

## **European Social Survey Round 2 module proposal.**

### **Economic Morality in Europe: Market Society and Citizenship.**

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#### **1. Objectives of the Module**

The aim of the proposed module will be to examine the normative and moral culture of markets and consumption in European countries, and to establish how the 'economic morality' of consumer society develops in Europe under the pressure of globalisation, neo-liberal market policies and transition to market economies. It will explore the normative patterns and frameworks of European market and consumer societies by examining the victimisation of consumers by large- and small-scale fraud and unfair practices on the one hand, and their own involvement as offenders in an array of illegal and 'unethical' (illegitimate and 'shady') practices in different spheres of consumption (including government services) on the other hand. It will provide a wider conceptual framework within which these phenomena can be understood, especially in terms of trust, confidence in and legitimacy of business and state/ government institutions, and general normative patterns. The module is based on the assumption that in market and consumer society the role and identity of the consumer is intricately linked to the role of the citizen, and consequently, experiences in the market place impact on attitudes toward the general institutional framework of society, in particular trust and citizenship. The proposed module therefore is integrated in and strongly linked to the general and main themes of the ESS (as in the first round). The ESS provides a strategic sample of European countries that represents the types of market societies that will shape the future of the EU in most facets. At a time when the EU is embarking on enlargement to include transitional countries these processes of change and their implications are salient.

The module is based on ongoing comparative research in England & Wales and Germany (East and West), which is funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, and combines large survey research with qualitative analyses. The items that we suggest have been thoroughly pre-tested and analysed, and represent the core concepts necessary to test and develop the theoretical foundations. In addition, a number of these have been included by the Home Office in the British Crime and Justice Survey scheduled for 2003. The core variables - consumer victimization and offending, fear of victimization and intentions to offend - have until now not been part of the International Victim Survey with the exception of one general question in the 2000 survey, and only rarely and on a limited scale been included in national surveys (recently in Britain for the next British Crime Survey employing items designed by Susanne Karstedt and Stephen Farrall). The ESS module will provide this information for the first time for a large cross-national sample.

The module will provide essential information of policy concern for large and small businesses, for government agencies and related bodies, and for NGOs like consumer associations. It will in particular contribute vital information for these bodies for the further development of the regulative framework of European market economies on the national and supra-national level.

The module will provide theoretically founded insights into the basic formation of normative - legal and moral - frameworks of consumption in the emerging European market place. In collaboration with the partners from Poland and Bulgaria, the module will be further adapted to and redirected towards the particular problems of the transition countries (Rose 1998). The sample of the ESS with a considerable number of former-communist states will throw light on the impact of the transition to post-communism on market processes and feelings of trust, fairness and confidence in institutions amongst the citizenry, and contrast these with the established market societies in the EU presently each taking a different path toward more neo-liberal market and consumer policies. The module will provide essential information on the different types of normative consumer cultures (clearly emerging from our present data analyses on England & Wales, and Germany West and East) in established and transitional market economies, as well as on the contours of the emerging Pan-European consumer

society. It will help to explore how the roles and identities of consumers and citizens interact in established and transitional economies, and will spell out how victimisation and offending in the market place might endanger the acceptance of the institutions of the market place and democracy in a wide range of European countries. The core items selected for the module will be linked to the respective concepts and items from other modules, in particular those on trust, fairness, citizenship values and general value orientations, which will substitute and/or complement those from the original study, thereby achieving a strong integration with other and ongoing modules of the ESS (see for details 4. Concepts and Operationalizations).

The general objective of the module to establish the common and culture-specific characteristics and dimensions of the normative framework of markets in European nations under the pressures of globalisation and neo-liberal market policies will be achieved through the following main routes of exploration. Firstly, the module will explore the normative patterns and frameworks of consumption by examining the victimisation of consumers by large- and small-scale fraud and unfair practices on the one hand, as well as their own involvement as offenders in an array of illegal and 'unethical' (illegitimate and 'shady') practices in different spheres of consumption (including government services) on the other hand. This is based on the assumption that the emerging dynamics between both victimisation and offending contribute to the dynamics of the normative framework of markets and consumption. To this end, the module will establish the relationship between victimisation and offending, and how both are embedded in and affect the basic economic morality of consumption and markets.

