; Schneider & Teske, 1992), *institutional entrepreneurship* (Campbell, 2004; DiMaggio, 1988), *public entrepreneurs* (Ostrom, 2005; Schneider, Teske & Mintrom, 1995; Schnellenbach, 2007), *policy entrepreneurs* (Kingdon, 1984/1995), *evolutionary policy maker* (Witt, 2003) and *executive entrepreneur* (Roberts & King, 1991) to provide a new perspective on various phenomena related to politics and administration. However, the literature often uses the same concepts to explain different phenomena, making it difficult to clearly define and understand policy entrepreneurs.

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Recently, Mintrom & Norman (2009, pp. 654-658) presented an integration of *policy entrepreneurship* and five different theories of policy change. At the end of their article, they claim that this concept is yet to be broadly integrated within analyses of policy change. New insights have also started to emerge concerning the sequencing of policy entrepreneurship over long periods of time, how the broader political climate can affect the context for policy entrepreneurs, how they frame problems, and how they work with others. Nevertheless, room remains for more conceptual development and empirical testing. Mintrom & Norman suggest two directions for fruitful future work. First, there is a need for closer study of the motivations and strategies of policy entrepreneurs. Second, there is also a need for more study of the interactions between policy entrepreneurs and their specific policy contexts. This paper focuses on these needs.

On June 15, 1994 the Israeli parliament (*Knesset*) passed the National Health Insurance Law (hereafter: NHIL) after decades of attempts and efforts to legislate or devise national health insurance. The application of the NHIL to all residents of Israel marked the end of a struggle of almost 70 years' duration, which began even before the State of Israel was established (Shvarts, 1998). The primary aim of this article is to analyze the design of the NHIL on the basis of a conceptual framework using theoretical tools taken from public policy and administration, and new institutional approaches, while focusing on the concept of entrepreneurs. In this context, we will outline the main characteristics of entrepreneurial activity and describe various strategies available to the policy entrepreneur. The theoretical insights developed in this article could, without extrapolating too far, offer some tentative lessons for other healthcare systems and reforms.

The textual sources used in the empirical analysis include legislative documents, reports and the minutes of various committee meetings in and outside of the Knesset, print and online press sources and professional and lay literature (e.g. biographies, autobiographies and non-research related books on political topics), including excerpts from the draft of a currently unpublished book by former Health Minister Haim Ramon. Also comprising part of the analysis are 43 interviews with politicians, bureaucrats, decision makers and researchers. The interviewees were selected based on their willingness to participate in the research (convenience sampling) and through snowball sampling (Cohen & Arieli, 2011).

The article is structured as follows. Chapter 2 defines the policy entrepreneur as a special player in the policy arena. This section also offers a broad definition of entrepreneurial activity, and describes the characteristics and principal action strategies of policy entrepreneurs. Chapter 3 reviews the main rationales behind the formulation of the NHIL as provided in the literature to date. This review also provides the reader with the historical background that preceded the period when the Law was formulated. In Chapter 4 the article goes further into the historical background, describing the main processes involving in formulating the Law. The heart of this article, Chapter 5, examines the conceptual framework that we developed. The final chapter is devoted to a summary and discussion.

Policy entrepreneurs: Characteristics, strategies and motivations

Policy entrepreneurs may be in or out of government, in elected or appointed positions, in interest groups or research organizations. However, their defining characteristic, much as in the case of a business entrepreneur, is their willingness to invest their resources – time, energy, reputation, and sometimes money – in the hope of a future return (Kingdon, 1995, p. 122). Following Kingdon's work, Mintrom & Norman (2009, pp. 652-654) suggest four elements that are central to policy entrepreneurship:

- *Displaying social acuity* means that the entrepreneurs are well-versed in the social-political context in which they are interacting and demonstrate high levels of social acuity in

understanding others and engaging in policy conversations. Thus, the entrepreneur can identify “windows of opportunity” (Kingdon, 1995) for introducing innovative policy within the existing social order.

- *Defining problems* refers to the act of problem description, which affects how people relate specific problems to their own interests. Viewed in this way, the definition of policy problems is always a political act.
- *Building teams* underscores the fact that policy entrepreneurs are team players. Their real strength comes from their ability to work effectively with other players in the policy arena. Thus, they operate within a tight-knit team composed of individuals with various knowledge and skills, who are able to offer mutual support in the pursuit of change, as well as use their personal and professional social networks to create a political coalition to challenge the status quo (Schneider & Teske, 1992, p. 742).
- *Leading by example* means that the policy entrepreneur often takes action intended to reduce the perception of risk among decision makers. When they lead by example – taking an idea and turning it into action themselves – the entrepreneurs signal their genuine commitment to improved social outcomes.

Mintrom & Norman suggest that in order to break a theoretical impasse, policy entrepreneurship must be studied in a manner that pays attention simultaneously to contextual factors, to individual actions within those contexts, and to how context shapes such actions (Mintrom, 1997, 2000; Mintrom & Vergari, 1996; Schneider, Teske & Mintrom, 1995). Indeed, following their important suggestion, this article will focus on contextual factors and their influence on policy entrepreneurs’ actions. However, as the political environment is dynamic and changes over time, the notion of policy entrepreneurs may change with it. Hence, including elements taken from business administration entrepreneurship in the concept of policy entrepreneurs may increase our insights into this phenomenon.

Hart, Stevenson & Dial (1995, p. 53) identify three elements in the activity of an entrepreneur who acts out of choice: 1) exploiting an opportunity; 2) creating a profit; 3) acting without regard for *alienable* resources currently not in their control. In other words, an entrepreneur always acts under conditions of risk and uncertainty. Hence, entrepreneurship is a process by which individuals – either on their own or inside organizations – pursue opportunities without regard to the resources currently controlled by others (Stevenson & Jarillo, 1990, p. 23). This definition, indeed, does not always suit the definitions suggested in the fields of public policy and political science. However, it increases our understanding of the motivations and strategies of policy entrepreneurs significantly. Hence, in this article we define a policy entrepreneur as an individual who exploits an opportunity in order to influence political results for his/her own benefit, in the absence of the resources required for accomplishing this goal alone.

According to this broad definition, and based on the above review, we can identify three main characteristics for the timing of an entrepreneur’s appearance: the desire to maximize personal interests as a result of activity whose purpose is to influence policy outcomes; a total absence of the resources needed to influence policy outcomes; and the existence of an opportunity to influence policy outcomes. It should be noted that a policy entrepreneur might also choose not to take action to promote a given institutional change and, in fact, act to prevent it. However, given that one of the main conditions of such entrepreneurship is the existence of an opportunity, it is reasonable to assume that entrepreneurial activity will strive to bring about a political change that influences political outcomes. Thus, it is also reasonable to assume that the opportunities will lead to a change in the status quo rather than its preservation.

The desire to maximize personal benefit

Much as in the case of a business entrepreneur, policy entrepreneurs will usually not invest their resources without hoping to receive a future return. In addition to ideologically-based motivations, entrepreneurs who are (or intend to become) politicians will probably act primarily to increase their chances of election, whereas entrepreneurs who are bureaucrats will seek to ensure that the results of their actions will serve their interests (i.e., increase their centrality and administrative power). It is important to be aware that benefit may derive both from change itself (the results obtained) and from the actual activity (even if the results obtained are less than ideal in the eyes of the entrepreneur). Thus, when entrepreneurs recognize the activity itself as being in their interests, they deem it appropriate to compromise on the nature of the results of the change, even if these are not considered ideal. Given that according to our broad definition, a policy entrepreneur does not have all the resources needed to realize the goals of the entrepreneurial activity, it is clear that successful entrepreneurial activity must be based on persuasion, pragmatism and willingness to compromise.

Absence of all of the resources needed to influence policy outcomes

Given that entrepreneurs do not have access to all of the necessary resources, they need to negotiate, persuade, compromise and be flexible in a variety of areas. Hence the entrepreneur's skills, ability to distinguish between the essential and the non-essential in the nature of the proposed institutional change, and willingness to relinquish the non-essential in order to succeed in implementing the policy change are clearly the recipe for successful entrepreneurial action. The non-essential, in this sense, refers to various elements related to policy change that the entrepreneurs do not consider likely to cause material damage to realizing their interests. Policy entrepreneurs are therefore frequently characterized by their instrumental approach to policy making – meaning that they are willing to compromise and concede maximization of the social welfare if that will enable them to realize their personal interests.

In order to succeed, policy entrepreneurs have to attract the support of key players in the policy arena, especially when factions opposing the change and favoring the preservation of the status quo are powerful. Even where the entrepreneurial activity, by definition, carries a calculated risk, consolidating a coalition in support of change could reduce risks. Furthermore, the more politically powerful the supporters, the easier it will be for the entrepreneur to recruit the resources needed.

The existence of an opportunity to influence policy outcomes

A third important condition for success is the existence of an opportunity, which automatically includes the potential to create value for the entrepreneur, from the point of view of both timing and results. Such an opportunity may arise from developments in the political system (the political arena), in the socio-economic power system (the local, regional or global arena) or both (a combination of opportunities). The greater the opposition to change, the more likely the entrepreneur will maintain that such a change will be socially beneficial compared to the existing reality.

The combination of motivation and a window of opportunity is the key to the entrepreneur's success in effecting policy change. Successful entrepreneurial action is therefore characterized by identifying the needs of significant groups in society and the political potential inherent therein to fulfill their needs. Identifying an opportunity for change could also take the form of identifying dynamics different than those of the entrepreneur (e.g., a conflict of interests between other

players) and exploiting these in effecting change. The existence of an opportunity could also affect the entrepreneur's willingness to take risks. Therefore, to a certain extent and in a calculated manner, entrepreneurs can be expected to adopt strategies that may appear outwardly to entail greater risk than the entrepreneur estimates because they could produce greater benefit due to the opportunity identified. We will use the creation of the National Health Insurance Law in Israel to illustrate the validity of this theoretical framework, focusing in particular on the role of policy entrepreneurs in formulating the bill and realizing its passage into law.

The design of the National Health Insurance Law in Israel – The common explanations

The literature is divided as to the reasons that led to the passing of Israel's NHIL in 1994. At one extreme, Shvarts (1998, 2000) attributes the passing of the NHIL to Haim Ramon, Israel's Health Minister at the time, and his activities to promote the Law out of a desire to further his personal interests as a politician (interview: Shvarts). Rosen and Bin-Nun (2005, p. 122) adopt a more centrist position, explaining that the legislation "cannot be attributed to a single central factor" and that Ramon's activity is not the key or the sole explanatory variable (interview: Bin-Nun). Moreover, in its final format, the Law differed from preceding bills, mainly in its capitation formula and in more controlled competition (interview: Rosen). Rosen and Bin-Nun claim that the crisis in the healthcare system, the publication of the recommendations of the investigation commission (the Netanyahu Commission), the impact of other reforms around the world, political backing (especially from the Minister of Finance), the impotence of factions opposing the Law (the General Labor Federation – *Histadrut* and the established health funds), pragmatism and compromises made in the process of its formulation, and economic growth (together with the euphoria of the Oslo peace accords) were the factors that created the window of opportunity that made legislation possible and without which the Law would not have been passed (ibid, p. 123).

In fact, Rosen & Bin-Nun, as well as others attribute the success of the legislation to support from Avraham Shochat, Israel's Minister of Finance at the time, rather than to Haim Ramon (ibid, p. 115; Geva-May & Maslove, 2000; interview: Israeli). Similarly, Bin-Nun, Berlovitz & Shani (2005, p. 175) claim that the *Histadrut's* declining power, the profound economic crisis of *Clalit*, the largest healthcare fund in Israel, and the Finance Ministers' support of the Law were the main contributing factors to the NHIL legislation. These scholars suppose that "if it had not been Haim Ramon it would have been someone else... the situation was catastrophic..." (interview: Shani). Some even believe that the many crises would have led to passing the Law within a few years, even if Ramon had not taken action (interview: Oron). On the other hand, the literature examining the success of reforms in public administration indicates that this type of reform is most likely to succeed with the backing of the Prime Minister (Galnoor, 2011, pp. 159-164). Along with the focus on Ramon's activity and Shochat's influence in passing the NHIL, a key question is: what was the role of former Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, throughout this process?

Chinitz does not agree that the structural conditions were sufficient to pass the Law, even without Ramon's activity (interview: Chinitz). He and Chernichovsky attach more weight to the change in political power ratios and the declining power of the *Histadrut* (Chernichovsky & Chinitz, 1995; Chinitz, 1995) that, *inter alia*, blocked the ability of various interest groups to promote the Law. Likewise, along with an examination of the roles of the stakeholders in implementing the Law, Horev & Babad (2005) explain that in addition to the financial collapse of the *Histadrut*, which controlled *Clalit*, as well as many strikes by doctors, the Labor Party's (*Haavoda*, hereafter: LP) power surge in 1992 was also a contributory factor in passing the Law (interview: Horev).

Zalmanovitch (1997) emphasizes that beyond the desire to devise a single overall healthcare insurance program, the main reason for passing the NHIL was actually the desire to deal with the major crisis facing *Clalit*. Focusing on policy networks (Zalmanovitch, 1998), he further suggests the rise of the *Likud* Party in 1977 was a turning point that changed the relationship between strong players in the field. *Likud* wanted to reduce the state funding of the healthcare system in order to undermine the Labor alignment (Zalmanovitch, 2002, pp. 123-130). In this vein, Geva-May & Maslove (2000) argue that it was not economics but political factors that led to the passing of the NHIL. The economic crisis in fact provided a window of opportunity for political groups seeking to introduce reform. Accordingly, the *Likud's* attempt to weaken the power of the Labor Party was also a major factor deserving attention in any analysis of the success of the reform. Shirom (1995) points to Israeli lawmakers' pragmatism and compromises throughout the legislative process as an additional contributing factor to the passage of the NHIL. For instance, the lawmakers sacrificed the expansion of the basket of healthcare services and accepted those offered by *Clalit* in order to avoid arousing greater opposition from the Finance Ministry. Thus, according to Shirom, it was the choice of the decision makers to adopt the incremental changes that made it possible to pass the NHIL (interview: Shirom).

While other analysts have somewhat differing views on how crucial Ramon was, they all seem to agree that he played an important role in breaking a log jam that had existed for many decades. Nevertheless, despite the many political explanations offered, an analysis of the legislative process using public policy tools could shed light on additional aspects and provide more insights, especially in comparison with the failure of initiatives in other public policy areas. The majority of the above studies also refer to the existence of a "political constellation" that was created alongside the reform as a principal explanatory variable in passing the Law. However, in order to provide a more in-depth, systematic analysis of such a constellation, as well as the strategies, considerations, constraints and structures within which the players comprising it acted, we suggest using *policy entrepreneurs* as a theoretical tool.

Background to the formulation of the NHIL – Ongoing crises and attempted reforms

Two primary reasons are suggested for the historical failure of most legislative healthcare reform initiatives in Israel. The first reason is the effective opposition of the *Histadrut*, the powerful national labor union, which felt that severing the connection between it and *Clalit* would be a mortal blow. The *Histadrut* was afraid of losing members who, under the existing system, were required to become members of the union in order to be entitled to *Clalit's* healthcare services. In addition, the *Histadrut* wanted to preserve its alliances with the National Religious Party (*Mafdal*) and the extreme religious parties that benefited from the LP's control of the *Histadrut* (Ramon, un-published). Apart from that motivation, there was also a fear in *Clalit* that its nationalization could create a reduction in its budget and its autonomy. The second reason is the traditional, long-established, opposition of the Finance Ministry, particularly the Budget Department, to changes in the healthcare system. As a powerful bureaucratic body, the Finance Ministry feared a move that would increase public expenditure for healthcare would create an adverse effect on its own control and centrality. Interviews with politicians (Oron; Eldad; Ramon), bureaucrats (Ziloni; Lifshitz; Spivak; Cogan; Shani), and researchers (Doron; Chernichovsky; Kaye) further reinforce this claim.

Despite the highly problematic nature of the healthcare system in Israel on the macro level, for most players connected with it, a change in the status quo meant a worsening of their situation. Even among those who called for a change, there were many who benefited from the lack of any legal basis for the system's activities, from the lack of clarity about the scope of services to which

every citizen was entitled, and from the fact that the Health Ministry was also a service provider (interview: Haber). The power of those opposing change to block the initiation of such change froze the existing institutional status, at least superficially, and for some time. However, beneath the surface many events were underway to pave the way for changes in the healthcare system.

When the right wing *Likud* Party came to power in 1977, government support for *Clalit* waned. The *Histadrut* was traditionally identified with the Israeli Labor Party, the *Likud*'s political opponents. *Likud* government members “drained the healthcare funds... there were drastic cuts in funding and in particular the *Histadrut*...” (interview: Ziloni). Nevertheless, there were also quite a few *Likud* members (especially members the *Histadrut*) who benefited from the existing situation. Given this set of circumstances, and despite the problematic nature of the situation and their outward declarations, policy makers were in no hurry to make changes (interview: Haber). Thus, the rise of *Likud* contributed to the economic crisis at *Clalit*, which had begun even before *Likud* came to power.

During the 1980's the Israeli healthcare system was plagued by financial crises that led to growing dissatisfaction in Israeli society (Chernichovsky, 1991; Chinitz & Israeli, 1997). Long lines, strikes and various sanctions became routine during that period (interviews: Doron; Oron; Shemer; Sneh). However, despite the crisis situation, which was described as “anarchic” (interview: Haber), the strong interest of dominant players in the arena in leaving the status quo undisturbed prevented the introduction of change.

In 1988, the then Finance Minister, Moshe Nissim, proposed setting up a State commission to investigate the causes of the breakdown of the healthcare system and make recommendations to build a new and effective system (the Netanyahu Commission). In his proposal, Nissim hoped that this commission would submit its conclusions within one year, until which time the system would get by on a kind of “industrial quiet” status (*Haaretz*, August 21, 1990, p. 5a). The Netanyahu Commission differed from its predecessors in that it was a government commission and was headed by a judge, two characteristics that contributed to its widespread public perception as an apolitical State commission. The commission was structured in this fashion because of the understanding that any other solution would fail to achieve the “industrial quiet” its initiators sought. As described above, the initiators of the commission formed the solid foundation of the supporters of the NHIL. Thus, short-term considerations led to the creation of a critical junction that in the long run would affect the form of the policy change that was to come.

Design of policy change and policy entrepreneurs: The NHIL

On June 26, 1994, the Official Government Gazette (Codex 1994, no. 1469) published the enactment of the NHIL, thus heralding a rare, formal, institutional change in the country. In an age when the economic trend in Israel favored privatization, cuts, and a withdrawal from welfare policies towards neo-liberal trends, a universal welfare state law was passed that promised basic healthcare services to all of the country's residents (Shalev, 2003, p. 3). The *Knesset* Chairman at the time called it “a law that would go down as a cornerstone in the annals of social legislation in Israel” (*Yedioth Ahronoth*, June 16, 1994, p. 5).

How did the historical process that preceded the policy change pave the way for policy entrepreneurs who exploited structural conditions as a window of opportunity in order to promote their ideas? We suggest that such a change, which ran counter to the general neo-liberal trend, occurred less because of ideological shifts or economic crises and was due much more to the successful activity of Haim Ramon as a policy entrepreneur in an environment ripe for change.

Identifying windows of opportunity

As noted earlier, one of the characteristics of policy entrepreneurs is their ability to identify a window of opportunity. In his efforts to pass the NHIL, Haim Ramon certainly identified and took advantage of such an opportunity. The Ministry of Health does not attract many Israeli politicians (interview: Haber). Among other reasons, they are deterred by the fact that it is harder for politicians to reap benefits there for themselves and their supporters (interview: Shani). It is hardly surprising, then, that for a large part of the twenty-first century Israel has had no Minister of Health. Indeed, since the mid-1980's there were only two politicians who sought and aimed intentionally and of their own free will to serve as Health Ministers: Ehud Olmert and Haim Ramon (interviews: Bin-Nun; Eldad; Leventhal; Lifshitz; Pinchasi; Sneh).

Ramon decided to push for the enactment of the NHIL even before he became a Member of Knesset, after he understood that "State healthcare insurance was the only thing that Ben Gurion [Israel's first prime minister, *author*] did not have time to implement..." (interview: Ramon). However, it was not **only** ideologically-based considerations and motives that appear to have guided Ramon's actions. The claim that he was concerned about the uninsured public is refuted by many. They argue that this public constituted only 300,000 people, the large majority of whom were Arabs and ultra-Orthodox Jews, and for whom a solution could have been reached even without enacting the Law (interviews: Doron; Elkayam; Gafni). A greater understanding of what was going on in the LP and the *Histadrut*, as offered here, is based on that claim.

At the end of the 1980's, the Israeli LP was divided between supporters of the Shimon Peres and supporters of Rabin (Beilin, 1997, p. 63). Generally speaking, the *Histadrut* was identified with the Peres camp (interviews: Gelman; Maor; Ziloni), although – like Ben Gurion – Peres did not want the *Histadrut* to grow too strong. Accordingly, had Peres beaten Rabin in the 1992 primaries, there was no chance that Peres would have appointed Ramon, a man who opposed the *Histadrut* system and was identified with the Rabin camp (Greenberg, 2007, p. 180), as Minister of Health.

Ramon, like Olmert before him, was aiming for the top of Israel's political pyramid, hoping for a "major maneuver" that would lead him to the head of the Party (Klein, 2002). While still serving as the Secretary of Young Labor, he was singled out as someone who might later replace Rabin (Kadmon, 2009, p. 7). However, the major role that the issue of security plays in Israeli society presented both Ramon and Olmert with a similar problem: they both lacked military experience. Ramon was not unaware of this disadvantage and on more than one occasion declared: "... it is impossible to achieve national leadership if you are not an army man... without bringing about at least one significant revolution in some area..." (interview: Oron). Even in his first years in Israeli politics, Ramon recognized that a confrontation with the *Histadrut* could serve as his springboard to political leadership (interview: Ziloni). Not only did he succeed in presenting himself as someone who succeeded where Ben Gurion had failed (interview: Gelman), but when a player chooses such a major and powerful opponent on an equal level, he becomes much more powerful (interview: Doron).

This is a classic example of a policy entrepreneur exploiting an existing opportunity to sway the political outcome to his benefit in the absence of the requisite resources for action. In this case, it was an opportunity to create a revolution in the healthcare system and the existing institutional structure in Israeli society, in order to increase his chances of election at a stage when he lacked any of the necessary resources to effect institutional change. Ramon identified the healthcare system as a lever in a broader game (interview: Belsher), a lever that could raise him to the very peak of the political leadership pyramid. However, whether he saw healthcare as an important political area from an ideological point of view is doubtful. His confrontation with the *Histadrut* was not coincidental; it took place "in the knowledge that this was the brick in the wall which, if knocked out, would bring down with it the entire historical wall of *Mapai* [the dominant party

in Israeli politics until its merger into the LP, *author*]...” (interview: Oron). Moreover, the decline of the *Histadrut*, whose legacy Rabin did not feel a part of (interview: Haber) and that left him in the “political wilderness” (interview: Zhulani), was also in line with Rabin’s ambitions (interview: Maor). Ramon saw himself as the chosen future successor to Rabin, who had turned seventy years old in 1992 (interview: Gelman). That prospect further strengthened his resolve to weaken the *Histadrut* and its members, most of whom were not Rabin supporters. Furthermore, as he would later say in his famous “beached whales” speech in January 1994, Ramon saw the insistence of his party’s members on preserving the status quo in the face of public opposition to the *Histadrut* as “political suicide” on the part of the LP (Barzilai, 1996, p. 314). This insistence earned the LP a negative image, both in the eyes of the Ashkenazi (Eastern European Jews) middle class and those of the more peripheral *Mizrabi* (Jews of Middle Eastern descent) public (Greenberg, 2007, p. 179). The reason that no one had previously taken any such strong action against the *Histadrut* was that “the *Histadrut* had enough power to say: Dear friends, we will not let this go by unmarked! And if anyone stands against us – we will bury him...” (interview: Oron).

This analysis illustrates how the creation of political coalitions between a small number of key players in politics, united around a common interest in implementing change, increases the chances of success for that change. This theoretical premise helps explain the action plan and conduct of a policy entrepreneur in the case of the NHIL. Aside from personal issues (the slogan: “the LP headed by Rabin”) and the *Likud*’s attack on the management of the Madrid Conference and relations with the United States (Barzilai, 1996, p. 249; Rabinowitz, 1998, p. 67), the LP’s slogan in the 1992 elections was “A Change in Priorities.” The party focused its attention on the transfer of resources from the settlements to an investment in education, healthcare and employment.

The election victory created the “determining trio” in the case of the NHIL: Ramon as Minister of Health, Shochat as Minister of Finance and Rabin as Prime Minister. The first two were also among those who formulated the healthcare clause in Labor’s platform (interview: Bin-Nun). This trio also won the support of the Minister of Justice at the time, David Libai, who accelerated the legal framework for the Law (Barzilai, 1996, p. 270). The trio constituted one of the essential preconditions for this kind of reform – political support for the initiator of the reform. Without the political support of the Prime Minister, it is very hard to introduce reform into public administration in Israel (interviews: Ben-Shalom; Sneh). Ramon also explained: “Throughout, I had the absolute backing and support of the Prime Minister, and without Yitzhak Rabin’s support it is doubtful whether the Law would have been passed...” (Ramon, unpublished). Thus, for instance, Rabin spoke openly to [*Histadrut* Secretary General] Haberfeld when the latter threatened to resign from the LP if Ramon did not cease his activities (Barzilai, 1996, p. 270). However, Rabin’s support was not proffered only out of purely ideological considerations. Understanding that his lack of control of the *Histadrut* was a major reason for his fall as Prime Minister (1974-1977), Rabin was very interested in receiving assistance from the LP’s young guard to free himself of his dependency on the *Histadrut*, which opposed him within the party, and in particular Ramon, who had declared that if he failed to pass the NHIL that would break the link between the *Histadrut* and *Clalit*, he would resign (Greenberg, 2007, p. 180).

Preparing for policy change: Political activity promoting the Law

Another main characteristic of a policy entrepreneur suggested in the theoretical section is the lack of the resources needed to influence policy outcomes. We explained that given the fact that entrepreneurs do not have access to all of the resources they need, they must negotiate, persuade, compromise and be flexible in a variety of areas. We also suggested that in order to succeed, policy entrepreneurs have to attract the support of key players in the policy arena, especially when factions opposing the change and favoring preservation of the status quo are powerful. Ramon’s

skills in promoting the NHIL proved to be crucial to the success of the policy change and are a classic example of this characteristic of the policy entrepreneur.

When he entered office, Ramon engaged in several simultaneous acts to promote the Law. He submitted the draft law to Rabin and all other ministers, and undertook a round of talks with them. The talks were effectively aimed at preparing the groundwork for the proposed change, identifying the principal points of dissent, and arriving at compromises with opponents of the change in the government, in the form of incremental amendments to the Law. At that stage the *Histadrut* already understood that enactment of the Law was a very real possibility (interviews: Gelman; Ziloni), and began trying to disrupt it or alter its format. Another step Ramon took was to form a coalition among opposition parties to formulate a bill very similar to his own, to be submitted by them in the event that the LP rejected his bill (Barzilai, 1996, p. 271).

To avoid complications and potential damage to his plans, Ramon set up a new committee called the Labor, Social Affairs and Healthcare Committee, which included representatives from other *Knesset* committees. He appointed Amir Peretz to head the new committee, while Haim Oron was appointed as Chairman of the sub-committee that addressed the size and scope of the healthcare basket of services (interview: Achdut). Others supporters of the Act were also placed in key positions (interview: Haber). Ramon's placement of those two figures, recruited to further the interests of the Law, in influential committee positions assured progress in that channel. He also called on powerful bureaucrats in the Israeli healthcare system, such as Mordechai Shani, who was Director General of the Ministry of Health in 1993-94. Shani contributed to formulating the Law and was perceived by many as a "bulldozer" wielding great influence in the matter (interview: Eldad). Thus, a policy entrepreneur's ability to manipulate the political agenda and the rules of the game in force at the time facilitates the implementation of change. The absence of any potential veto factors can also make the entrepreneur's work easier. The fact that Foreign Minister Shimon Peres – who could potentially have been the biggest hurdle to advancing the Law – was largely focused at that time on the Oslo Peace Accords (Peres & Naor, 1993) was a helpful element for Ramon in creating "industrial quiet."

Ramon was faced with two principal alternatives. The first was to try to carry out the recommendations of the Netanyahu Commission's majority opinion, which inclined towards far-reaching changes in every organizational aspect of the bureaucratic healthcare system. The second was to promote the recommendations of the more incremental minority opinion in all matters related to organizational and institutional change. Given that this analysis points towards Ramon's being motivated by his public perception as a powerful reformer, the question arises: why did he not choose the more deep-rooted change? One explanation might be a calculation (perhaps rightly so) that an institutional change so far-reaching as to destroy the existing structure of the healthcare funds would arouse very strong political opposition and make it too difficult for him to act (interview: Doron). Accordingly, Ramon did not insist on destroying the existing order, as recommended in the majority opinion (interview: Chernichovsky). As a result, in the eyes of many players in the arena at the time, the Law in fact proposed no significant organizational change (interview: Shani).

In addition, Ramon also prepared bureaucrats and interest groups connected with the healthcare system. Evidence of how much importance he attached to such bureaucrats is seen in his extensive activity to prepare the groundwork for change by holding meetings with the forum of hospital directors, the forum of regional heads and various workers' committees (interview: Gelman). His personal skill also helped him contain possible opposition from the leaders of the nurses' and administrators' organizations (interview: Haber). A confrontation with an alliance of those players could have ruined all of his maneuvers.

It is interesting to note that the Israel Medical Association (hereafter: IMA), as a powerful interest group, was a relatively minor element in Ramon's efforts to prepare for change. That being so, the question arises of why he did not act with the same intensity in the face of such an

important interest group. Moreover, prior to 1995 the IMA was considered a purely professional union (interviews: Belsher; Wapner). The reason he was less active with this group is that the application of the Law in its existing format would have had no adverse effect on the IMA. “As soon as they [the doctors, *author*] were promised the same health insurance funds and the same salaries, they calmed down...” (interview: Doron). In those circumstances, Ramon was spared further potentially strong opposition that could have ruined the Law, as had happened with other proposals.

In the public arena Ramon tried to preserve and reinforce support for the Law (interview: Filc), which was very popular with the general public, in the government and the *Knesset* (Greenberg, 2007, p. 180). Ramon also had to contend with the ultra-Orthodox population and Israeli Arabs. The first did not, in general, support the Law, not just because “the public in question was largely Arab, for whom other solutions could have been found” (interview: Gafni), but primarily because their agreements with *Clalit* dictated significantly lower membership fees than the rest of the population (interview: Shvarts). Ramon encountered no special difficulties among the Arab public and its political representatives, mostly because that sector would benefit more than anyone else from the Law (interview: Bin-Nun).

The health funds were players – albeit not significant ones – in everything concerning the Law (interviews: Shani; Shemer). Their position on the Law derived to an extent from their financial status. While *Leumit* Health Fund’s financial status allowed it to support the Law enthusiastically (interview: Elhayani), and *Clalit* also recognized the inherent financial advantages for it (interview: Doron), the better established funds, *Maccabi* and *Meuhedet*, feared that the Law would compromise their financial status (interview: Shani), and they joined forces to oppose it (interview: Gross). *Maccabi* even tried to recruit the *Likud* politicians to their side, but for *Likud* the Law represented a blow to the mechanism that had worked against them politically for many years, so they had no desire to assist *Maccabi* in contesting the Law. Moreover, for *Likud* it was a case of “let them get on with it...” (interview: Gelman). Accordingly, when *Maccabi* approached *Likud* to request their help in the political arena to block the initiative, the answer they received was: “We don’t want the Law, but we do want to weaken the *Histadrut*...” (interview: Kaye). Ramon, aware that the initiative had many supporters among the opposition, tried to institute a dialog between his own party and opposition parties so that *Knesset* members from all parties would vote “at their discretion and according to their conscience” (*Yedioth Ahronoth*, January 6, 1994, p. 4).

Preparing for policy change: Neutralizing the Ministry of Finance

In the theoretical section we explained that when entrepreneurs recognize the activity itself as being in their interests, they deem it appropriate to compromise on the nature of the results of the change. This is true even if these results are not considered ideal. Given that the policy entrepreneur does not possess all of the resources needed to realize the outcomes of the entrepreneurial activity, it is clear that successful entrepreneurial activity must be based on persuasion, pragmatism and willingness to compromise. As we will demonstrate next, the compromise with the Israeli Finance Ministry’s bureaucrats, the dominant player in the Israeli public policy arena (Cohen, 2011), was one of the critical junctures in Ramon’s path to the policy change.

The compromises Ramon made were not only with the political echelons. He also identified the bureaucrats in the Finance Ministry as major players whose traditional opposition to the Law must be defused. It is widely assumed that the Finance Ministry was neutralized at that stage in a manner that was simple but quite rare in Israel – by the Minister of Finance (Shochat) dictating policy to his staff: “There will be obstacles to the Law, but there will be a NHIL! You will not stand in its way...” (interview: Rosen). Such an act on Shochat’s part is not self-evident, as his

bureaucrats could move to undermine his public image as a Minister who was not acting in his Ministry's favor. In fact, this was the only time (on such a large scale) when a Law was passed that appeared to contradict the wishes of the Israeli Ministry of Finance bureaucrats. Moreover, despite Ministry claims that Shochat was more attentive to other ministries' needs during his first term of office as Minister of Finance and took less care to preserve funds (interview: Lifshitz), in this matter he – a political ally of Ramon and Rabin – stood particularly firm in the face of his staff's obstinacy. He probably adopted this position because he understood that by helping Prime Minister Rabin and his probable future successor, Ramon, he would increase his chances of maintaining his political status. When Finance Ministry bureaucrats tried to appear before the government and the Ministerial Committee for Legislation and persuade them, in the early stages, not to pass the Law (interviews: Cogan; Freedman), Shochat prevented them from doing so and forced them to fall in line with him (interviews: Bin-Nun; Leventhal; Rosen; Sneh). Notwithstanding attempts by Finance Ministry bureaucrats, in March 1993 Ramon's bill passed the first stage of legislation – government approval – and was transferred for handling to a special committee headed by Peretz (Barzilai, 1996, p. 270).

Although the literature maintains that the Finance Ministry bureaucrats opposed the NHIL, not everyone feels that the Law was necessarily enacted against their wishes, because they were seriously afraid that *Clalit* would collapse and cause a major crisis (interview: Shvarts). Indeed, there seems to have been a turning point in the Finance Ministry's position towards the end of 1993 from its traditional opposition to support for the Law. This support came once the Ministry's staff understood that they would be allowed influence in areas important to them and that perpetuating the existing crisis would damage their interests too. Furthermore, tactical needs arising from their desire to maximize their influence in the matter made them try to hide the switch in their position from other players and the general public. A look at the printed press of the time shows that close to the time of passing the Law, the Ministry's opposition to it dwindled.

At the beginning of 1994, some recognized that the Finance Ministry was in fact supporting the Law (interview: Avital). The strongest basis for this claim comes from the person who was formerly Deputy Head of the Budget Department at the Ministry. He says that the Ministry's position in the matter did indeed turn around at the end of 1993, explaining that: "...at first the Ministry had reservations about the Law. In the beginning I opposed it. But the more I studied the material and familiarized myself with it, the more I supported it. I am telling you that I was not against the Law. And if I say that I was not against it – then the Ministry was not against it... Ramon might be surprised to hear me say so, because he believed that I was against it, but I was not..." (interview: Peltz).

Ramon appears to have understood that in order to obtain the Finance Ministry's cooperation, especially in light of its traditional opposition to the Law up to the end of 1993, he must include the powerful Ministry bureaucrats in the reform process. To that end, Ramon made many compromises vis-à-vis the Finance Ministry. It is therefore worth asking why Ramon accepted compromises on some matters while refusing to do so on others.

The answer to that question offers further insight into the policy entrepreneur's successful activity: focusing on key points of the change while compromising on the aspects that are less crucial to the faction (or individual) introducing the reform in order to advance the proposed change. In this case, Ramon made a large number of compromises as long as they did not affect his main goal – severing the link between the *Histadrut* and *Clalit*. For instance, he allowed the Ministry of Finance to freeze the existing budget so that additional sources of funds would not be added to those that already existed in the Law (interview: Bin-Nun).

However, Ramon's most important compromise was connected with the issue of updating the basket of healthcare services. One of the most significant compromises he made vis-à-vis the Finance Ministry was the agreement that the basket of healthcare services would be updated subject to Ministry approval (interviews: Shani; Sneh). For the Ministry, that compromise was

one of the two greatest and most important impacts in formulating the healthcare policy. It was agreed that the basket would be updated once a year according to the healthcare cost index. All other updates would be made “according to need and within the framework of budget priorities, not according to an automatic formula” (Ministry of Finance, 2006, p. 58).

In effect, it was not financial considerations that were at the basis of this strategy on the part of the Ministry, but a political analysis of the existing players in the arena. Bureaucrats at the Ministry understood that as part of the structural change, the method of linkage to price indices would not fully compensate the healthcare funds (discounts on the cost of the healthcare basket) for the increase in the cost of a day’s hospitalization. The motive of linking the update to healthcare fund costs (doctors’ pay, price of a day’s hospitalization and so forth) created a new reality whereby the healthcare funds themselves became a factor fighting against the rising cost of a day’s hospitalization and an increase in doctors’ pay. An increase in the wages in the healthcare system above the average pay in the economy would definitely damage the healthcare funds, which would have to pay more to their doctors and receive no compensation for doing so. Thus, “...when hospital directors wish to raise the cost of a day’s hospitalization, no supervisor or healthcare coordinator should contend with that on his own, but the health insurance funds themselves should join in and oppose it. When there is a discussion on doctors’ pay, the health insurance funds cooperate only with us [Ministry of Finance, *author*] and fight against prices rising...” (interview: Peltz). This insight demonstrates that when policy entrepreneurs want to effect a change, they may forfeit parts of the reform that they do not consider to be essential, thereby offering more conservative factors a compromise that they may consider critical. Finding areas of difference and being willing to compromise on them can be a good formula for successful policy change.

