



# The Effects of Generational Ties on Justice Attitudes (New Project)

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# Scope of the Presentation

## **Justice Attitudes toward the Wage Distribution**

- Indicators for voting behavior, unemployment motivation, life satisfaction

## **The post-socialist puzzle**

- Structuralist (Wegener and Steinman 1995, {Kelley and Evans 1993, Osberg and Smeeding 2006) VS. Culturalist (Hadler 2005, Gijssberts 2002)
- Method of unexplained variance
- Inconclusive evidence

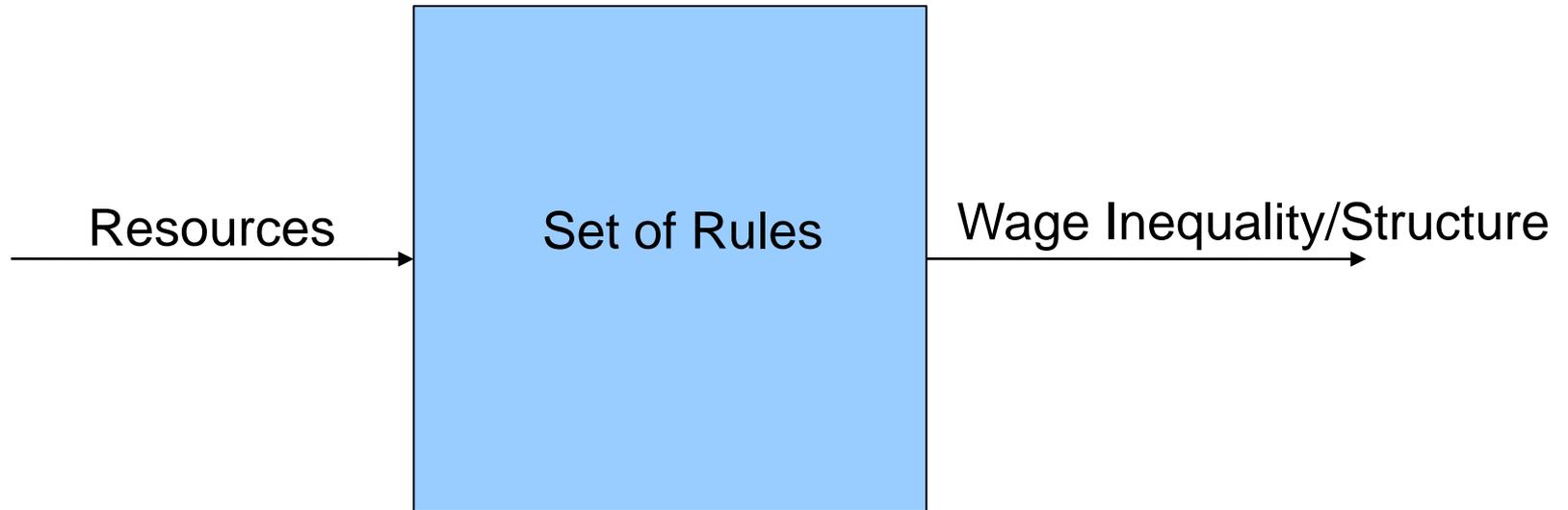
## **Rephrasing the culturalist-structuralist question:**

**Current situation or cultural/socialist baggage?**



**Generations**

# Definitions



**Legitimacy of the  
WAGE DISTRIBUTION**



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# Theoretical Considerations (The mechanism)

# Predictors of Justice Attitudes

**Individuals have a yardstick for considering a phenomenon just or not**

**Justice ideologies (Wegener and Liebig 1995, 2011)~ Dominant ideology theory (Abercrombie et al 1978)**

**Belief in a Justice World (Jost , Lerner 1981)**

**Tunnel Effect**

**(Hirschmann and Rothschild 1973)**

- Social status ~ Individual stuck in a traffic jam in the tunnel
- Dissatisfaction grows if one doesn't get ahead, while others do
- Legitimacy (acceptance) of the system is weakened parallel with dissatisfaction



How does  
transition  
change these  
mechanisms?

Assumption: differences before and after the transition

# Mechanisms after Transition

## **Tunnel Effect**

- New tunnel effect, with different mobility rules
- Comparison of „socialist“ tunnel and „capitalist“ tunnel leads to grievance?