Secondly, the module is based on the concepts of 'market' and 'consumer society'. Both imply that the values and normative 'habits' of the market place and spheres of consumption intrude into other arenas of society, and that the normative changes that societies have undergone are linked to normative changes in the market place. The role and identity of the consumer is intricately linked to the role of the citizen, and consequently, experiences in the market place will impact on attitudes toward the general institutional framework of society. The module (in relation to other core modules from the ESS as established in Round One) will in particular explore the role of the normative habits of the citizenry in this dynamic process, and the relationship between trust and confidence in the social sphere of consumption and other important arenas and institutions of society. It will examine if and how an erosion of normative standards and trust in the central institutions of consumer societies affects citizenship and compliance with rules and regulations. It will explore the interaction between business practices, the confidence in business and market institutions, consumer discontent and its transfer into individualised norm-transgressions.

Thirdly, the module will explore the impact of the value change, in particular toward individualization and autonomy on the 'legal consciousness' of consumers and citizens. We are approaching consumers as 'agents' who actively choose when to 'conform', when to 'deviate', when to 'complain' and how to express their grievances, and who increasingly make 'situated moral judgments' based on a more 'formal type of moral motivation' (Nunner-Winkler 2000, 2002). It is the objective of the module to draw out the 'darker' underside of consumer sovereignty and individual autonomy by exploring patterns of 'legal cynicism' (Sampson & Bartush, 1998), and simultaneously to aid our understanding of how markets and consumption can help to create trust and reinvigorate confidence in the core institutions of European societies. The cross-national sample of the ESS that covers different pathways and stages of the changes of markets and neo-liberal market and consumer policies offers the opportunity of exploring generational changes in value patterns and normative behaviour (see Nunner-Winkler 2002).

Finally, by approaching consumers as active 'knowledge generators' of illegal practices and techniques to avoid victimization the module provides an understanding of the processes through which consumers as citizens not only shape and re-shape markets, but also influence core democratic value-orientations and notions of citizenship (via e.g. attempting to avoid paying tax or acting in a predatory manner when dealing with market and state institutions and with each other). This concerns the exchange of experiences of grievances and vulnerability, as well as the experiences of successful engagement in 'sharp market practices', and the support elicited within social networks.

## 2. Background

The recent wave of business scandals has raised urgent public demands for a 'new morality' for the economy from a wide range of groups targeting in particular business leaders and economic elites. However, for over a decade, there has been a growing interest in the 'economic morality' of citizens and consumers, in mass delinquency (Luedemann 2002), the increasing 'shadow economy' (Schneider & Enste 2000; Lamnek et al. 2000), or insurance fraud (Fetchenhauer 1998). Complaints by insurers and representatives from the health services about the increase of fraud committed by their customers have been mounting. Large and small retailers see themselves as victims of those customers who take unfair and often illegal advantage of generous offers and terms. Small tradesmen report that their customers fraudulently try to make them responsible for damages. On the other hand, consumers feel victimised by the practices of insurance companies and financial services. They are sold 'useless' insurance and financial packages, they are not properly informed about the products, and feel being 'defrauded' by 'smallprint' clauses. They find themselves charged for undelivered services, bogus repairs, and used parts sold as new. Consumers and business seem to be engaged in a vicious cycle of unfair behaviour, erosion of good practices and normative standards. It seems that a 'predatory society' is emerging from the central sphere of the market place and consumption. Trust and confidence seem to decrease, and citizens seem to be not only sceptical of markets, but increasingly transfer this into a general loss of trust in the institutions of society. They seem to be less willing to comply with rules and regulations in all spheres of life, thus affecting the government as well as business.