Another compromise was the agreement that no additional sources of funds would be added to the *Clalit* basket of healthcare services (interview: Ovadia), although it was perceived as less “wealthy” than the baskets of other funds (interview: Shemer). Further compromises were made in relatively close cooperation between the Ministries of Health and Finance such as leaving the matter of excess insurance payments open while determining a fixed premium, a uniform basket with competition at the level of service, and more. In fact, creative activity on the part of bureaucrats at those two ministries during the almost three-year period leading up to the enactment of the NHIL contributed significantly to its implementation (interviews: Bin-Nun; Haber). This creativity was mainly attributable to the good working relations that Ramon had developed with the Head of the Budget Department during the time he served as Minister of Health (interview: Haber). The Deputy Head of Budgets, who was in fact responsible for most of the Finance Ministry’s approach, described the situation the best when he explained: “Ramon was wise enough to make sure that the Ministry of Finance would be included in the legislation process, that its voice would be heard and taken into account. In so doing he neutralized any possible opposition from the Ministry by offering it the possibility of making amendments where it [the Ministry] wished to do so... it became a struggle between Ramon and the *Histadrut*, with everyone sitting on the sidelines not believing that Ramon would succeed...” (interview: Peltz).

Trojan horse strategy and the resolve of the policy entrepreneur: The defining act in enacting NHIL

As suggested in the theoretical section of this article, a policy entrepreneur must often take calculated risks and act with resolve in order to bring about change. How necessary are that resolve and risk-taking if the entrepreneur’s actions are to be effective? As we will show next, an examination of Ramon’s acts illustrates the theoretical insight presented in this article regarding alternatives and strategies on the part of policy entrepreneurs in various decision-making scenarios.

This section focuses on the Trojan horse strategy, describing the policy entrepreneur's entry into an institutional body comprised of powerful people in order to neutralize opposition from the inside. In other words, new forces enter into old institutions and break through the institutional framework to replace it from the inside. Such a strategy is needed mainly when key players view proposed changes as being deep-rooted and potentially damaging to them.

The *Histadrut* leadership, with Haim Haberfeld at its head, tried to frustrate Ramon's activity. Aside from raising initiatives to insure uninsured populations in order to dampen Ramon's ideological claims (interview: Ziloni), they obtained enough support from members of the LP center that in July 1993 Haberfeld was able to force a special conference of the party committee before the bill was submitted for the first of the three readings in the *Knesset* necessary to pass a bill (Barzilai, 1996, p. 272). Ramon did succeed in postponing the conference until after the first reading, but the understanding that without taking control of the *Histadrut* the Law would not be passed led him and Amir Peretz in his wake to propose the latter as a party candidate for Head of the *Histadrut* (ibid, p. 276). In January 1994, internal elections were held in the LP for Secretary General of the *Histadrut*. Against the sitting candidate, Haberfeld, Ramon and the so-called "octer" (eight dovish LP members) put forward Peretz, who pledged support for the NHIL (Greenberg, 2007, p. 181). It came as a surprise when the unpopular Haberfeld beat Peretz in the election (Barzilai, 1996, p. 288). Many at the Ministry of Health saw this as the blow that would put an end to the two-year-long efforts to formulate the Law (interviews: Bin-Nun; Rosen).

Another fear at that time was that Rabin would withdraw his strong support of Ramon because of concern that *Histadrut* opposition would jeopardize the Oslo Accords with the Palestinian leadership (Goldstein, 2006, p. 415). During that period, the *Histadrut* also intensified its efforts to recruit public opinion against the Law. *Histadrut* pressure left its mark both on Rabin himself, who at that point was probably afraid of the wrath of senior *Histadrut* members (interview: Peltz), and on government ministers, including those who had hitherto supported Ramon. Thus, the Prime Minister's support (which is an essential precondition to passing reform in Israel) gradually dissipated to the point of utter lack of support, as evidenced by his refusal to support the Law in January 1994, when Ramon made his famous "beached whales" speech protesting the powers opposing change in the LP and the *Histadrut* (Kadmon, 2009). The Minister of Finance, Shochat, also explained that in the current constellation the chances of the Law being approved in its present format were slim (*Maariv*, February 1, 1994, p. 5). The "iron triangle" in the form of the Prime Minister, Minister of Finance and Minister of Health began to fall apart. In January 1994, the Chairman of the *Knesset* announced his intention to remove discussion of the bill from the government's agenda.

In situations where an entrepreneur encounters serious opposition from key players, a successful political initiative can employ original and unfamiliar tactics, coupled with a willingness to take risks. At this point, when Ramon lost Rabin's unreserved and uncritical support, he made a move that, more than any other, proved his perseverance and determination to pass the Law. On February 8, 1994, despite attempts to prevent him from doing so (Beilin, 1997, p. 277), he resigned his position as Minister of Health and returned to run for the post of head of the *Histadrut*, with a new party, together with Amir Peretz and probably with Rabin's blessing (interview: Ziloni).

Ramon's entry into the *Histadrut* was in effect that most important act leading to the enactment of the Law. In May 1994, Ramon's faction won the *Histadrut* elections, beating out the LP headed by Haberfeld, and winning 46% of the votes (Barzilai, 1996, p. 398). It is interesting to note that at that point Haberfeld had a chance of trying to form a coalition with Ramon's opponents (including those from *Likud*) and so continue to oppose the NHIL (interviews: Gelman; Oron). However, Rabin then imposed party discipline (interview: Sneh) and instructed Haberfeld that for ideological reasons "the party would not enter into a coalition with the *Likud*" (interview: Ziloni). For reasons that remain unclear – perhaps because of his health – Haberfeld accepted his fate. And so Ramon became the *de facto* and *de jure* ruling Chairman of the *Histadrut*, with the

intention of severing the organization from *Clalit*.

On June 15, 1994, the NHIL passed its third reading in the *Knesset* and was finally approved. A dramatic policy change had taken place in Israel. Not a single *Knesset* member voted against it. Sixty-eight *Knesset* members voted in favor and 27 *Likud* members abstained (*Yedioth Ahronoth*, June 16, 1994, p. 5). The majority of the dissenters were the extreme religious parties, which opposed the NHIL (interview: Gafni), fearing that the preferential healthcare fees they had hitherto enjoyed would be adversely affected (interview: Shvarts). However, at that stage they were not major players in the policy arena and could not stand alone against the change. A socio-democratic law had come into force in a neo-liberal era.

Summary and discussion

This article has discussed the influence of policy entrepreneurs on designing public policy while focusing on their characteristics, strategies and motivations. After defining the essence of what comprises a policy entrepreneur, the article specified the principal characteristics of entrepreneurial acts and described what constitutes successful and effective entrepreneurial activity. A policy entrepreneur is presented as a person who may emerge from among the general public, some interest group or another, or from among decision makers – politicians or bureaucrats who are active in the public policy arena. A combination of three characteristics in the creation of political entrepreneurs is suggested here: the existence of an opportunity to influence political outcomes; the total absence of the tools needed for the purpose; and the desire to maximize personal benefit through activity with the declared goal of influencing political outcomes. We tested this theoretical framework using the formulating of the NHIL in Israel in 1994 as a case study. While the focus is on the Israeli experience, the theoretical insights developed in this article could also provide some tentative lessons for other healthcare systems and reforms, including the US.

We highlighted self-interest as one of the primary motivating forces of policy entrepreneurs. In the same way as entrepreneurs in the business arena act in order to maximize their benefit, policy entrepreneurs never ignore their self-interests. The article illustrates how an entrepreneur's ability to create small alliances of powerful players, who join forces on the basis of common interests (in the Israeli case in particular, the support of the Prime Minister), increases the chances of success in effecting change. The article details the important strategies and structural conditions necessary to the policy entrepreneur's success and describes, by way of example, Haim Ramon's activity as a gifted policy entrepreneur in enacting the NHIL.

The combination of motivation and a window of opportunity proved to be the key to Ramon's success in effecting policy change. As a successful entrepreneur, he identified the needs of significant groups in society and the political potential inherent therein to fulfill their needs. We also maintained that identifying an opportunity for change could also take the form of identifying dynamics different than those of the entrepreneur (e.g., the conflict of interests between the members in his party) and exploiting these in effecting change. In addition, we demonstrated how the existence of an opportunity could affect the entrepreneur's willingness to take risks. Thus, entrepreneurs may adopt a Trojan horse strategy that may appear outwardly to entail greater risk than the entrepreneurs estimate because they can produce greater benefits due to the opportunity identified.

Some two years after the NHIL was passed, many incremental amendments were made to it that were in accordance with the neo-liberal approaches of privatization, competitiveness and the free market (Mizrahi & Cohen, in press). This trend is not unique to healthcare policy (Doron, 1999). However, these changes do promote informal payments for healthcare and other problematic activities by individuals and groups in Israeli society (Cohen, in press; Cohen & Mizrahi, 2012). In response to these developments, supporters of the welfare state try to recruit

influential players to strengthen and influence the public policy arena. They are especially keen to attract people identified with an ideology that supports an expanding social state. The practical contribution that may be gleaned from this combination of those forces is the conclusion that that strategy in itself is not effective. In order to establish a social-democratic value-based social policy, it is necessary to refer to, seek and even create a system of incentives for influential politicians and bureaucrats based not only on ideologies but also on their personal self-interests. In the practical political test, the ideological dimension itself could be the very aspect that lets down those who rely on it and only on it.

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Appendix 1: List of interviewees

(Names are listed in alphabetical order. Positions are accurate as at the time of the interview unless expressly stated otherwise).

1. **Prof. Leah Achdut**, former Deputy Director of Research and Planning, National Insurance Institute, April 10, 2008, Jerusalem
2. **Mr. Eyal Avital**, former Deputy Director, Budgets Department, Ministry of Health, October 15, 2008, Modi'in.
3. **Dr. Yigal Ben Shalom**, Director General, National Insurance Institute, January 11, 2007, Jerusalem.
4. **Dr. Yoram Belsher**, Chairman, Israel Medical Association, February 10, 2008, Ramat Gan.
5. **Prof. Gabi Bin Nun**, Deputy Director General, Budgets, Ministry of Health, December 4, 2007, Jerusalem.
6. **Prof. Dov Chernichovsky**, former member of Netanyahu Commission, November 12, 2007, Beer Sheva.

7. **Dr. David Chinitz**, researcher, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, August 17, 2008, Jerusalem.
8. **Mr. Reuven Cogan**, Health Affairs Coordinator, Budget Department, Ministry of Health, March 2, 2008, Jerusalem.
9. **Prof. Avraham Doron**, researcher, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, May 4, 2008, Jerusalem.
10. **Prof. Gideon Doron**, former member of Yitzhak Rabin's strategic team, February 13, 2008, Tel Aviv.
11. **Prof. Haim Doron**, former Director General, Clalit Health Services, February 17, 2008, Sheba Medical Center at Tel Hashomer.
12. **Prof. Aryeh Eldad**, member of Knesset Labor, Welfare and Health Committee, May 18, 2008, Jerusalem.
13. **Dr. Asher Elhayani**, Director of Central Region, Clalit Health Services, March 29, 2007, Tel Aviv.
14. **Mr. Danny Elkayam**, Director of Insurance and Health Department, National Health Institute, November 27, 2007, Jerusalem.
15. **Dr. Danny Filc**, researcher and board member of Physicians for Human Rights – Israel, June 5, 2008, Beer Sheva.
16. **Rabbi Moshe Gafni**, member of Knesset Lobby for Public Health, May 1, 2008, telephone interview.
17. **Mr. Gershon Gelman**, Chairman, Histadrut Tel Aviv and Jaffa region, January 13, 2008, Tel Aviv.
18. **Prof. Revital Gross**, senior researcher, Smokler Center for Health Policy Research, Myers-JDC-Brookdale Institute, December 28, 2008, Jerusalem.
19. **Mr. Shraga Haber**, former Assistant Director General and Head, Division for Planning, Budgeting and Health Economics, Ministry of Health, February 12, 2009, Jerusalem.
20. **Dr. Tuvia Horev**, Acting Director, Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel, September 12, 2008, Jerusalem.
21. **Prof. Avi Israeli**, Director General, Ministry of Health, November 11, 2008, Jerusalem.
22. **Dr. Rachelle Kaye**, Deputy Director General, Planning and Economics, Maccabi Healthcare Services, November 22, 2007, Tel Aviv.
23. **Dr. Dan Koren**, former Labor Party Member of Knesset, March 20, 2008, Tel Aviv.
24. **Dr. Alex Leventhal**, Director, International Relations Department, Ministry of Health, September 3, 2008.

25. **Dr. Yaakov Lifshitz**, former Director General, Ministry of Finance, November 26, 2007.
26. **Mr. Yoel Lifshitz, Adv.**, Deputy Director General for Supervision of Health Funds, Ministry of Health, October 12, 2008, Jerusalem.
27. **Mr. Zvi Maor, Director**, Sharon-Shomron Region, Clalit Health Services, October 18, 2007, Netanya.
28. **Mr. Haim Oron**, Member of Knesset and member of Knesset Finance Committee, January 24, 2008, Tel Aviv.
29. **Dr. Baruch Ovadia**, former Director of Social Services, Clalit Health Services, March 16, 2008.
30. **Mr. Haim Peltz**, former Deputy Supervisor of Budgets and Healthcare Coordinator, Ministry of Finance, January 1, 2009, Ben Gurion International Airport.
31. **Mr. Aryeh Pinchasi**, Head of Human Resources Department, Ministry of Health, November 6, 2007, Jerusalem.
32. **Mr. Haim Ramon**, Deputy Prime Minister and member of Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, March 2, 2008, interview by mail.
33. **Dr. Baruce Rosen**, Director, Smokler Center for Health Policy Research, Myers-JDC-Brookdale Institute, February 5, 2008, Jerusalem.
34. **Dr. Ran Saar**, Director, Central Region, Maccabi Healthcare Services, October 11, 2007, Givataim.
35. **Prof. Mordechai Shani**, former Director General, Ministry of Health, and member of Netanyahu Commission, April 22, 2008, Sheba Medical Center at Tel Hashomer.
36. **Prof. Joshua (Shuki) Shemer**, former Director General, Ministry of Health and Maccabi Healthcare Services, June 13, 2008, Sheba Medical Center at Tel Hashomer.
37. **Dr. Michael Sherf**, Director, Soroka University Medical Center, June 5, 2008, Beer Sheva.
38. **Prof. Aryeh Shirom**, former member of Netanyahu Commission, December 21, 2007, interview by mail.
39. **Prof. Shifra Shvarts**, researcher, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, July 21, 2008, Sheba Medical Center at Tel Hashomer.
40. **Dr. Ephraim Sneh**, former Minister of Health, February 26, 2008, Jerusalem.
41. **Prof. Avia Spivak**, former Deputy Governor, Bank of Israel, February 26, 2008, Jerusalem.
42. **Ms. Leah Wapner, Adv.**, Secretary General, Israel Medical Association, February 10, 2008, Ramat Gan.

43. **Efraim Ziloni, Adv.**, Chairman, Economic and Social Division, Histadrut Laborers Federation, February 27, 2008, Tel Aviv.

Acceptance of Corrupt Acts: a Comparative Study of Values Regarding Corruption in Europe

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Abstract

The present contribution seeks to explain variation in the degree of acceptance of corrupt acts by taking into consideration both individual characteristics and societal ones. We used a large dataset covering 43 European countries and employed multi-level models in order to disentangle the compositional and contextual effects. Our main findings suggest that young single Europeans with no occupation but with material possibilities are more likely to consider corrupt acts as being acceptable. The presence of a partnership and of children as well as high confidence in the governance bodies of a country makes corrupt acts less acceptable. In addition, the society where one lives is also important: individuals living in the former soviet countries display on average higher acceptance of corrupt acts than individuals living in the former communist block or in long established democracies. This conclusion holds also after controlling for how widespread corruption is in these countries or how high their income inequality is.

Keywords: Corruption, Values, Communism, Europe

Introduction

It is a generally accepted idea that corruption is one of the main problems that stands against the social and economic development of societies (Mauro 1995; Bardhan 1997; Li, Xu et al. 2000). For instance bribery, a form of corrupt behavior, is considered so harmful that OECD has initiated in 1997 a formal Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions, asking for the member states to enact laws and regulations that forbid tax deductibility of bribe (OECD, 2011). The political discussions around the potential harmful impact of corruption on the social, political and economic realms reflected also on the research agenda, inspiring several initiatives that aimed at quantifying the level of corruption and to evaluate its causes and its social effects (Treisman 2000; Sandholtz & Taagepera 2005; You & Khagram 2005; Tavits 2008; Uslaner 2009). Despite the ardent interest in the topic, preference was given to measuring and explaining levels of corruption at country level (Dreher, Kotsogiannis et al. 2007), and relatively little attention was given to studies on how individuals think about corruption and to what degree they find it acceptable or not. For instance, Gatti, Paternostro & Rigolini (2003) reported only one previous study that investigated the differences between individuals in their attitudes toward corrupt acts (Swamy, Knack et al. 2001). We argue that taking an actor perspective is valuable since the acceptance of corruption by individuals, taken as a value orientation, might have potential consequences for individual behavior and also for society at large. For instance, policies targeted at reducing levels of corruption might be hindered or even

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rendered inefficient if the population has in fact a high level of acceptance of corrupt behavior. In addition, higher acceptance of corrupt acts might also facilitate the engagement in and decrease the level of informal sanctions of corrupt behavior. If so, identifying which groups of population manifest lower or higher acceptance of corrupt behaviors is a valuable piece of information for targeted policies aimed at reducing corruption.

While the individual differences in the acceptance of corrupt acts received some attention from previous studies, scholars also pointed out that the attitudes toward corruption differ between social contexts. For example, Gatti, Paternostro & Rigolini (2003) show that the average acceptance of corruption varies between countries and the authors argue that the social environment has a significant influence on the individuals' attitudes toward corruption. The same argument was brought forward also by Cameron et al. (2009) who, based on an experimental study carried out in four countries, found evidence for the variation across cultures in the propensity of individuals to punish corrupt acts. However, while the theoretical arguments are compelling, the previous literature lacks systematic empirical evidence based on large samples of countries and high quality comparable data that would support the claim that the social context shapes the attitudes toward corruption of individuals.

In the present study we aim at addressing the lacks in the literature that we briefly mentioned in the previous paragraphs, namely we wish to provide an answer to the question of whom and under what conditions individuals accept corrupt practices. We not only look at the characteristics of individuals but we also develop arguments about the influence of the social context where they live in and how this context might shape their acceptance of corrupt acts. We argue thus for the need to integrate individual and contextual characteristics in a broader model aimed at explaining the variation between peoples' values towards corruption. The research question that guides our investigations is: how can we explain the differences between individuals in their level of acceptance of corrupt acts by looking at characteristics of individuals and of the societies? In order to address this question we use the integrated dataset of European Values Studies, wave 2008, who allows us the largest coverage of European countries. We employ multi-level models on a working dataset that covers 62674 individuals nested in 43 European countries.

Explaining differences in the acceptance of corrupt acts

The theories used to derive our hypothesis are derived from two fields: general theories of values (because we define acceptance of corrupt acts as a value orientation) and theories specific to criminology such as social learning theory and desistance theory (because corrupt acts fall within the category of deviant behaviors).

Individual level expectations

When explaining why some individuals have higher levels of acceptance of corruption, the first element that we take into account is religiosity. Corrupt acts imply lie, dishonesty and deceive, breaking thus general accepted rules of conduct in society. Religious denominations agree on the fact that these types of behaviors are not desirable, and such, acceptance of corrupt acts goes against religious norms. Consequently, our first expectation is that individuals with higher level of religiosity will display lower acceptance of corrupt acts (Hypothesis 1).

Another explanation for the variability in the acceptance of corrupt acts between individuals can be derived from the desistance theory, who tries to elucidate the observed curvilinear relationship between age and involvement in criminal acts, i.e., with age the involvement in criminal acts decreases (Laub & Samson 2001). An explanation for this empirical relationship is that "the decline in crime occurs because factors associated with age reduce or change the actors'

criminality” (Torgler, 2006, pg. 135). For instance, actors have more to lose as they grow older if the crime is discovered and prosecuted. In addition, research on the relationship between values and age has already shown that older cohorts display higher level of more traditionalist values, such as the religious ones (Inglehart, 1971). Based on these two lines of reasoning we expect that older individuals would have lower level of acceptance of corrupt acts (Hypothesis 2).

The social learning theory (Akers, 1977) provides a framework that emphasizes the role of different associations in shaping the involvement in deviant behavior. According to this theory one of the pathways through which behaviors are learned by individuals is differential reinforcement path which refers to the balance of anticipated or actual rewards and punishments for own acts. We argue that this mechanism might be relevant also for shaping the values of individuals, via a similar type of process based on the anticipated outcomes (potential gain vs. potential loss) of the involvement in corrupt acts of themselves or of their peers. If the *own involvement in corrupts acts* is taken into account, this comes with the danger of being discovered and of suffering the consequences. The consequences can range from losing status among the peers to being prosecuted, having to pay fines to cover the damage produced, etc. When considering these consequences, individuals from some social categories might perceive these costs as being too high in comparison with the potential win. For instance, individuals that have a higher socio-economic status might perceive a high cost for getting involved in corruption due to the danger of losing the privileges of their position or of losing the esteem of their peers. This cost might be perceived to be not so high for the individuals with low occupational status and low income, who might see the potential gains (e.g., material resources or jobs) as having more weight. These arguments lead to the expectations that individuals with higher socio-economic status in society will display less acceptance of corruption than individuals with lower socio-economic status (Hypothesis 3a).

However, we can also derive competing expectations for the above scenario. Individuals with high socio-economic status have more resources that can be used to unfairly buy advantages for themselves. In opposition, individuals with low socio-economic status are disadvantaged when competing on a “market” where the rule is simple: who can pay wins. In addition, high socio-economic status people also have resources to mitigate the potential discovery of their corrupt acts, which suggests that involving in this kind of criminal behavior could only have minor negative consequences for them. For the low socio-economic individual the costs of discovery of own corrupt behavior could be substantial in comparison with their resources. Based on these arguments, the competing hypothesis is that high socio-economic status individuals could find corrupt acts more acceptable than low socio-economic status individuals (Hypothesis 3b).

Different expectations can be derived if considering the scenario when *the peers are involved in corrupt behavior* and not the individual. For the high socio-economic status individuals the fact that other members of society, especially lower status ones, involve in corrupt acts could trigger feelings of threat. If the corrupts acts of others are not discovered it would imply an unfair advantage for the outsiders of acquiring desirable resources (power positions, wealth, jobs, etc.), which in turn could threaten their privileged position. On the other hand, low socio-economic status individuals would also feel threatened by the involvement of their peers in corruption: it would imply even lower access to valuable material and social resources. In this scenario, everybody has to lose when other people engage in corrupt acts and thus we would expect no difference between the high socio-economic status individuals and low socio-economic individuals in the acceptance of corrupt acts (Hypothesis 3c).

Social groups defined by other characteristics might also evaluate different the cost of involvement in corruption. People in a relationship or that have children might evaluate the potential consequences of corruption (both when it comes to their engagement or that of their peers) as being higher than single people or people with no children. If discovered, they might lose the love or respect of their family members, they might be physically removed from them due to imprisonment or they might contribute to the material hardship of their family due to potential fines. In addition, the corrupt

behavior of other people might be perceived more negative when considering that it affects the life chances of the whole family. Based on the above we expect that individuals that have a stable partnership and / or that have children will find corrupt acts less acceptable than individuals that are outside a partnership or that do not have children (Hypothesis 4).

Trust in governance bodies that enforce the reign of the law in a country might be another characteristic explaining difference in the acceptance of corrupt acts. Individuals that trust that the government agencies work properly would also trust that the rules of society are reinforced by the state, ensuring that every member has the same chances and opportunities and un-fair behavior is punished. In turn, individuals with high trust in governance bodies would believe to face higher chances to be exposed if engaging in corrupt acts (i.e., due to the capacity to control corruption). In addition corrupt acts go against the normative values that are represented by police or law (i.e., equality and justice) and these ideas could influence the acceptance of corrupt acts in the sense that more trust in governance bodies would go hand in hand with less acceptance of corruption (Hypothesis 5).

Country level expectations

The first characteristic that we take into account at country level is the presence of *corruption* as a widespread phenomenon. We again turn to the social learning theory (Akers, 1977) but now to the differential association mechanisms, which, in plain words, argues that if everybody is doing it, it might be not so bad: exposure to corrupt act or the perception of widespread corruption might make these behaviors a normal part of the day-to-day life and in turn, more acceptable for individuals. This reasoning has received some support from previous research suggesting that the prevailing social norms might be a factor that contributes to the sustenance of corruption (Cameron et al., 2009). Based on this reasoning we expect that in countries where the level of corruption is higher the acceptance of corrupt acts by individuals will be higher (Hypothesis 6a). However, we can also argue for the opposite: in countries where corruption is more wide-spread, individuals will have higher chances to hear about to the unfairness of other members of society who pay their access to valuable resources (e.g., jobs, diplomas, etc.). In addition, it also increases the chance to directly experience the disadvantage of this kind of unfair competition, and this in turn, can reinforce a negative evaluation of corrupt acts, as the differential reinforcement mechanisms would suggest. If this is the case, we would expect that in countries where the level of corruption is higher the acceptance of corrupt acts by individuals will be lower (Hypothesis 6b).

Previous studies show that *ex-communist countries* incorporated acceptance of corruption in the norms and values of society (Sandholtz & Taagepera, 2005; Pietrzyk-Reeves, 2006). While the former communist countries are undergoing a process aiming at the democratization of the system, which is at least formally implemented, we expect that the translation of the formal rules into the day-to-day practices of citizens to lag behind. In this respect, in countries with longer history of democratic regimes the norms of fairness and respect of the law are more likely to be also accepted and put into practice by individuals than in the new democracies. Previous studies support this idea and show that countries with a history of democracy also have a stronger civic culture (Muller & Seligson, 1994) and corruption goes against the values and norms that a strong civic culture fosters. Thus, we expect that in former communist countries to find higher levels of acceptance of corrupt acts than in the established democracies (Hypothesis 7).

Income inequality is a last contextual characteristic that we propose to have in mind when explaining the differences in the acceptance of corrupt acts between countries. Higher inequality implies a large majority of people that are on the poor end of the income distribution and a small minority that possess high material wealth. This translates into a strong imbalance between the life-chances of individuals due to their socio economic background, and subsequently, also a strong unbalance in the resources available to “buy” unfair advantages. Individuals are likely to

be aware of this unbalance given that in more un-equal countries the visibility of the differences between the social statuses is higher (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). Furthermore, the involvement in corrupt acts might be seen as facilitating even stronger income discrepancies as result of the unfair material advantages resulted. Opinion surveys showed that Europeans find income inequality to be unjust and they express more desire toward decreasing the gap between rich and poor (Alesina, Di Tella & MacCulloch, 2004). This could also imply that rejecting income inequalities would go hand in hand with rejecting the involvement in corrupt acts. Based on the above we expect that in more un-equal countries individuals would be more likely to have a lower acceptance of corrupt acts than in countries that are more equal (Hypothesis 8).

Data and methods

In order to test our hypotheses we made use of data from the European Values Study (EVS, 2008), a large-scale, cross-national, and longitudinal survey research program on basic human values. We use most recent information, collected in 2008. From the integrated dataset we excluded North Cyprus, North Ireland, and Azerbaijan due to non-availability of some of the measures used in our analyses. Our working dataset covers 62674 individuals nested in 43 European countries.

Dependent variable

Acceptance of corruption was measured as a scale based on 4 questions that asked respondents whether they find justifiable the following corrupt behaviors: accepting a bribe, claiming undeserved state benefits, cheating on tax and paying cash to avoid tax. The 4 items were measured with a scale ranging from 1 “never justifiable” to 10 “always justifiable”. We recoded the scales so that all individuals who declared that the 4 corrupt practices were justifiable to some degree received value 1 while individuals who found them “never justifiable” received value 0. We used the recoded variable to compute a summative scale. Reliability tests resulted in a Cronbach alpha of 0.73 in the full sample. The same test conducted within country also resulted in good reliability indices, ranging from a minimum of 0.63 in Belgium to 0.89 in Georgia. The resulted variable measuring the acceptance of corrupt practices ranged from 0 to 4, where a higher score indicated higher acceptance.

Independent variables at individual level

Religiosity was computed as a factor scale for the following 9 items: if respondents believe in God, hell, life after death, sin and heaven, if they consider themselves as religious persons, if they get strength from religion and how important is religion and God in their life. When needed items were recoded so that a higher value to represent higher religiosity. Given that some of these items had quite high level of missing values we first addressed this issue, as presented in the section on missing values, and after that we computed the religiosity scale.

Age was measured by computing the age of the individuals at the date of data collection based on the reported birth year. We centered the age variable at 18 and also included quadratic term in order to allow for curvilinear effects.

Socio-economic status was measured by the income and occupational status of the respondents. *Income* was measured by the monthly household income (x1000), corrected for PPP in Euros, variable that is provided in the integrated EVS dataset and which is calculated by the EVS team (see the technical documentation for information on the calculations). It provides a measure of disposable income for consumption of the households that is comparable between countries. Note that the original variable had a high level of missing values (see Table 1). See below the

section on Missing values covering detailed explanations on how we dealt with this problem. In our analyses we used also a quadratic term to allow for non linear effects of income.

The occupational status of the individuals was derived from the variable measuring the European Socio-Economic Classification (Harrison and Rose 2006). We recoded the original variable with 9 categories to the restricted 5 category form: (1) higher and lower salaried, (2) intermediate employee, (3) small employers and self-employed, (4) low employees in sales and service, (5) lower technical and routine occupations. In addition we also have a category for those individuals that do not have an occupation. In our analyses the lower technical and routine occupations were used as reference category.

Partnership status of the respondents was derived from their legal civil status: those who were married or living together were categorized as having a partnership. In addition we used the measure of the number of children declared by respondents to derive a dummy variable for the *individuals that had kids* compared to those who did not have.

Trust in governance bodies was measured by a mean scale composed of three questions asking respondents if they had confidence in the police, government and justice. A higher score on this scale indicated higher confidence in governance bodies.

Control variables

We also had two control variables at individual level: the level of education of individuals, introduced in analysis as high and medium education vs. low education (reference category) and gender measured as a dummy for males.

Independent variable at country level

The former communist history was computed by assigning each country in the following categories: (1) long established democracy, (2) country that belonged to the former soviet bloc and (3) country that belonged to the former communist bloc. In the analyses we introduced the variable as dummies with the category long established democracy as reference group.

The level of corruption of the county was measured by the Corruption Perception Index developed by Transparency International (2008). The index is based on perceptions on the prevalence of corruption as seen by business people and country analysts and not by the population at large. It ranges from 10 (highly clean countries) to 0 (highly corrupt countries).

Income inequality was measured by the Gini Index, a low value indicating low inequality while a high value represents high inequality. It ranges from 0 to 100 and was derived from the Standardized World Income Inequality Database (SWIID) (Solt 2009), dataset that was developed with the purpose of increasing the coverage across country and time while also improving the comparability across observations.

Detailed information on the variables in the analysis can be found in Table 1.

Missing values treatment and data analysis

According to Allison (2001) a good method to deal with the missing values requires to accomplish the following: minimize bias in the parameter estimates, maximize the use of the available data and yield good estimates of uncertainty. Recent studies point out that traditional approaches to address the problem of missing values (i.e., list wise deletion, pair wise deletion, mean substitution, dummy variable adjustment) are not adequate (Graham, 2009). Instead, modern approaches were proposed, known under the name of multiple imputation methods, which satisfy the three criteria.

Table 1: *Descriptive information of the variables in the analyses*

Variable	N valid	Mean / Perc.	Std.	Min	Max
Acceptability of corrupt behaviors	62674	1.58	1.47	0	4
Age (centered at 18)	62674	29.05	17.75	0	90
Monthly household income (x1000), PPP	51224	1.25	1.29	0.01	14.73
Higher and lower salaried (y/n)	60647	25%		0	1
Intermediate employee (y/n)	60647	14%		0	1
Small employers and self-employed (y/n)	60647	7%		0	1
Low employees in sales and service (y/n)	60647	10%		0	1
No occupation (y/n)	60647	17%		0	1
Trust in governance bodies	62261	2.42	0.69	1	4
Partnership status (y/n)	62288	56%		0	1
Respondent has children (y/n)	62151	72%		0	1
Believe in God (y/n)	58465	80%		0	1
Believe in hell (y/n)	54275	39%		0	1
Believe in life after death (y/n)	53011	52%		0	1
Believe in sin (y/n)	56608	63%		0	1
Believe in heaven (y/n)	54272	50%		0	1
Religious person (y/n)	59911	70%		0	1
Get strength from religion (y/n)	57851	63%		0	1
Importance of religion in life	61803	2.66	1.05	1	4
Importance of God in life	60659	6.44	3.25	1	10
High level of education (y/n)	62190	23%		0	1
Medium level of education (y/n)	62190	47%		0	1
Male (y/n)	62673	44%		0	1
Belonged to the former communist bloc (y/n)	43	30%		0	1
Belonged to the former soviet bloc (y/n)	43	21%		0	1
Gini index	43	31.4	5.5	23.0	46.2
Corruption Perception Index	43	5.7	2.2	2.0	9.3

Source: EVS 2008, integrated file, own calculations. Variables are in their original metric before conducting multiple imputations.

The main idea of multiple imputation methods is that instead of filling in missing values to create a single imputed dataset, several imputed data sets are created each of which contains different imputed values. The analysis is then conducted on each of the imputed datasets and the estimates are then combined (Rubin 1987). In the present study we used the chained equations method as implemented in ICE (Royston 2005), a user contributed add-on under STATA 11. The advantages of this method is that it provide support for all type of variables, it does not assumes a single multivariate model for all the data and it allows the imputations to be made within the category of a specified variable (in our case within each country).

We followed the criteria set by Allison (2001) and Graham (2009) for implementing the imputation models. First, missing values on the dependent variable were deleted. Our imputation models include all the individual level variables in our models. In order to preserve the nested structure of the data the imputations are computed within the country. We derived a standard number of 5 alternative imputed datasets which were then analyzed using the standard multiple imputation module in STATA.

The data that we are using is characterized by the fact that individuals are nested in countries, which have specific structural characteristics. In order to adequately address the nested structure of

the data and be able to differentiate the contextual from the compositional effects we used multi-level techniques (Snijders & Bosker 1999). In addition, in order to facilitate the interpretation of the effects we standardized all continuous variables, at individual and country level.

Results

We start by presenting some exploratory analyses of the data. As seen in Table 1, the average acceptance of corrupt acts in the 43 European countries is relatively low (1.54 on a scale from 0 to 4). However, as seen in Figure 1 there is quite some variation between the 43 European countries, ranging from as low as a mean of 0.53 in Turkey to as high as 2.67 in Belarus. These findings suggest that the specific contexts of the countries matter for the variation in the acceptance of corrupt acts in Europe.

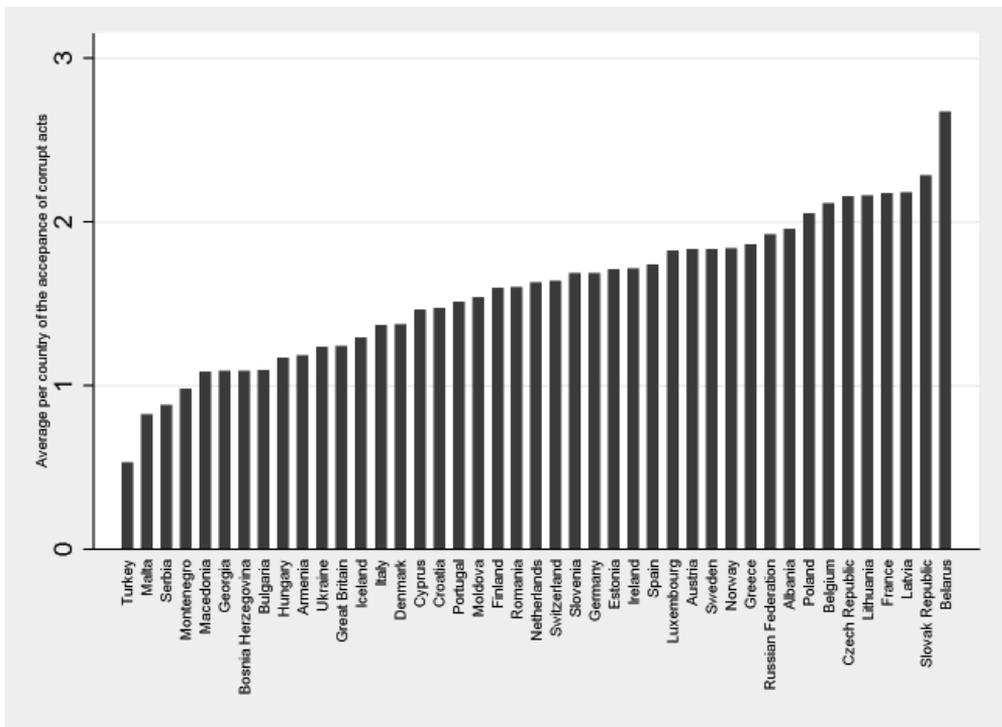


Figure 1: Average acceptance of corruption in 43 European countries

In Figure 2 and 3 we present the relationships between the contextual characteristics that were brought forward by our theoretical reasoning. We found a strong relationship between the average acceptance of corrupt acts and income inequality ($-0.40, p < 0.05$), which suggests that in countries with more income inequality the acceptance of corrupt acts is lower. However, when looking at the relationship between how widespread corruption is and the acceptance of corrupt acts we found only a weak relationship ($0.13, p > 0.05$) that tentatively suggest that in countries where corruption is more widespread the acceptance of corruption is lower (remember that a higher value on the corruption index indicates less perceived corruption). Regarding the differences in

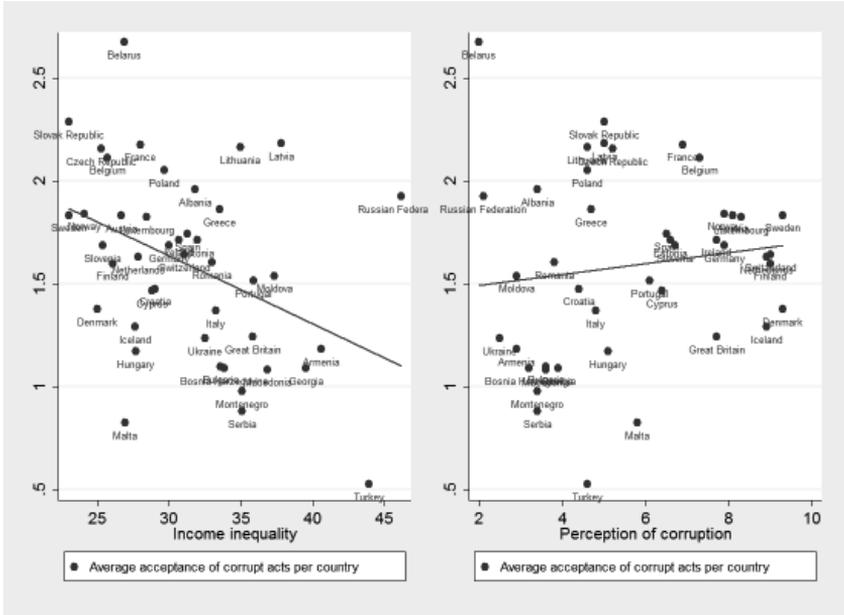


Figure 2: *Acceptance of corruption, income inequality and perceptions of corruption in 43 European countries*

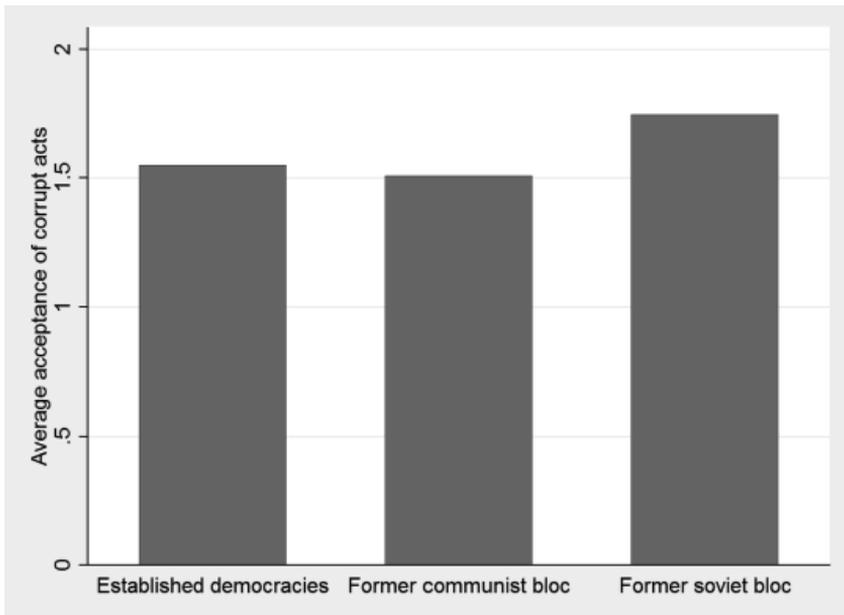


Figure 3: *Average acceptance of corrupt acts in former communist countries and in established democracies*

the acceptance of corruption between established democracies and countries that experienced communist regime, we find a significantly higher mean acceptance of corrupt acts in the countries that were part of the former soviet bloc (mean for the soviet bloc: 1.74; mean for the established democracies: 1.54). However, the former communist bloc countries have similar (or even slightly lower) average acceptance of corrupt acts than the established democracies (mean for the former communist bloc: 1.51).