**Life course studies differentiate between chances for generations, depending on age at transition**

**(Diewald et al 2006, Kolosi and Tóth 2008)**



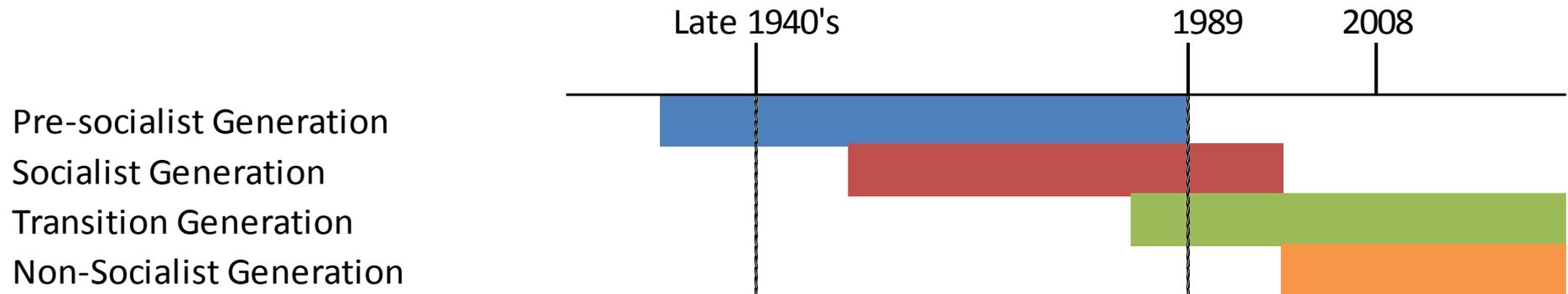
**Generations**

# Generations as Proxy (I)

**[...] the social phenomenon 'generation' represents nothing more than a particular kind of identity of location, embracing related 'age groups' embedded in a historical-social process. (Mannheim [1923] 2000: 291)**

- Generation embody the collective experience of a given age group at a given timepoint
  1. Stepping into the labor market at the same time with same socio-economic environment
  2. Being at a given age at the time of transition

# Generations as Proxy



H. There is a difference between the Generations  
Country dependent!



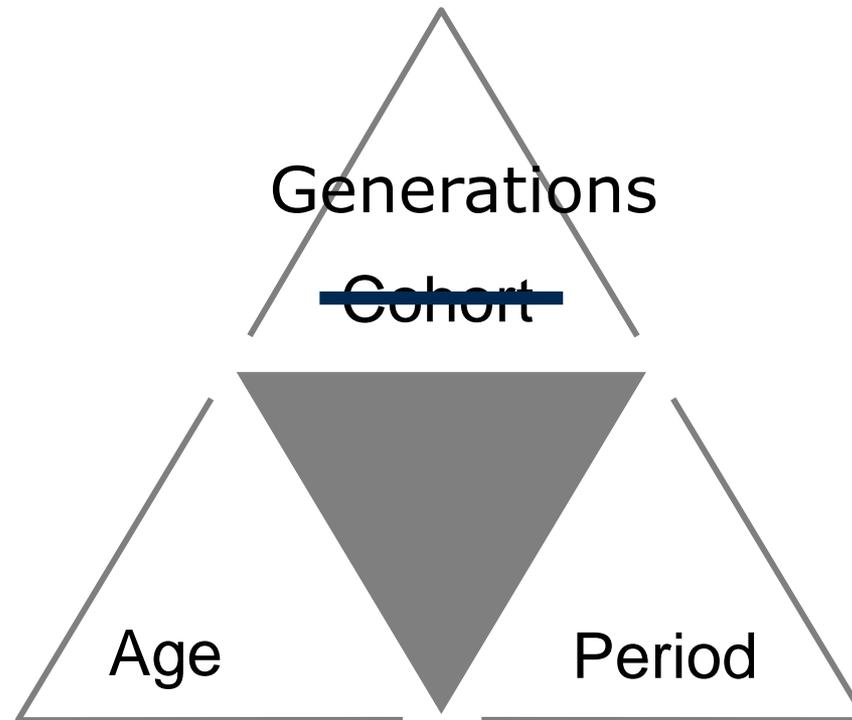
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# Methodological Considerations

# Measuring Generations





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# Research Design

# Data

**Several countries**

**Panel data or timeseries-like data**

**Variables to measure: justice attitudes**

## **International Social Justice Project**

- International research project, national representative
- Countries: GDR (N=4437), Hungary (N=4120),  
Czech Republic (N=3500)
  - Commons socialist history - three different development  
after transition
  - 4 waves for each country