In the established market societies of Europe, these developments have been related to the emergence of 'consumer society', the introduction of neo-liberal market policies, and a thorough change of value patterns that affected in particular norms of moral obligation (Klages 1984; Thome 2003). However, in transition countries, their mostly abrupt imposition into a former state economy created a different situation, and a different trajectory of change. As several authors point out, market society came without the legal framework as well as the informal rules that underlie market transactions, and make them work. These deficiencies in formal and informal normative standards –the 'lawlessness' of the economy (Orenstein 1998) - were substituted by the traditional 'shadow economy' that had flourished within the communist regimes, including illegal transactions, corruption, bribe and favours, which survived the transition and still have a vital role in these societies (Los 1990, Karstedt 2002, forthcoming; Rose 1998). Legal as well as moral rules of fair exchange, legitimate advantages and profits were neither available nor developed, confronting business and consumers with an anomic situation. The legacy of an 'anti-modern' society as Rose (1998) has termed it, and the 'implosion of a state-decreed morality' (Meulemann 1998) affected not only the functioning of markets but endangered the legitimacy of the newly established democracies, as the citizenry transmitted distrust in the market to the new institutions of democracy (Karstedt 1999a).

Paradoxically, the imposition of neo-liberal market policies in both the established and the post-communist market societies made it clear that markets need not only a foundation of legal regulation, but an underpinning of moral rules and trust in such rules, that engendered reliability and stability of economic transactions (North 1997; Ziegler 1998). In addition the emergence of e-commerce brought home the message how salient and simultaneously fragile such moral rules and trust in them are, and fuelled interest in the development of economic morality in the Internet (Uslaner 2001; Diekmann & Wyder 2002). The mechanisms of market economy need the underpinning of an institutional and normative framework that defines fair exchanges, moral rules and obligations for all. In both advanced as well as new market societies it seems that the citizens as consumers and consumers as citizens transfer their distrust, moral indignation as well as their strategies 'of getting things done' in the arena of consumption into other arenas of social and political life, and the normative culture of consumption has decisive consequences for society as a whole.

### 3. Contribution to Theory and Research Questions

The module is based on two strands of theorizing and research. Firstly, with its focus on the normative culture of consumption the module is based within the framework of the 'New Institutional Economics' as developed by North (1981), and will contribute to this growing body of research in particular on the interrelation between cultural, institutional and normative frameworks of markets and consumption. The transformation of markets affects the institutional framework and the balance of the normative structure of societies, and vice versa. The economy of modern market societies is not disembedded from the social relations and normative patterns prevalent in societies (Granovetter 1973)). On the other hand, in consumer societies the spheres of consumption have been extended to include the various levels of government – nation-states, local states, communities and agencies – as providers of services to the citizens, and different levels and strategies of privatisation of government services have resulted in a different mix of private and 'government markets' for each country. Everywhere, consumers are increasingly urged to perceive of themselves, and hence act, as consumers in dealing with the various bodies, including the health system, social services and other authorities.

Secondly, the module will focus a specific however salient realm of the normative patterns of societies. The route of exploration is based on theorizing and research on value change (Klages 1984, Inglehart 1997). It is a prominent characteristic of market and consumer societies, that the particular logic and values of the market pervade all realms of society. Consumer and market societies are characterised by a specific normative and value pattern that stresses equality and autonomy, in particular autonomous decision making in all realms of life. The sphere of consumption is a driving force in the process of individualisation. Consequently, the dynamics that develop within the normative culture of the market place have an imminent and decisive impact in other arenas of social life. Normative habits that develop within and in relation to the market place shape and re-shape the respective patterns in society at large.