While these exploratory analyses shed some light on the factors that relate to the different levels of acceptance of corrupt acts in the European countries, we cannot exclude the possibility that the observed differences might be due to compositional effects due to individual level characteristics. In order to control for the compositional effects and formally test our hypotheses we turn to the results of multilevel models which are presented in Table 2. Our modeling strategy was the following. First we estimated a null model that allowed us to calculate the inter class correlation, thus determining how much variation in the acceptance of corrupt acts is due to the clustering in countries. The inter-class correlation coefficient indicated that only 9% from the variance in the acceptance of corrupt acts is due to the contextual influence, which suggests that differences between individuals have more weight than differences between countries. We then estimated a model where all individual level characteristics were introduced (Model 1) in order to find support for our individual level expectations and in Model 2 we added the country level characteristics in order to estimate the contextual effects.

Turning to the results of our estimations, based on hypothesis 1 we expected that individuals with higher religiosity will display lower acceptance of corrupt acts. Based on Model 1 (Table 2) we found support for this hypothesis: one standard deviation on the religiosity scale was associated with a decrease of 0.13 in the acceptance of corrupt acts scale. However, the effect size of this parameter indicated that the relationship was a weak one ($0.13/1.47=0.08$). We also expected that older individuals display lower acceptance of corrupt acts because they have more to loose from involvement in corrupt behavior. As our results in Model 1 show, with every standard deviation increase in age the acceptance of corrupt acts decreased with 0.01 and in addition, for older people this effect was stronger. However, in the absolute terms of the effect size this effect was negligible ($0.01/1.47=0.007$).

Regarding socio-economic status, we derived alternative scenarios, suggesting contradictory expectations. Our results provided inconsistent evidences depending on the measure of socio-economic status that we took into account. If we looked at income as a measure of socio-economic status, our results (Model 1, Table 2) suggested that individuals with higher income report a higher acceptance of corrupt acts, supporting the argument of having superior resources that can “buy” more and that can also mitigate the potential costs of being discovered to be involved in corruption. However, we observed that as we go up in the income hierarchy this effect was weaker, suggesting that the alternative mechanisms of the fear of losing the prestige associated with higher socio-economic status might also be at work.

When we looked at occupation as a measure of socio-economic status, we found that there were no significant differences in the acceptance of corrupt acts between respondents that were employed. Only the persons that did not have an occupation appeared to have a higher acceptance of corrupt acts than the lower technical and routine occupations. In addition, individuals employed in the service sectors seemed to be (only marginally for $\alpha<0.10$) more inclined to accept corrupt acts than the lower technical and routine occupations. This said, we found only partial evidence in support for our expectations regarding the relationship between socio-economic status and acceptance of corrupt acts which did not fully support any of the alternative scenario derived. Our next expectation regarded the marital status and the presence of children, both these factors presumably being associated with lower acceptance of corrupt acts, expectation that was supported by our analyses as seen in Model 1 Table 2. In addition, we also expected that individuals with high level of trust in governance bodies will have lower acceptance of corrupt acts, and again, this expectation was supported by our data.

Turning to the effects of the country characteristics, we derived contrasting expectations about the relationship between corruption levels of the country and the acceptance of corrupt acts by individuals. However our results did not provide conclusive results, since the coefficient did not reach significance. It is thus possible that both mechanisms are at work cancelling each other out. Regarding the former communist history of the country we expected to find lower acceptance of corrupt acts in the established democracies. Our results provided partial support for this expectation, since the difference was only significant between countries from the ex-soviet bloc and the established democracies. In countries from the former ex-communist bloc, the average level of acceptance of corrupt acts was not significantly different than in countries with established democracies. Not lastly, we expected that in countries with higher income inequality to find lower acceptance of corrupt acts, and this hypothesis received support from our estimations presented in Model 2.

Although we did not formulated hypotheses about the control variable it is worth noting that, in line with Gatti, Paternostro & Rigolini (2003), we also found that males have a higher acceptance of corrupt acts than females and there are no significant differences between individuals with different educational levels in their acceptance of corrupt acts.

Conclusions

In the present contribution we set out to contribute to the better understanding of the differences in the acceptance of corrupt acts in a large sample of 43 European countries. We employed multi-level models in order to disentangle the individual and contextual effects and explain the variability in the acceptance of corrupt acts between individuals and between societies. Based on our analyses we reached the following conclusions.

Firstly, we found that religiosity and gender had the strongest effects in relation to the acceptance of corrupt acts. These findings are in line with previous research pointing out that women are less inclined to accept corruption and that religious participation decreases the acceptance of corrupt acts (Gatti, Paternostro & Rigolini, 2003, Swami et al., 2001). Regarding religiosity, our argument was that involvement in corrupt acts goes against the principles promoted by all religious denomination. We note that the norms of honesty and fairness are not exclusive to religious institutions. Other institutions are founded on and try to promote the same ideas, e.g., civic organizations that embrace these values in their aims and objectives. Subsequently future research can investigate to what extent non-religious individuals that are active in civic organizations also report lower acceptance of corrupt acts. A confirmation of this expectation would offer an instrument that can be actively used for influencing the level of tolerance toward corrupt behaviors.

Secondly, we found that young individuals without occupation and with more material resources are more likely to find corrupt acts acceptable. These results are again in line with those of Gatti, Paternostro & Rigolini (2003). If indeed the acceptance of corrupt acts has an influence on the actual corrupt behavior, these individuals would have less to lose and more to gain from involving in corruption, transforming them into a risk group. However, the presence of children and the presence of a stable partnership as well as the higher confidence in the government bodies reduce the acceptance of corrupt acts. These results support our line of reasoning that looked at the balance of anticipated or actual rewards and punishments potentially following the involvement in corrupt behavior. Thus, all together we found support for the idea that individuals adjust their acceptance of corrupt acts so that when there is more to lose for themselves or for their loved ones, they report less tolerance of corruption.

Table 2: Result of multi-level models in 43 European countries (N: 62674 respondents)

	Model 0		Model 1		Model 2	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Constant	1.59	0.07	2.01	0.07	1.95	0.11
<i>Individual level variables</i>						
Religiosity			-0.13	0.01	-0.13	0.01
Age			-0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.00
Age square			-0.02	0.01	-0.02	0.01
Income			0.09	0.01	0.09	0.01
Income square			-0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.00
Lower technical and routine occupations (ref)						
Higher and lower salaried			-0.04	0.02	-0.04	0.02
Intermediate employee			-0.03	0.02	-0.03	0.02
Small employers and self-employed			-0.02	0.03	-0.02	0.03
Low employees in sales and service			0.05	0.03	0.05	0.03
No occupation			0.05	0.02	0.05	0.02
Has partnership			-0.10	0.02	-0.10	0.02
Has kids			-0.10	0.02	-0.10	0.02
Confidence authority			-0.06	0.01	-0.06	0.01
<i>Country level variables</i>						
Corruption level					-0.09	0.11
Established democracy (ref)						
Ex soviet bloc					0.46	0.21
Ex communist bloc					-0.10	0.19
Income inequality					-0.29	0.08
<i>Control variables</i>						
High education			-0.02	0.02	-0.02	0.02
Medium education			0.00	0.02	0.00	0.02
Low education (ref)						
Male			0.13	0.01	0.13	0.01
<i>Variances</i>						
Country		0.197		0.189		0.125
Individual level		1.958		1.827		1.827

Source: EVS 2008, own calculations. Estimates derived on 5 alternative datasets with imputed values for missing cases and ulterior combined following Rubin (1987). Unstandardized effects and corresponding standard errors presented. Bold effects are significant for $\alpha < 0.05$. All continuous independent variables are standardized.

Thirdly, we found support for the fact that the variation in the acceptance of corrupt acts is also due to the characteristics of the societies. We found that the acceptance of corruption is higher in the countries that were part of the former soviet bloc, but we found that the individuals living in the former communist bloc have on average similar levels of acceptance of corrupt acts as the individuals living in European countries with established democracies. Because the former communist countries also have higher levels of income inequality and corruption, we tested the previous differences while controlling for the two variables. Even so, we found that the difference in the acceptance of corrupt acts between the ex-soviet and the established democracies is net of their levels of income inequality and corruption. This is a surprising result because the previous literature argued that the acceptance of corruption was something specific to all former communist regimes. Based on our results it seems that, even if corruption in the former communist bloc is still perceived as being widespread, the change has been made toward less tolerant values concerning

corrupt acts. Future research is warranted in identifying why the difference in the values toward corruption exists between the former soviet and the former communist bloc countries.

Another surprising result was the finding that the level of corruption of a country was not related to the acceptance of the corrupt acts by individuals. Regarding this relationship we had a dual argument: on the one hand, we argued along the “if everyone is doing, it might be not so bad” line, when widespread corruption becomes a norm and thus we expected that the acceptance of corrupt acts will be higher in more corrupt countries. On the other hand, we argued that the detrimental effects of corruption for individuals in highly corrupt countries might make it less acceptable for individuals. Based on our results, we could not rule in favor of any of the two arguments. A possible explanation for this result might be that the two mechanisms work at the same time or they work differentially for different population groups, overall canceling themselves out. If this is the case, future research is needed in order to determine under which conditions and for what social groups the two mechanisms are working.

Not lastly, we also found that income inequality is significantly related to the acceptance of corrupt acts: in countries with higher income inequality individuals report on average lower acceptance of corrupt acts. This is a new piece of evidence that adds to the large body of literature investigating the social and individual effects of income inequality (Wilkinson & Pickett 2009). While previous literature on social and individual effects of income inequality argues for damaging effects of income inequality on a large range of social aspects, we found in our study a more positive effect: it seems that a more unequal distribution of income makes individuals less tolerant toward another social problem, namely corruption. We note that previous studies have shown that in samples of countries the corruption level and income inequality are positively related (Uslaner, 2009). Our analysis suggests the fact that the ecological relationship between income inequality and the level of corruption is not identical to the contextual relationship between income inequality and the individual’s acceptance of corrupt acts. While at societal level higher inequalities are associated with perceptions of more widespread corruption, the effect of income inequality on the individuals’ values regarding corrupt behavior is the opposite.

To sum up, the present analysis had as main aim to shed more light on the complex relationship between micro and macro characteristics and how they relate to the acceptance of corrupt acts by individuals. Besides the strengths of this study, such as the high quality data and appropriate methods of analysis in a large sample of European countries, we also mention that this analysis could only explain around 7% of the variation between individuals in our dependent variable. In addition, the effects sizes of the coefficients were very small. This indicates that there are other relevant individual characteristics that might be able to explain more from the differences in the acceptance of corrupt acts and future research is needed in order to identify these characteristics. As already suggested, the involvement of individuals in civic organizations or the exposure to civic education that promotes values such as equity and fairness (e.g., via nongovernmental organizations or school curricula) might be factors that could shape the acceptance of corrupt acts. Furthermore, other contextual characteristics such as the wealth of the society, the equality of opportunity or the rule of law might be taken into account as predictors of the degree of acceptance of corruption by individuals.

Other interesting lines of research might also focus on the relation between other value orientations and the acceptance of corrupt acts. The attitudes toward corruption might be only one part of a more general value orientation of individuals that might also include ideas of trust, fairness or equity. These value structures might be context specific, as resulting from the arguments and the research of Inglehart (1971) among others, who showed that the values of individuals are (at least partially) shaped by the exposure to some specific structural characteristics of the society at large (e.g., economic development). If this is the case, it would imply that the attitudes and the values of individuals might have a common exogenous cause. The consequence would be that explaining values through other values might be an exercise

plagued by the third variable problem, and a more useful exercise would be to identify how values cluster and what are the structural, exogenous factors that shape them. Not lastly, we mention that in this study we assumed that individuals with the same characteristics will have the same acceptance of corrupt acts regardless of the context where they live and were socialized. However, this might not be the case, and another future line of research might focus on identifying more precisely how individual and contextual factors interact in shaping the acceptance of corrupt behaviors.

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Is Conformity a Mediating Variable on Increased Risk-Taking Behavior Across Years of Membership in the Greek System?

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Abstract

In the college subculture of Greek Life, members adhere to specific rules and norms in order to remain accepted, which could be indicative of conformity. This notion raises the question: what is the role of conformity on the risk taking behaviors of alcohol usage and sexual promiscuity as well as on the academic performance across years of membership? The article examines conformity in 31 fraternity members, cross-sectionally, using a compressed longitudinal design and hypothesizes members develop lower levels of conformity after initiation, making them less susceptible to risk taking behaviors such as binge drinking, sexual promiscuity and decreased academic performance. Surveys were administered in paper format, and results were evaluated using a series of analysis of variance equations. The results indicated an interaction effect between peer conformity (high, low) and alcoholic beverages consumed as well as a main effects for between peer involvement (high, low) and time on college GPA.

Keywords: Greek Life, Conformity, College, Alcohol, GPA

Introduction

Greek Life (fraternities and sororities) flourish in colleges across the United States, with some schools having up to 60 chapters on one campus. These organizations often entice young students during recruitment with promises of social events, immediate friendships, and the benefit of affiliation. This can be an exciting opportunity to incoming freshman, and thousands of new members join Greek Life each year.

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Although many incoming students are drawn into membership each year, there are some lesser known negative effects of fraternity life. As a group, Greeks are more likely than non-members to participate in heavy drinking, and drug use with an increase in adverse consequences. (Turrisi et al., 2006) One potential explanation for this discrepancy could stem from conformity, which causes members to overlook the potential risks and problems associated with certain behaviors. In addition to Greek membership, there are additional factors which increase susceptibility to conformity.

Conformity

Research has demonstrated that conformity decreases with age making younger people more prone to this experience (Pasupathi, 1999). Newman and Newman, 1976, suggest that for younger people, substance use, risk-taking behavior, and sexual activity may indicate efforts to “conform to the norms of the group and to demonstrate commitment and loyalty to other group members” (p. 276). It is essential to consider the developmental stage of college students, and how this might affect their susceptibility to group think and conformity (Pasupathi, 1999).

Viewing conformity as a result of developmental processes, Costanzo and Shaw’s (1966) evaluation demonstrated an increase in conformity during adolescents and a decrease as they reached adulthood. The basic premise is that compared to adults, younger college students worry more about what other people think about them, maintain a less stable value system, have an increased interest in seeking out new opportunities and acquaintances, and are less self-assured in their own knowledge base (Pasupathi, 1999). This research supports the hypothesis that conformity will decrease with time of membership in the fraternity, as the average member enters the house during adolescence and reaches adulthood by the time of graduation.

Another factor that contributes to college students’ vulnerability for conformity is the natural human desire for affiliation and a sense of belonging. “The chain of motivational, cognitive, and social processes that bind individuals to collections of others (groups) is forged early in life. Infants and young children inherently form affectionate bonds and seek closeness with those who become familiar to them” (Ainsworth, 1979 p. 933). This innate desire for interpersonal connections may make someone more susceptible to adopting a group’s values that are contradictory to one’s own belief system. For example, immersing an adolescent in a new environment will likely cause them to gravitate towards perceived interpersonal connection with a group, such as in Greek Life. Therefore, as a result of their need for attachment, college students involved in Greek Life are vulnerable to conformity in group situations.

Greek Life

An example of a group environment with a culture defined by specific norms is Greek Life on college campuses. This subculture is based upon unity and adherence to one’s selected house. Often people choose their Greek Chapter based on perceived personality similarities to current members. Baron, Monson & Baron, (1965) suggested that it is important to consider that Greek Life may naturally attract extroverted people who have a higher need for sensation seeking activities including partying, dating and athletic activities. They also note that within this personality type, there may be a lower motivation for learning alternative behaviors, making it easier to attach to the identity of Greek Life. So how does this identity that attracts extroverted, sensation seeking individuals who enjoy engaging in partying, dating and athletic activities manifest itself?

In research conducted by Kahler, Read, Wood & Palfai (2006), membership in a Greek house (fraternity or a sorority) significantly increased the likelihood that students would engage in the risk taking behavior of binge drinking, with an increased occurrence of sexual promiscuity.

Within this study, the greatest risk group for binge drinking was Caucasian males with a high sensation seeking status (Kahler et al., 2006).

Park, Sher, & Krull (2008) noted that alcohol use on college campuses is becoming a public health concern, as more college students show higher rates of alcohol abuse and dependency. They also found an increase in marijuana and other illegal substances being used on college campuses across the U.S. Park et al. (2008) also reported that membership in a Greek house is the highest predictor for substance abuse. They discussed national data which shows how Greek members have the highest rates of cigarette, marijuana and ecstasy use, have an increased likelihood of being diagnosed with an alcohol-related disorder and are more likely to experience consequences related to alcohol use (idem, 2008).

Excess substance use has many adverse effects including negative academic performance in students who may also struggle to keep up with the rigorous academic standards of college. When the pressure and stress of college life build, alcohol can serve as a temporary relief from their problems. According to Gall (1988), poor time management, such as last minute cramming for exams and spending minimal time on homework is connected to a decrease in academic performance. Alcohol use can also be connected with poor time management when hangover effects are considered, or excessive late night partying. The sample by Cox, Zhang, Johnson and Bender (2007) included 1,488 high school students and defined "low academic performance" as students who mostly had grades of C and below. Their research found that a majority of the students who fit into the category of low academic performance, were frequent smokers, binge drinkers and regular marijuana users. This type of at-risk behavior often continues from high school into college, and particularly in Greek houses (Cox et al., 2007).

Current Study

The purpose of the current study is to examine the relationship between length of membership in the Greek system, conformity and risk taking behaviors as measured by poor academic performance, sexual promiscuity, and binge drinking. The study hypothesizes that conformity and risk taking behaviors will decrease with increased time of membership.

Method

Participants

The study included 66 male students from fraternities at a state university in the Pacific Northwest. Although 66 of these students completed the first administration, only 31 completed both the October and May surveys. A letter was sent to Greek houses to solicit interested participants in November 2008. The letter described the study as one which was aimed at "better understanding" the Greek system, would be "anonymous," but would require the participants to identify age, year in school, and gender. It also described the format of the survey as "paper format, requiring approximately 10-15 minutes to complete." The letter was sent to both the Panhellenic and Interfraternity Councils to be read at the monthly meetings.

The initial letter only yielded the participation of one fraternity, and therefore, the researcher made contact with additional Greek houses via telephone to obtain further participation.

Instrument

The Peer Pressure Inventory (PPI) by Clasen & Brown (1985) which is a 53-question Likert scale, was used to measure peer pressure on a -3 to 3 rating system within five sub-scales. The instructions state: "Here are some pairs of statements describing peer pressure which is when your friends encourage you to do something or to not do something else. For each pair, read both statements and decide whether friends mostly encourage you to do the one on the left or the one on the right. Then, mark an "X" in one of the boxes on the side toward the statement you choose, depending on how much your friends encourage you to do that ("A Little," "Somewhat" or "A Lot"). If you think there's no pressure from friends to do either statement, mark the middle ("No Pressure") box." (Clausen & Brown, 1985)

The Peer Pressure Inventory five subscales include: misconduct, peer conformity, peer involvement, family involvement and school involvement. The five scales resulted from a "content analyses of responses (which) indicated that peer pressures clustered in five areas: peer involvement (spending free time with friends, attending parties and school social events, interacting with the opposite sex, etc.), involvement in school (academic and extracurricular), involvement with family, conformity to peer norms (in dress and grooming, musical tastes, etc.), and misconduct (drug and alcohol use, sexual intercourse, and minor delinquent activities) from the initial list of items an instrument was derived, piloted and revised" (Clasen & Brown, 1985, p. 457). Misconduct includes behaviors such as drug and alcohol use, as well as sexual intercourse and property crimes. Peer conformity includes factors such as having the same opinion as your friends, talking and acting similarly to your friends, and being part of a certain crowd or group. Peer involvement includes feeling encouragement from peers to attend school functions, to be "social," and to go out on dates. Family involvement includes behaviors such as getting along with your parents, talking respectfully to adults and acting in accordance to your parent's wishes. Lastly, school involvement includes feeling pressure to study, taking advanced classes and finishing one's degree.

According to Clasen & Brown, "items for each scale were interspersed and counterbalanced (half had the statement representing pressure toward the domain on the left side of the page; half had it on the right side). A mean score for each PPI subscale was calculated after the items were re-coded to score them all in a "positive direction." (p. 458). An average score of -3 indicates strong peer pressure against a certain construct (misconduct, peer involvement). A mean score of a 3 indicates strong conformity towards a specific area (peer, family, or school involvement). A rating of a zero suggests the rater feels no peer pressure in either the negative or positive direction. The original study which administered the PPI to 70 participants in both a rural and urban sample, the Peer Pressure Inventory was determined to be a reliable instrument for gauging an adolescents' view of peer pressure. Aside from the conformity scales among the urban sample, alpha coefficients were 0.70 and higher. The PPI also displayed internal consistency and test-retest reliability when the test was administered in weekly intervals over a six week period with correlations ranging from 0.48 to 0.65 (Clasen & Brown, 1985). The PPI, developed for English speaking individuals, was administered in English to the participants.

In addition, demographic information was collected on each participant. The questions included: number of drinks consumed within the last week (on a scale of 0-7), number of sexual partners in the last month (defined as someone who you have intercourse with, whether anal, oral or vaginal intercourse), cumulative college GPA, cumulative high school GPA, age (in years), ethnicity: Caucasian, African American, Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American, and other. The last questions included: year in school, year in Greek House and length of time in house: (in months).

Design

This research explores the effect of the length of Greek membership on conformity. The dependent variables were the grade point average (GPA), alcohol use within the past week and number of sexual partners within the past month. The independent variables were level of conformity as measured through the PPI's five sub-scales of peer conformity, family involvement, peer involvement, school involvement and misconduct. Each of the participant's scaled scores were rated as high or low based upon the average response of the participants using a mean split technique. A response over the average was coded as high (1) and a response lower than the average was considered a low (2).

Procedure

The survey was administered in person on October 4, 2010 and on May 2, 2011. For each administration, the data was collected by the principle researcher and the participant required approximately 10-15 minutes to complete the measure.

Data Analysis

A series of five 1-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were used to examine the differences between students' levels of conformity between the first data collection and the second. Then a series of repeated measures ANOVAs were conducted to examine the effect conformity and time had on behaviors such as binge drinking, grade point average and promiscuity. A p-value of 0.05 or smaller was considered significant.

Results

Demographic and Descriptive Statistics

The dependent variables were the GPA, alcohol use within the past week, and number of sexual partners within the past month. The total sample consisted of 66 students on the first administration, all of which were male. Only 31 students completed both administrations. The average age for the original 66 participants was 19.67 (see Table 1). The average number of sexual partners for the original 66 was 0.79. The average GPA on a 4-point scale was 3.65 for high school and 3.36 for college (See Table 1).

Table 1: *Descriptive Statistics: Age, GPA, Sexual Partners, Drinks Consumed, and Total PPI*

Fraternity Member	Age			GPA: college		GPA: high school		Sexual Partners		Drinks Consumed		Year in school	
	N	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
First Administration	66	19.7	1.3	3.4	0.62	3.6	0.33	0.79	1.03	3.4	1.6	2.4	1.3
Completed Both Administrations	31	19.6	1.6	3.2	0.74	3.7	0.32	0.94	1.03	3.3	1.6	2.9	1.1

Note. M = Mean, SD = Standard Deviation, Year in School: 1-4 = freshman-senior.

Statistical Analysis

Paired samples *t*-tests were used to determine if significant differences existed between the subjects’ first and second administrations of the PPI. No significant differences on PPI subscale scores (high and low) were found between the two administrations for the group of 31 students who completed both administrations (see Table 2).

Table 2: *Paired Samples T-Test*

	First Administration		First Administration Range		Second Administration		Second Administration Range		t	df	p = (2-tailed)
	Mean	SD	High	Low	Mean	SD	High	Low			
School Involvement	1.48	0.51	22	4	1.65	0.49	24	-1	-1.13	30	0.27
Peer Conformity	1.58	0.50	12	-4	1.45	0.51	17	-7	-0.9	30	0.38
Misconduct	1.48	0.51	22	-12	1.50	0.51	8	-15	1.03	30	0.31
Peer Involvement	1.51	0.51	27	2	1.48	0.51	23	0	0.34	30	0.74
Family Involvement	1.39	0.50	18	-3	1.45	0.51	21	-1	-1.28	30	0.21

Since the purpose of the current study was to examine the relationship between length of membership in the Greek system and level of conformity on risk taking behaviors as measured by poor academic performance, sexual promiscuity and binge drinking, a series of repeated measure ANOVAs were conducted to explore the interaction effects of time and level of conformity. Each participant's scale scores were rated as high or low using a mean split technique. A response over the average was coded as high and a response lower than the average was considered a low. Then, repeated measures ANOVA's were used to explore the effect of time (October, 2010-May, 2011) in the fraternity and level of PPI subscale scores (high, low) on number of sexual partners, college GPA and drinks consumed. There was a significant interaction effect between peer conformity (high, low) and time on alcoholic beverages consumed ($F(1,29)=5.78, p=0.02, \eta^2=0.166$). Significant main effects were also found for both peer involvement ($F(1, 26)=7.09, p=0.01$) and time ($F(1, 26)=24.229, p=0.00$) on college GPA. However, no significant interaction effect between peer involvement and time was found for college GPA ($F(1, 26)=0.003, p=0.857$). Means and standard deviations

related to these significant finding are contained in Table 3. The remaining repeated measure ANOVA's were insignificant.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics for Peer Involvement, Peer conformity, College GPA and Drinks for Participants Completing Both Administrations (n=31)

Scale	Mean		Standard Deviation	
	First Administration	Second Administration	First Administration	Second Administration
Peer Involvement	13.8	12.6	6.6	6.5
Peer Conformity	1.8	2.41	3.6	4.7
College GPA	3.19	3.16	0.74	.43
Drinks	3.3	3.8	1.6	1.4

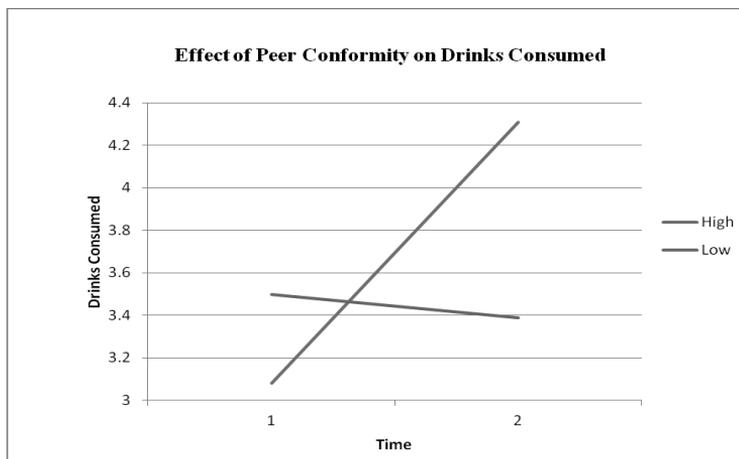


Figure 1: Effect of peer conformity on drinks consumed.

Note. High refers to high peer conformity and Low refers to low peer Conformity.

Discussion

Previous research has demonstrated the growing prevalence of the Greek System in college campuses across the United States. Often seen in a negative light, fraternities and sorority members appear more susceptible to risk-taking behaviors such as alcohol-related problems, sexual promiscuity or assault, as well as poorer academic performance than the general student body (Barry, 2007). Greek Life became known as a public health concern as one of the highest predictors for alcohol use in college (Park, Sher & Krull, 2008).

Although a plethora of research has evaluated the negative consequence of membership in Greek Life, the reasoning behind this problem is still unclear. Research suggests not all college students are equally vulnerable to the negative experiences of binge drinking, high risk sexual practices or poor academic performance. It has become evident that students who are part of a cultural group that endorses such behaviors become more susceptible to these effects (Barry, 2007).

When combined with other factors such as younger age, a desire to affiliate and the availability of increased decision making, a Greek member is particularly at risk for these behaviors. A hypothesized explanation for high risk sexual practices, poor academic performance and binge drinking has been the influence of conformity and peer pressure on the choices of young adults.

The purpose of the current study was to examine the relationship between length of membership in the Greek system, conformity and risk taking behaviors as measured by poor academic performance, sexual promiscuity and binge drinking. The study hypothesized that conformity and risk taking behaviors would decrease with increased time of membership. Greek Fraternity members from a state university in the Pacific Northwest were evaluated through two separate administrations of the PPI. Thirty-one of the participants completed both administrations, while 66 completed the first administration.

Although the study was intended to include a larger number of participants, there was a high level of attrition from the first to second administration. A possible explanation for this could exist in the inherent nature of the Greek system. During the Fall, many young college students are attracted to an organization such as a fraternity, which offers not only a place to live, but also an instant "identity." By the spring time though, some members may become disillusioned with the realities of house membership. In turn, those members who remain are those who have developed a certain level of conformity which is an unstated part of house membership. This could provide a possible explanation for the significant findings with a relative small sample size. In order to be a sustaining member, one sheds a portion of their individual identity in order to become a functioning fraternity member. These 31 individual aren't a typical sample; they are fraternity members who have conformed on some level to the norms and belief systems of their respective chapters. Those members who weren't able to make this shift were likely excluded from the sample as a need for individualism led to a disassociation with their fraternity chapter.

Overall, the findings provide a mix picture relative to the common perception of the Greek System. Peer conformity (as measured by the PPI) did have a significant effect on the amount of alcohol consumed. However, it did not impact the number of sexual partners, and academic performance (GPA) when measured over time within members of the Greek System. The results indicate that the participants with high peer conformity scores reported drinking an average of 3.08 drinks on alcohol use during the first administration. On the second administration the same participants reported an average score of 4.31 drinks on alcohol use. In contrast, those scoring low on peer conformity reported an average of 3.5 drinks on the first administration and 3.39 drinks on the second administration. Alcohol use increased for those participants with higher levels of peer conformity. This finding is supported by current research which suggests that membership in a Greek house significantly increased the likelihood that students would engage in the risk taking behavior of binge drinking Kahler et al. (2006).

The results also indicated that there was a significant difference in GPA between students scoring high and low on the peer involvement subscale. Participants who had a high level of peer involvement reported an average college GPA of 3.12 on the first administration and a 3.49 on the second administration. Participants who scored low on peer involvement had an average college GPA of 3.42 on the first administration and 3.77 on the second. In addition, the average GPA for both groups increased significantly between the first and second administrations. This result differs from the current literature which suggests that peer involvement, such as "going out with friends", which is often related to alcohol consumption and in turn, has a negative effect on academic performance. For many college students, alcohol helps to relieve the pressure and stress of college life build, which can be connected to spending minimal time on homework, poor time management, such as last minute cramming for exams, all of which are connected to a decrease in academic performance (Gall, 1988). To the contrary, it is plausible that Greek Membership could actually provide additional means (outside of alcohol) which help to circumvent the academic pressure, leading to reduce stress levels, and potentially, increased performance. This study

demonstrated that even the participants who endorsed a high level of peer involvement managed to maintain a relative high GPA, which actually increased with length of time in the house.

According to Miller & MacIntosh (1999), stressful environmental factors were positively impacted by the resilience factor of educational involvement. Many of the teenagers in their study were able to overcome a difficult upbringing when establishing a racial identity which interacted with educational achievement to promote success (idem, 1999). While the statistical analysis doesn't establish causality, it's possible the findings of this current study lend support to the existence of protective factors that mitigate the impact of peer pressure.

This implication extends to the policies at this particular school in which there are specific incentives in place to promote academic success, and decreased risk taking behavior. For example, there is an award each year for the Greek man who most exemplifies attributes such as scholarship, community service, and who has served as a role model within the community (<http://oregonstate.edu/cfsl/greek-achievement>).

There is the opportunity for Greek members on this campus to become involved in leadership on campus and within the fraternity through roles on the student government, the Greek life student counsel, as well as other positions on campus and within the fraternity. All of these leadership roles require a minimum GPA of 2.5 or above in order to apply. Lastly, on this college campus, the Greek Houses are ranked each term based on the overall house GPA. Many chapters strive to become the top house on campus through the excellent academic performance of the members.

In addition, remediation plans are created for those who are performing with a cumulative GPA below 2.5 (on a 4.0 scale). Methods such as study tables (quiet study areas), mandatory study times, and a specific executive position of a "Scholarship Chair," all act to encourage academic success. There are also a number of rules which enforce safety and encourage positive decision making at all house events. These regulations include establishing a crowd control plan, limiting alcohol use to those who are 21-years of age and older, as well as denying alcohol to those who appear visibly intoxicated. Finally, this specific university, as well as most schools across the country, has established a policy which specifically prohibits any form of hazing of the members within the Greek system.

Areas for Future Research

Although exploring high school GPA's impact on prosocial behaviors in college was not the focus of this study, these results may be worthy of further evaluation. Research suggests a variety of factors can contribute to success in choosing positive behaviors in college including church attendance, a positive approach to school, a value on health, parents and friends who model positive behaviors and involvement in pro-social activities (Jessor, Turbin & Costa, 1998).

The interaction of conformity within Greek Life is one which requires a substantial amount of further research. There are many possible directions for future exploration, including a more comprehensive analysis of the differences among universities, as well as between chapters, focused on both fraternities and sororities as there are relatively few studies comparing conformity or peer pressure in fraternities and sororities. Lastly, it may be helpful to further explore the role of protective factors such as high school GPA, parental and peer behavior, religiosity and a value on health, and their potential influence on behaviors, specifically within the Greek population of fraternities and sororities.

Limitations

There are a few limitations to the current study which could have contributed to the lack of more significant findings. The data was collected from a limited population at one state university within the Pacific Northwest. Although the request for participation was sent to all of the fraternities and sororities on campus, only three fraternities opted to participate. In addition, the sample consisted solely of males therefore the effects of gender, sorority membership and conformity weren't evaluated. The sample was also not collected randomly considering that it included only Greek Houses who responded to the request for participation.

Another limitation to consider is the homogeneity of the sample as there was a disproportionate number of white participants when compared to non-white participants. It may be that a more diverse sample would have yielded different results. One last limitation to consider is the use of the PPI for the purpose of measuring conformity within a college sample. The PPI has typically been utilized as a tool for measuring peer pressure among adolescents and therefore some of the questions may not apply to a college sample.

In summary, there were some positive insights gained from the current study. At least with this sample, level of conformity (as measured by the PPI) does not appear to impact the frequency of the high risk taking behaviors of sexual promiscuity and decreased GPA. High school GPA also emerged as a protective factor which could be in promoting requiring higher academic standards for entrance into the Greek system. Additionally, university administrators may be interested in increasing admission GPA requirements in an effort to decrease the frequency of misconduct on college campuses.

It is also worth noting that there may be a misunderstanding of the prevalence of negative behaviors such as, sexual promiscuity and academic performance within the Greek System. Considering the pop culture representation of Greek life, movies such as *Animal House* portray an out of control, animalistic group of men, motivated only by sex and alcohol. In a more recent publication, the novel *Pledged* provides an insider's view on the "dark side" of sorority life, including both hazing and sisterhood bonding. Outside of extreme examples though, there is a lack of insight into the culture of Greek Life, especially, into the benefits of membership. Future research focused on providing a more balanced view on both the benefits and drawbacks of Greek membership could help to illustrate the place and purpose of the Greek Organizations as a part of university life.