# Analytical Framework

## Dependent Variable

Justice Profiles

	Just Outcomes	Unjust Outcomes
Just Rules	(1) Legitimate	(2) Partial Legitimate by Rules
Unjust Rules	(3) Partial Legitimate by Outcomes	(4) Illegitimate

Ignácz, forthcoming

# Analytical Framework

## Dependent Variable

Justice Profiles

## Independent Variables

- Defining Generations for each country
- Age (as continuous)
- Waves (Dummy, 1991 as reference)

## Controll Variables

- Gender
- Education
- Employment
- Hhold Income

# **Preliminary Analysis**

## **Case of Hungary**

# MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION –JUSTICE PROFILES (HUNGARY) -ODDS RATIO

Contrast to Categories	ILLEGITIMATE in contrast with		
	Legitimate	Partial Legitimate by Rules	Partial Legitimate by Outcomes
Disappearing Gen. <sup>1</sup> .....	0.753	0.560	2.358
Status Shifters <sup>1</sup> .....	1.385	0.645	1.334
Transitional Gen <sup>1</sup> .....	1.383	0.682	1.415
Young Adults <sup>1</sup> .....	2.935	0.711	0.852
Age.....	0.975	1.013	0.984
1996 <sup>2</sup> .....	0.394***	1.005	0.441***
2005 <sup>2</sup> .....	0.207***	0.305***	0.417***
2008 <sup>2</sup> .....	0.403**	0.505**	0.562**
Gender (Male=0).....	1.124	1.235	1.039
Education.....	1.189***	1.072*	0.325***
Employment.....	1.399	0.853	0.990
Hhold Income.....	1.014***	1.002	1.003
AIC	5554.295		

\*\*\* p<0.001, \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05, 1: “Non-socialist” as reference cat., 2: “1991” as reference cat.

# Summary of Analysis

## **“Tunnel” experiences not distinct for each Generation**

- Educational background already import for mobility from the consolodition period of the 1960s
- It`s more that the environment and the predictability of the socio-economy environment changes

## **Generations and age have an insignificant effect**

- But the years (compared to 1991) change significantly
- All OddRatios  $< 1$  ~ in later years more likely individuals consider WD illegitimate

## **Hungarians do not seem to have „socialist“ baggage**

# Questions and Further Steps

## **Limitations of the Study**

- Answering what I am asking?
- Household income and employment: significant percentage of missing variables

## **Future for the Paper**

- Same analysis with Germany and the Czech Republic

## **Future for the Project**

- Variation of values by generation (another paper)

# Thank you for your attention!

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# Generations in Hungary

<b>Generation</b>	<b>Born in...</b>	<b>Entry into the Labor Market in (approx.)...</b>	<b>Age at Transition is...</b>
<b>Disappearing Gen.</b>	1935 or earlier	Early 1950s <i>Transition to Socialism</i>	55 years or older
<b>Status Shifters</b>	1936-1950	Late 1950s - 1960s <i>Early Consolidation Period</i>	41 to 54 year olds
<b>Transitional Gen.</b>	1951-1963	1970s <i>Established Reform Socialism</i>	28 to 40 year olds
<b>Young Adults</b>	1962-1968	1980s <i>Establ. Reform Socialism/Pre-transitional Period</i>	21 to 27 year olds
<b>Fresh Starters</b>	1969 or later	1990s and later <i>Transitional Period and beyond</i>	20 year olds or younger

## MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION –JUSTICE PROFILES (HUNGARY) – ODDS RATIO

Contrast to Categories	ILLEGITIMATE in contrast with		
	Legitimate	Partial Legitimate by Rules	Partial Legitimate by Outcomes
Disappearing Gen. <sup>1</sup> .....	1.709	0.537	1.793
Status Shifters <sup>1</sup> .....	1.275	0.651	1.340
Transitional Gen <sup>1</sup> .....	1.305	0.663	1.426
Young Adults <sup>1</sup> .....	0.708	0.699	0.842
Age.....	0.976	1.015	0.983
1996 <sup>2</sup> .....	0.350***	0.981	0.400***
2005 <sup>2</sup> .....	0.192***	0.309***	0.407***
2008 <sup>2</sup> .....	0.413**	0.528*	0.651**
Log-Likelihood	-3484.9***		
AIC	49832.393		

\*\*\* p<0.001, \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05, <sup>1</sup>: “Fresh Starters” as reference cat., <sup>2</sup>: “1991” as reference cat.