Most important among the normative changes during the last decades has been the shift from normative patterns that stressed values of obligation and compliance with norms towards autonomous decisions and individual disposal of norms according to situations and opportunities (Inglehart 1997; Karstedt 1999b). In the market and spheres of consumption this shift has been most marked. Displays of individual autonomy and identity are at the core of modern consumption patterns. Consumer sovereignty is promoted, and consumers (and business) are urged to exploit any advantages. This affects the normative patterns and habits within and outside the market place, and starts a dynamic process that can be described by the following 'vicious cycles':

- a) Individual autonomy and sovereignty translated into the normative sphere increase the amount of involvement in unfair and illegal practices. Consumers and business can rely less on each other to comply with legal and moral norms of exchange. Consequently, erosion of trust and rule-compliance will pervade the sphere of consumption, a process which will generate increasing demands for more rules and regulation to enforce the compliance of the 'autonomous other'.
- b) The pressure on consumers to take responsibility as individuals, on the other hand, destroys the moral obligation not to deceive, to act in a fair way and to provide fair and honest information. Consumers consequently find themselves not only victimised, but being blamed for being ill-informed.
- c) The efforts of business and government to deal with such illegal and unfair practices produce an increasing amount of regulation and small-print rules which are incomprehensible and 'unknowable' for the consumer. This decreases the legitimacy of norms and moral obligations, and creates incentives for all to circumvent such obligations.

The dynamics of the three 'vicious cycles' will create a specific 'hybrid' normative climate and habitual patterns that blend the traditions of the shadow economy with the values of consumer sovereignty and autonomy.

### *Key Research Questions*

- a) What is the general and market-specific occurrence of consumer victimisation and involvement in illegal, unfair or corrupt practices, and how are they related to one another?
- b) How is the fear of becoming a victim such practices related to actual experiences, and how are these fears and experiences related to general and market-specific trust?
- c) What impact do normative patterns have on involvement in illegal or unfair practices and on intentions to engage in these, in particular attitudes toward rules, laws and moral obligations?
- d) How are illegal, illegitimate and generally unethical practices, normative habits and experiences related to the concept and notions of the market place, the economy and citizenship?

The comparative dimension afforded by the ESS will enable us to address the following questions:

- a) Which specific patterns of victimisation and offending emerge in each country/region, and how are these related to the normative framework and existing business regulation?
- b) How do the established market societies differ from transitional countries, and which are the differences found within each group?
- c) Which general and common tendencies of the development of the normative culture of consumption in Europe can be identified, and which are the path-specific and national characteristics?

### 4. Concepts and operationalizations

The proposed module is based on ongoing comparative research in England & Wales and Germany (East & West), presently at the stage of data analyses. The items were developed as part of a questionnaire, which was designed simultaneously and in collaboration by two native speakers (Prof. Karstedt (German) and Dr. Farrall (English)), and with the co-applicant Prof. Bussmann and his team in Halle. Two phases of piloting prior to the fieldwork took place: qualitative interviews with experts in both countries, in-depth qualitative piloting of the questionnaire in England, and interviewer piloting in Germany. The fieldwork (CAPI) took place in October and November 2002, and resulted in 1,807 interviews in England & Wales, 1,732 in West- and 807 in East Germany (oversampled). The response rate of 95% (for those who participated in the multiple-topic survey) as well as interviewer reports both indicate a high interest of the respondents in the topic. The data analyses provided thorough analyses of all items, and the construction of scales (based on factor analyses, both confirmatory and exploratory). Our suggestions for the core concepts and items for the proposed module are based on these analyses.

The process of designing the module for the ESS will in particular be targeted at the adaptation and further development of the dependent variables (victimization and fear, and offending and intentions to offend) in order to ensure that they are clearly related to the legal and institutional framework of the different countries, and aim at the most common types of victimization and offending. This process might include the development of further items that in particular relate to the situation in the transition countries, e.g. small-scale bribe and corruption, which is already included in the battery of offending items. The concepts and items suggested for inclusion in the module take into account that a number of core concepts might be part of other modules, and thus are provided by these parts. These include in particular the concepts of fairness and trust, citizenship values and political attitudes, attitudes toward the economy, assessment of the individual economic situation, and religiosity (as included in Round One of the ESS).