The current study found that these cultural stereotypes may not accurately reflect all Greek experiences. An alternative perspective of Greek Life that promotes academic success, leadership, and service also exists. Awards such as "Greek Man of the Year", reward students with recognition and scholarship money for being an outstanding Greek member, contributing scholastically, with exemplary leadership and community service. Overall, participants endorsed relatively moderate levels of drinking, consuming about three drinks per week. On average, sexual partners were at less than one within the past month. Participants also endorsed an average GPA in high school of a 3.65, and a college GPA averaging a 3.3. This differing perspective is evidence of more moderate engagement in negative activities within Greek Life, rather than the wild and out of control culture, often misrepresented by society.

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Students' Attitudes Towards Economic Growth and Income Inequalities: Does the Field of Study Matter?

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Abstract

A basic premise of university educators is that studying has impact on students. We examine attitudes of university students towards economic growth and income inequalities. We ask what kind of association exists between different study disciplines and students' attitudes towards issues linked to the notion of the welfare state. We also examine whether such attitudes are altered during the course of one's studies. The longitudinal data used is based on internet questionnaires sent to students at Finnish universities between 2005 and 2008. Empirical results suggest that the overall response profile of economics and business students differ from those in other fields. In addition, for most disciplines, attitudes do not change considerably over the course of one's studies.

Keywords: Economic Growth Attitudes, Income Inequality Attitudes, Impacts of Higher Education

Introduction

We often assume that academic studies can change our ways of interpreting the world. Studying can lead to new ways of understanding and thinking about events around us. At least this is what the university educators would like us to believe; exposure to the right learning contents should help students adopt and express certain favorable attitudes. At the same time, however, it is possible that students tend to choose their disciplines and areas of interest according to their already existing opinions. Either way, the students of different disciplines and fields of study are supposed to represent the organization of basic values and principles of the respective academic world. So, how accurate is this assumption?

There are economic, psychological and sociological studies pointing to the fact that students of different disciplines often have different attitudes and opinions on a variety of issues. For example, there is a relatively large body of American-based research focusing on students of economics (e.g. Brubacker, 1975; Carter & Irons, 1991; Smith, 1978). These studies are motivated by Stigler's (1959) classic notion that the professional study of economics tends to make people conservative.

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While this argument was not based on empirical findings, it had an impact on how economists were viewed by others, social scientists in particular (e.g. Etzioni, 1972; Kahneman et al., 1986). Stigler's argument has since been the subject of numerous studies testing whether studying economics contributes to the development of more conservative attitudes. Most empirical studies have asked if economics students have specific tendencies to think in a certain way about the provision of public goods. In particular, a set of experiments by Marwell & Ames (1981) reported that economic students were indeed more likely to become free riders compared to any other student groups. The findings have been interpreted as indicating that economist students adapt their behavior to the basic axioms of economic theory.

We have also found relevant research focusing on other fields of study. Saywer (1966), for example, measured co-cooperativeness and selfishness of university students across different disciplines. His conclusion was that the altruistic and individualistic attitudes between business and other students differed considerably. In more recent studies, this finding has been seen as an indicator that economics and business students differ from everyone else when it comes to self-interested behavior (e.g. Frank, Gilovich & Regan, 1993; Venetoklís, 2007). Medical students, on the other hand, have been studied primarily from the angle of how their studies might develop humanitarian attitudes. In an early literature review Rezler (1974) concluded that in general we can find changes in the course of studies when examining these kinds of attitudes. Simultaneously, however, in most studies, changes were argued to result more due to student individual characteristics rather than the exposure to a specific field of study. Stronegger et al. (2010) came to this conclusion in their recent follow-up study focusing on acceptance of active euthanasia. Although the percentage of Austrian medical students accepting euthanasia more than tripled over a period of nine years, medical curriculum remained unchanged during the investigated period.

Furthermore, in the United States and Europe alike, it has been found that students of social sciences and humanities express somewhat stronger attitudes towards sexual discrimination and gender equality than the average (e.g. Ruble et al., 1975; Räsänen & Wilksa, 2007). These findings show that course assignments in social science and humanities tend to explicitly pay attention to gender issues. Most of the studies conducted across a variety of disciplines are based on cross-sectional data, however. In this sense we are not able to claim with confidence whether participation in academic courses or university life influence significantly the detected attitudinal differences. We may notice that studies based on longitudinal data and aiming at determining the impact of exposure to instruction and courses are relatively scarce. Most are conducted in the United States and often deal with the general variations across students' values and beliefs, such as environmental concern, political orientation, and career development (e.g. Astin, 2003; Beachboard et al., 2011).

In this paper we look at the attitudes of the Finnish University students towards contemporary socio-economic issues from two distinct angles: economic growth and income inequalities. We ask what kind of association exists between different study disciplines of the students and their attitudes towards these issues. Put differently, we investigate attitudes directly linked to the notion of the welfare state. In addition we examine whether such attitudes are altered during the course of their studies. Our particular interest is in the potential impact of the field of study on these attitudes after controlling for effects of other relevant socio-demographic background variables. The data are derived from a set of representative panel sample, collected via internet questionnaires sent to students at the Finnish Universities between 2005 and 2008.

The paper proceeds as follows. We first discuss shortly why issues related to economic growth and social inequalities provide us with adequate measures for comparing students' attitudes across a variety of disciplines. Then follows our empirical analysis where we describe the data analyzed, the variables used, and the logic behind our statistical tests and comment on the results. Analysis is carried out in two parts; we first present descriptive results and then explanatory regressions. In

the concluding section, we compare our findings to related studies and refer to several theoretical implications of our research, dealing with attitude change and consistency over time.

Motivation and research questions

Assuming that there is a connection between the field of study and one's attitudes on economic and social issues, we may ponder on the kind of indicators most appropriate in measuring the phenomenon. It has been suggested in that items connecting to allocation and redistribution of public goods tell us something essential about people's values and life orientations. Perhaps the most common argument is that when examining attitudinal variations regarding distributive justice issues we can reveal how much respondents value social equality over economic efficiency, as for instance in Gandal et al. (2004) and Venetoklis (2007).

In addition, we may argue that preferences on allocation of public goods also have a broader societal significance. This is because such preferences are often directly linked to social policy decisions. The underlying differences between attitudes towards income inequalities and government responsibilities can provide us with relatively concrete political agendas. For instance, institutional differences between European welfare societies have been attributed, to a great extent, to the characteristics of the national income and other public good distribution structures. Using these factors as the key criteria, researchers have identified differences between countries and how much they devote their fiscal resources to serving the needs of the population (e.g. Esping-Andersen, 1990; Ervasti, 2001; Kautto, 2001).

There is a string of publications showing that differences in attitudes towards income equality and use of taxation resources, for instance, correlate strongly with other attitudes that have considerable impact in public life (e.g. Hunt, 1996; Niemelä, 2008; Saunders, 2003). Especially, it has been found that individuals who are critical towards governmental welfare provision tend to perceive that unemployment, poverty and other forms of social exclusion result merely on individual effort. Those who favor strong welfare provision, on the other hand, tend to perceive social exclusion as resulting from external societal and structural conditions.

We believe that notions of economic growth and of socio-economic inequalities in general provide us with effective attitudinal measures when examining potential differences among several disciplines of Finnish university students. From this perspective we identify our first research question:

(1) What is the relationship between the field of study and the attitudes towards economic growth and income inequalities?

In the light of previous research in this area, we are able to hypothesize that the students' field of study plays a major role here. This assumption allows us to treat the field of study as a general 'living condition' variable. We compare attitudes of students from a total of 14 different disciplines: Theology, Law, Medicine, History, Languages, Psychology, Natural Sciences [Mathematics/Physics/Chemistry], Education, Political Sciences, Economics/Business, Social Sciences, Agriculture, Arts, and Technical Studies. Using these representative data we are able to determine whether students of certain fields have more individualistic views about economic growth and wealth redistribution issues than others. Unlike most of the existing empirical studies, we do not restrict our analysis on one or only a few disciplines. This gives us possibilities to compare disciplines, and find potential similarities and differences among them. In the analysis, we control for effects of other variables that could also explain the students' attitudes. A detailed list of independent variables is given further below in the data section.

However, even if there is already ample proof suggesting that students of different fields

would have measurably different preferences on socio-economic issues, we do not know how they develop and change over time. In other words, we do not know whether the differences in attitudes are already crystallized when students enter university or they develop over the course of studying. We summarize our second research question as follows:

(2) Do students' attitudes towards economic growth and income inequalities change over the course of their studies?

We conduct our analyses by comparing the results across different fields of study over a period of four years. We use a panel design which is based on the responses of the *same* students at different stages of their studies. In the Nordic countries the notion of the welfare state is very developed and accepted. However, we are not aware of similar studies dealing with these two aforementioned questions. Hence, we hope to contribute to the existing literature, from a rarely studied longitudinal data perspective.

Data

The data analysed was gathered via an internet based survey called FUSSEP, freely distributed for research.³ The target population were Finnish university students studying in all the higher education establishments of the country.^{4,5} The survey was conducted four times, during each fall between 2005 and 2008. The surveyors received from the registry department of each university a list of the electronic mail addresses of all the students enrolled in the respective academic year. Permission was asked from each participant. For 2005 the responses were 30,383 (28.75%), for 2006 30,779 (27.41%), for 2007 26,097 (24.39%) and for 2008 21,131 (20.00%).⁶ Regardless of the high absolute number of responses, both responses and response rates decreased through time. The response rates appear rather low. However, with internet based surveys this is not uncommon nowadays. Sheehan (2001) conducted a meta-analysis on the subject, and found that the average response rate of such internet surveys had dropped from 61.5% in 1986 to 24% in 2000. Hence, if we also take into account that a high number of questions in surveys is negatively correlated with the response rate, we find the achieved results as adequate.^{7,8}

Dependent variables

In the questionnaire, the students were presented with statements on different socio-economic issues and were asked to express their preferences on each one of them, using a five-point Likert

³ (F)innish (U)niversity (S)tudents (S)ocio(E)conomic (P)references downloaded from <http://extranet.vatt.fi/fussep/download/> (as at 10.04.2011).

⁴ Our data thus represent relatively well Finnish higher education establishments. However, two universities, the Åbo Academy and the Tampere University of Technology provided email addresses for their students for the 2006, 2007 and 2008 FUSSEP rounds only. Since we have created a four-year panel (see below), the responses of the students in these two schools have been dropped from our analysed sample.

⁵ Since the beginning of 2010 the number of universities has decreased to 16 due to mergers.

⁶ Due to missing values amongst individual questions and list wise deletion, the number of observations in the tables and regression models later on, are lower.

⁷ According to Venetoklis (2006) in the FUSSEP survey there were approximately 60 questions.

⁸ It must be kept in mind that the data analysed is not a random sample of the population of all Finnish university students, thus inferences should be made with caution. To partly account for this weakness, we conducted several simple comparisons between known background variables of respondents and non-respondents (such as age, type of study and university) and did not observe major differences.

scale (1=totally disagree; 5=totally agree). The four statements shown below, dealt with Economic Growth and Income Inequalities.

Economic Growth

- I. People's welfare can be secured only through economic growth
- II. The functions of our society today is based too much on economic growth (principles)

Income Inequalities

- III. Nowadays in our country income should be distributed more evenly
- IV. Income differences are unavoidable consequences of economic growth

In other words, through these four 2-pair statements an attempt was made to operationalize the students' attitudes towards issues closely related to socio-economic issues. The exact same statements were presented to the students during each FUSSEP round. In our explanatory analyses later on, these four statements comprised our dependent variables of interest.

Independent variables of interest

Our main testable hypothesis is that people's educational background (field of study) is associated with their attitudes towards economic growth and income inequalities. Thus, our main independent variable of interest comprised the 14 educational disciplines mentioned earlier: Theology, Law, Medicine, History, Languages, Psychology, Natural Sciences [Mathematics/Physics/Chemistry], Education, Political Sciences, Economics/Business, Social Sciences, Agriculture, Arts and Technical Studies.⁹

Control variables

What other factors can be associated with one's attitude towards the welfare state? On the basis of preceding studies, we control the effects of gender, household income, political orientation and the level of studies. First, several papers have shown women have a more liberal attitude compared to men (e.g. Feldman & Zaller, 1992; Venetoklis, 2007). Second, income is probably relevant since people can be more prone to helping others if their living standard is high compared to people who are poor. Or, if they have 'made it' in life without any help, perhaps they feel that society should not intervene. It should let people fight their way for a better living standard, which by itself might give a motive to be active and not passive through government support systems. Third, it has been found that left wing voters traditionally support more government intervention and state subsidies and social services for the needed; right wing and conservative voters want less (e.g. Feldman & Zaller, 1992; Jaeger, 2006). We also assume that the level studies can play a role, because the widening and deepening knowledge through advanced studies may be of importance in formulating one's attitude towards the welfare state principles, policies, and programs (e.g. Guy, 2011; Venetoklis, 2007).

⁹ This classification of disciplines is comparable with the organization of fields of studies of the national higher education institutions. For most cases, Finnish universities have individual faculties in which students major in different educational disciplines (e.g. Theology, Law, Agriculture, Political and Social Sciences, Education and Natural Sciences). In addition, certain fields of study qualify to the same Bachelor's and Master's degree despite the institution or faculty in which the studying takes place (e.g. Economics/Business, Arts and Technical Studies).

In addition to the above-mentioned control variables, we control for students' satisfaction with life. In principle, how *satisfied* with his/her life one declares to be, may be associated with his/her preferences on the welfare state. Happiness research has already shown that people who are satisfied with their lives are more prone to support social and welfare services compared to those that declare the opposite with their current state of affairs (e.g. Pacek & Radcliff, 2008; Rothstein, 2010). Finally in some of our models we use *year* dummies to capture other exogenous unidentified/unobservable time variant factors that might be associated with the people's attitudes towards the welfare state. Table 1 lists the relevant descriptive statistics.

Table 1: *Descriptive statistics of control variables*

	Household Income	Life Satisfaction	Political Orientation	Level Undergraduate	Graduate	
2005	3.398	7.440	4.708	2005		
Min	1	0	0	2718	327	n
Max	7	10	10	89.26	10.74	%
SD	1.767	1.831	2.529			
n	2.981	3.042	3.025			
				Undergraduate	Graduate	
2006	3.739	7.313	4.755	2006		
Min	1	0	0	2684	361	n
Max	8	10	10	88.14	11.86	%
SD	1.881	1.871	2.505			
n	3036	3038	3014			
				Undergraduate	Graduate	
2007	4.063	7.321	4.786	2007		
Min	1	0	0	2628	417	n
Max	8	10	10	86.31	13.69	%
SD	1.946	1.865	2.540			
n	3038	3041	3026			
				Undergraduate	Graduate	
2008	4.452	7.340	4.833	2008		
Min	1	0	0	2565	480	n
Max	8	10	10	84.24	15.76	%
SD	2.006	1.901	2.574			
n	3.036	3.040	3.028			
Total	3.915	7.354	4.771	Gender		
Min	1	0	0	Male	Female	
Max	8	10	10			
SD	1.942	1.868	2.537	1005	2040	n
n	12091	12161	12093	33.00	67.00	%

Descriptive analysis

The statements I – IV were presented to the students four years in a row. Hence we were able to examine how all these same preferences changed through the students' four-year study period. In Tables 2 and 3 we show the average values of our four dependent variables per field of study, during each of the four FUSSEP rounds. The responses range from 1 (=totally disagree) to 5 (=totally agree). Thus, if the value comes out less than 3, the mean attitude of the respondents is towards disagreement with the respective statement; if it comes out over 3, more of the respondents agree with the statement, on average. As noted earlier the number of responses per year ranged from approximately 21,000 to 30,000. Although it would have been perhaps as interesting to examine and report all responses on aggregate, we have restricted our sample to only those respondents that replied to these attitude questions *every* survey year. The number was significantly lower and amounted to 3,045 respondents. This is because we created a four year panel of responses and thus were able to follow the *same* students' attitudes on the *same* welfare state issues during their studies.

Table 2: *Economic Growth related Statements (I and II).
Mean yearly preferences per field of study.*

Statement	I					II				
Field of Study	2005	2006	2007	2008	Total	2005	2006	2007	2008	Total
Theology	2.458	2.675	2.349	2.482	2.491	4.096	4.157	4.048	4.000	4.075
Law	3.212	3.131	3.081	3.141	3.141	3.273	3.182	3.333	3.374	3.290
Medical	2.880	2.898	2.784	2.805	2.842	3.524	3.581	3.587	3.509	3.550
History	2.457	2.352	2.429	2.390	2.407	3.952	4.029	4.133	4.019	4.033
Languages	2.502	2.445	2.360	2.318	2.406	4.007	4.014	4.093	4.097	4.053
Psychology	2.474	2.423	2.218	2.346	2.365	4.090	4.051	4.179	4.244	4.141
Mathematics	2.632	2.612	2.633	2.542	2.605	3.757	3.726	3.773	3.795	3.763
Education	2.690	2.649	2.563	2.534	2.609	3.856	3.948	3.954	4.040	3.950
Political Sciences	2.636	2.660	2.440	2.404	2.535	3.908	3.904	3.908	3.968	3.922
Economics/ Business	3.601	3.626	3.481	3.486	3.548	2.922	2.860	2.840	3.033	2.914
Social Sciences	2.406	2.406	2.375	2.367	2.389	4.031	4.172	4.117	4.195	4.129
Agriculture	2.800	2.900	2.900	2.750	2.838	3.608	3.525	3.692	3.617	3.610
Arts	2.406	2.063	2.063	2.156	2.172	4.344	4.250	4.344	4.375	4.328
Technical	3.186	3.209	3.128	3.157	3.170	3.186	3.233	3.366	3.390	3.294
Total	2.745	2.734	2.656	2.631	2.692	3.719	3.724	3.771	3.792	3.751

We assumed that the first two statements, I and II on Economic Growth issues, are opposite in terms of expected responses. In other words, the more a person agrees with the statement that "People's welfare can only be secured with economic growth", the more the same person would disagree with the statement that "The functions of our society today are determined/based too much on economic growth", and vice-versa. The total overall average values support our assumption. Statement I has a value of 2.69 (under 3) and statement II 3.75 (over 3). Also, from

2005 to 2008, for statement (I) the trend is a decreasing one. The disagreement of respondents on how much economic growth influences welfare, is growing; from 2.74 in 2005 it decreases to 2.63 in 2008. For statement II the trend is the opposite. As students study longer, they believe more strongly that functions of society are (wrongly) determined by economic growth (3.71 to 3.79). The field of study is also of interest. For statement I, the biggest support is found in students of Economics/Business, Technical studies and Law; all record values over 3, on average. Arts students, on the other hand, show the highest disagreement with values close to 2. For statement II, students of Economics/Business disagree the most with it, followed by students of Technical studies and Law. On the contrary, Arts students record the highest agreement for the relevant statement followed by Social Science majors.

Statements III and IV deal with Income Inequalities. Again we would expect the opposite responses from people who agree with the statement that 'Income should be distributed more evenly' and that 'Income differences are unavoidable consequences of economic development'. This assumption also appears to stand the descriptive scrutiny. Statement III records an overall mean value of 3.69 with an increasing positive trend (agreement) from 2005 (3.62) to 2008 (3.76). Statement IV depicts an overall disagreement among students with a value of 2.71 (under 3). The disagreement seems to grow with time. It was 2.76 in 2005 and 2.68 in 2008. For statement III the individual disciplines produce interesting results. Out of the 14 different categories only the students of Economics and Business record an average score of below 3. This group disagrees that income should be more evenly distributed. Even the previously shown-to-be more conservative disciplines of Law and Technical Studies have scores over 3. Again the Arts students lead the way in agreement with a score of 4.29.

Table 3: *Income inequalities related Statements (III and IV).
Mean yearly preferences per field of study.*

Statement	III					IV				
Field of Study	2005	2006	2007	2008	Total	2005	2006	2007	2008	Total
Theology	3.855	4.060	4.108	3.952	3.994	2.807	2.614	2.723	2.566	2.678
Law	3.253	3.263	3.364	3.465	3.336	3.141	3.212	3.020	3.061	3.109
Medical	3.272	3.317	3.207	3.296	3.273	3.069	3.000	2.973	2.970	3.003
History	4.019	3.990	4.019	4.038	4.017	2.410	2.429	2.381	2.314	2.383
Languages	4.022	4.126	4.168	4.228	4.136	2.438	2.353	2.344	2.339	2.369
Psychology	3.821	3.897	4.077	3.923	3.929	2.564	2.679	2.500	2.372	2.529
Mathematics	3.602	3.704	3.680	3.740	3.681	2.769	2.700	2.713	2.724	2.727
Education	3.879	4.052	3.994	4.023	3.987	2.552	2.471	2.466	2.425	2.478
Political Sciences	3.808	3.948	3.916	4.060	3.933	2.496	2.448	2.520	2.384	2.462
Economics/ Business	2.844	2.815	2.868	2.905	2.858	3.424	3.346	3.449	3.407	3.406
Social Sciences	4.109	4.188	4.227	4.383	4.227	2.273	2.281	2.273	2.297	2.281
Agriculture	3.550	3.517	3.558	3.592	3.554	2.933	2.892	2.867	2.817	2.877
Arts	4.188	4.344	4.375	4.281	4.297	2.219	2.125	2.313	2.031	2.172
Technical	3.035	3.029	3.006	3.070	3.035	3.320	3.256	3.366	3.279	3.305
Total	3.627	3.702	3.704	3.761	3.698	2.763	2.704	2.714	2.681	2.716

Examining the fields of study for statement IV, our assumption seems to also hold quite well. Economics and Business majors agree the most with the side effects produced through economic development, that is, "with the generation of income inequalities". Also students studying in disciplines that in the future represent higher income generating professions (Law, Medical and Technical) seem to agree with statement IV. Arts students again are placed on the opposite side and disagree the most with the statement. However, we should also note the diminishing trend from year to year in all scores.

Regression analysis

The aforementioned descriptive results give us strong indications that, in general, attitudes towards the welfare state differ amongst students of different disciplines. In order to solidify this, we run several regression models where we controlled for other factors potentially affecting one's attitudes for these statements. We built two model specifications. The first one was of the form:

$$Statement_{I..Y} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \gamma_{1..6} Controls_{1..6} \quad (1)$$

Where

$Statement_{I..Y}$ = the attitude score of each of the four statements

X_1 = dummy (1, 0) for each of the 14 disciplines in our sample

β_1 = coefficient of the dummy

$\gamma_1 \dots \gamma_6$ = coefficients of 6 Control Variables listed earlier (gender, household income, political orientation, level of studies, happiness level, year dummies)

For each statement (I – IV), β_1 shows how much the attitude score of the students in the relevant discipline differs on from all the other scores of the students in other disciplines, controlling for other potential influences as well. The sign of the coefficient, if positive, depicts that the attitude of students in the respective discipline is stronger than that of all the other students; if negative, then it is the opposite. If the coefficient comes out statistically significant it is a strong indication that the difference in attitude is indeed not just due to chance.

The second specification is almost the same to (1). Now however, the categorical variable denoting the disciplines is not a single dummy. We add 14 different groups, each depicting one of the 14 disciplines. With this specification, when running the regression model, we are now able to compare the attitudes amongst all disciplines against each other. We only need to change each time the base category and examine how the 13 other coefficients come out.

$$Statement_{I..Y} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_{14} X_{14} + \gamma_{1..6} Controls_{1..6} \quad (2)$$

Where

$Statement_{I..Y}$ = the attitude score of each of the four statements

$X_1 \dots X_{14}$ = dummy (1, 0) for each of the 14 disciplines in our sample

$\beta_1 \dots \beta_{14}$ = coefficients of the 14 disciplines

$\gamma_1 \dots \gamma_6$ = coefficients of 6 Control Variables listed earlier (gender, household income, political orientation, level of studies, happiness level, year dummies)

Since we use a four-year period panel database, for both model specifications, we run random effects regressions. Table 4 lists the coefficients of 56 models from specification (1) for the different disciplines.¹⁰ As we mentioned in the descriptive section, statements I and II are hypothetically reciprocal of each other. The same applies for statements III and IV. If this is true, the signs of the coefficients should come out opposite for each discipline dummy and for each pair of statements. The generated signs seem to abide by our hypothesis. In all pair-wise comparisons (I vs. II and III vs. IV) the signs are opposite next to each discipline.

Table 4: Comparison of the four student attitudes of each study discipline against all the others

Discipline	Statement			
	I	II	III	IV
Theo	-0.233**	0.364***	0.336***	-0.078
Law	0.249**	-0.258***	-0.127	0.172*
Med	-0.040	-0.032	-0.275***	0.123**
Hist	-0.071	0.087	0.110	-0.135
Lang	-0.139***	0.146***	0.266***	-0.167***
Psyc	-0.157	0.207*	0.028	0.004
Math	-0.104**	0.020	0.001	-0.008
Edu	-0.071	0.169**	0.226***	-0.189**
Pol	-0.014	0.027	0.093	-0.121*
Eco	0.588***	-0.554***	-0.510***	0.376***
Sos	-0.055	0.118	0.244***	-0.167*
Agri	0.038	-0.039	-0.035	0.056
Arts	-0.158	0.208	0.192	-0.151
Tech	0.216***	-0.154**	-0.292***	0.262***

***: $p < 0.001$, **: $p < 0.01$, *: $p < 0.05$

Note: Reported year coefficients only. Coefficients of other control variables as in Model of specification (1) are available upon request.

Moreover, the magnitude of the coefficients is of interest. In all models students of Economics/Business seem to hold the most extreme attitudes versus all the other students in all other disciplines; they are in absolute terms the largest ones under each statement column. For statements I and II we also note that Technology and Law students have attitudes to the same direction as their Economic/Business colleagues but they are not as strongly opinionated. On the opposite side we see Theology students as well as those studying Languages. Interestingly, Arts students do not seem to have such strong attitudes anymore as we were led to expect in the descriptive section earlier. A somewhat similar pattern of attitudes per discipline is found examining the coefficients for statements III and IV. Again, students of Economics and Business have the most extreme opinions, followed by students of Technology. Law students however, do not have the same attitudes as for statements I and II. They are now being 'replaced' by Medical Students.

Again, Theology students report opposite opinions followed by students in Linguistics. Students in Education also seem to agree with the latter two groups. All three of them show statistically positive coefficients for statement III and statistically negative coefficients for statement IV.

¹⁰ Due to space limitations and in order to facilitate the reading flow of the paper, we omit the coefficients of the other control variables of (1); they are available from the authors upon request.

Table 5: Attitudes of students towards the four Statements.
Base category Economics/Business majors

	I	II	III	IV
Theo	-0.777***	0.875***	0.818***	-0.439***
Law	-0.295***	0.258**	0.350***	-0.183
Med	-0.579***	0.486***	0.240***	-0.247***
Hist	-0.636***	0.622***	0.619***	-0.511***
Lang	-0.681***	0.659***	0.730***	-0.520***
Psyc	-0.725***	0.741***	0.536***	-0.377***
Math	-0.631***	0.536***	0.488***	-0.368***
Edu	-0.630***	0.695***	0.722***	-0.556***
Pol	-0.579***	0.562***	0.594***	-0.490***
Sos	-0.631***	0.663***	0.762***	-0.554***
Agri	-0.511***	0.481***	0.451***	-0.305***
Arts	-0.740***	0.761***	0.725***	-0.549***
Tech	-0.321***	0.346***	0.180*	-0.089
Gender	-0.025	0.134***	0.218***	-0.209***
yr 2006	-0.026	0.016	0.088***	-0.073***
yr 2007	-0.112***	0.067***	0.103***	-0.071***
yr 2008	-0.148***	0.097***	0.174***	-0.118***
Hhold. Income	0.015*	-0.005	-0.023***	0.017**
Studies L.	-0.053	0.070*	0.083*	-0.049
Happiness L.	0.019	-0.027	-0.009	0.038*
Pol. Orient.	0.173***	-0.170***	-0.184***	0.172***
Constant	2.490***	3.773***	3.646***	2.570***
n	11988	11988	11988	11988
n_group	3043	3043	3043	3043
r2_within	0.010	0.012	0.015	0.009
r2_between	0.405	0.418	0.461	0.392
r2_overall	0.277	0.292	0.346	0.274

***: $p < 0.001$, **: $p < 0.01$, *: $p < 0.05$

Coefficients of all models where other disciplines are used as the base category are available upon request.

Specification (2) produces interesting results as well. In Table 5 below we show how the coefficients of the 13 disciplines fair against the students of Economics/Business who constitute our base category.¹¹ Put differently, the coefficients listed depict the difference of opinion between the students of economics and each of the thirteen other disciplines. Note how extreme the Economics/Business students' attitudes are, compared to each one of the other disciplines. The sign of the coefficients remains the same in all models and within each statement, indicating that Economic/Business students agree (disagree) the most with the presented statements compared to the opinions of other students, in all other disciplines. Also the coefficients come out statistically significant in 50 out of the total 52 comparisons (96.1%). In just two cases, for students in Technical studies and for those studying Law, the coefficients come out insignificant, indicating agreement of opinion, on average.

To find how the opinions of other students differ against each other, we changed the base category in turns, and run all the relative models once more. In order not to clutter the text with too many tables, we have aggregated the results based on the number of statistical significant coefficients found per model. This gives an overall and quick picture of the differences in attitudes

¹¹ On the contrary to Table 4, here we show the coefficients of the control variables. For the same reasoning mentioned in the previous footnote nonetheless, we do not elaborate on them.

among students of different disciplines and shows their scale of diversion. In Table 6, the two last columns from the right depict the amount of statistical significant coefficients and the percentage against the total of 52 possible comparisons.¹² The opinions of Technical students (87.2 %), almost equal to those of students in Economics/Business, are distantly followed by students in Law (69.2 %) and Medicine (62.8 %). The most moderate opinions are found amongst Arts students (32,1 %) and those studying History (33.3 %). Examining the total summaries at the bottom of each statement we note that statement I produced the least disagreements amongst students of all disciplines (with 78 disagreements out of 182 comparisons), where statement III, the most (108/182).

Table 6: *Pair-wise statistically significant differences of attitudes of the four Statements amongst all study disciplines*

	I	II	III	IV	Totals	Comparisons 52
Theo	6	10	8	4	28	53.8%
Law	12	11	8	8	39	75.0%
Med	4	8	11	10	33	63.5%
Hist	3	4	4	4	15	28.8%
Lang	4	7	8	6	25	48.1%
Psyc	3	6	6	2	17	32.7%
Math	3	7	7	8	25	48.1%
Edu	3	6	6	6	21	40.4%
Pol	4	4	7	6	21	40.4%
Eco	13	13	13	11	50	96.2%
Sos	3	6	8	6	23	44.2%
Agri	5	8	7	6	26	50.0%
Arts	3	5	4	4	16	30.8%
Tech	12	11	11	11	45	86.5%
Totals	78	106	108	92		
Comparisons 182	42.9%	58.2%	59.3%	50.5%		

Are opinions for the welfare state born or made?

Thus far we have ample evidence suggesting that the study discipline is associated strongly with a person's views on the welfare state, particularly with issues on Economic Growth and Income Inequalities. But do these views remain stable during one's studies or are they altered as the studies progress? We have already noted that there are indeed changes in opinion from discipline to discipline during the four-year period of our survey. Hence, another interesting question would be to find whose opinions change the most and for which statements, but now controlling for other factors as well. To accomplish this, for each of our dependent variables (the opinion scores on the four statements), we transformed our previous model specification (1) into a log-linear form. That is, we logged the opinion scores and used them on the left hand side of the equation instead of the nominal score values earlier. We then restricted our sample to each of our existing 14 disciplines and run for each of the four statements 14 models, in total 56 models.

¹² 4 statements * 13 comparisons per study discipline = 52 coefficients

Table 7: Comparison of changes of attitudes of each study discipline between 2005 (base) and 2008

Discipline		Theo	Law	Med	Hist	Lang	Psyc	Math	Edu	Pol	Eco	Sos	Agri	Arts	Tech
I															
	2006	0.047	-0.028	-0.008	-0.041	-0.020	-0.037	-0.013	-0.020	0.011	-0.001	0.006	0.029	-0.144	-0.023
	2007	-0.068	-0.045	-0.059*	-0.020	-0.060**	-0.129**	-0.014	-0.052	-0.099***	-0.060*	-0.025	0.018	-0.065	-0.069*
	2008	-0.050	-0.034	-0.060*	-0.007	-0.072***	-0.074	-0.046**	-0.061	-0.103***	-0.063*	-0.061	-0.051	-0.086	-0.067
II															
	2006	0.040	-0.035	0.024	0.038	0.001	-0.005	-0.004	0.024	0.000	-0.012	0.048	-0.001	-0.012	0.009
	2007	0.004	0.019	0.028	0.068*	0.025	0.012	0.014	0.026	0.004	-0.001	0.039	0.048	0.004	0.064*
	2008	-0.000	0.033	0.003	0.025	0.025	0.048	0.014	0.053*	0.034	0.078**	0.076**	0.014	0.045	0.069*
III															
	2006	0.096*	0.022	0.031	-0.019	0.035**	0.025	0.037**	0.062**	0.051*	-0.014	0.033	0.001	0.062	-0.002
	2007	0.115**	0.062	0.005	-0.004	0.052***	0.079*	0.025	0.038	0.044*	0.048	0.042	0.017	0.064	-0.013
	2008	0.066	0.119**	0.054*	-0.008	0.073***	0.051	0.041**	0.070**	0.099***	0.066*	0.104***	0.042	0.049	0.018
IV															
	2006	-0.105*	0.051	-0.038	0.043	-0.038*	0.024	-0.040*	-0.051	-0.018	-0.045	0.011	-0.013	-0.136	-0.033
	2007	-0.069	-0.000	-0.051*	0.041	-0.045*	-0.040	-0.035	-0.066	-0.015	-0.008	-0.020	-0.032	-0.022	-0.019
	2008	-0.175***	-0.002	-0.059*	-0.015	-0.045*	-0.115*	-0.035	-0.071	-0.058	-0.051	-0.015	-0.034	-0.143	-0.064*
n		83	99	334	105	578	78	648	173	250	243	128	120	32	172

***: p<0.001, **: p<0.01, *: p<0.05

Reported year coefficients only. Coefficients of other control variables as in model of specification (1) are available upon request

Recall that on the right hand side of our model specification we have, among others, four -year dummies. We used as our base category the first year of the survey (2005) and compared how the coefficients of the other 3 years (2006, 2007 and 2008) came out. We were particularly interested in the coefficient of the year 2008 – the last year of the survey- since it may give us a picture of whether during the four -year period under examination the opinion scores have changed considerably. Because of the log-linear function form of the specification, the year coefficients denote how much the opinion scores have changed between the base year and the other years, *in percentage terms*. As before, if the sign of the coefficient is positive and statistically significant the opinion has been reinforced during one's studies; if negative, it is the other way around¹³.

Table 7 lists the year coefficients from all the models, cross tabulated by Discipline and Statement. In general, the results show that for some disciplines the opinion of their students do not change considerably from the first to their fourth year of the survey, irrespective of statement. This is the case for students of History, Agriculture and Arts¹⁴ where for all four statements their opinion scores did not change in any statistical significant way in 2008 compared to 2005. On the other hand, some students in other disciplines changed their attitudes far more compared to the others; this is the case for students of Languages, Medicine and Economics (three out of four statements). On aggregate, we note that during the second year of the survey, for all cases in statements I and II the attitudes did not change considerably. The same is observed for the majority of cases in statements III and IV. Where the changes did occur, they were usually observed from the third year and onwards.

Finally, examining the results from the angle of content, Economic Growth statements (I and II) record changes in opinion between 2005 and 2008 in 9 out of 28 cases. Income Inequality opinions (statements III and IV) are altered in 13 out of 28 cases. Nonetheless we need to be careful not to causally link the changes of opinion directly to ones' studies. At best, we can argue that for some disciplines there is stronger evidence of the association between the opinions of their students on the welfare state; this opinion gets reinforced after a certain period of studies. At the same time, however, for some other disciplines it seems that their students have made up their mind in advance, and have not changed their attitudes considerably during the four years of our survey.

Conclusions

In this article, we put forward two very central concepts linked to the welfare state and examined whether students' attitudes towards economic growth and income inequalities differ by fields of study. We did not concentrate on testing hypotheses regarding any particular disciplines as such, but instead conducted comparisons across 14 disciplines including economics and social sciences, agriculture, psychology, educational science, arts, medicine and technology. Our interest was in the individualistic dimensions of the crucial socio-economic attitudes. We examined four items regarding these attitudes. We used a unique longitudinal panel data collected from Finnish higher educational establishments between 2005 and 2008.

Throughout the study, we assume that the students' fields of study can be treated as predictors of attitudes towards social inequalities and economic growth. In our explanatory models we

¹³ Perhaps, a better comparison would have been to measure the opinions of students at the last year of their *high-school* studies (that is, *before* they entered the university) and match them against those at the fourth year of their university studies. With this, we would have excluded influences of the university curriculum on first-year students, and avoid potential underestimation of differences. Fortunately, the hypothetical university-curriculum influence on first-year students was most likely minimal since the survey took place just two months after the commence of the academic year.

¹⁴ Note however that because of the relative small amount of observations of the Arts students, the results for this particular group should be interpreted with caution.

controlled for the respondent's level of studies, gender, household income, political orientation and subjective life satisfaction. Our results showed that even after controlling for other factors associated with socio-economic attitudes, there are still notable associations between students' socio-economic attitudes and fields of study. From this perspective we were able to witness that the overall response profile of economics and business students differed from the others. On average, they shared more individualistic attitudes towards socio-economic growth than did students of other fields. In addition, the responses of students in Economy and Business on economic growth and social inequalities were more conservative when compared to other students. Arts and social science students, on the other hand, generally reported the least individualistic attitudes when questioned on income inequalities and economic growth. In addition, perhaps the most noteworthy of our results was that attitudes did not change considerably during one's studies but remained relatively rigid.

According to our findings, it is unclear how much the exposure of studying under different disciplines contributes to the disparities in students' attitudes. Whether some of the detected changes come from exposure to academic curricula or as a result of participation in university life is difficult to determine empirically. This is because we have no possibilities of capturing and measuring such latent motives. Also, it is possible to argue that students already have relatively stable mindsets when they enroll to the universities. This is evident mostly in the case of economic and business students. At the same time, we must bear in mind that some of the attitudes tend to change more often than others. In our case, we found out that attitudes towards income inequalities are more consistent than attitudes towards economic growth. Compared to the rest, the most evident differences were detected in students of economics/business administration.

Despite the restrictions given above, we could draw several theoretical implications from our findings. First, we may ask why attitudes did not change radically over the course of studies. This is certainly against common perceptions and, in particular, against the objectives of teaching programs at educational institutions. Several studies on the field have relied on classic sociological and psychological notions of group memberships (e.g. Guy, 2011; Frank, Gilovich & Regan, 1993; Rezler, 1974). Indeed, there are well-documented findings showing that an individual's attitudes are strongly influenced by the groups in which he or she belongs. According to Zimbardo and Ebbesen (1970), for example, a person is rewarded for conforming to the expectations of the group and punished for deviating them. In this way attitudes tend to be strongly resistant to change unless the change is supported by the total environment. University students of course take various courses and have many extracurricular activities. Consequently, it is perhaps possible to assume that these kinds of processes are influencing students as they are spending time in the company of their peers, family members, and so on. In other words, newly acquired information during the study programs eventually fades away. These theoretical assumptions suggest that in future research we would need to control for students' hobbies and personal networks as well.

Second, comparative social policy researchers have put forward interesting theoretical postulations regarding the attitude profiles of students and young people more generally. Many studies assert that Western societies show a trend towards more individualistic attitudes, especially when it comes to the legitimacy of the welfare state system (e.g. Blekesaune & Quadagno, 2003; Kangas, 2003). There are probably several contextual effects, such as economic conditions, that might explain public attitudes toward welfare state policies. According to Guy (2011), changes in the global economy and the rise of neo-liberalism are responsible for the erosion of public support for the welfare state and its goals. Thus, when interpreting our results from this perspective, we should expect more and more individualistic attitudes in the future, even among the highly educated adults.

Third, we may argue that the current developments in empirical social research remind us with greater magnitude of mainstream economics. For example, quantitative sociology focusing on social stratification, ethnicity, and other structural inequalities is clearly imitating methodological solutions of economics (e.g. Block & Evans, 2005; Swedberg, 2003).

However, the influence of Economics can also be observed beyond empirical research papers. Economics has made significant achievements in terms of mathematic models and analytical techniques, and its influence on sociological theory is also growing stronger. For instance, prominent sociologists such as Coleman (1990) and Goldthorpe (2000) have argued that adequate explanations in social sciences require models of rational choice behavior and other principles of microeconomics. More recently, explanations based on rational choice have become very popular both in theoretical and empirical sociology (Hedström & Bearman, 2009). Given that attitudes differ considerably between students of economics and students of social sciences, we may witness more often that fewer attitudes resemble attitudes of economics among social scientists as well.

It is feasible to assume that many of the current students will become the future researchers, administrators and policymakers. Unfortunately, we cannot tell how effectively their recorded attitudes nowadays will eventually translate into actual decisions and behaviors later on. But from theoretical points of departure, our results raise interesting questions regarding the profile the public attitudes towards socioeconomic issues and the notion of the welfare state. Also, today's university students are likely to be more active in political elections than their less educated counterparts. Thus, their attitudinal preferences have greater future value at societal level (Venetoklis, 2012). In all these respects, we need more empirical evidence towards attitudes of socioeconomic inequalities to better understand the current debate on the legitimacy of welfare state policies.

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Volunteering among Higher Education Students. Focusing on the Micro-level Factors

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Abstract:

In our paper³, we intend to examine the micro-level factors affecting the volunteering of higher education students. Although several theories and research studies approach this phenomenon, a relatively small amount of studies examines the volunteering of higher education students. Based on the literature, the young generation today participates in new types of volunteering, in which their motivation is not dominantly altruistic. These results call our attention to the necessity for new measurements and indicators of volunteering. The new approach in our research is that we differentiated between the voluntary work of students and the voluntary extracurricular activities of students. Among micro-level factors affecting volunteering, we examine the effects of demographic variables and the students' social background. However, based on the literature, we suppose that the effect of religiosity and values (which are related to the motivations of volunteering of students as well) are more pronounced. Regression models are used to examine these effects both on voluntary work and on extracurricular activities of students. Our databases are regional (first, we examine the voluntary activities of students at the University of Debrecen, then the extracurricular activities of students in the so-called Partium region), but our goal is to show general tendencies of volunteering of higher education students, taking into account the possible regional differences as well.

Keywords: Volunteering, Higher Education Students, Quantitative Research

Introduction

There are only very few studies on the volunteering of higher education students, especially in the Central-European region. In Hungary, voluntary activities are examined for the population as a whole (e.g., Czike & Bartal, 2005; Czike & Kuti, 2006; Bartal, 2010; Perpék, 2012), or among the young generation, but not among higher education students (Szabó & Marján 2010). In the international literature, there are some publications concerning the volunteering of higher education students (e.g., Handy et al., 2010), but these focus especially on the new type (résumé building) of volunteering of students and their cross-cultural examination does not

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deal with Central-Eastern European tendencies. Therefore, it seems to be important to examine the volunteering of students in this particular region. Our data come from the University of Debrecen, Hungary, and in the second part of the empirical analysis from the so-called Partium region, a cross border region between Hungary, Romania and Ukraine. Our goal is to find the trends of volunteering of students in this particular region, but we try to reveal some general tendencies as well. The regional features of our results will be discussed later in the summary.

In the theoretical part of our paper, we deal with the definitions of volunteering, with micro-level factors effecting volunteering and, briefly, with motivational bases of volunteering. (In the empirical part of our paper, we cannot examine the motivations of volunteering because of the lack of data, but we examine the effect of values, which are related to motivations.) Finally, we focus on the characteristics of old and new types of volunteering and the functions of volunteering among the young generation. There are several papers which deal with the macro level effects on volunteering (e.g., Curtis, Baer & Grabb, 2001; Inglehart, 2003; Salamon & Sokolowski, 2003; Voicu & Voicu, 2003) or examine the institutional background of volunteering (the non-profit sector and the civil society) (Salamon & Anheier 1992; Salamon et al., 1999)⁴, but in our paper, we focus only on the micro level effects on volunteering.

In the empirical part of our paper, we use regression models to examine the micro level effects on the volunteering of students. We have three dependent variables and we differentiate between (traditional, overall) the voluntary work of students and their extracurricular activities. As far as extracurricular activities are concerned, we highlighted two factors: the first includes extracurricular activities, which represent academic, scientific competitive rivalry among students (factor of intra-generational competition), whereas the second factor includes variables which are related to students' works with educators (factor of inter-generational cooperation). The explanatory variables are quite similar concerning the three dependent variables. We examine the effect of demographic variables, such as sex and age (but age differences are limited, because all of the students were full time students), the social background variables of students (parents' education, financial position of the students and the type of the place of residence). Furthermore, we included independent variables, such as religiosity (which was measured in several dimensions) and value preferences (we used a standardized value item list, which was applied in several Hungarian youth research studies). The values are closely related to the motivations of volunteering, so it is important to examine them, and explore which value preferences are correlated with voluntary activities of higher education students.

In addition to regression models, we will also examine the group membership ratios of the students, as the prediction of potential voluntary activity of students. The reason for this is that we intend to measure not only the traditional (overall) voluntary work of students and extracurricular activities, but the leisure time voluntary activities of students as well. Based on the group memberships, we can make certain estimations.

Defining volunteering

When defining volunteering, four main criteria are differentiated, based on the literature (Voicu & Voicu, 2003; Meijts et al., 2003; Wilson, 2000; Chaan & Amrofell, 1994; Handy et al., 2010; Dekker & Halman, 2003; Bartal, 2010):

⁴ Salamon & Anheier (1992) and Salamon et al. (1999) differentiate several types of nonprofit institutions (social, cultural-leisure time, defense, medical services etc.), and the fields of non-profit activities (culture, education and research, health, social services, environment, development, civic and advocacy, philanthropy, international, religious congregations, business and professional, unions, other). They showed that education, health and social services are the most popular, but the popularity of culture, recreation, environment, development and advocacy volunteering also increases.

1. It is free of charge, thus paid work can be excluded. However, it is possible to sponsor organizations employing volunteers and the costs emerging during the work can be written off. The definition of volunteering does not imply work carried out on a mutual basis with relatives, friends or neighbors.
2. Produces material, intellectual goods or services for the benefit of others (individuals or groups), or for public good or for a 'specific cause'. In this way, totally subjective, self-centered voluntary, non-obligatory activities, such as hobbies, amateur engagements, sports and games can be excluded. Normally, the aim of volunteering is helping others, something which is highly needed with today's decline of traditional civic community. However, helping others within family or relationships cannot be regarded as voluntary work.
3. It is voluntary, non-obligatory, carried out by people's own choice, free will, which is why the old type of "forced volunteering in communist organizations" or any kind of obligatory community work cannot be included in this category.
4. Its motives are inner, subjective, value-oriented and /or external, instrumental but not directly material. Volunteering is not purely altruistic activity, as it can be beneficial for the individual as well.⁵

Apart from these characteristics, Voicu & Voicu (2003) and Wilson (2000) emphasize that volunteering normally takes place in an organized context (here, we can separate associational volunteers from program volunteers). Based on the cross-national comparative analysis of Meijs et al. (2003), what people regard as voluntary activity depends on the net cost of volunteering (to what degree the costs of volunteering surpass the benefit of it).

Chaan & Amroffell (1994) critiqued the use of the term volunteer, because it covers too wide a range of non-salaried activities; however, by using their new classification system, researchers can limit generalization to relevant cases. They provided ten attributes to describe volunteers (who is the volunteer, what is given, formality, frequency, time per episode, beneficiaries' relatedness, beneficiaries' characteristics, who manages volunteers, management activities, volunteer rewards), but the people who volunteer only to enhance their career hardly fit for these attributes (this type of volunteering will be discussed later on in detail).

Currently, the term voluntary activity seems to be more widespread than that of voluntary work. Dahrendorf (1983) has envisaged that 'activity society' will replace the society based on work, and the traditional form and importance of work will be driven into the background. "Activity" is fulfilled not in terms of its external objective, but rather in terms of the values coming from the process of participation itself. Activities are valuable, meaningful and significant acts for the personality, but inasmuch as they do not reach beyond the personality for the benefit of a community or its members, like in the case of the majority of leisure activities, "the unpaid voluntary activities for other people" is only one case of it.⁶

According to another approach, the concept of work can still be used to take into account the alterations in the sphere of work. Moreover, the concept of work could be extended, so that the current trends could also be implied by its use. Thus, the "concept of the triad of work" has been introduced, according to which "paid work", "voluntary work" (voluntary, unpaid, for the benefit of others) and work done for self fulfillment (voluntary, unpaid, performed not for others, work with subjective meaning and value) are differentiated (Hustinx & Lammartyn, 2003; Mutz, 2002).

We can present four dimensions of voluntary work, according to which their functions can be grouped as well, based on Kiss (2004), who differentiated the functions of leisure time, even though the functions of voluntary activities are quite similar.

⁵ Volunteering means acting to produce a "public" good and no reference to motive is necessary, the reasons for the activity are not so important (Wilson, 2000).

⁶ Hungarian researchers suggest instead of voluntary work, the category of voluntary activity, as well (Czike & Kuti, 2006), but their reasoning is disputable, because they identify the term of work with wage labor, and they do not differentiate between voluntary activity and voluntary activity done for the benefit of others.

1. social and community dimension (the role volunteering in community building, its contribution to human resources and social capital);
2. economic dimension (volunteering producing material, intellectual, psychological values, volunteering needs costs and working hours investment, and there is also a return of volunteering, e.g., in saving wages due to it);
3. political dimension (participation and tackle tasks and functions in social organizations, such as parties, trade unions, new social movements, political socialization, acquiring democratic system of values);
4. social-psychological dimension (motivations, attitudes, functions in socialization, the subjective meaning and reward of volunteering, how it reinforces identity and decreasing anomy due to its psychosocial functions).

Wilson (2000) also approaches the functions of volunteering. He demonstrates that volunteering enhances citizenship-consciousness, predicts greater political activity, volunteering is against antisocial behavior, increases physical and mental health and enlarges socioeconomic achievement (helps in career building and higher aspirations for further studies) (Wilson, 2000).

Of course, different functions have different weights concerning different types of voluntary activities (old and new type of volunteering, leisure time volunteering; see later on in detail).

The micro-level effects on volunteering

Wilson (2000) differentiates between several theories which explain volunteering (mostly micro level theories). First, the rational decision and human capital theory of volunteering is described. The model predicts that there is a positive effect of education on volunteering, but the effect of the labor market activity is not so evident (it can increase, but also decrease the probability of volunteering; employees have less free time to do voluntary activities. However, the work is a form of social integration, which helps one volunteer). Professional and managerial employment increases the probability of volunteering, and generally wealthier people volunteer more. The second theory deals with social capital effects (weak and strong ties) on volunteering. The larger social capital increases volunteering, but there is an inverse effect as well, as voluntary activities also increase the social capital of the volunteer. (Yet, higher social capital can decrease the probability of the new type of volunteering, as there is no need to be a volunteer.) The third model deals with the demographic differences in volunteering (volunteering differs by age, gender and ethnicity). Finally, there are contextual effects on volunteering, such as the effects of schools, neighborhoods and locality type (city or village) (Wilson, 2000).⁷

Education has a positive effect on helping others and volunteering is more common among economically active citizens, but sometimes among inactive people (pensioners or homemakers), as well. There is a weak correlation between income and volunteerism, but generally wealthier people are volunteering more frequently. We also have to mention that religiosity increases the probability of volunteering, especially regular churchgoing. Moreover, it has been proven that social capital variables are stronger predictors of volunteering than socio-demographic factors (e.g. the high number of friends, several formal and non-formal interactions, several family ties (several children), religiosity as a social capital indicator, organizational membership, individuals' associational networks and trust in others) (Perpék, 2012).

According to the "human resource theory," the larger economic capital (e.g., income), human capital (e.g., education) and also social capital, (e.g., the range of networks, membership in organizations, political attachment, and religious activities) increase the probability of participating

⁷ Wilson (2000) deals with commitment theories (short or long time commitment) and exchange theory (reciprocity and utilitarianistic calculation, the fact that voluntary activity can be useful for the volunteer) as well, but here we do not present them in detail. There are motivation theories of volunteering as well, which will be discussed later on, but only briefly.

in voluntary work. According to the results of Voicu & Voicu (2003), in Romania, there is no particular connection between strong attachments, such as relatives and close friendships and voluntary activity, but weak attachments such as having acquaintances, colleagues at the workplace, ties beyond social classes and trust in each other contribute to voluntary work. It has also been revealed that people who are more educated, well-to-do, young and religious (practice of religiosity that matter, not the belief) and who live in cities are much more inclined to do voluntary work. Gender differences however could not be detected. The cross-national analysis of Hodgkinson (2003) demonstrated that among the social capital effects on volunteering, active engagement in religious institutions, membership in voluntary organization, and extended social network (family and friends) increased the probability of volunteering, but the relationship between political activity and volunteering was weak.

Chaan & Amroffell (1994) have demonstrated that age, gender, education and SES are relevant factors of volunteering. Bartal (2010) emphasizes that among socio-demographic factors males, middle-aged (from 30 to 50) people with secondary or tertiary-level education, with higher income, religious people, people living in villages or capitals are overrepresented among volunteers in Hungary, based on a 2008 research study among the volunteers of non-profit organizations.

Among higher education students in 12 countries, wealthier students, studying not at business majors, having “compulsory” voluntary work activity at secondary schools and students with non-materialistic values are more likely to volunteer and these students volunteer for a longer period of time (more intensively) as well (Handy et al., 2010).

Regarding the effect of values, preferring altruism, solidarity, reciprocity, equity and being helpful increased volunteering, but due to the spread of individualism the motivations of volunteering are changing (the new type of volunteering, and its motivations will be discussed later on) (Dekker & Halman, 2003). Reed & Selbee (2003) examined to what extent the values and ideals of volunteers and non-volunteers are different and whether or not the values of volunteers represent a distinctive ethos. A distinction is made between informal voluntary activities and volunteering carried out in an organized context. The results show a rather small difference between the values of volunteers and non-volunteers, but the difference was more significant between the active, frequent volunteers and non-volunteers and also between volunteers acting in formal and informal contexts. It was mainly in generosity, civil engagement and a sense of common good that the two groups were different.

We suppose, based on Dekker & Halman (2003) (see later at the hypotheses part of our paper), that the effect of values is stronger on the volunteering of students than the effects of demographic and social background variables. Yet, values do not directly, but rather fundamentally determine the behavior of volunteers and values are not the solely determining factors of human behavior. Wilson (2000) demonstrates that the relationship between values and voluntary activity is weak; values do not determine whether someone will choose to become a volunteer or not and, indeed, volunteers have differing sets of values. Values affect volunteering at an aggregate level and not at a micro level. There are collective values, which are popular with volunteers. However, Wilson also emphasizes that values can help explore the motivations of volunteering.

Among values (attitudes), the innovative spending of leisure time and the effective care for social relations are more important to volunteers than for non-volunteers. Attitudes to work differ among volunteers and non-volunteers, as well. Among these attitudes self-accomplishment and work are beneficial to society, interesting, responsible and challenging job is more important to volunteers. For non-volunteers, a good salary, safe employment and not too exhausting work are important (Bartal, 2010).

Values can be found on the basis of motivations, so when we examine value preferences, we will come to know something about the motivations of volunteering as well. In our paper, we will not deal with motivation theories of volunteering in detail because, in the empirical part of our paper, we do not have data on motivations of volunteering (this will be examined later on in the frame

of the HERD project, where we address questions about students' motivations as well). Thus, in the following part of our paper, we try to examine the types of volunteering, based on the short description of various types of motivation.

Different motivations and the types of volunteering

Motivations of volunteering could be altruistic, instrumental (egoistic) or mixed. Traditional motivations are based on altruistic values (it is good to help others), and on the importance of social interactions and community. Modern motivations include career development, personal growth, useful leisure activity, work experience and professional improvement (Perpék, 2012; Czike & Kuti, 2006).⁸

According to Czike and Bartal (2005), the most frequent motivations of volunteers in Hungary were as follows: 1. helping the poor, 2. gaining experience, 3. the importance of religion and faith, 4. challenge, professional development, 5. moral duty, 6. spending leisure time in a useful way, 7. making new friends, 8. and belonging to a community. The old type or traditional or community volunteering is characterized by motivations number 1, 3, 5 and 8. In this type of volunteering, the religious engagement is strong and its main features are the idealistic-altruistic attitude, value-orientation, attachment to a community, solidarity and helpfulness. Thus, it is based on traditional values frequently involving group or organization membership. The new type or modern volunteering is characterized by motivations number 2, 4, 6 and 7. This type is driven by interest, it is less altruistic, its scale of values is contradictory (simultaneously instrumental and post-modern), it is seeking knowledge, it is individualistic, egoistic, reflective, creative, innovative, seeking challenging and experimenting opportunities to test itself, it is more specialized, less ideological; it is an interesting, meaningful and, usually, a short-term (participating in projects, program centered) activity, and mostly done by young people. The short-term "revolving door volunteering" (Hustinx, 2001) providing variety seems to be more attractive for the young people of the "thrill-seeking society" (Schulze, 2000, 2003), in accordance with their "experimenting socialization" (Galland, 2004).

The motivation system of the old-type of volunteering seems to be more coherent than that of the new type of volunteering. This new type of volunteering is more consciously planned, eventually more organized and can be described in terms of reciprocity and growing professional approach; it is less spontaneous and is not driven by customs, but rather driven by interests and experience, which is why leisure time volunteering is becoming more attractive (Czike & Kuti, 2006).

The frequency of traditional, value-based volunteering is decreasing, while cultural- or leisure-oriented volunteering is increasing (e.g., active membership in sports associations). However, concerning leisure-time volunteering, it is still important that the volunteer should work for the benefit of others (function and task tackling) (Wollebek & Selle, 2003).

In Hungary, voluntary activities are more popular with the whole population in religious, youth, leisure time, recreation (sport), social-medical, educational, professional and cultural organizations, so both the traditional and the modern form are popular (but the rate of such non-profit organizations is quite low) (Bartal, 2010). Moreover, it is interesting that formal volunteers volunteer more frequently; they are mostly higher status holders and they are moved by modern motivations, but between non-organizational volunteering and traditional motivations, the relationship is not significant (Perpék, 2012).

⁸ Hungarian volunteers are usually altruistic and value-oriented (see Perpék, 2012 and Czike & Kuti, 2006).

Young people and volunteering

Wollebek & Selle (2003) emphasize that “idea-based” popular mass movements are being replaced by leisure- or interest-oriented organizations. They argue that changes in the patterns of volunteering may be due to changes in individual values. At this point, they refer to Inglehart (1977, 1990), who put forward the idea that post-materialist values, such as democracy, human rights, gender equality, self-fulfillment, environmental protection and leisure, have replaced material values. Contrary to the views of Inglehart, Putnam (1995, 2000) believes that political apathy is increasing, local initiatives are decreasing and materialistic and individualistic values are more appealing to young people. The former values are increasing the probability of voluntary activities, whereas the latter values are rather decreasing this probability.

Inglehart (2003) tests the results obtained by Putnam in the United States, namely that in a “knowledge society,” the rate of volunteering among young people is on the decline, whereas among elderly people it seems to be on the rise. One of the reasons for this could be that young people are not very keen on volunteering (life-cycle effect) and the other could be that young people these days will not do much voluntary work even in the later stage of their life (generation shift). This latter one is predicted by Putnam. In the study by Inglehart, the two impacts cannot be distinguished. His results show that volunteering has not actually decreased these days, but young volunteers perform activities in a more flexible organizational framework, mainly in charitable and sports associations.

Due to the individualization among the young generation, the regular voluntary activities are replaced with goal-oriented volunteering, voluntary activities with more freedom, more autonomy, short-term “revolving door volunteering” is popular, and they work in flexible organizations. The young generation participates especially in new types of volunteering (e.g., they do voluntary work, because they can put such experience in their CVs), and they can convert the acquired cultural and social capital (by voluntary activity) into economic capital later on, when they seek and find jobs. In countries where voluntary work is a more positive signal for the employers, when students want to find jobs, more young people do volunteering (Handy et al., 2010; Hustinx, 2001).

Among the young generation, there are two basic motivations: (1) self-interest, professional well-being motivations, such as making friends, meeting people with similar interest, spending leisure time, learning and practicing sports and cultural activities, gaining information, developing and practicing skills, getting a job more easily and (2) altruistic motivations, such as being useful for the society, doing something for others, protection of his/her own, or others’ rights, protecting interests of a special group. Furthermore there could be mixed motivations as well. In Romania, the new type of motivational basis is more pronounced among the students of Oradea University, at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences. Gaining experience and knowledge, developing interpersonal relationships, better knowledge of the institution are important for them, and traditional motives are not so popular (Ștefănescu & Oșvat, 2011).

Among the new types of volunteering done by higher education students, we can differentiate between résumé building volunteering (with instrumental motives), leisure time volunteering and postmodern volunteering (the participation gives pleasure, it is good to be together with others, it gives an identity, e.g., to participate in green or peace movements).

The theory of a new type of voluntary work predicts that this type of volunteering is motivated by self-fulfilling aims and directed by post-material values. As the major activity of students is studying, it is interesting to examine the voluntary type of this activity and the motivations of it, as well. Voluntary work could be defined by social usefulness and aiming at common good. Students involved in extracurricular activities identify themselves with altruistic attitudes towards their profession which can be beneficial to society and they identify themselves not only with the credentials of their profession. Therefore, in the empirical part of our paper, we will examine the students’ extracurricular

activities - as one type of new volunteering - and the effects of other variables on it.

Handy et al. (2010) differentiated three types of motivations of higher education student volunteering. The first factor is the career-related résumé building motivation (enlarging human capital), the second one is the altruistic, value-based motivation, and the third one is the social and ego-defensive motivation (friends or other people influenced students to become volunteers). Here, we have to mention that volunteering on the basis of a career building motive is not necessarily negative (not necessary motivated by egoism); rather, it is a sign for employers that somebody is career-conscious, has leadership abilities, is more self-confident, and has skills in critical thinking and conflict resolution. Handy et al. (2010) shows that in the US and Canada, the young generation is more pragmatic, career building is more important and whether someone has performed voluntary work or not is an important signal for employers. It is also interesting that for career centered volunteers, the traditional altruistic values were also important, so the motivation basis of young generation volunteering is mixed. Regarding 12 countries surprisingly not the utilitarian motives (new type of volunteering) are the more pronounced among young generation, but the value-oriented attitudes (the social motives are the third). Students with value-oriented motives are volunteering more than career builders. Handy et al.'s hypothesis that career building volunteers participate in voluntary activities less intensively (only for a short time, "revolving door volunteering" see Hustinx, 2001) was not supported, because in the US and Canada, students volunteer for a longer period of time, even if they are more career oriented. The reason for this difference could be that motives are mixed (Handy et al., 2010).

Based on 2005 research results in Hungary, the young generation's motivations for voluntary activities belonged to a community, challenge, professional development and spending leisure-time in a useful way and making new friends, so more or less the motivations of the new type of volunteering are valid among youth (Szabó & Marián, 2010).

The functions of voluntary activities for young people can be as follows:

1. offers opportunities for social, professional, and citizen socialization, acquiring roles,
2. it "bridges the gap" between schooling, education and the world of work,
3. intermediary role between adulthood, work and responsible citizenship,
4. informal learning, gaining knowledge, experience and information in the long run, from the concrete knowledge to general knowledge, from specific skills to general skill,
5. enlarging and enriching human relationships,
6. starting, building, changing professional career, adjustment to the world of work, building the network, professional socialization, gaining professional experience, learning and practicing team work (co-operation, conflict management) and acquiring values, such as solidarity and responsibility required to them,
7. innovation, upgrading the patterns of activities (professional, political and leisure), applying modern technology in interaction and communication.

Hypotheses

We do not expect huge gender and age differences in volunteering, based on the literature (especially because the age group is limited in our research, as only full-time higher education students have been interviewed).

Concerning the effects of socio-demographic variables, religiosity and values, we suppose – based on theoretical approaches – that the effect of socio-demographic variables is weaker than the effect of values (however, due to the regional feature of our samples, the impact of parents' education and the students' economic position could be more pronounced than in other regions; since the examined region is socially disadvantaged, only wealthier students can afford to participate in voluntary work).

Regarding the effects of values, we suppose that religiosity could have a strong effect on student volunteering, especially churchgoing. It is rather the effect of religious practice that plays an important role and not the religious belief (see the theoretical part). We do not examine the volunteers' denominations, because we did not find significant effects on volunteering based on our previous research. The denomination in the Partium region does not modify the important aspects of the religious practice among the young generation (Rosta & Tomka, 2010).

Examining the values of young volunteers seems to be important because such a study may help explore the motivational basis of the respondents' volunteering (unfortunately –as it was mentioned before – no data are available on the motivations of students, so instead of motivations we examined just the values of volunteers). We also have to mention that we will not necessarily find causal relationships between values and volunteering, as the new type of volunteers, whose basic motivation is career building can prefer altruistic values as well, but this is not the reason for their volunteering. We suppose that the altruistic and non-material values (instead of preferring material well-being and an enjoyable life, preferring helpfulness and acting for the benefit of others) are dominant among Hungarian higher education students who volunteer.

We will examine separately the leisure time volunteering of students, as well (we measured this by group memberships as a potential voluntary activity of students). We suppose that this new type of volunteering is not as popular among the students in the examined region as in Western European countries, due to the small number of group membership opportunities, and the special attitude of the students in this specific region (the culture of voluntary activity is not so prevailed). Regarding gender differences, we suppose that the traditional type of volunteering is done mostly by girls (helping services, charity) and boys do more new, leisure-time types of volunteering and participate more frequently in civic associations, environmental groups and political organizations.

The novelty of our research is that we have included a new dependent variable, the extracurricular activities of students, as another new type of voluntary activity. Our hypotheses concerning the micro-level effects are similar to the hypotheses concerning the overall volunteering of students, but concerning the effects of religiosity and values some minor differences were observed, which will be discussed later on in the analysis.

Databases and the examined region

Our research is based on the serial quantitative research conducted by the Center for Higher Education Research and Development among Hungarian-speaking higher education students in seven institutions of a cross-border region, which is situated on the eastern edge of the European Higher Education Area (the region is called the Partium, which refers to the historical usage of the term). Data were gathered in the border regions of three Central Eastern European countries, namely Hungary, Romania and Ukraine. The first "Regional University" research (supported by NKFP-26-0060/2002), was conducted among first year full time (in 2003, N=1587) and fourth year full time (in 2005, N=940) college or university students. In the second TERD research (The Impact of Tertiary Education on Regional Development supported by OTKA T-69160), third year Bachelor's training full time students (in 2008, N=1211) and first year Master's training full time students (in 2010, N=600) were surveyed (so the Bachelor and Master training students represent different generation). The samples are representative concerning the faculties. We have made cluster sampling; we asked all the students at the chosen seminar groups which were selected at random. In 2010 we completed our work with an online quantitative research conducted among all of the full time students of the University of Debrecen (supported by OTKA, K-818585, N=2384). We weighted the cases to ensure the representativity by faculties and gender.

Methods and examined variables

In our work, we used frequencies, crosstabs and logistic regression models (with three different dummy dependent variables) by means of SPSS program.

In our regression models, the dependent variables were as follows: (1) overall volunteering (if he/she do voluntary activity at all at some frequency or not), (2) concerning the willingness to do extracurricular activities we created two factors from students' several extracurricular activities: the first was the intergenerational cooperation with the educator factor (including for example membership in research groups, publication activity of the students and assisting in lecturing) and the second was the intra-generational competition factor (including for example application to fellowships and joining programs assisting talented students). We made here dummy variables as well (willingness is above the average or below, factor scores are positive or negative)⁹.

The independent variables in our regression models are as follows: (1) Age (which did not vary much, as only full time university students were asked), (2) gender, (3) social background variables such as parents' educational level, the financial position of the students, the type of the place of residence, (4) the religiosity of the student (in the analysis of the overall voluntary work, we used the self-categorization of religiosity (in regression models a dummy variable: religious or not, and in crosstabs we differentiated between students who are religious on their own way, and between church-related religiosity), and in the analysis of extracurricular activities of students, we used several measurements of religiosity, which will be described later on in the analysis), (5) finally, 36 (in examining overall volunteering) and 16 (in examining extracurricular activities of students) value preference variables, where the importance is measured by 1-5. Here we used standardized value measurements from Hungarian Youth Research.

We have a short analysis about the new, leisure time type volunteering of students as well, where the potential voluntary activities are estimated by special group membership. Here we did not create regression models, and we used crosstabs and frequencies to examine this type of voluntary activity.

University students and voluntary work in traditional meaning

Although their primary concern is studying, students are increasingly involved in doing some jobs, including voluntary work due to various motives, such as financial, thrill-seeking, gaining experience at work-places. Table 1 shows the work done by students in 2005 and 2010, by gender. The 2005 data are obtained from the results of the "Regional University" research, in which fourth year higher education students were polled in the Partium region. The 2010 data in Tables 1-5 refer only to the students of the University of Debrecen, based on the online research, where all of the full time students were asked.

Table 1: *Work done by students according to gender in 2005 and 2010 (%)*

	2005		2010	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Regular paid work	16.5	11.2	11.2	10.5
Casual work (odd jobs)	33.3	31.2	44.6	38.8
Unpaid (voluntary) work	3.3	2.3	7.1	7
They did not work	46.9	55.3	37.1	43.8

The results were significantly different according to gender (Chi-square: $p < 0.05$)

As shown in Table 1, in both databases boys did more work (but not voluntary work). Between 2005 and 2010, the work done by students had increased but it was mainly the rate of casual work

⁹ There were only a few students, who did much extracurricular work, so the creation of factors was a good solution, as factor scores above and under the average represent the intensity of willingness to do such activities.

that increased and not the regular jobs. The regular voluntary work had doubled by 2010, which indicates the growing popularity of volunteering, although the rate of participation is still much lower than in advanced Western countries. It is worth noting that gender differences can hardly be found in the achievement of voluntary work, and this fact is in accordance with our results of the regression model (see later on), as well as the results of international studies.

Table 2. *The frequency of voluntary work done by students at the University of Debrecen (%) (2010 online research)*

Yearly 1-2	19.4
Per month 1-2	4.5
Per week 1-2	2.1
Never	73.9

As it can be seen in Table 2, altogether 26.1% of the students do voluntary work with some frequency; in contrast with the rate of 6.6 % of the students who do volunteering more or less regularly¹⁰. Here, again, no significant difference could be found in the frequency of voluntary work according to gender. If we compare our results with the data of Youth Research 2008, Hungary¹¹, where only 13% of the young people have done voluntary activity at some frequency, we can establish that higher education students are more active in volunteering than less educated young people (Szabó & Marián, 2010).

Micro-level effects on volunteering

In Table 3, the effects on voluntary work are shown in the framework of a logistic regression model. Here, the two-value variable is used concerning volunteering, where we differentiated between students who never do voluntary work and those who do it more or less regularly based on Table 2.

In accordance with the literature, the traditional sociological background variables, such as sex or age, have had little influence on the frequency of volunteering, although higher qualification in terms of the number of grades of students' mothers, and the students' better financial conditions in terms of purchased durable consumer goods contribute to the probability of volunteering¹². Besides, village location also shows a slightly positive effect on volunteering, although this effect is not significant.¹³

According to our results, religiosity, mainly churchgoing religiosity, has shown significant increase in the probability of volunteering among students. As it is shown in the cross-tables, 28.4% of those who are religious in their own way do voluntary work (somewhat above the average), whereas 45% of those whose religiosity can be described as belonging to a church do voluntary work every year or more frequently, which is well above the average.

In the questionnaire, students ranked an additional 36 values on a scale of 1-5 and several values had a significant relationship with volunteering. Such values as regarding happiness and true friendship highly important, helpfulness and acting for the benefit of others are in a

¹⁰ 6.6% is close to the 7% which was measured in Table 1, so the students mentioned only regular voluntary work there.

¹¹ There were asked not only higher education students, but all of the young generation between the age of 15-29.

¹² The regional feature of our results will be discussed later in the summary.

¹³ Marital status and the fact that the student is a commuter, lives in digs or in a flat of their own or in a dormitory do not have a significant relationship with volunteering according to cross-tables, which is why these variables were not used in the regression model.

significant positive relationship with the rate of volunteering. However values, such as preferring enjoyable life, material well-being and – oddly - affectionate attachment decrease the probability of volunteering. These findings are in line with international results.

Table 3: *The results of the logistic regression model on volunteering¹⁴ (2010 online research)*

	Exp(B)	Sig.
Sex	0.94	0.64
Age	0.99	0.78
Father's qualification	0.95	0.08
Mother's qualification	1.06	0.03
Financial position of the student	1.11	0.00
Type of the place of residence	0.81	0.07
Religiosity	1.47	0.00
Material well being	0.79	0.00
Happiness	1.86	0.00
True friendship	1.38	0.01
Enjoyable life	0.76	0.01
Helpfulness, acting for the benefit of others	1.35	0.00
Affectionate, gentle	0.79	0.03
Constant	0.01	0.00

-2*Decrease of Loglikelihood=6.8%, the effects are significant if the significance is <0.05, some independent variables are dichotomized, in order to put them into the regression model.

Group membership as a potential voluntary activity of students

According to literature, the new type of volunteering is more popular within the young people. In line with this besides classical regular voluntary work, the various leisure voluntary activities have also been examined in our research, although participation in these activities can be regarded as voluntary work if the work is done for the benefit of others in the particular organization.

As it can be seen in Table 4 it is mostly below 10 % of the students who participate in groups that might involve voluntary activities¹⁵, which is in accordance with the results offered by Hatos (2011), where not only the young generation were asked, but the whole population. The active membership is even smaller in Hatos' work (3-4%), from which we can estimate that our results overestimate the potential voluntary activity by using the data shown above. His results also show that the higher level of education increases the active membership in such groups, which could point to the reason as to why higher education students have a somewhat higher level of participation in these groups than the population as a whole. However, in some organizations popular in Western countries, such as the "I have nobody club", the autonomous group of the Informatics Faculty, the personality development group, the rate of participation of students is rather low and it can be seen that students are not particularly involved in trade union and human rights movements, either.

¹⁴ Among the value variables only the significant impacts are shown.

¹⁵ The participation in religious groups, which is relatively popular with students (12.3 %) based on our data, can involve various voluntary activities, such as accompaniment and conducting, providing food and drink at social gatherings of young people, helping the homeless in e.g., ecumenical organizations (a qualitative analysis of volunteering among higher education students can be seen in Fényes, Lipcsei & Szeder' (2012) work.

Table 4: *Students' participation in various organizations at the University of Debrecen (%) (2010 online research)*

	Participates	No, but would like to	Does not participate
Religious groups	12.3	6.4	81.3
Hobby groups	7.3	29	63.7
Scientific circle, professional association	6.7	41.6	51.8
Regular voluntary work	6.2	93.8	
Groups fostering traditions	3.7	21.7	74.8
Study groups, literary and debating society	3.4	96.6	
Students' self-government	2	25.3	72.7
Mentoring program	1.4	98.6	
Mental health club	1.4	98.6	
Pressure group	1	99	
Human rights movement	0.6	99.4	
Informatics faculty autonomous group	0.5	99.5	
Puzzle personality development club	0.3	99.7	
I have nobody club	0.2	99.8	

As far as the gender differences are or might be relevant in this type of voluntary work, it is worth examining the university organization memberships according to gender.

Table 5: *Student participation in university organizations at the University of Debrecen, significant differences according to gender (%) (2010 online research)*

	Men	Women
Sport association, club	19.8	8.2
Cultural association	9.3	8.6
Student organization	6	5.6
Extreme sport group	4.1	1.2
Civic organization	3.9	2.9
Society for the protection nature, animals, environment	3.5	2.8
Political organization, party	3.2	1.3
Helping organization, charity work	3.9	7
Voluntary organization, group	4.1	6.3
Mental and social problems group	1.1	1.5

Values significantly larger per gender were highlighted with grey (the value of chi-square is $p < 0.05$)

In Table 5, the potential voluntary activities (memberships) are shown, in which differences were significant according to gender. As can be seen in the table, the traditional type of volunteering is done mostly by girls (helping services, charity, membership of organizations doing voluntary activity) and volunteering involving sports or cultural activities is popular with boys (new, leisure-time type of volunteering). Boys also participate more frequently in civic associations, environmental groups and political organizations than girls. Here again, we can see that student participation in such groups is higher than Hatos' (2011) results concerning the whole Hungarian population.