Our dependent variables (victimisation, fear of victimisation, offending and intentions to offend) are all based on a number of items concerning different realms of the market place, government services and private transactions, and are as far as possible matched for victimization and fear, offending and intentions (insurance and banking, retail and services, tax and benefits, private sales, internet). The core explanatory concepts as outlined above are: the 'moral economy'; 'legal cynicism' and 'moral obligations'; 'self-interestedness'; trust and fairness; social networks; and citizenship.

## *Dependent Variables*

### a) Victimization and the Fear of Victimization

Victimization was defined as an event, that resulted in a loss, damage and/or inconvenience from illegal, illegitimate and unfair market practices (irrespective of the intention of those who behaved in that way) , and fear respectively. Exploring the victimization by fairly common every-day events, and in particular fraudulent behaviour (which might go unnoticed by the victim) demands highest standards with regard to the precision in the description of the event, the clarity of the concept and the range of events that are included. In addition the period of recall for such more common events needs to take into account a number of problems relating to memory, starting points and finally the prevalence of such events (see Farrall 2002:20-23). These concepts are operationalised via a series of items which ask subjects about the number of times they have become a victim of a certain type of behaviour. For example, "Have you when out shopping or eating, had extra items which you did not order or want added to your bill?" or "When getting something repaired or serviced, had unnecessary repairs carried out, or been charged for repairs that had not been carried out, or been given old, worn or damaged parts without being told?" The recall period was not limited, but specified as life time experience ("Ever"); the response categories specified were "never, once, twice, three times and more", thus not overburdening the subjects and avoiding the pretence of precision susceptible to recall errors (i.e. forward and backward 'telescoping').

Fear of victimisation was operationalized as general worries to become a victim of a number of specified behaviours that matched the items of the victimization experience. "How worried are you that the following might one day happen to you? After buying over the internet ('the web') you are debited for things which you definitely had not bought?". Confirmatory factor analyses suggested that the fear items loaded together irrespective of country (usually between .55 and .75). Our on-going research suggests that 75% of respondents in England & Wales and Germany have experienced at least one such event, and that many (around 45%) have experienced over four such victimisations. However, clear differences between both countries and East and West Germany are emerging, indicating a number of cultural and institutional factors: England & Wales have higher fear levels, and lower levels of victimization, whilst the opposite was found for Germany, with West Germany outstanding.

### b) Offending and Intentions to Offend

Both actual offending in the market place by citizens and their willingness to do so was defined as the engagement in unfair, illegal and illegitimate transactions. They were designed in the same way as the victimization questions, i.e. referring to the same recall period and with the same response categories, and targeting specific actions. For example: "Have you, when out shopping or eating, not pointed out to the salesperson or waiter that you had been given too much change (e.g. you hand over a £10 note and received change from a Similarly, £20 note)?" or "Have you tried to claim for replacement items, refunds or compensation from a shop, small business or travel agent's which you knew you were not entitled to?". Intentions to offend matched a selection of these behaviours and were asked as: "Would you ever consider doing something like this yourself if the situation arose? When selling second hand goods, hide or not disclose faults in what you were selling?" The response categories indicated a clear intention to engage in such behaviour ("would consider doing this"), a clear rejection ("would never consider doing this"), and 'opportunistic behaviour ("depends on the situation").

Again our on-going research suggests some intriguing findings: over two-thirds of the sample in England & Wales and Germany (N = 4,344) admitted to having committed at least one offence in the market place, and one third of the sample had committed more than four offences. Sizable proportions of the respondents in each country said that they were prepared to offend in the marketplace also. Again, sizable differences were found between the countries, with West Germany outstanding in levels of offending and intentions to offend, and England & Wales with considerably lower levels.