Extracurricular voluntary activities in higher education

Within the realm of higher education, the student can meet new type of working activities that involve a conscious choice and which interpret voluntary tasks as part of the big project of self-accomplishment. This occurs when they decide to undertake any additional tasks outside their academic activities. Voluntary work related to studies is not a general practice among students, as the majority does not deem any effort to be a sensible activity outside the compulsory activities that are fixed in the exam regulations and in the directly remunerative curricula. One part of the students undertaking non-compulsory tasks is attracted to activities which stimulate them to compete against their student peers and excel among them. The other part of the students undertakes work with the educators. The voluntary activity type based on the academic, scientific competitive rivalry among students, shows divergent patterns according to both faculties and the education of parents. Its elements are: obtaining the scholarship of the Republic, membership at the College for Advanced Studies, membership of the talent-care program, and being in charge of the year-group or student group. We considered the competition against peers and the representation of fellow students to be the main components and these include activities enabling the acquisition of social and economic capital, in addition to acquiring knowledge. The children of parents with a higher education will decide to participate in such activities with a somewhat greater frequency than not, but the children of parents with a secondary or primary education will participate or simply stay away from intra-generational cooperation at the same rate. Intergenerational cooperation is a cooperation that implies the profound professional interactions of educators and students, which suggests the student's interest toward academic-scientific organizational embedding. This set includes the following contents: contribution to department- and institutional-level researches, research group membership and participation in national and international researches, doing student competition activity at the university, teaching activity at the university, publications and scientific grants. It is remarkable that in the culture of some institutions and faculties, there is a different foundation for the extracurricular activity based on intergenerational cooperation, as well, and one can find considerable and significant divergences in this respect within the separate institution types. However, we have found it noteworthy to check whether according to the gender, age, settlement type of family, the education of parents and other status indexes there is significant difference between active and less active students. However, before checking the factors on balance, we examine the relation of religiosity and values of students to extracurricular activities in detail.

Religious attitudes and extracurricular voluntary activities

The self-categorization of religiosity did not show a significant correlation with intergenerational voluntary responsibilities – either in Bachelor's training or in Master's training. The reason for this fact could be that there is only a weak relationship between faculty staff and students, especially during Bachelor's training, and only few students do intergenerational voluntary activities in general. However, it is remarkable that the intra-generational competition in Bachelor's training is in strong correlation with the religious types given by students: those who are religious in their own way are characteristically over-represented in this activity type, the church related religious students and uncertain students perform well, while non-religious students are typically in minority in this field. This correlation cannot be seen in Master's training. These results draw our attention to the detailed investigation of the effect of religiosity on extracurricular voluntary activities of students.

The measurement of religiosity is precise only when the multi-dimensional character of religiosity is reflected in it. Moreover, we may find religiosity of rather different strengths in

some dimensions according to the trends of the latest decades. The importance of the dimensions of religiosity is hard to compare, but it is without a doubt that due to the individualization of religiosity, the person creates a religiosity that is fairly usable to him/her and is aptly personalized. Therefore, personal religious practice appears to be a dimension of great influence.

Belonging to a larger and smaller community are also indexes reacting sensitively to relational embedding patterns. Our previous research experience proved that having a religious circle of friends is an efficient performance-stimulating factor, during which the individuals may gain resources which they do not obtain naturally. All this we found important to examine regarding whether they promote academic voluntary work or not.

By carrying out an examination according to the different dimensions of religious practice, there is a strong correlation between the different dimensions of religious practice and voluntary student work in Master's training, while in Bachelor's training, this correlation can only be shown with intra-generational competitive activity. In Bachelor's training, none of the dimensions of religiosity are decisive factors in the activity type cooperating with educators, but in the case of responsibilities based on competition with peers, religious students exceed others in their performance (which results are similar to the effect of self-categorization of religiosity and the possible reason for the results was mentioned above). The greatest effect on students undertaking extra work is personal religious practice and larger community membership combined with regular church going, but small community membership also has a definite, positive effect. In Master's training, however, the strong correlation of religiosity and voluntary work is entirely common, and so it seems that any index of religious practice can promote the willingness of both peer competitors and educator-cooperative students to do extra activities. Religious community membership and personal religious practice have the most spectacular effect by far.

Table 6: *Willingness to do voluntary student activities according to different indexes of religious practice, percentage (2008 and 2010 TERD research)*

		Bachelor's training				Master's training			
		Intergenerational		Intra-generational		Intergenerational		Intra-generational	
		Above average	Below	Above average	Below	Above average	Below	Above average	Below
Small community	Not member	83.7	82.7	78.6	<u>85.8</u>	69.7	<u>78.2</u>	69.7	<u>77.8</u>
	Member	16.3	17.3	<u>21.4</u>	14.2	<u>30.3</u>	21.8	<u>30.3</u>	22.2
Large community	Not member	76.4	79.5	71.8	82.1	65.9	<u>76.0</u>	66.4	<u>75.2</u>
	Member	23.6	20.5	<u>28.2</u>	17.9	<u>34.1</u>	24.0	<u>33.6</u>	24.8
Personal religious practice	Not	55.6	55.1	47.5	<u>60.0</u>	54.9	<u>65.4</u>	54.7	<u>65.1</u>
	Yes	44.4	44.9	<u>52.5</u>	40.0	<u>45.1</u>	34.6	<u>45.3</u>	34.9
Religious friend	Not	38.5	38.7	34.3	41.2	24.6	30.5	23.5	<u>31.0</u>
	Yes	61.5	61.3	<u>65.7</u>	58.8	75.4	69.5	<u>76.5</u>	69.0
N		369	537	341	565	264	338	247	355

There was no significant relation between the different indexes of religious practice and intergenerational cooperation in Bachelor's training and between religious friends and intergenerational cooperation in Master's training. In all other cases the level of significance is *** = 0.000. The underlined values indicate that the number of people into the given cell was considerably higher than what was to be expected in the case of random array.

Value preferences and extracurricular voluntary work

Since the new type of voluntary work is characteristic of the fact that individuals do not sign up for it based on inherited community behavioral patterns, but students make individual decisions for devoting time and energy for voluntary activities, we need to know the value preferences that promote positive decisions or discourage the choice in this respect.

If we are to examine the effect of the preference of different values on the voluntary work of Bachelor's training students, we find that the preference of true friendship and material goods correlate negatively with the intra-generational competitive activity and the higher appreciation of religious belief supports participation the most.

However, intergenerational extra-work is not supported by the appreciation of a peaceful world, love and material goods, and is supported by the appreciation of education. In Master's training, the preference of inward harmony, peaceful world, originality, fantasy and public life increases the probability of cooperation with educators. However, the preference of material goods decreases this probability, while extra activities carried out in the competition with peers is accompanied by the higher appreciation of education. Considering all these elements, we can verify our previous hypothesis according to which students do not consider voluntary work in the academic world to be an "aim-rational" activity in the economic sense. Another point that proved to be a sound claim is that the more positive appreciation of education support voluntary extra work. The preference of post-material values indicates an interesting correlation with these activities. While for Bachelor's training students, the appreciation of pleasure of a non-material nature discourages participation in extra-work, in Master's training, the preference of values serving similar, inward development rather supports this. Meanwhile, the world expands for students who contemplate voluntary activities, and voluntary work does not only mean the creation of a peaceful world (or the creation of one that leaves us at peace), but they will consider important what is happening in society (public life).

Micro-level effects on extracurricular activities of students, factors on balance

In the next step, we attempted to measure and compare the effect of demographic factors, family status indexes, religiosity and other value preferences on the willingness to perform extracurricular activity. As we aimed to know how the individual factor-groups affect each other in their influence, we created multistep models. Among demographic and social status indexes, the "father with a university degree" proved to have the strongest effect on the peer-competition based voluntary work of Bachelor's training students. The effect of religious practice in larger religious community introduced in the second step was significant. It is noteworthy that, the introduction of this factor decreases the effect of the older age group, but does not moderate – moreover, it slightly increases – the effect of "father with a university degree". Therefore, we can draw a conclusion that older students must have been religious in a significant rate, but the highly qualified fathers did not belong to the religious students. Among the value preference variables indicating correlation during the bivariate analysis, the importance of religious belief has a positive effect on competition-based voluntary work, and it is not coincidence that the appearance of this variable slightly moderated the effect of religious practice coming from a larger religious community. We can confirm, however, that this further strengthened the significant influence of highly-qualified fathers. Thus, it is presumable that a part of students undertaking competitive extra-work in Bachelor's training are the children of highly-educated fathers, while the other part belongs to the group of individuals who perform religious practice and those considering religious belief important. Even though we cannot say that the sound status indexes do not influence willingness to do this type of voluntary work, we can state that the appearance of the complex factor explaining religiosity and value preferences is definitely standing out according to our data.

Table 7: *Regression odds explaining the formation of willingness to do competitive voluntary work at Bachelor's training students (2008 TERD research, Exp (B) values)*

Gender	0.940	0.979	0.934
Age	1.950**	1.740*	1.706
Father with a degree	1.974**	1.986**	2.016***
Mother with a degree	0.873	0.886	0.885
City dweller	1.004	1.047	1.078
Religious practice in a large religious community		1.797***	1.447*
Appreciation of material goods and money			0.882
Importance of religious belief			1.167*
Importance of real friendship			0.806
Constant	0.536***	0.457**	1.089
-2LL decrease	-1.6%	-2.6%	-3.3%

The significance of the Wald statistics ***, $p < 0.001$, **, $p < 0.01$, *, $p < 0.05$. The fitting of the models is indicated by the decrease of the -2^* loglikelihood value in percentage.

In Master's training, none of the demographic and status indexes can with certainty stimulate students to do competitive voluntary work; religious practice in large religious communities is the first significant and generally positive factor in this respect, which reaffirms our previous results. The other essential factor is the handling of education as a significant value, which seems to be an individual factor that does not significantly alter the effects of having parents with higher education or that of religious practice. In light thereof, we can state that religiosity and value orientation have a greater impact on voluntary work in Master's training than in Bachelor's training.

Table 8: *Regression odds explaining the formation of willingness to do competition-based voluntary work at Master's training students (2008 TERD research, Exp (B) values)*

Gender	1.097	1.102	1.154
Age	0.930	0.905	0.908
Father with a degree	1.409	1.408	1.389
Mother with a degree	0.842	0.873	0.874
City dweller	0.881	0.923	0.927
Religious practice in a large religious community		1.090**	1.083**
Regarding education important			1.421**
Constant	0.720**	0.621***	0.180**
-2LL decrease	-0.4%	-1.2%	-1.8%

The significance of the Wald statistics ***, $p < 0.001$, **, $p < 0.01$, *, $p < 0.05$. The fitting of the models is indicated by the decrease of the -2^* loglikelihood value in percentage.

The intergenerational cooperation-based voluntary work of Bachelor's training students can be explained with demographic reasons in the first place, as male students appear to be much more determined in this respect than women. The introduction of the variable of communal religious practice strengthens the effect of gender further, which is only slightly moderated by the introduction of value preferences successfully applied in the bivariate analysis. The importance of a peaceful world and material goods decreases commitment to extra-work that is based on intergenerational cooperation, and regarding education important proves to be the strongest supportive factor for undertaking these activities in the case of some male students, and females alike. Thus, besides

ambitious male students who pursue knowledge, religious and strongly future-conscious female students who give great value to education are also possible candidates for joining these activities.

Table 9: Regression odds explaining the formation of willingness to do voluntary work based on intergenerational cooperation at Bachelor's training students (2008 TERD research, Exp (B) values)

Gender	1.343*	1.361**	1.327**
Age	0.676	0.650	0.637
Father with a degree	1.203	1.203	1.128
Mother with a degree	1.157	1.164	1.110
City dweller	0.793	0.803	0.849
Religious practice in a large religious community		1.216	1.266
Importance of a peaceful world			0.774**
High appreciation of love and happiness			0.789
Preference of material goods and money			0.750
Regarding education important			1.726***
Constant	0.652**	0.620***	1.372
-2LL decrease	-0.9%	-1.1%	-3.4%

The significance of the Wald statistics ***: $p < 0.001$, **: $p < 0.01$, *: $p < 0.05$. The fitting of the models is indicated by the decrease of the -2* loglikelihood value in percentage.

In Master's training, neither males, older students nor children of fathers with a degree appear to be in a more advantageous situation regarding cooperation with the educator. The regular religious practice in a large religious community has remarkably positive effect on cooperation with the educator, just as we suspected this result, based on our bivariate analysis. The introduction of the different types of post-material value variables (which did well in the bivariate analysis) decreases the motivation for extra work in all groups. The preference of wealth stands out among the chosen values: it affects the choice of this type of extra-work generally negatively, while the increased value of public life affects this sort of extra-work very positively.

Table 10: Regression odds explaining the formation of willingness to do voluntary work based on intergenerational cooperation at Master's training students (2008 TERD research, Exp (B) values)

Gender	1.189	1.197	1.391
Age	1.323	1.290	1.210
Father with a degree	1.342	1.341	1.274
Mother with a degree	0.852	0.885	0.849
City dweller	0.819	0.859	0.827
Religious practice in a large religious community		1.097**	1.069
Importance of inward harmony			1.241
High appreciation of a peaceful world			1.287
Preference for originality and fantasy			1.245
Preference for material goods and money			0.705**
Importance of public life			1.287**
Constant	0.742*	0.632**	0.110**
-2LL decrease	-0.9%	-1.7%	-4.7%

The significance of the Wald statistics ***: $p < 0.001$, **: $p < 0.01$, *: $p < 0.05$. The fitting of the models is indicated by the decrease of the -2* loglikelihood value in percentage.

Conclusion

Our goal was to examine the volunteering of students in higher education in a special Central-Eastern European region called the Partium. Using regression methods, we examined the micro-level effects on volunteering, such as the effects of socio-demographic variables and the effects of values and religiosity. In addition, we tried to explore the students' new type of volunteering, such as leisure time voluntary activities and students' extracurricular activities.

Our results show that the frequency of overall regular volunteering doubled since 2005 among Hungarian students (in 2010 6-7% of the students do) and, in 2010, 26.1% of the students did voluntary work yearly or more frequently. We can state that the regularity of students' voluntary work has increased however compared to its importance and the participation rates in other developed countries they do voluntary work only very rarely.

We also explore the factors effecting overall volunteering of the young generation in the frame of logistic regression model. Our data show – in accordance with our hypothesis - that the effects of some classical socio-cultural variables (gender, age) are weak, but the impact of the mothers' level of education and the students' economic position are stronger, which can be explained by the special regional character of our research. Since the region examined is socially rather disadvantaged, only the more well-to-do students can afford to participate in voluntary work. The most determining factors of student volunteering were religious attitudes and the values of the students, in accordance with our hypothesis. Especially church-going influenced significantly the frequency of volunteering. Our results show that concerning other value variables, preferring material well-being and enjoyable life reduced the probability of volunteering, but preferring happiness, true friendship and helpfulness increased it, which is also supported by the former studies.

As it has been demonstrated, the impact of values seems to be considerable on volunteering. But some of the relations could reveal only differences between the categories of respondents, and not causal relationships. Value preferences only sometimes show the motivational basis of the students' volunteering, and do not predict the frequency of the voluntary activity appropriately (see Bartal, 2010; Wilson, 2000; Dekker & Halman, 2003). Based on Handy et al. (2010), career building motivations and traditional value-based motivation are mixed with regard to several higher education students (e.g., helping others could be important for career building volunteer and traditional volunteer, as well). Thus, what we can state is only that those who are volunteers prefer e.g., helping others more than those who are not, although this result tells very little about the real motivations and value preferences are not necessary predictors of the type of voluntary activity, as well.

In the second part of our empirical research, the new type of student volunteering is explored. First, we attempted to estimate leisure-type volunteering by the special group membership ratios of higher education students (as the place of potential voluntary activities of students). We have found – in accordance with our hypothesis - that the rate of participation in such groups is quite low compared to Western European countries, due to small number of such groups and the students' different attitudes in the examined region.

We examined as well how the factors affect the extra-curricular activities of students (as another new type voluntary activity of students). We created two factors concerning extra-curricular activities, and these factors were the dependent variables in our regression models. In the first factor, voluntary extracurricular activity was organized along intergenerational relationships at the university (e.g. membership in research groups, publication activity of students and assisting in lecturing) and the second factor was based on intra-generational competition (application to fellowships and joining programs assisting talented students).

Based on our results, we can claim that the high qualification of fathers affects the relation to extra-work in higher education only partly, and primarily in Bachelor's training – even there it has but a moderate influence (in accordance with our hypothesis). Based on our analysis, we can

state that it is worth noting such factors as student religiosity and the functioning of concrete and strong value preferences, which in fact exceed the effect of the education of parents. Indeed, the explanatory power of our models is weak, the aim of our analysis was not to increase them, since in other works we have demonstrated that the institutional social context, and the behavioral patterns of educators have a significant influence on students' perception of extra-work done in higher education (Pusztai, 2011).

The limitation of our work is the regional feature of our data (data have been gained from the so called Partium region), the lack of data about the motivations of students' volunteering and the lack of the multilevel analysis (the analysis as to how volunteering differs by faculties). So our further research questions, which can be examined later on, are the following:

(1) The new type (career building) volunteering can be examined in the future in the frame of the HERD project, where we asked about the motivations of students' volunteering as well. At that time we can examine the three types of motivations –presented by Handy et al. (2010) – such as altruistic, career building and social motives. (2) We can examine the relation of the attitudes to work and volunteering among higher education students. In the analysis of Bartal (2010), there are interesting results about adult volunteers' attitudes to work, but it also might be interesting to examine this among higher education students. (3) Finally, multilevel analysis can be carried out to examine the effect of faculties on volunteering (but there could be some problems due to the small number of faculties, and the small item numbers in each faculty, so we need further data to examine this issue). Examining faculty effects is important, because students of different faculties can have different value systems, as well, and the different professions may have their own "world".

We have discussed the regional feature of our results before, but we nevertheless consider that, as far as the volunteering of higher education students and the effects of micro level factors are concerned, we can come up with some generalization, as most of our hypotheses –which we have formulated based on the literature – are supported. Thus, we have found some general tendencies concerning student volunteering in this particular region.

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Future Romanian Law Enforcement: Gender Differences in Perceptions of Police Misconduct

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Abstract

This exploratory study examines gender differences in the attitudes expressed by future Romanian police officers toward hypothetical instances of police misconduct. It also observes how severely respondents think police officers' transgressions should be punished and how eager they would be to report infractions. In order to measure police integrity and identify the future police officers' potential for unethical behavior we applied the methodology developed in the 1990s by C. B. Klockars and his colleagues. The present quantitative analysis is based on survey data⁵ obtained in 2010 from a convenience sample (N = 293) of students in their final year of study at the Romanian Police Academy, who were enrolled in the Department of Police Studies and majored in Public Order & Safety. Results show that, overall, female students perceive the seriousness of the misconduct cases as being significantly higher than their male counterparts do. In general, when compared to men, women also tend to recommend more severe disciplinary measures and are less inclined to tolerate misbehavior in silence.

Keywords: Police Cadets, Gender and Police Corruption, Police Integrity, Romanian Police.

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Introduction

As evidenced by research, police misconduct (i.e., police corruption and other forms of police crime) is a near universal problem. It is a recurring issue that is found in many countries and police departments (see Punch, 2000, 2003). Especially in the last two decades, the larger set of activities that constitute police deviance, as well as the cultural environment of police organizations and its impact on police attitudes and behavior have been explored in numerous studies conducted in Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Canada, Croatia, Great Britain, Finland, Hungary, Japan, The Netherlands, Pakistan, Poland, Russia, Slovenia, South Africa, Sweden, and the United States (e.g., Beck & Lee, 2002; Edlbacher & Kutnjak Ivkovic, 2004; Klockars, Kutnjak Ivkovic & Haberfeld, 2004; Wilson et al., 2008). Although the relationship democratization – police corruption within former communist states in Europe has been examined by several scholars as well (see Haberfeld, 1997, 2004; Kertesz & Szilinger, 2000; Kutniak Ivkovic, 2009; Kutniak Ivkovic, Klockars, and Cajner, 2002; Kutniak Ivkovic & Shelley, 2008; Mesko, 2000), no systematic research focused on the organizational culture of the Romanian police and/or their attitudes toward police misconduct, corruption included.

The present exploratory study, which is part of a larger research project meant to identify the organizational culture and the integrity of the Romanian police, intends to contribute to the literature on policing by studying the level of tolerance toward police transgressions expressed by a sample of future police officers ($N=293$), who in 2010, when the field research was conducted, were finalizing their undergraduate studies at the “A. I. Cuza” Police Academy in Bucharest, Romania. In particular, this analysis will focus on gender differences in attitudes toward police misbehavior, an aspect that was covered only by a limited number of studies (see Corsianos, 2009; Hunt, 1990; Prenzler, 2002) that examined the extent of integrity among the police and/or the police officers’ potential for unethical behavior. According to recent data, in 2009 there were 5,796 female police officers representing 11.33% of the total number of sworn police officers in Romania (General Inspectorate of Romanian Police, 2010). Following trends observed in other countries of the European Union, the Romanian women’s participation in law enforcement is expected to increase in the next years. Therefore, one objective of our study is to determine if there are reasons to anticipate that by increasing the proportion of sworn female police officers in law enforcement agencies, the level of police integrity might increase as well in Romania.

Pioneered in the 1970s by Herman Goldstein (1975), contemporary theories of police corruption (see Klockars et al., 2000) consider four organizational and occupational dimensions: (1) organizational rules (activities officially prohibited and considered corrupt behavior); (2) corruption prevention and control mechanisms at the organizational level that include anticorruption techniques, such as integrity testing, ethics education, or disciplinary actions; (3) informal prohibition of reporting misconduct; and, (4) public expectations (i.e., the influence of social, economic, and political environment in which police agencies operate). Using this theoretical perspective, an objective of the present analysis is to examine the students’ reactions to cases of police misconduct and to observe to what extent the future police officers are willing to respect the country legislation and the organizational rules regarding prohibited behavior for police. It should be noted that classes in police ethics are part of the undergraduate curriculum at the Police Academy.

The topic of this analysis is particularly relevant now, not only because the perceived level of corruption in the public sector continues to be higher in Romania than in most EU countries (see Transparency International, 2011) or because the number of identified cases of police corruption is on the rise in the country (see Ministry of Administration and Internal Affairs, 2011, p. 14; Moroiu, 2011), but mostly because the new generation of police officers is expected to have higher ethical standards and to fully participate to the democratization and the modernization of the Romanian police. In addition, the public level of trust in the police appears to be in Romania

among the lowest in the European Union (see Andreescu & Keeling, 2011). In order to be able to inculcate policy measures meant to prevent corruption and increase the legitimacy of law enforcement agencies that could also restore the public's confidence in an important institution of the state, it might be useful to know how future police officers perceive misbehavior and how they would react to ethical dilemmas they could encounter in their daily activities. Moreover, as Chappell & Piquero (2004, p. 104) observed, the (future) officers' attitudes about various cases of police misconduct should be identified because these beliefs may translate into actual 'on-the-street' behaviors.

Studying police misconduct

More than a decade ago, Carl Klockars and his colleagues contended that "policing is an occupation that is rife with opportunities for misconduct. Policing is a highly discretionary, coercive activity that routinely takes place in private settings, out of sight of supervisors, and in the presence of witnesses who are often regarded as unreliable" (Klockars et al. 2000, p. 1). Police subculture is sometimes described as being characterized by suspicion, cynicism, clannishness, secrecy, and isolation. And officers with strong bonds to the police culture are less likely to violate the norms of the culture (Micucci & Gomme, 2005).

Although one of the traditional explanations for police unethical behavior has been that police – citizen confrontational encounters occur unobserved, Barker (2011, p. 3) acknowledged that for the most part, this is no longer true nowadays. In the age of cell phones, surveillance cameras, dash cam recorders, and other modern video equipment, police abuse can be highly visible. According to the author, at least in United States, "You Tube has brought more attention to police unethical behavior than any government commission (idem, p. 3)." However, Barker (2011, p. 11) also noted that policing remains a "morally dangerous occupation" and that changing times (e.g., increases in drug trafficking; increased efforts to secure borders and prevent terrorist attacks) create new opportunities for police misconduct.

In an analysis of the institutional and cultural factors that account for police corruption across the world, Hubert Williams (2002), the president of the Police Foundation in Washington, D.C., acknowledged that police corruption is primarily a result of: (1) leniency in the recruitment procedures, poor training methods that exacerbate the errors in recruitment, and promotion practices that ignore misconduct; (2) lack of resources that prevent police departments from paying adequate wages; (3) inappropriate systems of accountability within police departments, courts, and the law; and, (4) cultural traditions and educational deficiencies that inhibit the development of professional police standards. Even if scholars and practitioners acknowledge the existence of corruption in law enforcement, police corruption is, however, difficult to detect, and therefore hard to control. The police officers' reluctance to report corrupt activities of their fellow officers (phenomenon usually called *the code of silence* or *the blue curtain*), the police administration's unwillingness to admit the existence of corruption, and the fact that usually both parties benefit from a corrupt victimless transaction are considered the main obstacles of identifying corruption (Klockars, Kutnjak Ivkovic & Haberfeld, 2004; Muir, 1977; Stoddard, 1979).

Nevertheless, there is a general consensus that police corruption is not only difficult to control, but also difficult to measure. Police corruption is difficult to define because there are jurisdictional differences in legal statutes and also because illegal and legal, but inappropriate behaviors, can all be labeled acts of corruption (Vito et al. 2011, p. 153). Violations of organizational rules, such as sexual misconduct or receiving gratuities, receiving bribes or abusing police authority (e.g., excessive use of force on suspects; using unlawful means to control crime, known as Noble Cause Injustice) are just a few examples of police corruption (Barker, 2002). In sum, according to Kutnjak Ivkovic (2005a, p.16), a police officer commits an act of corruption when he/she misuses

his/her official position and attempts to act, acts, or fails to act in order to achieve some personal gain.

Although Kutnjak Ivkovic's (2005a) definition of corruption appears to transcend jurisdictional boundaries (see Vito et al., 2011) and is highly applicable, corruption as a phenomenon is extremely difficult to study in a direct, quantitative, and empirical manner. Because corruption cases are underreported and/or underrecorded, official data on police misconduct are questionable (Klockars et al., 2000, p. 2). In addition, police corruption is only one form of police misconduct. In recent years, in order to overcome some of the limitations found in studies on police misconduct that focused exclusively on corruption, a new methodological approach proposed by Klockars (1999) made use of a different concept - *police integrity* – that is considered a more comprehensive measure of ethical behavior.

Police integrity is defined as “the normative inclination among police to resist temptations to abuse the rights and privileges of their occupation” (Klockars, Kutnjak Ivkovic, & Haberfeld, 2006, p. 1). The methodology proposed by Klockars (1999) and his colleagues (Klockars et al., 2000; Klockars, Kutnjak Ivkovic & Haberfeld, 2006) to assess police integrity is based on an organizational/occupational theoretical approach that focuses on the culture of the police agency and its tolerance of corruption and differs from the administrative/individual approach (i.e., the “bad apple” theory) that tended to view corruption primarily as a reflection of the moral defects of individual police officers. The methodology based on the organizational/occupational cultural approach has the advantage of providing a systematic and standardized instrument (i.e., the “Klockars Scale” of police integrity) that can measure how seriously officers regard police misconduct, how amenable they are to supporting punishment for certain police transgressions, and how willing they are to tolerate misconduct in silence (Klockars et al., 2000, p. 1-3). Because respondents are asked to evaluate hypothetical scenarios (see Appendix) that depict instances of police misbehavior, the research instrument developed by Klockars (1999) has the ability to collect more sincere opinions “without arousing the (police officers’) resistance that direct inquiries about corrupt behavior are likely to provoke” (Klockars et al., 2000, p. 3). In addition, the organizational theory of police integrity provides a way of determining the level of integrity in a police agency, identifies specific problems, and recommends solutions to administrators (Klockars, Kutnjak Ivkovic & Haberfeld, 2006, p. xxiii).

Yet it should be noted that the survey instrument developed by Klockars (1999) was designed to mainly assess one aspect of police integrity – police intolerance for corrupt behavior. Only one scenario (i.e., the use of excessive force by a police officer) was not an example of a case of police misconduct motivated by personal gain. As Klockars et al. (2000, pp. 9-10) noted, “this survey makes no observation about abuses of discretion in arrests, order maintenance, discourtesy to citizens, or other police misconduct not usually motivated by temptations of gain”. However, as Klockars, Kutnjak Ivkovic & Haberfeld, (2006, p. 4) observed, “we may assume that police who steal, accept bribes or take kickbacks also succumb to the temptations to lie in court, forge records, fabricate evidence or make unwarranted searches or unjustified arrests – although gain provides no motive for doing so”.

Several research studies have recently used the Klockars scale to evaluate police integrity in law enforcement agencies all over the world. An earlier study was conducted in the United States on a convenience, but quite large sample of 3,235 officers from 30 US police agencies, drawn from across the nation. The majority of the police officers in the sample were employed in patrol or traffic units and about 80% of the respondents were line officers. On average, the officers had approximately 10 years work experience in law enforcement. Results showed substantial inter-agency differences in the environments of police integrity in US. Findings also indicated that the more serious a particular behavior was considered by police officers, the more severely they thought it should be punished, and the more willing they were to report it. Stealing from a crime scene and accepting a bribe were considered the most serious cases of misconduct and ‘dismissal’

was the disciplinary measure proposed by most respondents. In the same time, respondents thought that actions they perceived as minor offenses (e.g., owning and off-duty security system business; accepting free meals) should not be sanctioned at all (or should be sanctioned with verbal reprimand) and should not be reported to superiors (Klockars et al., 2000).

A more recent study that also analyzed the attitudes of a sample (N = 208) of American police managers toward police misconduct reached very similar conclusions (Vito et al., 2011). In addition, Vito et al. (2011, p. 152) noted that the study results indicate that in US police agencies there is a relatively high tolerance for official misconduct and a questionable moral climate. Interestingly, both studies found that the use of excessive force by a police officer was similarly ranked by respondents (i.e., rank #7 on a scale from 1 to 11, where #11 represented the least serious case scenario), being part of the group of offenses considered having an average-to-low degree of gravity (Klockars et al., 2000; Vito et al., 2011).

In a cross-cultural study that compared the responses offered by police officers from United States, Croatia, and Finland, Kutnjak Ivkovic (2005b) found that theft and bribery were considered by respondents in all three countries as the most serious offenses. In terms of suggested punishments and willingness to report the cases of misconduct identified as the most serious, the author found an inter-country homogeneity of responses. However, there were inter-country differences regarding police officers' attitudes toward cases perceived as minor offenses. For instance, the Croatian officers considered that accepting free meals and services were more serious cases of misconduct than American or Finnish officers did. However, Croatian officers expressed a higher tolerance toward the excessive use of force by a police officer than Finnish or American officers did (Kutnjak Ivkovic, 2005b). A recent comparison in perceptions of corruption between police officers from Czech Republic and Bosnia Herzegovina found that while in both countries bribery and theft were considered the most serious offenses, Bosnian line officers appeared to tolerate the use of excessive force more than their counterparts from the Czech Republic. In this case, according to the study's authors, it is possible that the experience of the war in former Yugoslavia generated a higher tolerance toward the use of force in Bosnia Herzegovina (Kutnjak Ivkovic & Shelly, 2008).

In a review of studies that examined the extent of the *code of silence* (i.e., informal prohibition of reporting observed cases of misconduct committed by fellow officers), Kutnjak Ivkovic & Shelly (2008) noted that scholars have documented the presence of the code of silence in US police agencies and in a relatively large number of police agencies across the world as well. Police officers are usually more likely to report the cases of misconduct they perceive as being serious transgressions and they are more likely to tolerate in silence what they perceive as being minor violations of official rules. Nevertheless, based on a review of the literature, the authors contended that there is no single police culture or a single code of silence (idem, 2008, p. 445).

In general, studies focusing on police integrity in countries in transition toward democratic policing such as Czech Republic, Croatia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Hungary, Poland or Slovenia found that police officers in these countries appear to have (at the personal and organizational level) a higher level of tolerance toward corruption than police officers from countries without a communist past (Haberfeld, 2004; Klockars, Kutnjak Ivkovic, & Haberfeld, 2004; Kutnjak Ivkovic, 2005b; Kutnjak Ivkovic, 2009; Kutnjak Ivkovic, Klockars, & Cajner, 2002; Kutnjak Ivkovic & Shelly, 2008; Mesko, 2000; Pagon & Lobnikar, 2004). Furthermore, based on an examination of relatively recent International Crime Victim Survey data, Kutnjak Ivkovic (2003, p. 648) contended that police corruption seems to be substantially more prevalent in Eastern European, Asian, and Latin American countries than in Western democracies. Using as a source the research findings presented in the aforementioned studies based on the organizational theory of police integrity, we expect that the future Romanian police officers will have attitudes toward police misconduct similar to those expressed by serving police officers from countries in transition toward democratic policing.

Scholars started to pay more serious attention to the connection between gender and corruption only recently and even if the number of research studies focusing on this topic is quite small, findings showed that relatively few women police were involved in corrupt practices. In addition, a good deal of evidence pointed out that women police were subject to fewer complaints from the public for being rude or for making use of excessive force (Corsianos, 2009; Lonsway, Wood & Spillar, 2002; Prenzler, 2002). According to Prenzler (2002, p. 77) female police seem to show more integrity than their male counterparts because women appear to be innately less susceptible to corruption, because women are excluded from corrupt practices by their male colleagues who still refuse to recognize them as operational police, and because women are underrepresented in areas of policing, particularly detective work, where the corruption potential is the highest.

Although research on whether or not women police have more ethical attitudes than men or are more willing than their male colleagues to report misconduct produced mixed results (see Prenzler, 2002), Corsianos (2009, p. 111) contented that, in general, research indicated that women police relate differently than men to the police culture and that, gender differences do exist in the officers' perceptions and choices relating to questionable, unethical, and/or corrupt behavior. Consequently, we anticipate that, compared to the male police cadets, the future Romanian female police officers will have a lower tolerance of police misconduct, will recommend more severe disciplinary actions for police misbehavior, and will be less likely to see themselves as not reporting the fellow officers' transgressions, if aware of them.

Data & Methods

Using the integrity scenario approach developed by Klockars and Kutnjak Ivkovic in the 1990s (see Kutnjak Ivkovic & Shelly, 2008), the present study examines the reactions expressed by a sample of future police officers to ten hypothetical instances of police misconduct. Data analysis is based on survey data collected in May 2010 from a sample of students (N = 293) enrolled at the "A. I. Cuza" Police Academy/Department of Police Studies in Bucharest, Romania, who were in their last year of undergraduate studies. The students' participation in this research study was voluntary and the respondents' anonymity was assured. Although this analysis is based on a convenience sample, the interviewees represent approximately 82% of the total number of students in this particular cohort. In terms of age, ethnicity, and gender distribution, the sample is representative for the population from which it was drawn.

Respondents had to fill out a questionnaire that contained descriptions of 10 hypothetical scenarios and provide scenario assessments (see Kutnjak Ivkovic & Shelley, 2008, pp. 471-473). These scenarios (see Appendix) illustrate cases of police corruption/abuse of power (ranging from acceptance of gratuities and holiday gifts to opportunistic thefts and shakedowns), and use of excessive force. In order to be able to assess the sample structure and conduct some inter-group comparisons, limited personal data were also collected. The present analysis focuses only on three questions (scenario assessments) included in the survey. Respondents were asked to rank the seriousness of the police misconduct presented in each scenario, using a five-point scale that took values from 1 (not at all serious) to 5 (very serious). Respondents were also asked to indicate what disciplinary measure should follow if an officer who engaged in the presented behavior would be discovered doing so. Respondents could select from a list of six alternative answers: 1 (no disciplinary measure); 2 (verbal reprimand); 3 (written reprimand); 4 (period of suspension without pay); 5 (demotion in rank); 6 (dismissal). In addition, in order to determine the extent of the code of silence, a set of questions asked respondents if they would report a fellow police officer who engaged in the presented behavior. A five-point scale measured responses and took values from 1 (definitely not) to 5 (definitely yes).

Results

The sample (N=293) used in this analysis includes students aged 20 to 27 (mean age = 21.91; std. dev. = 1.08). Approximately 65% of the respondents are males and 35% are females. In terms of ethnicity, 98% of the respondents are ethnic Romanians and 2% belong to ethnic minority groups. Approximately 96% of the respondents are single (have never been married).

Perceived Seriousness of Police Misconduct

When a summative index that combined scores obtained for each subsample for the ten scenarios was computed, results showed that on average, male students (mean = 3.73; std. dev. = 0.701) tend to perceive the cases of misconduct presented here as being less serious than female students (mean = 3.94; std. dev. = 0.506) do. Overall, the intergroup difference in means is significant (i.e., $t = -2.795$; $p = 0.006$).

When scenarios are rank-ordered (see Table 1; Figure 1) it can be noticed, however, that the rankings of scenarios based on the gravity of the offense are almost identical when male and female students' perceptions are compared. Results show a positive and significant correlation between the subsamples' scenario rankings (Spearman's $\rho = 0.988$; $p = 0.000$). Police officers receiving holiday gifts from local merchants is not considered an inappropriate behavior (e.g., male students' mean = 2.59; female students' mean = 2.53), the associated mean value being the lowest for both groups. Female students and male students agree that opportunistic theft (i.e., taking a watch and pretending it was stolen, while investigating a burglary at a jewelry store) represents the most serious example of police misconduct (e.g., male students' mean = 4.84; female students' mean = 4.83).

Based on the results presented in Table 1, it can be also observed that male students identify four scenarios out of ten as representing examples of serious and very serious transgressions, while female students consider that five scenarios are illustrating (very) serious cases of wrongdoing (i.e., the mean value is higher than 4). Accepting a bribe from a speeding motorist, stealing a watch from a crime scene or taking money from a found wallet, and abusing the power when in a supervising position are considered by both groups the most serious cases of police misconduct. In addition, female students believe that a police officer who receives a payment of 5% of the repair bill from a shop owner to whom he/she recommended clients whose cars have been damaged in accidents (Scenario #6) is an example of a serious transgression.

Table 1: *Perceived seriousness of police misconduct*

Scenarios	Males (N=190)	Females (N=103)	t-test
	Mean (rank)	Mean (rank)	
S1– off duty security system business	2.64 (2)	3.59 (3)	-5.131***
S2 – free meals, discounts on beat	3.53 (4)	3.67 (4)	-0.868
S3 – bribe from speeding motorist	4.78 (9)	4.73 (9)	0.712
S4 – holiday gifts from merchants	2.59 (1)	2.53 (1)	0.376
S5 – crime scene theft of watch	4.84 (10)	4.83 (10)	0.150
S6 – auto repair shop 5% kickback	3.76 (6)	4.04 (6)	-2.177*
S7 – supervisor trades days off for car tune-up	4.32 (7)	4.31 (7)	0.016
S8 – cover-up of police DUI & accident	3.57 (5)	3.93 (5)	-2.345*
S9 – excessive force on car thief	2.93 (3)	3.43 (2)	-3.079**
S10 – theft from found wallet	4.35 (8)	4.48 (8)	-1.100

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Note: Scenarios ranked from 1 (least serious case of misconduct) to 10 (most serious case of misconduct) in each sample.

When comparing the average scores computed for each subsample based on the students' perceptions regarding the seriousness of the offense, in four instances, as indicated by the significance level associated with the t-test for equality of means, male students perceive the cases of misconduct as being significantly less serious than female students do. The largest difference in opinions refers to Scenario #1 (a police officer who operates a security system business in his spare time). Although the Romanian legislation forbids police officers to own/operate a private business, male students do not consider this activity as being an example of a particularly serious transgression (male students' mean = 2.64) and rank this activity as being the second least serious offense. Although female students rank this scenario as the third least serious case of misconduct the average mean (3.59) is significantly higher than the mean value obtained for the male students' subsample. Another relatively large difference in inter-group opinions (male students' mean = 2.93; female students' mean = 3.43) refers to scenario #9 (use of excessive force by police on an apprehended car thief). However, even if female students are more likely than male students to perceive police actions presented in this scenario as an example of a serious case of police misbehavior, compared to the other police actions described here, this scenario is considered by female students as the second least serious case of police misconduct. Figure 1 presents comparatively the students' perceptions regarding the seriousness of police misconduct. The scenarios are presented in ascending order (from the least serious to the most serious case of misbehavior) based on male students' responses.

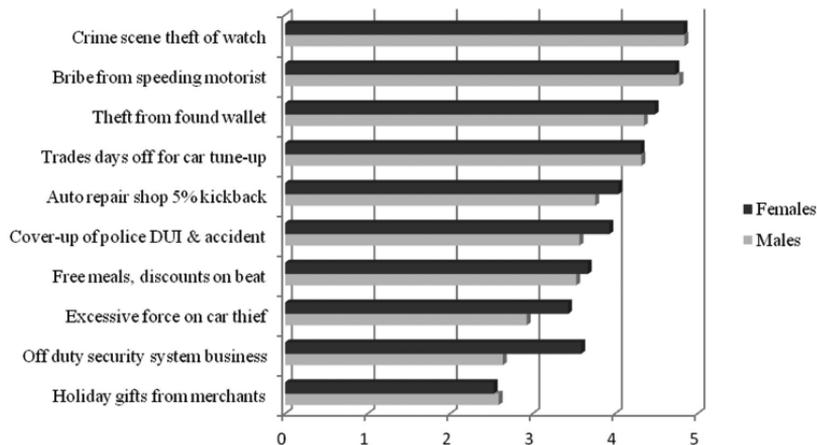


Figure 1: *Students' ranking of police misconduct by gender*

Suggested Disciplinary Measures for Police Misconduct

Table 2 presents comparatively the disciplinary measures that most male and female students in each subsample consider would be the appropriate responses to police misconduct. Additional analyses that examined the relationship between scenario ranking based on the seriousness of police misconduct and the severity of the suggested disciplinary measure show significant and strong positive correlations for both subsamples (i.e., for the male students' subsample Spearman's $\rho = 0.988$, $p = 0.000$; for the female students' subsample Spearman's $\rho = 1.00$, $p = 0.000$). In other words, when mean values were calculated for the corresponding disciplinary measures, both groups of students indicated an increase in the severity of the recommended punishment that paralleled the perceived gravity of an offense committed by the police officer.

It can be observed that in both groups, '*written reprimand*' is considered by most students the appropriate disciplinary measure in response to 50% of the cases of police misconduct presented in the hypothetical scenarios. In both groups, the examples of misconduct for which '*dismissal*' is the most frequent disciplinary measure considered appropriate are Scenarios #3 and Scenario #5. Although additional analyses showed that the male students' level of tolerance toward the transgressions presented in scenarios #3 and #5 are somewhat higher than the female students' attitudes, the difference in means is not large enough to be statistically significant (i.e., for Scenario #3: male students' mean = 4.87 and female students' mean = 4.90; for Scenario #5: male students' mean = 5.28 and female students' mean = 5.44). The most popular disciplinary measure suggested by male students (24%) in response to the case of misconduct presented in Scenario #10 is '*dismissal*', while most female students (24%) recommend '*unpaid leave or suspension*'. However, an inter-group comparison of the means representing the severity of the recommended disciplinary measure shows that, on average, female students are in fact somewhat less tolerant toward the actions of a police officer who took money from a found wallet than male students are (i.e., male students' mean = 4.02; female students' mean = 4.11). Scenarios #5, #3, and #10 are also ranked by both groups as most serious transgressions.

On average, the most severe punishment is recommended by both groups for the misbehavior described in Scenario #5 (taking a watch from a crime scene and reporting it as stolen by someone else), while the least severe disciplinary measure is recommended by both gender groups in response to the activities described in Scenario #4 (acceptance of holiday gifts from merchants), which was also ranked as the least serious case of police misconduct. While most male students (34.4%) believe that no disciplinary measure should be taken in this case, most female students (27.2%) consider that '*verbal reprimand*' would be the appropriate sanction for a police officer who accepted holiday gifts from merchants. It should also be noted that '*demotion in rank*' is the only sanction that does not represent a modal category for any of the scenarios presented in this analysis.

Although there are minor inter-group differences regarding the severity of the disciplinary measures recommended by most respondents, in general, both gender groups appear to have reached a consensus regarding the most appropriate form of punishment that should follow when an offense was committed by a police officer. However, based on the mean values for the disciplinary measures, coded in ascending order from 1 (no disciplinary measure should be taken) to 6 (dismissal), it can be observed that, on average, female students are more likely to recommend more severe sanctions in response to transgressions than male students are. For seven out of ten scenarios, women recommend harsher punishments than men do. Nonetheless, only in two instances female students' opinions regarding the appropriate disciplinary measures are significantly different when compared to the male students' opinions. On average, compared to their male counterparts, female students recommend significantly more severe sanctions for a police officer who owns and operates an off-duty security system business (S1: $t = 3.341$; $p = 0.001$) and for use of excessive force by police (S9: $t = 2.085$; $p = 0.038$).

In sum, when the male students' opinions regarding appropriate punishments for all selected instances of police misconduct are compared to the female students' opinions, the inter-group difference in means is not significant (i.e., for the male subsample: mean = 3.48, SD = 0.67; for the female subsample: mean = 3.57, SD = 0.62; $t = -1.153$, $p = 0.250$).

Table 2: *Suggested disciplinary measures for police misconduct*

Scenarios	Males (N=190)		Females (N=103)	
	Modal ctg. (%)	Mean	Modal ctg. (%)	Mean
S1- off duty security system business	Written rep. (31.7%)	2.50	Written rep. (36.9%)	3.06
S2 – free meals, discounts on beat	Written rep.(32.8%)	2.89	Verbal rep. (27.2%)	3.15
S3 – bribe from speeding motorist	Dismissal (43.4%)	4.87	Dismissal (39.8%)	4.90
S4 – holiday gifts from merchants	None (34.4%)	2.19	Verbal rep. (38.8%)	2.00
S5 – crime scene theft of watch	Dismissal (57.7%)	5.28	Dismissal (65%)	5.44
S6 – auto repair shop 5% kickback	Written rep. (22.8%)	3.66	Written rep. (29.1%)	3.42
S7 – supervisor: holidays for tune-up	Written rep. (28.6%)	3.43	Written rep. (31.1%)	3.45
S8 – cover-up of police DUI & accident	Written rep. (28%)	3.41	Written rep. (38.8%)	3.35
S9 – excessive force on car thief	Verbal rep. (33.9%)	2.59	Written rep. (31.1%)	2.90
S10 – theft from found wallet	Dismissal (23.8%)	4.02	Unpaid leave (24.3%)	4.11

Note: Possible disciplinary measures are: 1 (none), 2 (verbal reprimand), 3 (written reprimand), 4 (unpaid leave/suspension), 5 (demotion in rank), 6 (dismissal).

Future Police Officers' Willingness to Report Misconduct

Additional analyses that correlated the ranking of scenarios based on the assessed gravity of the presented misbehavior with the ranking of scenarios based on the proportion of the respondents who declared that they would (definitely) not report the presented case of misconduct showed that the students' willingness to report misconduct is highly related to the perceived seriousness of the transgression portrayed in the included scenarios (i.e., Spearman's rho for male students = 0.976, $p = 0.000$; Spearman's rho for female students = 0.939, $p = 0.000$). In other words, with an increase in the perceived seriousness of the misconduct, the likelihood of reporting the transgression also increases.

Table 3: *The students' unwillingness to report transgressions*

Scenarios	Males (N=190)	Females (N=103)	Chi-Square
S1- off duty security system business	74.6%	64.3%	10.425*
S2 – free meals, discounts on beat	59.3%	55.4%	2.405
S3 – bribe from speeding motorist	23.2%	21.4%	2.692
S4 – holiday gifts from merchants	69.8%	73.8%	3.481
S5 – crime scene theft of watch	12.1%	2.9%	12.595*
S6 – auto repair shop 5% kickback	38.1%	27.2%	17.503**
S7 – supervisor trades days off for car tune-up	27.0%	32.0%	5.736
S8 – cover-up of police DUI & accident	42.9%	42.7%	8.837
S9 – excessive force on car thief	64.0%	52.5%	5.775
S10 – theft from found wallet	28.1%	19.4%	4.298

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Note: In each subsample, the percentages indicate the proportion of respondents who declared that they would 'definitely not'/'would not' report the transgression presented in that particular scenario.

Table 3 presents comparatively the proportion of students in each gender group who declared that they would (definitely) not report to their superiors the respective case of misconduct that involved a fellow officer. In order to test the hypothesis that there are gender-related differences in students' attitudes regarding the reporting of police misconduct, we employed a nonparametric test of significance. Based on the calculated Chi-square values and the associated significance levels, which are also presented in Table 3, it can be noticed that the male students' opinions about

reporting wrongdoings significantly differ from their female counterparts only in three instances out of ten. However, it can be observed that in eight out of ten instances, the proportion of female students unwilling to report police misconduct is lower than the proportion of male students who are reticent about reporting. Specifically, compared to their male colleagues, almost 12% fewer women are not inclined to report a fellow officer who used excessive force on an apprehended offender; 10% fewer women would not report a police officer who owns and operates a security system business; 9% fewer women would not report the theft of a watch from a crime scene; and, almost 9% fewer women are unwilling to report a fellow officer who took money from a found wallet.

Results show that in both gender groups, the proportion of those who would not report a fellow officer who committed theft from a crime scene is the lowest compared to the students' attitudes regarding the other acts of transgression presented here. It should also be noted that more than half of the students in both samples declared that they would not report a fellow officer who would use excessive force on an offender, would receive gifts or free meals and discounts from local merchants, or would be the owner of a private business. A relatively large percentage of respondents in both groups (approximately 43%) declared that they would be unwilling to report an officer who covered up an accident committed by a police officer who was driving a car while intoxicated.

Only in two instances (results not shown), a majority of students in both groups declared that they would not remain silent if aware of a transgression that involved a fellow officer (i.e., approximately 78% of female students and 74% of male students would report a theft from a crime scene committed by police and about 58% of male students and 57% of female students would report a traffic police officer who accepted a bribe from a speeding motorist). In addition, a relatively large proportion of students in both groups (48.2% of male students and 47.5% of female students) declared that they would report a police officer who took money from a found wallet. Based on the students' assessment, these three aforementioned scenarios (i.e., #3, #5, and #10) are also ranked by both gender groups as the most serious cases of police misconduct. Overall, when inter-group comparisons regarding the average tendency of reporting transgressions are made, male students' opinions do not differ significantly from their female counterparts (i.e., for the male subsample: mean = 2.91, SD = 0.89; for the female subsample: mean = 2.97, SD = 0.73; $t = -0.559$, $p = 0.577$). Based on these results, and remembering that code 1 indicates definite unwillingness to report and code 5 indicates definite willingness to report misconduct, it can be concluded that on average, both groups are more inclined to keep silence about the observed transgressions than they are to report them to their superiors.

Discussion and Conclusions

Although the study participants were police cadets with limited professional experience and, theoretically, not yet fully indoctrinated into the police culture, as hypothesized, the students' attitudes toward police misconduct were relatively similar to the opinions registered in studies of police integrity conducted with active police officers in other Eastern European countries. For instance, the Romanian police cadets perceive as serious cases of police misconduct the same actions (e.g., two instances of opportunistic theft, bribery, abuse of power, and kickback for recommending clients) as the Croatian, Bosnian, or Czech police (see Kutnjak Ivkovic, 2005b; Kutnjak Ivkovic & Shelley, 2008). While US police officers (see Klockars et al. 2000; Vito et al., 2011) and Finnish police officers (see Kutnjak Ivkovic, 2005b) add to the aforementioned list of serious cases of misconduct 'the excessive use of force on a car thief', Eastern European respondents (see Kutnjak Ivkovic, 2005b; Kutnjak Ivkovic & Shelley, 2008), including the Romanian future police, do not consider that the example of police brutality included in Klockars's scale represents

a serious transgression. Whereas the most common disciplinary measure recommended by American police officers for the excessive use of force is 'suspension without pay' (Klockars et al., 2000), the modal disciplinary measure found appropriate by the future Romanian police is 'verbal reprimand'. In addition, about 60% of the Romanian students declared that they would not report to superiors a colleague who acted violently toward an apprehended suspect, while only 37% of Czech police officers and 46% of Bosnian police officers (Kutnjak Ivkovic & Shelley, 2008, p. 455) would be reluctant to report in similar circumstances.

Romanian legislation forbids law enforcement employees to own or operate a private business. However, Romanian students ranked the scenario that describes a police officer operating a security-system business among the least serious cases of police misconduct and approximately 70% of the respondents declared that they would not report a fellow officer for running an off-duty business. The majority of the police officers interviewed in Bosnia Herzegovina (54.2%) and in Czech Republic (54.8%), but a lower percentage than in Romania, was also unwilling to report this case of misconduct. Compared to Bosnian and Czech police officers, Romanian students are also more likely to not report a fellow officer who receives holiday gifts, free meals, or financial compensation for recommending clients. More importantly, a relatively large proportion of future Romanian police are unwilling to report an officer who received a bribe (22.5% in Romania vs. 12.8% in Czech Republic) or a fellow officer who took money from a found wallet (25% in Romania vs. 16% in Bosnia Herzegovina and 12% in Czech Republic (Kutnjak Ivkovic & Shelley, 2008, p. 455). Even if limited, these cross-cultural comparisons show that the future Romanian police appear to have a higher tolerance toward corrupt behavior and excessive use of force by police than law enforcement officers in other countries do. From the corruption control and democratization perspectives (see Kutnjak Ivkovic & Shelley, 2008, p. 468), it is somewhat discouraging that the code of silence, shared especially by the male police cadets, appears to be relatively strong not only for minor forms of corruption (e.g., acceptance of gratuities or holiday gifts), but also for more serious transgressions, such as illegal ownership of an off-duty business, acceptance of kickbacks, and police brutality.

One objective of this analysis was to determine if there are gender differences in attitudes toward police misconduct. Although results show that males and females rank similarly the scenarios in terms of the seriousness of the misconduct, the overall score for the included transgressions is significantly higher for the female students, indicating that women tend to perceive the transgressions as being more severe than their male counterparts do. Compared to men, women also recommend more severe disciplinary measures for the majority (70%) of scenarios discussed in this paper. Yet, only in two cases the differences in opinions are statistically significant (i.e., women believe that the excessive use of force and the operation of a private business should receive harsher punishments). Similar to findings reported by prior studies (Klockars et al., 2000; Kutnjak Ivkovic & Shelley, 2008; Vito et al., 2011) in both gender groups there is a positive correlation between the perceived severity of the transgression and one's willingness to report it to superiors. Results also show that the code of silence is shared by a relatively large proportion of the future Romanian police officers. At least one third of the respondents in each gender group acknowledged that they would tolerate in silence the majority of the cases of misconduct (six out of ten) included in Klockars's scale. Only in two cases (opportunistic theft and bribe), the majority of respondents declared that they would (definitely) report the misconduct. Although statistically significant differences in responses when gender is taken into account are registered only in three cases, it can be observed that for eight out of ten scenarios the proportion of men unwilling to report misconduct surpasses the proportion of women who share the same attitude. In sum, it could be concluded that even if there is evidence showing a potential for unethical behavior in both gender groups, the future Romanian female officers appear to have a lower level of tolerance toward corruption than their male colleagues.

Nonetheless, additional research is needed to clearly determine if the occupational culture of police, which continues to be male dominated not only in Romania, may change with an increase in the number of female police officers. Although many assume that an increased participation of women in law enforcement will lead to higher ethical standards in policing (see Prenzler, 2002), it is difficult to predict that this will actually happen in the near future in Romania or elsewhere. As Corsianos (2009, p.111) noted, women in police often find themselves in a conflictual situation. Female police officers may believe more than men that being ethical means respecting the law and the administrative rules, but in the same time women in law enforcement want to be accepted as equals by their male colleagues. And in order to fit in, women are expected not to violate the widely accepted gender norms. Therefore being disloyal to the 'brotherhood' by refusing to cover up unethical or questionable conduct might have ripple effects that could negatively affect the female police officers' capacity to really challenge the existing male solidarity in policing and the patriarchal values of the police culture.

All Romanian police officers have the obligation to respect the rules and regulations stipulated in the Romanian Police Officer's *Code of Ethics and Deontology* (Government of Romania, 2005). Among others, the code of ethics acknowledges that a police officer has to show integrity (i.e., to behave in accordance with the ethical norms accepted and practiced in society) and has to demonstrate loyalty toward the police and its institutional values. Article 19 of the Code stipulates that a police officer is not allowed to tolerate corruption and to abuse the public authority the police are invested with. The code also forbids a police officer to demand or accept money or other material gains as a compensation for fulfilling his/her professional duties. According to the Code, a police officer should take action against any internal institutional corruption, having the obligation to inform his/her superiors and other specialized units about any act of corruption the officer becomes aware of. Law enforcement employees are forbidden to solve their personal problems by making use of their professional position. Regarding the use of force by police, Article 9 of the Code states that police should use excessive force only in extreme situations, in response to serious threats or physical violence directed at them or other persons. In addition, the police officer should always show respect for the human dignity when making use of force in the execution of the police duties (Government of Romania, 2005).

The future Romanian police officers who study at the Police Academy are taught the norms and regulations included in the code and special classes focusing on what constitutes ethical and legal police behavior are part of the curriculum. Since students who participated in this study were not interviewed before they started their undergraduate education at the Police Academy, it is quite difficult to assess the real impact of ethics education on students' attitudes toward issues related to police misconduct. In addition, this pilot study was not able to gather information regarding the motivations behind certain attitudes expressed by the students and it is difficult to explain why certain beliefs (e.g., high tolerance of police brutality), which are reminiscent of the former communist militia are shared by a relatively large number of individuals who were at the most in their infancy at the fall of the communist regime in Romania, approximately twenty-two years ago. Additional research is required to better understand the organizational culture of the Romanian police and the possible generational transmission of cultural values that might inhibit the improvement of ethical police standards. Nevertheless, despite its limitations, this exploratory analysis suggest that in addition to the implementation of stricter recruitment procedures that should include complex integrity testing of the future police officers, more needs to be done during the educational and training processes at the Police Academy to change the corruption-tolerant mentalities, to alter the misplaced loyalties toward fellow officers who misbehave and disrespect the human rights, and to inculcate the behavioral and ethical norms pertaining to democratic policing.

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Appendix

Case Scenarios
1. A police officer runs his own private business in which he sells and installs security devices, such as alarms, special locks, etc. He does this work during his off-duty hours.
2. A police officer routinely accepts free meals, cigarettes, and other items of small value from merchants on his beat. He does not solicit these gifts and is careful not to abuse the generosity of those who give gifts to him.
3. A police officer stops a motorist for speeding. The officer agrees to accept a personal gift of half of the amount of the fine in exchange for not issuing a citation.
4. A police officer is widely liked in his community, and on holidays local merchants and restaurant and bar owners show their appreciation for his attention by giving him gifts of food and liquor.
5. A police officer discovers a burglary in a jewelry shop. The display cases are smashed and it is obvious that many items have been taken. While searching the shop, he takes a watch, worth about two days' pay for that officer. He reports that the watch had been stolen during the burglary.
6. A police officer has a private arrangement with a local auto body shop to refer the owners of cars damaged in accidents to the shop. In exchange for each referral, he receives payment of 5% of the repair bill from the shop owner.
7. A police officer, who happens to be a very good auto-mechanic, is scheduled to work during coming holidays. A supervisor offers to give him these days off, if he agrees to tune up his supervisor's personal car. Evaluate the supervisor's behavior.
8. At 2:00 a.m., a police officer, who is on duty, is driving his patrol car on a deserted road. He sees a vehicle that has been driven off the road and is stuck in a ditch. He approaches the vehicle and observes that the driver is not hurt but is obviously intoxicated. He also finds that the driver is a police officer. Instead of reporting this accident and offense, he transports the driver to his home.
9. Two police officers on foot patrol surprise a man who is attempting to break into an automobile. The man flees. They chase him for about two blocks before apprehending him by tackling him and wrestling him to the ground. After he is under control, both officers punch him a couple of times in the stomach as punishment for fleeing and resisting.
10. A police officer finds a wallet in a parking lot. It contains an amount of money equivalent to a full day's pay for that officer. He reports the wallet as lost property but keeps the money for himself.

Source: Kutnjak Ivkovic & Shelley, 2008, pp. 471-472.

The Paradox of Post-Bureaucracy: Trust Formation among State Administration Employees in Finland

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Abstract

This paper discusses civil servants' trust in management under conditions of organizational change. The paper draws on a survey and qualitative interview material collected from five knowledge-intensive public sector organizations in Finland. The results indicate that the post-bureaucratic model of organizing work in Finnish state administration may increase insecurity and decrease trust among employees. The paper serves as a reminder that all organizational models have their costs and benefits. Traditional bureaucracy fosters predictability and longevity in employee relations. In this respect, the post-bureaucratic model of organizing work may not always be as effective in generating trust as traditional bureaucracy is.

Keywords: Bureaucracy, Public Sector Reform, Post-bureaucracy, Trust, State Administration, Finland

Introduction

Public sector management is in flux. New managerial practices, many of them adopted from the private sector, have shaped the structures and practices of public sector organizations across the OECD-countries (Hood, 1996; OECD, 2000; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004). Efforts to repair the damage done by recent economic downturn will probably accelerate ongoing reforms. Finland, the case highlighted in this paper, has in this respect followed the lead of other industrialized countries.

In parallel with ongoing public sector change, there has been a growing interest in intangible assets, such as social capital and trust. It is argued that in order to prosper both private and public sector organizations should discard formal control mechanisms and hierarchies and replace them with trust-based, horizontal coordination (Adler, 2001; Bijlsma-Frankema & Costa, 2005; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998).

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According to this line of argument, post-bureaucratic forms of work organization constitute a new frontier of managerial control. When rigid hierarchies are discarded, employees internalize the same values and goals as management. However, the abandonment of bureaucratic control is not always welcomed. Among employees it may heighten feelings of suspicion and create opposition (Witteck & van de Bunt, 2004).

Are these two trajectories, the emergence of post-bureaucratic managerial principles and the importance given to trust, mutually compatible? Do post-bureaucratic organizations engender a sense of trust in the public sector context?

In the following these questions are addressed from the point of view of individual employees in the service of Finnish state administration. The aim of the article is to *explore factors related to civil servants' trust in their supervisors under post-bureaucratic conditions*. The analysis draws on survey data (N=440) and qualitative material collected from five organizations.

The case of Finland

In Finland public sector reform has been faster than in most other OECD-countries (Temmes, 1998; Tiili, 2008). Until recently the basic structures of Finnish public administration, which can be regarded as administrative-legalistic, were relatively stable.

After the economic recession of the early 1990s, when Finland faced a recession that was more severe than in any other European country (Kalela et al., 2001), a wave of reforms swept the country. While the economic crisis was exceptionally deep, leaving certain parts of the population worse off than before, the recovery that followed was also dramatic. By the turn of the millennium Finland was well and truly back on its feet again (Andersson, 2008). Consequently, many of the reforms that got underway in the 1990s, such as performance-based pay systems for civil servants, were completed by the millennium.

The modernization of Finnish public administration has followed the Nordic model of New Public Management (NPM), which is less neo-liberal and more moderate than the Anglo-Saxon model. In line with this ideology, reforms like the utilization of market mechanisms, privatization, total quality management (TQM) and management by results have been introduced. Although Finland has a tradition of being an active member in many international organizations (e.g. in OECD since 1969), it has not slavishly followed management fashions but rather carefully selected and piloted those ideas considered suitable for Finnish needs (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004).

In more practical terms, most of the reforms have been designed to decentralize decision-making from central administration (ministries) to single agencies (offices, institutes), with a view to increasing flexibility in organizing work and developing a stronger customer orientation. In contrast to the trend of decentralization in decision-making, economic power in Finnish state administration is increasingly centralized. The concentration of economic power also stems from aspirations to improve cost efficiency and build more effective mechanisms of accountability in the public sector.

These changes have coincided with Finland's growing international reputation as one of the most competitive information societies in the world (Blom, Melin & Pyöriä, 2002; Pyöriä, 2007; Schienstock, 2007). The quest for competitiveness comes at a price, though. Although Finland can still be regarded as a Nordic welfare state, social inequality and income differentials have been on the increase since the mid-1990s (OECD, 2010).

Furthermore, the most recent economic downturn that started from the United States in 2008 and soon spread to Europe has induced Finland to continue a neo-liberal restructuring programme endorsing the virtues of privatization, deregulation and the downsizing of the public sector. Obviously, this spells increasing uncertainty among public sector employees that may lead to the erosion of organizational commitment.

Trust and psychological contract

In the 1970s, bureaucracy was widely considered the ideal model for organizing work in the public sector. In the 1980s, however, ideals started to change when many OECD-countries initiated public sector reforms. These reforms were based on the idea that the market instead of government is the best allocator of scarce resources (Hood, 1996).

Instead of predictability and clear hierarchies, today's organizations are expected to be lean and flexible (Heckscher & Donnellon, 1994). In the public sector context post-bureaucratic organizations are seen as a means of achieving savings, improving the quality of services, enhancing the efficiency of government, and increasing the chances that chosen policies are effective (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004).

In a post-bureaucratic environment, public sector professionals are made accountable not only to their direct supervisors but also to government, funding bodies and clients. The price paid for this shift has been a growth of centralized audit monitoring, with a consequent decline in trust and collegiality (Alvesson & Thompson, 2004).

To understand individual reactions to these changes it is useful to turn to the concept of psychological contract (see, e.g., Rousseau, 1995). Psychological contract refers to an employee's perception of what they owe to the employer and what the employer owes to them. The norm of reciprocity is the basic social mechanism underlying the contract.

However, if an employee feels that the contractual obligations are not met, then their trust in the employer will be eroded. This may spill over to affect the employee's trust in upper management and organizational commitment. Although the empirical evidence remains mixed and varies from country to country, it is safe to say that amidst the tumultuous public sector reforms of late, civil servants' expectations have been breached. In Finland, this is seen in the fact that temporary employment contracts, for example, are twice as common in the public sector as in private enterprises. In 2008 over twenty per cent of Finnish public sector workers had a fixed-term contract, whereas in the private sector the corresponding figure was eight per cent (Lehto & Sutela, 2009).

Importantly, psychological contract cannot be sustained without trust. Empirical studies support the theoretical idea that trust lubricates relations between partners and organizational processes by promoting a variety of voluntary behaviours that enhance trust-building and performance (Bijlsma-Frankema & Costa, 2005). These include psychological security, belief in information and acceptance of influence, mutual learning, attribution of positive motives, and positive outcomes such as high levels of cooperation and performance.

Trust as a coordination mechanism

It is often argued that while knowledge has become increasingly important for the economy, it has made institutions dependent on trust. According to Adler (2001), economic and organizational theory has shown that, in comparison to trust, the two conventional mechanisms of coordination – market/price and hierarchy/authority – are relatively ineffective means of dealing with knowledge assets. In line with Adler's theory, we emphasize the role of trust as a mechanism of coordination. It helps reduce transaction costs by replacing formal contracts with informal networking (*idem*, 2001, p. 219).

Because of its inherent complexity and its situation-specific characteristics, the concept of trust has been defined in many different ways (Blomqvist, 1997; Kramer & Cook, 2004). On a general level, trust can be defined as a belief that a person who is trusted will behave according to expectations, and, respectively, that they will not take advantage of the person who trusts them, even if there is the possibility for opportunistic behaviour (Cummings & Bromiley, 1996). Since trust is directed towards the future, the possibility of betrayal is always present.

According to Lewis and Weigert (1985), trust has a cognitive, emotional and behavioural side, which are connected in social reality. We consider carefully who and how to trust and in what circumstances. We connect emotionally to one another and therefore a betrayal, for example, causes emotional pain to both parties involved. We also constantly need to trust different kinds of people and institutions – even those we encounter for the first time.

Nooteboom (2002, p. 10) suggests that to create a more systematic conceptualization of trust, we should distinguish between three elements of trust: what can we have trust in (things, people, institutions, organizations), what are the relations between these different levels of trust and what are the main aspects of trust (competence, intentions)?

It is also important to notice the dynamic nature of trust (Kramer & Cook, 2004). Trust is not a static phenomenon but prone to either increase or decrease, as social and economic exchange is in constant flux. For example, Blau (1964) has suggested that social exchange both requires trusting others to discharge their obligations and also generates trust by expanding the cycle of mutual exchange of services. In more practical terms, empirical studies drawing on social exchange theory have shown that employees trust management more when they are allowed to participate in decision-making and decide about their own work (Deci, Connell & Ryan, 1989).

Although trust is a powerful coordination mechanism, exclusive reliance on it has certain limitations and costs, as does every organizational structure. However, in favourable conditions trust provides the strongest possible foundation for fruitful collaboration especially in small groups, such as in teams of professionals working on a joint project (Coleman, 1990; Groth, 1999). The more time is invested in building trust, the more the investment will pay back in terms of higher morale and efficiency.

Research setting and questions

In the following analysis, our focus is on *subordinates' trust in their supervisor under post-bureaucratic conditions*. What is essential is to embed this inter-personal confidence into a wider context – to embed it under conditions where institutional trust (Luhmann, 1988; Sztompka, 1999) is under pressure.

In our definition, trust in supervisor is a three dimensional concept (*cf.* Nooteboom, 2002). It comprises subordinate's trust in his/her supervisor's (1) leadership and (2) management skills and (3) benevolence. These dimensions affect subordinates' behaviour and need to be on some minimum level to facilitate and sustain trust in employee relations. In more concrete terms, our research questions are:

1. What kind of threats and changes Finnish civil servants have experienced in their work?
2. How much civil servants trust in their supervisor's competence and benevolence?

The survey data (N=440) for this study were collected from five state administration organizations in Finland (for a comprehensive research report, see Koivumäki, 2008). To ensure the suitability of the organizations for the study, qualitative interviews were conducted before the survey (one in each organization). Additional data were collected via e-mail. Survey respondents were also given the possibility to give feedback after completing the questionnaire.

A questionnaire was mailed to all employees not occupying managerial positions in these organizations (between 29 March 2006 and 19 May 2006). Questionnaires were completed by 440 employees, resulting in a response rate of 46.5 per cent. No significant differences were found between the sample and population for type of employment contract (permanent vs. contingent), gender, age or occupational/educational group. Space was also provided in the questionnaire for comments.

Comparisons of the responses (distributions and means) to some key variables, such as trust in management and perceived insecurity factors (threats) in work, indicate that civil servants have very similar experiences across different Finnish state administration organizations. This was expected *a priori* because of the heavily centralized strategy of public management reforms in Finland (*cf.* Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2004; Tiili, 2008).

The contradictory work situation of Finnish civil servants

The decline of bureaucracy has created shared experiences of insecurity among employees across all branches of the economy. This is clearly seen in our survey results. The insecurity factors illustrated in Figure 1 are interpreted as reflecting confidence in the employer/employment, on the one hand, and a sense of psychological control (Fiske & Taylor, 1984), on the other.

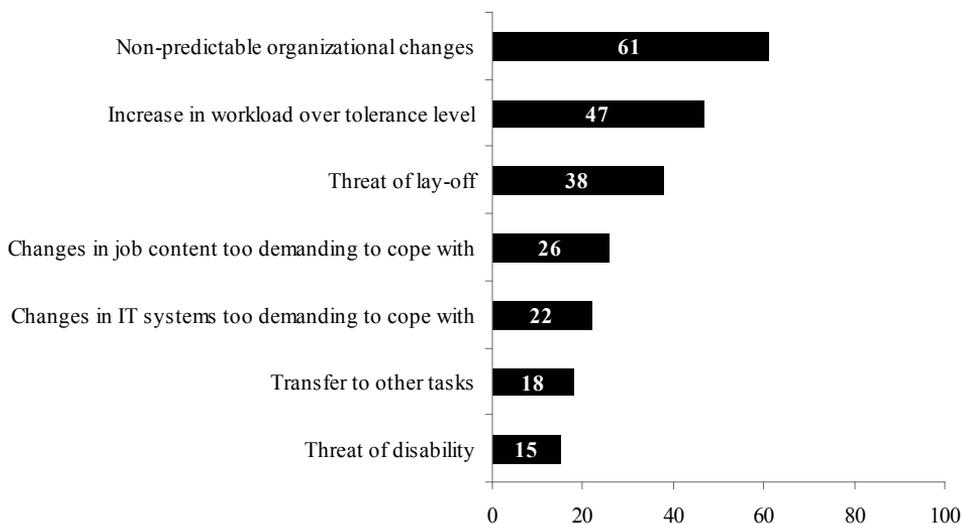


Figure 1: *Per cent of employees who perceive threats in their work (2006)*

61 per cent of the respondents perceive unpredictable organizational changes as a threat in their work. This reflects low confidence in upper management and severe problems in vertical communication. Low employee confidence in the employer and in employment prospects is also reflected in the responses of those 38 per cent who perceive a threat of lay-offs. This figure is surprisingly high in view of the fact that real layoffs in Finnish state administration have been very rare. Perhaps the result is an indication of what is expected to happen in the near future – possibly in the next phase of organizational reform. Almost half of the respondents also fear that their workload may increase to exceed their tolerance level.

The qualitative material supports the survey results. The interviews reflect civil servants' low confidence in upper management:

People are treated like cattle; new, absurd salary systems are created, relevant measures for results do not exist – measures used are completely worthless. (...) The blame is laid on shop-floor level supervisors who are educated to improve the well-being of their subordinates, although many of the current problems are caused by the upper management.

The weakest link of our organization is, regrettably, upper management. They have railroaded a reform that doesn't work at all. They have alienated themselves from the daily working life of the organization; the workplace is in chaos. They have no idea how to lead a research organization. They are the source of exhaustion and insecurity. (...) They don't listen to the messages from the field.

As illustrated in Figure 2, employees were asked to evaluate retrospectively how, if at all, their job had changed in recent years.

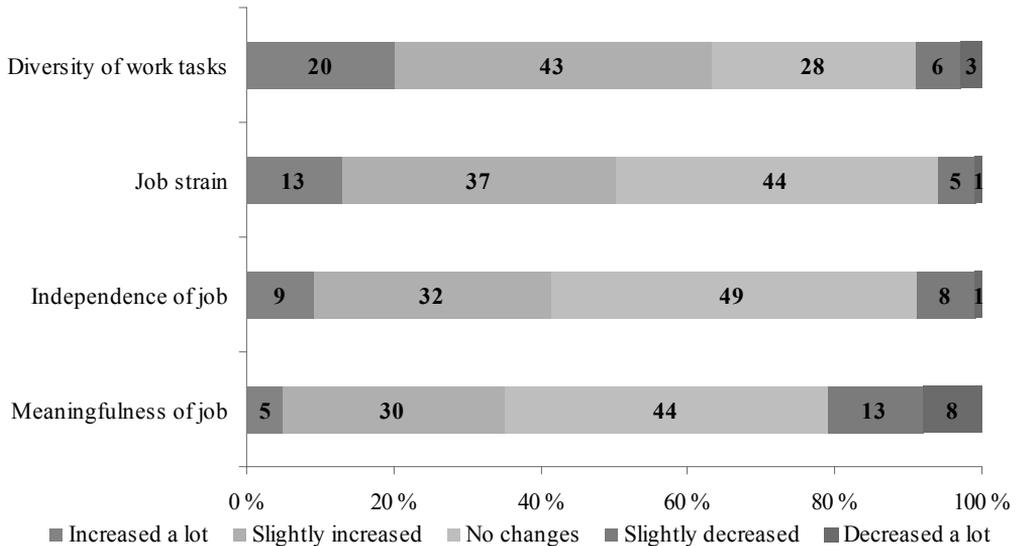


Figure 2: *Perceived changes in the nature of work in recent years (2006)*

It seems that there have been more positive changes than negative ones. 41 per cent of the respondents feel that they have greater independence on the job, while almost half perceive no changes; 35 per cent perceive an increased meaningfulness of work (44% perceives no changes); and a high 63 per cent feel that the diversity of their work tasks has increased (28% perceive no changes). At the same time, however, half of the respondents feel that levels of job strain have also increased, whereas only 13 per cent feel there is less strain on the job. This seeming paradox whereby an increased sense of job meaningfulness coincides with increasing levels of strain of job can be explained by the assumption that experiences of job strain are influenced not so much by the nature of work, but more by the environment in which the job is done.