## *Explanatory Concepts*

### c) The Moral Economy

This concept aims at exploring the extent to which citizens feel that the modern market place has become an increasingly corrupt, exploitative or unjust one. In this respect it draws upon the historian E. P. Thompson's work on the 'moral economy' and takes up the basic idea (without following Thompson and other authors in every respect.) that the market place operates on an ordered set of rules and moral obligations, and that a change of the economic conditions affects the balance of moral expectations and obligations. Thompson originally used this concept to explain the 18th Century food riots. It was assumed that the increasing reliance upon the market and neo-liberal market policies affects this web of moral obligations and expectations amongst today's consumers, who translate their grievances into individual norm-transgressions.

The concept of the 'moral economy' emphasises change in market conditions and how these differed from citizens' perceptions of how market ought to operate. The scale included a series of 4-point semantic differentials, either statements about the present state or the notion of change. One item contrasted "Today's reliance upon market forces has deepened social inequalities" with "Market forces have helped people to get ahead" in order to assess feelings about the changes which 'marketisation' has brought about in contemporary society.

Confirmatory factor analyses suggested that these items loaded together irrespective of country (factor loadings usually around .60). Our analyses found high levels of agreement that the market had become more competitive, deepened social inequalities and made consumers more vulnerable.

### d) Legal Cynicism & Moral Obligations

'Legal cynicism' is defined as the extent to which individuals feel disengaged from legal norms, perceive that others are so disengaged that legal norms have no validity, or perceive legal norms as useless. The concept has been developed in criminology most notably by Sampson & Bartusch (1998) as a targeted and refined exploration of anomic attitudes. The items proposed for the module are based on the concept and include one of Sampson's original items. Legal cynicism is weighed against and complemented by the concept of moral obligations defined as the feeling that regardless of one's own interests and immediate gains, one ought to obey a set of morally prescribed rules (Nunner-Winkler 2002).

Both concepts were measured by an integrated series of four statements each. A typical statement for the legal cynicism scale was: "To make money, there are no right and wrong ways, only easy ways and hard ways". For the moral obligations scale the following is representative: "Even if I had the chance to cheat I wouldn't do so. It is morally wrong.". Confirmatory factor analyses suggested that the cynicism items loaded together irrespective of country (usually between .50 and .80), and the moral obligations items around .70.

### e) Self-Interest

Self-interestedness as a concept was introduced to explore the attitudes concerning the realization of autonomy and individualization in the market place. It was based on both Weigel et al's Scale of Egoism (1999) and Hagan's et al (1999, 2000) concept of 'hierarchical self-interest. It is defined as the extent to which individuals place themselves ahead of others in terms of striving to be 'a winner', the extent to which they are willing and prepared to engage in relationships on the assumption of 'Machiavellian' strategies, and prioritise success over all other considerations.

The concept was operationalised through a 'self-interestedness scale' integrating both items from Weigel et al's and Hagan's et. al scale (7 items). Statements presented to the respondents included "It is not so important how one wins, but that one wins", "People who are honest at work never get ahead" and "Never tell anyone the real reason why you did something unless it is useful to do so". Confirmatory factor analyses suggested that these items loaded together irrespective of country (usually between .40 and .60).

#### f) Trust and Fairness

Trust and fairness are core concepts relating to transactions in the market place. In particular, it is the concept of generalized trust in others that is essential in this context, as well as trust and confidence in institutions. The concept of confidence in institutions was defined as the extent to which citizens trust those market institutions with which they regularly come into contact (such as banks, insurance firms, vendors during second-hand sales, and various domestic 'emergency services' like TV, washing machine and heating repairers). The concept of confidence in institutions was operationalized according to the dimensions of trustworthiness of these 'institutions', i.e. their fairness and competency in transactions. Are these institutions seen as being trustworthy, or are they seen as being inherently corrupt and only interested in making as much money as possible? If they do make mistakes, to what extent can they be relied upon to rectify their errors?