It also seems that the conflicting trends towards operational decentralization, on the one hand, and strategic centralization, on the other, indeed add up to contradictions that are reflected in individual attitudes. It seems evident that people's sense of insecurity has increased, even though they feel their jobs are more interesting and that they have more autonomy than before. How can this be explained? Reed (1995) argues that under post-bureaucratic forms of control, a bifurcation emerges between strategic and operational levels of decision-making, with a process of 'decentralized centralization' dominating at all organizational levels. A framework of more extensive and intensive financial and informational control is put in place which closely monitors and regulates the actual exercise of delegated authority by 'front-line' staff.

Let us now turn our attention to the workplace and proceed to consider questions of supervisory trust. The measure of trust is based on three direct questions concerning trust in the supervisor's competencies and benevolence. Following traditional leadership theories (e.g. Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978; Fiedler, 1967; Fox, 1974), competence is divided into two dimensions: trust in the supervisor's competence to lead people and competence to manage things. The distinction between competence-based trust and trust in benevolence (intentions), then, draws on more recent organization theory (Nooteboom, 2002), which is supported by the qualitative data collected for this study.

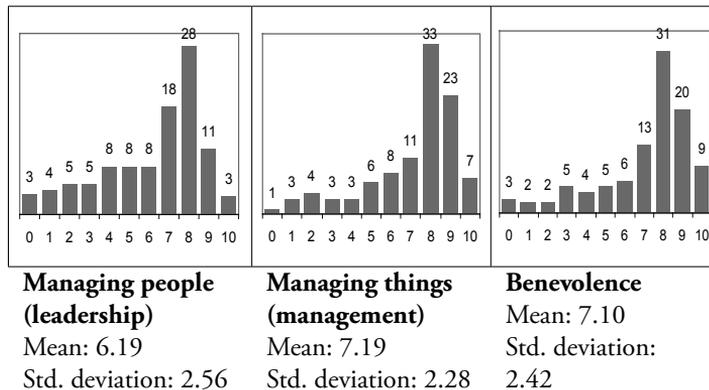


Figure 3: 'How much do you trust your supervisor's competence in managing people and managing things, and how much do you trust his/her benevolence?' (0 = no trust ... 10 = complete trust); Frequencies (%), means and standard deviations

Figure 3 shows that state employees' trust in their supervisors' leadership skills is lower (mean 6.19) than the corresponding trust scores for managing things and benevolence. This result can be interpreted as representing the heritage of bureaucracy, where promotions were based on seniority and professional competence. Today, however, increasing emphasis is placed on people management skills. Nevertheless, not all employees have embraced and accepted the 'new meritocracy' (Sennett, 2006), as is clear from the following quotation from a survey respondent:

The senior management of [our] expert organization is incompetent. Many of our great leaders don't even have a doctoral degree, which is a basic requirement for an independent researcher just about anywhere. So how can these people be expected to understand the creative and innovative aspects of the researcher's job? (...) 'A good character' goes before all other competencies. You just have to be one of the good guys, that counts more than all your qualifications put together. Administration is based on the use of outside consultants who spread their flashy management doctrines without even translating them into Finnish. (...) If someone in our organization today were to discover gunpowder, development would be halted immediately because it is not in line with our strategy.

We interpret this vociferous criticism to reflect a sense on the part of employees that many supervisors do not really know how they should respond to the contradictory demands of strategic concentration and operational decentralization. In the worst case scenario, contradictory

demands lead to outright cynicism – a kind of *laissez faire* organizational culture which may have a demoralizing impact on wider legal and political cultures surrounding public sector organizations (Dingwall & Strangleman, 2004).

Concluding remarks

As the case of Finnish state administration goes to show, the development of managerial coordination in the public sector has had contradictory consequences. First, decision-making has been decentralized, but at the same time economic power remains very much concentrated.

In line with this trend, formalized procedures such as TQM and other metrics adopted from the private sector have been introduced to the state administration. The quality of public sector operations and services is assessed on a continuous basis, for example by collecting comprehensive statistics on employment relationships and human resources.

Second, there are indications of a tendency to strengthen the market form of employment relations. Different kinds of performance incentives are a case in point. The entire public sector has pay schemes based on job evaluation and performance appraisal, with a view to improving the competitive edge of the public sector as an employer. This is a paradox because civil servants' performance incentives are not on a par with private sector employees.

Third, public sector organizations are trying to improve their knowledge management capabilities by strengthening employees' trust and commitment. However, predictability, one of the key attributes of traditional bureaucracies, is essential for the establishment of trust between employees and management (Hodson, 2005). Moreover, the development of an organization's social capital requires time and stable employment (Leana & van Buren, 1999). Because organizational social capital is built over time but can be quickly destroyed by such trust-breaking behaviour as violating a psychological contract, a long rather than short term orientation in employee relations should be the norm. This is in sharp contrast with the fact that in Finland fixed-term contracts are more common in the public sector than in private enterprises.

Many characteristics related to traditional bureaucracy, and lost with de-bureaucratization, such as well-defined work roles and 'assertive' leadership, are essential to the formation of trust. This is yet another paradox because the post-bureaucratic model of organizing work *per se* is more dependent on trust (self-managed teams, functional flexibility, etc.) than traditional bureaucracies based on formal rather than informal mechanisms of coordination.

Recent public sector reforms and NPM in particular have violated trust between employees and representatives of the employer. Clearly, this has had a demoralizing effect on employee relations. Fortunately though, Finnish citizens still trust in public sector institutions and appreciate the quality of social services they provide. This is explained by the fact that Finland is one of the least corrupted countries in the world. However, all this may change if the commitment of civil servants and other public sector workers erodes because of flawed human resource management.

In this article we have pointed out some major problems inherent in recent organizational changes in the context of Finnish public sector. Despite the critical tone of this article, it has not been our intention to lay the blame upon practising managers. Public sector managers work under considerable pressure and are victims of the system in the same way as their subordinates are.

Should we hark back to bureaucracies? No, there is no turning back to earlier times. If we want to ensure employee commitment and organizational effectiveness in the public sector, then we'd better learn how to combine trust with flexibility.

Acknowledgements

Jaakko Koivumäki would like to thank Professor Sarah Vickerstaff and Dr. Tim Strangleman from the University of Kent at Canterbury and Elina Koivumäki for support. Both authors gratefully acknowledge the financial support received from the Academy of Finland (project No. 133104).

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Uwe Flick, *Introducing Research Methodology. A Beginner's Guide to Doing a Research Project*, Sage Publications, 2011, 296 p.

Book review

As the title suggests, Flick's book provides the reader an introduction to research methodology, presenting in a friendly manner the approach that young researchers must follow for the implementation of their social research projects. What makes this guide special is the way in which it is structured and the style used for explanations and clarifications. If, in other handbooks, the abundance of details and the cumbersome presentation style produce fears and resistance toward research methodology, the work of Flick, throughout the richness of examples, develops from the first pages a friendly and understanding relationship between the reader and the subject in question. The book enjoys the benefits of Flick's personal research experience, but also his personal experience in teaching research methodology and supervising students' research projects.

The book is addressed to young researchers at the beginning of their career. It represents a clear overview of the main approaches used in social research. Even though research methodology specific to social sciences can be seen as overwhelming in the eyes of the beginners, this book manages to overcome this drawback and create a positive orientation for readers to learn. It offers logical and clear guidance, revealing the route that any high quality research needs to follow.

Being primarily a specialist in qualitative research field, Uwe Flick, author of several books on qualitative methodology, succeeds in this guide to combine in a clear and comprehensive manner both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. This feature is extremely important because the relationship between the two methodologies has been discussed in great details and has raised many questions and challenges for social sciences researchers.

Flick wants this guide not only to make readers understand the results of available researches in social sciences, but also to allow them to plan their own research. For this reason, the book has a logical structure that makes it comprehensible and enjoyable. The book is structured on the four main steps necessary for the successful completion of a research project: orientation - deciding, planning - designing, working -analyzing and writing - reflecting. Throughout the guide these steps are found in each chapter, detailed as follows: *Orientation*: What is social research?, Research question, Literature review; *Planning and design*: Planning research, Designing research, Deciding research; *Working with data*: Gathering data, Analyzing data, E-research, Integrated research; *Reflection and writing*: Evaluating research, Ethics, Writing and using research. Each chapter begins with the presentation of the main objectives, clarifying what the chapter is designed for. In this way the reader is informed from the beginning about the information that is expected to be learned after reading the chapter and the role of this information in conducting a research project. Each chapter has a navigator which guides the young researcher on the stage as to the location of his/her research (*You are here in your project!*). At the end of each chapter readers can find a checklist and key points that are very useful for a quick review and final structuring of information. Each chapter has suggestions for further readings and for young researchers the glossary at the end of the book may also come in handy. The whole guide is filled with boxes; tables and figures to structure the information, explaining social research methodology issues in an attractive manner.

The first part of the book refers to the stage where the researcher needs to pick his/her research topic and decide further approaches. This is the step where the research idea is emerging. In order to stimulate and ambition students to engage in research projects, from the beginning Flick reveals the differences between everyday knowledge and scientific knowledge. The first chapter of this part aims to introduce the beginner in the field of social research. "Social research is the systematic analysis of research questions by using empirical methods" (p. 6). Social researchers need to describe, understand and explain.

We draw special attention to the section where Flick presents the qualitative and quantitative research methodologies together. This kind of approach is found throughout other chapters where the author decides to clear out the qualitative-quantitative dilemma in a comparative manner. After describing each research types, Flick draws the differences, the common aspects and the advantages and disadvantages of using one or other research approach. The bottom line is that the researcher is responsible for deciding which of the two research methodologies he/she will use based on the research questions. Also, he/she might combine the two of them and thus overcome the advantages and disadvantages of each approach.

Young researchers at the beginning of their research projects need to establish and formulate their research questions. These questions have to be clear and goal-oriented because it depends on them how the investigation will occur (p. 24). Also a good research question will lead to a more explicit hypothesis that will be tested empirically. Before beginning planning and designing their research, young researchers should search for and read about other studies relevant in their research field. In order to make progress in the research field, a line has to be drawn between what is already known and what needs to be revealed. Documentation and theoretical synthesis clears the link between the research questions and the empirical stage of the research project.

The second part of Flick's book deals with the planning and designing of research projects. This is the intermediary stage in the research activity, planning before involving the empirical study in the actual work. At the beginning of the 4th chapter, Flick presents an overview of the research process. He stresses out 19 steps for the quantitative research: selection of a research problem, systematic searching of the literature, formulation of the research question, formulating a hypothesis, operationalization, developing a project plan or research design, sampling, selecting the appropriate methods, access to the research site, data collection, documentation of data, analyzing the data, interpretation of results, discussion of the findings and their interpretations, evaluation and generalization, presentation of the results and the study, using the results, develop new research questions, a new study (pp. 48-53). For a non-standardized qualitative research steps are discussed in a more condensed manner. There are: steps 1-6: selection of a research problem, searching the literature, research question, access; step 7: sampling, collection, documentation and analysis of data, Step 8-13: discussion, generalization, use of results and new research questions (pp. 54-56) (for a comparative overview see table from p. 58).

What researchers need to do in order to shape up their research plans is to develop the research proposal and the timescale. Research proposals are structured on the following aspects: an introduction (brief description of the background of the project and project's relevance), the research problem (theoretical synthesis, current state of knowledge and gaps in the existing studies), the purpose of the study, the research questions, the methods and procedures (strategy, design, data collection, data analysis, quality issues), ethical issues, expected results, significance and practical implication, pilot study findings, own experience, timeline, budget, references (pp. 62-63). The timescale manages the time needed for each step of the research project.

The research design is essential in research planning. According to Flick, there are two key points in designing a research: to be sure that you answer the research question and to be able to control for external and contextual effects (p.65). In a standardized research one can decide for the following designs: use a control group (it makes possible to measure the real effect attributed to an independent variable), experimental design (use of at least two groups where the researcher

has to intervene on the independent variable in order to measure the changing effect), pre-post design (using a pre-test measurement can reveal the effect of the external variables), cross-sectional and longitudinal studies (planning a long-term measurement can reveal the change of the variable overtime; it ensures trends analyses) (pp. 66-68). In a non-standardized research, one can decide to use case studies (describing significant cases for the study), comparative studies (observe several cases and identify differences in particular aspects), retrospective studies (analysis of events and processes relevant to the history of an individual or a community), snapshots (focus at the moment of the investigation) and longitudinal studies (long-term researches) (pp. 68-70). Regardless of the chosen research design, researchers have to assess the sample needed for the study. Most of the researches are based on samples, but following the sampling procedures will ensure later generalization of the research results to the whole population.

After planning and designing, researchers have some deciding to make. Flick presents ten decisions that researchers have to make: deciding the research problem, the aim of the study, the theoretical framework, the research question, the needed resources, the sample and comparison, the methods, standardization and control, generalization and presentation (pp. 82-95). These decisive steps are described both for standardized and non-standardized researches. In the way the chapter section is structured, Flick helps the young researcher to decide between quantitative and qualitative approaches. There are well known debates around this topic, but the fact that Flick prefers to present them together in a comparative manner, succeeds to clarify the advantages of each methodology and to show how the decision for one of them can affect the entire scientific investigation, from the planning stage to the concrete analysis and interpretation of the results.

The 3rd part of the book focuses on the working part of a research project. First Flick presents the gathering data methods for both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Data collection can be achieved through questionnaire surveys, interviews or focus-groups, observation, experiments or documentary. For each form, Flick discusses issues regarding measurement, scaling and structure of instruments. Chapter 8 presents the main forms of data analysis. Specific techniques for quantitative as well as qualitative content analysis are described (pp. 133-140). After content analysis, the author turns to the presentation of general aspects regarding quantitative data analysis and qualitative data analysis (interpretative analysis). For quantitative data analysis researchers need to create the database, correct possible errors in the database (missing values, coding errors, etc.) and then conduct univariate (frequencies, central tendency analysis, dispersion), bivariate or multivariate analyses. On the other hand, for the interpretative analysis, researchers can choose from different procedures of working with a text – open coding, axial coding and selective coding (p. 148), thematic coding (p. p. 152) or hermeneutic procedures (narrative analysis, objective hermeneutics, conversation analysis, discourse analysis) (pp. 153-160). Another available design specific to non-standardized research is the case study. Based on case studies, with systematic comparisons, researchers are able to identify relevant dimensions and create typologies.

Post-modern society has experienced profound changes due to the development of the technology and it made sense for scientific research to follow the same course. Therefore, online research is a new approach found in scientific research. The present guide assigns a special chapter to discuss the issues of E-Researching. There are great examples of research topics that can be approached through online surveys.

Considering the limitations of each research method and by combining different types of research approaches, Flick sustains that researchers are not required to restrict themselves to use a one single method. In their research designs, researchers can use mixed methods, conduct integrated social researches or use E-research as a complementary strategy.

It is not enough for researchers to plan their research project and apply the research methods. For a research to be complete, scientists need to reflect upon the results and write the research report. First of all, researchers need to make sure that their empirical research is reliable, design, instruments and indices are valid and the objectivity criterion is followed. Based on these criteria,

results can be generalized. A researcher in social sciences field also needs to take into account the ethical principles in quantitative and qualitative approaches that guide the whole research projects. There are rules of data confidentiality, anonymity and data protection that need to be followed when research results are disseminated among the scientific community.

The final chapter of the beginner's guide refers to the communication of the research findings. Quantitative and qualitative research results are important not only for the scientific community, but also participants in the research might be interested in the main findings of the project. Quantitative research reports need to include: presentation of the research problem, the conceptual framework, the research question, method and data collection, analysis, conclusions, discussions (p. 231). Qualitative research reports have the following structure: introduction (general aspects, main contours, collecting materials, setting details, report organization), the situation (analytical categories, contrast between situation and other situations, development of situation over time), strategies of interaction, summary and implications (p. 235).

As the author himself admits, "to learn methods can be exhausting and painful" (p. 15), but the way that the book is organized enables students and young researchers to learn and succeed in making them able to design and implement their own research projects.

Sorana Săveanu

**Paul Dekker & Loek Halman (Eds.),
The Values of Volunteering. Cross-
Cultural Perspectives, Kluwer
Academic/Plenum Publishers, New
York, Boston, Dordrecht, London,
Moscow, 2003, 226 p.**

Book review

Although volunteering is an age-old social phenomenon, its theoretical issues and empirical research have been gaining ground currently, and it applies to the post-socialist countries as well. This is why the English language book consisting of eleven challenging Chapters by various authors is worth considering. The volume to be reviewed focuses on theoretical issues of volunteering such as its definition, motivations, micro- and macro-level determinants, and especially the relationship between volunteering and values. In the empirical Chapters mostly the data related to several countries and cultures are processed by means of quantitative, e.g. multi-variable methods.

Definitions and the new type of volunteering

The definition of volunteering is raised in several studies of the book. Highlighting the common elements volunteering can be described as a non-obligatory activity, it is carried out for the benefit of others (individuals, or specific organizations or society as a whole), it is unpaid and normally it takes place in an organized context. According to another analysis (Chapter 9) the definition of volunteering is more restricted, it takes place in formal, organized context, its motivation is not altruistic, it is not like a commodity, it is carried out for the benefit of others or society as a whole, it is voluntary and unpaid. In contrast with the definitions used in everyday language some authors (Chapter 2 and 9) emphasize that volunteering is not a purely altruistic activity as it can be beneficial for the individual. According to Chapter 2 defining volunteering, i.e. what actually can be regarded volunteering, is highly dependent on the net costs (the costs of volunteering and minus its benefit). The more voluntary an activity is regarded the more the costs of volunteering surpass the benefit produced by it. However, as data show, countries also differ with regard to what people see as volunteering, which may be due to the diversity in cultures and traditions.

In Chapter 10 the new type of volunteering is described. This type of volunteering is more specialized, less ideological; it demands less from their members than the movements that previously dominated the sector. The traditional volunteering based on values are less appealing, whereas the increase in cultural or leisure oriented volunteering, sports associations, organizations helping disabled, neighbourhood associations can be seen. More and more local organizations are becoming independent from national or regional levels of the organizations. The new pattern of volunteering offers challenging and meaningful activities, activity-oriented, the engagement is for short term and the turnover in the organizations is rather high. These developments are

linked to a general process of individualization, which however cannot be totally identified with egoism. Chapter 7 shows that nowadays the service-oriented attitude is emerging, which creates a climate of trust and results in a more satisfactory and productive relationship between volunteer and recipient, in contrast with the earlier “merely” helping attitude, where reciprocity was not necessarily prevalent.

Micro- and macro determinants of volunteering

Micro- and macro level determinants of volunteering are also investigated in most of the studies. In Chapter 9 the authors have examined the individual determinants of volunteering in Romania such as gender, education, income, social network, religiosity, the size of the settlement, value system and age. Regarding individuals the role of resources such as material, cultural and social capital seems to be essential, with a special emphasis put on the role of social network. In Chapter 3 the impact of social capital is examined in detail. The theoretical predictions have been confirmed by the results to a large extent, namely active engagement in religious institutions, membership in voluntary organization, an extended social network (family and friends) and political activity are closely related to volunteering in most countries. However, contrary to expectations, the relationship between political activity and volunteering was rather mild.

Theories on the motivations of volunteering can be ranked among the micro-level theories of volunteering, as well. Chapter 1 shows that among the effect of values, altruism, solidarity, reciprocity, equity, being helpful, and their relatedness to equality and inequality effect volunteering to a large extent. But volunteering has been widely influenced by the wide-spread role of individualism and it was due to this fact that new patterns of volunteering have emerged, whose motivation is mostly rational, but not necessarily egoistic. Values also have an influence on volunteering at the level of society as a whole and in turn volunteering has an impact on the values of society, e.g. it can reinforce democracy. According to the conclusions of the book volunteering is an important component of civil society, but despite public belief it is not necessarily its essential element.

Among macro-level approaches in Chapter 4 the impact of cultural change (the shift from industrial society to post-industrial society) on volunteering is examined by Ronald Inglehart, and Chapter 5 focuses on the organizational roots of volunteering and its macro-structural determinants. According to “social origin theory” volunteering is rather related to major social and organization patterns and institutions, it is more wide-spread in countries with a more developed non-profit sector.

In Chapter 11 the relationship between volunteering and democratic attitudes is investigated, as well. The general conclusion drawn from the analyses is that volunteering and democracy are not necessarily mutually connected either at individual or national level. Volunteers rated somewhat higher on the democratic attitude scale compared to non-volunteers, even after controlling the effect of variables, such as age, gender and the level of education, but the impact is rather low, much lower than the effect of the level of education on volunteering. The relationship between the rate of volunteering and democratic attitudes seemed to be weak at national level as well. However democracy measured in years and the situation of human rights had strongly affected the frequency of volunteering in a particular country.

In Chapter 12 the result of an ethnographic study in the United States is shown. The author participated in two kinds of voluntary organizations and according to her observations serious doubts arise about the widely accepted idea that volunteering involvement in voluntary associations broadens citizens’ horizons and strengthens their involvement in politics. Volunteers and their leaders described in this Chapter often avoid political discussions in public and rather focus on the tasks to be done. Political discussions may occur in other small groups or at home.

Thus the conclusion of the analysis is that voluntary activities seem to be not very conducive to the development of communities and volunteering to a large extent has turned into an individual activity.

Comparative Analysis of Cross -National Variations

In Chapter 3 and 5 the rate of volunteering and the types of volunteering of various countries is compared. The Northern-European countries and Great Britain are at the top of the list, whereas at the bottom of the list the Eastern-European countries and Latin-American countries can be found. But in most of the advanced democracies, the rate of volunteering is above average. The voluntary activities take place especially in social services, culture and recreation. In Chapter 11, contrary to Robert Putnam's results in the USA, age is not a factor that makes a difference in the level of volunteering. In several countries the rate of volunteering increased even if to a small degree both among the young and the old.

The collapse of communism and the rise of democracy have had effects on volunteering in Central-Eastern Europe. The results in Chapter 8 show the decline of forced, even compulsory volunteering in former communist organizations and the rise of the voluntarism in new organizations based on people's own free will. However this rise was uneven. After the transition years the establishment of civil society contributed to a rapid increase in volunteering, but after the slow-down of the changes the rate of volunteering actually decreased. At the turn of the millennium the rate of volunteering was rather low compared to that of the Western-European countries.

In Chapter 9 the authors focus on Romania, where the rate of volunteering is relatively low as well. This may be due to a high degree of state control and besides Romania appears to be as a country where individual initiatives are not strongly encouraged and supported. Their results show that in Romania it is the legacy of communism (a high degree of state control, and forced volunteering), the traditional agrarian economy before 1945 (volunteering is more established in urbanized areas), the small amount of voluntary organizations, the high levels of poverty and the low level of education, the overwhelmingly strong ties in social networks, the fact that majority of the population belonging to the Orthodox church (the rate of volunteering is higher in Protestant countries) that mainly have had effect on volunteering. All in all the conclusion of the authors is that the lack of individual resources (the three types of capital) and the contextual (group-level) effects may explain why the rate volunteering is so low in Romania.

Evaluation

The strong point of the volume is that it covers a wide range of research results related to volunteering in various cultures and countries (including the comparative analysis of 8-24 countries in terms of the rate and patterns of volunteering in Europe, post-communist countries, Romania, Norway, Canada, USA and Mexico), presenting a wide international spectrum of topics and issues. But the results of the various studies in many cases cannot be compared as different research questions have been examined in various countries by means of different methods and the quality of the studies is sometimes uneven.

Although the volume is concerned with the theoretical issues of volunteering, its approach is rather empirical. But this empirical approach is the main asset of the volume, also due to the high level empirical processing of the data. Multi-variable methods have also been used (but we have to mention that in Chapter 6 some minor methodological errors can be found), besides the outcomes of qualitative studies, such as ethnographic interviews and participants' observations

are also presented. The aim that both theoretical and empirical issues are covered in the volume is highly appreciated, although less emphasis is laid on theoretical implications.

A specific point of interest of the volume, that volunteering is seen in terms of the impact of values and not in terms of the economic outcomes of volunteering, or in terms of the level of non-profit sector, although some of these issues are also dealt with in the studies. It is also very positive that it is not only volunteering in an organized context that is investigated and volunteering is not attached to merely the non-profit sector.

Finally, regarding both theoretical and methodological aspects the studies are conducted at a high level and they highlight the relevance of the sociological research of the topic as well as some of its neglected aspects.

Hajnalka Fényes

Geoff Payne & Malcolm Williams (Eds.), Teaching Quantitative Methods. Getting the Basics Right, Sage, London, 2011, 187 p.

Book review

The volume at hand – Teaching Quantitative Methods. Getting the Basics Right, edited by Geoff Payne and Malcolm Williams – is a systematic and reflexive answer to the so-called ‘problem of numeracy’ that is negatively affecting the global reach of British social sciences. The 11 chapters of the book, including the Introduction written by the editors, are justified by the recognition of difficulties faced by British social science undergraduate programs to equip their students with adequate skills in quantitative research methods and hence discuss the significance of this context as well as solutions to it.

Contrary to what one might expect, the content of the volume raises little to a collection of recipes as to how the quantitative techniques should be taught in the tertiary education in the social sciences curriculum. As the editors of the volume state from the very beginning, they endeavor mostly as being an argument in favor of the need for strengthening of the transmission of statistical skills for several simple reasons: a need to strengthen the place of British social sciences in a worldwide competition of knowledge; the need to improve the skills of British specialists, faced with a global competition of labor but also the fact that the most basic understanding of society, which constitutes the very foundation of active and critical citizenship, requires statistics. The volume editors make it clear from the very beginning that they do not promote statistics and quantitative methods for their vocational virtues – as it is often done by advocates of commodification of higher education – but especially because they really believe in the value of numerical skills for logical reasoning and for scientific methods.

Although it is not within the scope of the book the delivery of strictly technical solutions to the main practical issue that the book is addressing, of improving the numerical skills of social science students at the undergraduate level, the case studies described in the book render some hints to the right directions. This is done either by interpreting the history of quantitative methods in the British sociology and social policy curriculum seen through the lenses of personal experience (a chapter written by Martin Bulmer) or by discussing the experiences of students and teachers involved in various innovations in teaching research methods (chapters by Katharina Adeney, Sean Carey, Jane Falkingham, Teresa McGowan and Jo Wathan) or in describing several large projects which make use of IT instruments for easily sharing of teaching and learning contents (chapters by Rebecca Taylor, Angela Scott and Jackie Carter).

We understand first that there is a strong resistance on behalf of both students and academics against quantitative methods, either per se, or indirectly, as hostility against the rigors that come along in teaching with quantitative methods and statistics. The fact that students involved in projects testing innovative ways of making use of quantitative methods were given material incentives tells a lot about the attitudes of students. As it results from the articles in the book, this situation is mainly related to the interests and ideologies associated with the various disciplines which are perpetrated by the teachers themselves. There are specialties, like political science for instance, in which there is a largely shared opinion that quantitative arguments are marginal

compared to other modes of reasoning within the sciences, a situation which makes the legitimacy of quantitative methods within the curriculum very limited. One practical consequence of this difficult position is that it produces many disincentives against the use of statistics in learning. Student works such as dissertations containing statistical analyses will not receive, for example, rewards considered fair – relative to the amount of extra work - by their authors.

Resistance to quantitative methods on behalf of social science students and staff is associated with the second issue that appears as focal in explaining the difficulties of transferring numerical skills at the undergraduate level: the enclavization or say isolation of the relevant disciplines related to the whole curricula. One of the simple and powerful theses of the editors and authors of the volume (see the first chapters written by Geoff Payne, Malcolm Williams and Matthew David) is that, in order to be effectively learned, quantitative techniques have to be used across the whole curriculum and not only in research methods classes. Two relevant conclusions emerge from here: 1) the decision to adequately teach quantitative methods is a strategic one because it regards all the members of the staff; 2) if taken seriously, such a policy should entail the use of quantitative examples and relevant quantitative research techniques in all classes. Implementation of such a course of action would require a more flexible stance on behalf of members of staff which consider themselves not specialized in quantitative methods while research method specialists should serve mainly as resource providers for their colleagues.

Finally, it is important to stress that the book is missing the tone of positivistic fundamentalism that many quantivist researchers are displaying more or less openly. On the contrary it is highlighted several times in the pages of the book that quantitative methods can make evident their relevance with accuracy for the entire investigative endeavor only if articulated with all the other research strategies and methods, with regard to the specific topics of the sciences, depending on the entire research experience and on the manner in which the research is integrated in the rest of the curriculum.

Adrian Hatos

Joanna Dreby, *Divided by Borders: Mexican Migrants and Their Children.* University of California Press, Berkeley, 2010, 336 p.

Book review

Divided by Borders is an insightful ethnographic research looking at low-skilled Mexican migrants who go to the US and their connections with their children that span over borders. Dreby illustrates transnationalism from different angles in order to provide the readers with an overview of the experience of those engaged in this process at macro level (holistic approach) and at micro level (their own emotions). It is a moving piece of work as it depicts the emotional implications of the migratory process, as well as the voices and the frustrations of all parties involved. Frustration is a common characteristic shared by all the 'participants'. It could therefore be argued that transnationalism can be interpreted to mean frustration, uncertainty and being torn.

The main theme of the book illustrates the importance of gender within transnational families. It looks at parents' roles - fathers are economic providers and mothers are caregivers. It points to three model-types: fathers who migrate alone; fathers who are joined in the US by their partners; and mothers who migrate alone. Dreby then analyses and compares the effect of migration on all the parties connected to the above migration types.

Given that the author writes with such personal and deep feelings, one of the main strong points of the book is the writing style. The book can be read both as a realistic novel and a textbook. It is rich in details a non-academic public would appreciate and has a critical approach that a more academic group would find useful. It can be used as a textbook by social services/organisations dealing with migrant parents or the children left behind as it offers an in-depth analysis and insight into their lives and experiences.

What is extraordinary about Dreby's work is the rich data she gathered, although the reason for this could be her connections with Mexico, given the fact that her ex-husband is Mexican. Her ability to understand the Mexican culture enabled her to bring an impressive sample of participants in her study. The methodology translated into 142 formal interviews, surveys with 3,000 children and a very rich longitudinal fieldwork in the US and Mexico.

Dreby's own experience brings to the book a very personal touch. However, one wonders if this could trigger some limitations: 'Did the author fully analyse the experiences of migrants, did she see everything, or only what she wanted to see/was already aware of?' In other words, was she blinkered by her own experience? Maybe she already had her assumptions on the issues surrounding transnational family relations and might not have taken into account other aspects of the process which the participants to her study might have resent.

Dreby sees migration as a sacrifice by those who leave (the parents) in order for those left behind (the children) to have a better life from an economic point of view. However, whilst reading the book, a question kept prompting up: 'Is this sacrifice really worth it?' The book depicts the impact of the migratory process on children. This leads to insecurity, poor school performance, sadness and even disillusion due to parents' absence and grandparents' lack of authority. At the other end, the parents have very unsecure '3-D jobs' (dull, dangerous and dirty) or they get divorced. As a

result, the parents migrate from Mexico to the US in order to provide their children with a better lifestyle, but this is hardly ever achieved. They represent the precariat, as they lack control and security over their jobs. Because of the fact that they are not classified as employees, the precariat are denied legal protection. Would the children be better off emotionally if their parents remained in Mexico and cared for them? My belief is that in some cases, some children could be more motivated to perform better in school if they felt emotionally secure and loved.

This leads us to the 'migration paradox' - migration is seen by migrants as the only option in order to preserve family unit. However, it can dismantle family relations. Sometimes it can reinforce families too. This leads us to another question: 'Should we encourage migration from an emotional/familial point of view?' Even if the main rationale for migration is work, at what expense is this achieved? It is important to note here that the desire for 'positive' economic remittances can trigger 'negative' social implications. Does financial gain equal emotional loss? Emotions and emotional labour are at the core of Dreby's work and as such, it is my belief that this question should have been tackled.

Emotions are central to understanding transnational communities because they link individuals to families, while emotional labour refers to the fact that families care about each other over time and space. However, 'emotional labour' is likely to stop if migrants are surrounded by their direct families in the host country. A very strong actor in this process is the middleperson, who seems to be a mediator when children resent their parents' absence or who directly cares for the children by transferring the remittances to the children. In that respect, it can be argued that the middlepersons are truly transnational, as they create a platform for parents and children to exchange emotional and practical goods.

I end this paper by quoting Dreby's definition of transnational families as "(...) families divided by international borders and who maintain significant emotional and economic ties in two countries" (page 5). Her interpretation of transnationalism is that of a separation. In that respect, transnationalism does not provide a link between two countries, but breaks this relation. As a result, Dreby refers to divisions at various levels: geographic, familial, personal. However, it could be seen as a link between two countries as the migrants become part of two cultures and maintain links that span over borders.

Claudia Paraschivescu

James Jaccard & Jacob Jacoby (Eds.), Theory Construction and Model- Building Skills. A Practical Guide for Social Scientist. New York: The Guilford Press, 2010, 391 p.¹

Book review

Using multivariate statistics is a must if we want to adequately grasp the complexity of social mechanisms. For several years already, it is quite difficult to publish, in a respected journal, papers that aren't using at least a type of regression analysis (selected according to the type of data that you are using). Even this seems to become insufficient. We now use confirmatory factor analysis, structural equation modelling, multilevel regression or even multilevel structural equation modelling. And this is understandable if we look at theories that we use to explain the social life. For example, one can say that, without high levels of understanding of the link between theory and data, we cannot measure and analyse in a comprehensive way the individualization theory of Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2011)?

A frequent mistake that some researchers do is that they are trying to learn how to use the advanced statistical techniques or even how to work in a specific software, forgetting the utility of the data for theory construction. This way they get lost in technicalities. I often found myself in front of papers that glitter with high-tech analysis but forget to make the connection with the laws of social life (if there are such laws). It is often forgotten the importance of theoretical logic that is so important in carefully selecting and using multivariate statistics. I found these papers no more useful than those that use descriptive statistics to sustain a theoretical point.

The book written by James Jaccard and Jacob Jacoby successfully fills this gap. Reading it, you become enlighten about the importance of developing your theory construction and model-building skills. This is an „out-of-the-box” approach to such a delicate subject. And this reflects only the way of thinking of its authors. For example, as it is stated in NYU Silver School of Social Work own faculty profile, James Jaccard is currently developing a general framework for statistical analysis that eschews p values and focuses on magnitude estimation and margins of error.

Let me refer, with the purpose of exemplification, to just one of the book sections: chapter 8 “Mathematical Modeling” from the 3rd part “Frameworks for theory construction”. Types of variable is a subject quite beautiful discussed elsewhere too (Agresti & Finlay 1997), but here it emerges more clearly the importance of understanding the nature of the underlying theoretical dimension and not of the scale used to measure that dimension. We are often preoccupied with problems such as the number of scale points to use, if the label should be convergent with the code etc., but we seem to forget that we are using the latent variable in the interpretation process and not a specific item. Here, Jaccard and Jacoby, devote most of their attention to the case in which the theorists are working with continuous variables. Using an easy to read language, they explain graphically and through examples, what is a linear function. In several pages they make clear what is a slope and an intercept, this being sometimes a difficult task when you try

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to present it to a non-technical professional (like a student, policy maker, journalist etc.). Then, they seamlessly refer to the error term in a 1st degree function, introducing you in this way to the linear regression equation. Abstract mathematical language, like derivatives and differentiation, is linked to its utility for a data analyst, rates and change. We understand the difference between just-identified, overidentified and underidentified models.

In the same chapter they discuss, shortly but comprehensively, about nonlinearity and ways to deal with it. We learn about logarithmic, exponential, power, polynomial and trigonometric functions. They are presented in comparative terms, and linked with their use in real life statistical analysis. The reader understands, in this way, when to choose a specific function for her/his analysis. Most of all, after reading this pages, s/he can start thinking first to the theoretical distribution of the variable and/or it's relationship with another one before opening the statistical program. And this is quite useful in an earlier stage of the research process: the phase of designing the questionnaire. If the researcher is aware of the association between theory and the questions asked in the survey then the published results can become more comprehensive and not just a statistical techniques museum.

The chapter continues with examples about phases in building a mathematical model. Using acknowledged theories, like the model of attitude change developed by Martin Fishbein & Icek Ajzen (1975), he puts the researcher in a simulation room and makes him think at his own research. Besides the model for probability of acceptance, Jaccard and Jacoby work with the relationship between performance, ability and motivation, cognitive algebra, chaos theory or catastrophe theory.

This chapter like all the others, ends with three sections: suggested readings, key terms (with pages in the book for quick reference) and exercises to reinforce the concepts. In this way, the book becomes a very useful manual for students and autodidact researchers. This book can be the base for a stand-alone course or a great support for several courses: social statistics, research methods in social research or social theory. It integrates all this discourses, making more clear for the reader the relationship between this domains, all to often and unfortunate considered as different entities. After all, in how many books did we meet information about grand theories (materialism, structuralism, functionalism, symbolic interactionism, evolutionary perspectives, postmodernism) and statistical modeling? The book written by Jaccard & Jacoby seems to follow the 7th rule for social research stated by Glenn Firebaugh in 2008: "Let Method Be the Servant, Not the Master". For statistical methodology I recommend two very well written and to-day informed books: the 5th edition published in 2007 of *Using Multivariate Statistics* by Barbara G. Tabachnick and Linda S. Fidell and the 7th edition published in 2010 of *Multivariate Data Analysis. A Global Perspective* by Joseph F. Hair, William C. Black, Barry J. Babin, & Rolph E. Anderson.

The book has four parts. In the one already noted, we can learn, also, about causal models, simulation as a theory development method and ground and emergent theory. In the first part, named "Basic Concepts", authors talk about the nature of understanding and science as an approach to understanding. In the second part, named "Core Processes" the subjects are creativity and the generation of ideas, focusing concepts and clarifying relationships using thought experiments. In the last part, we are advised about how to read and write scientifically. We have several rules that can increase the probability of producing and communicate significant knowledge: briefer is better, but don't be too brief; prepare an outline; provide a road map; provide a succinct review of the current knowledge; discuss the implications and importance of your theory; keep your target audience in mind; use figures etc.

I believe this is a must-read book for all undergraduate students but, also, for the researcher who looks for meaningful relationships in social world.

Marian Vasile

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