As noted above, we would make use of the general trust and fairness items asked as part of the ESS during Round One (assuming these items are repeated). However, we also propose a new battery of questions as part of this module aimed at measuring trust/ confidence in market institutions. The scale covers those realms of the market place as outlined above with four items, such as "I generally trust that plumbers, car mechanics or repairmen will not try to 'rip me off'" and "I generally trust my bank or building society to run my bank account or mortgage smoothly and without major error". Confirmatory factor analyses suggested that these items loaded together irrespective of country (usually between .50 and .70).

#### g) Networks of Support and Knowledge

This concept is based on the notion of consumers as 'knowledge generators' in the market place. It is defined as the extent of 'social capital' in dealing with victimization and engaging in offending and unfair practices, which often need the support of networks (e.g. in making up insurance claims, or tax evasion). The concept includes three dimensions: the extent to which people are embedded in social networks, which routinely provide information about how to avoid victimisation in the market place, how to cheat others in the market place, and which might offer support for engaging in such activities. These 'Networks of Knowledge' amongst friends, work colleagues, family and neighbours serve to inform citizens about current scams and how to avoid them, and 'loop-holes' in regulations and how they might best be exploited. In relation to offending and unfair practices, the networks form a sort of 'immoral social capital'.

The extent to which respondents are embedded in social networks which discuss and encourage crimes in the market place was assessed by three batteries (how to avoid victimisation, how to offend, and practical support for such activities). The first of these two are assessed by the following sorts of items:

"When spending time with friends, family, neighbours, and work colleagues, people often discuss their everyday experiences. How often when you are with friends, family, neighbours or work colleagues, do the following topics come up?"

"How to make sure that tradesmen do not over-charge you for repairs or trick you in any other way (e.g. plumbers or car mechanics)?" (avoiding victimisation)

"How to avoid paying all of the money you owe in tax?" (offending).

Support is measured in the following way: "Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements?: My friends, family and I would swap ID, membership and travel cards so that we could claim discounts or access to services which we otherwise wouldn't be entitled to (e.g. student cards, travel cards, employee's cards or other membership cards)."

### *Number of Proposed Items for the Module*

For the present round, the ESS is offering to run modules of up to 30 or up to 60 items, applicants being offered to submit a short and a long version of the same module. We therefore propose a module both for the short and the long version (as outlined in the table below).

Battery/Scale Name	ESS Module Size:	30 items	60 items
Victimisation		4	6
Fear of Victimisation		3	6
Offending		4	6
Intentions to offend		3	6
Moral economy		4	6
Legal cynicism & moral obligations		3	8
Self-interestedness		3	6
Trust in market institutions		3	6
Networks of support & knowledge		3	9
TOTAL ITEMS		30	59

As all of our proposed items have been pretested, we are in a position to be able to expand or reduce the size of the proposed module (within reasonable limits) as required. However, for some of the scales, in particular victimisation and fear of victimisation, and offending and intentions to offend, new items as well as a revision of items is expected, which will be the result of the collaboration between the partners. We are, of course, relying on being granted access to the general trust and fairness items and the citizenship scale for our analyses, and their inclusion in Round Two.

### 5. Publication Plans

The collaborators will publish for scientific audiences as well as for users. They will publish one report with main findings for dissemination to users (government agencies and related bodies, NGOs like consumer associations on the national and international level) (in English). Both collaborators from Poland and Hungary will publish one article each in their national journals that takes in particular the situation of transition countries into account (in their national languages). Together with the UK collaborators they will publish one article that focuses on comparative aspects between established and transitional market and consumer societies (in English).

The collaborators from Britain and Germany will publish one article each in their national journals that extends and complements publications from the ongoing research (book publication), and puts both countries into the European context.

All collaborators will jointly publish two articles that focus on the European perspective.

Dr. Farrall will publish one article that focuses on methodological issues.

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