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Internal and External Attribution of
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Abstract

The present paper is focused on a comparison between the former East and West Germany regarding attributions for the causes of poverty and wealth. These attributions have been typically conceptualized in the literature as internal – where people are seen as responsible for their situation – and external – where factors independent of the individuals' willingness are taken into account.

It has been argued that internal attributions are associated to the legitimation of the distribution system, by attributing responsibility to individuals for their socio-economic situation. On the other side, external attributions consider factors such as lack of opportunities, prejudice and discrimination, as well as failure of the economic system, and therefore has been linked to a challenging view of the distribution system.

After considering theoretical perspectives at a micro and macro level in the determination of these attributions, differences between east and west are analysed based on the International Social Justice Project 2006. Two independent factors for the items of poverty are identified – internal attribution / external attribution – and the same for the case of wealth, and then a multivariate analysis is centred in distinguishing between the influence of structural and ideological determinants in these attributions. The main results are that people in the former GDR attributes both poverty and wealth less internally and more externally than in the former West Germany, a difference that is associated to cultural instead of structural effects, and that have important consequences when considering the issue of the legitimation of the current distribution system specially in the east.

Table of contents

1. INTRODUCTION.....	5
2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	6
2.1 MACRO LEVEL THEORIES.....	6
3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH.....	13
3. DATA, VARIABLES AND METHODS.....	15
3.1 DATA.....	15
3.2 VARIABLES.....	15
3.3 METHODS.....	17
4. RESULTS.....	17
4.1 DIFFERENCES IN THE ATTRIBUTIONS OF POVERTY AND WEALTH BETWEEN EAST- AND WEST-GERMANY.....	17
4.2 INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ATTRIBUTION OF POVERTY AND WEALTH.....	19
4.3 MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS.....	21
CONCLUSIONS.....	27
REFERENCES.....	28
APPENDIX A: FACTOR STRUCTURES FOR WEST AND EAST GERMANY.....	31
APPENDIX B: FACTOR STRUCTURE OF JUSTICE IDEOLOGIES.....	33
APPENDIX C: SEPARATED REGRESSIONS MODELS FOR FORMER EAST AND WEST GERMANY.	34

1. Introduction

Social macro-phenomena like rising poverty and unemployment rates are subject of numerous studies in the social sciences – searching for explanations e.g. to advice politicians how to overcome unfortunate developments. Arguing from the perspective of social justice research, objective socio economic indicators are useful measures – but not the only one important. Beliefs about the causes of poverty and wealth are essential for the evaluation of the social order, to analyse if the “rules of the game” in a society are considered to be fair. In so far, the perceptions of the people and their explanations for wealth and poverty can be seen as important measures for the legitimacy of the social system. On the one hand, assuming that wealth and poverty are caused by the people themselves – their attitudes, ability and working behaviour – the rich and the poor would then “deserve their fate” and the stratification order would be perceived as just. On the other hand, external factors can be considered as essential for ones social position and be used as an indicator for an unfair evaluation of the state’s redistribution system.

Former studies about the perception as well as attribution of poverty and wealth concentrated on the transition process and the differences between Eastern and Western European countries in the early 90s (Kluegel et al., 1995; Stephenson, 2000, Christoph, 2000; Kreidl, 2000a). Mainly analysing two causal patterns – individual as well as social explanations for poverty and wealth – authors such as Kluegel et al. concluded that in all observed countries “the popular view of poverty and wealth is very much bicausal” (Kluegel et al., 1995: 205). Whereas social explanations were very much stratification-related, individual causes of poverty and wealth differed little among social classes. Country specific belief-patterns were highly determined by the perceived personal as well as societal status which differed widely between the countries (see Kluegel et al., 1995).

Using data from the forth wave of the International Social Justice Project – ISJP (2006), the article will analyse the beliefs in the causes of poverty and wealth in Germany – focusing on the differences between the former East- and West-Germany. In this sense, the questions guiding this research is first about the magnitude of these differences in the public opinion, and second whether these differences are due mainly to socio structural or to cultural factors. If the differences are restricted to structural determinants, it would be possible to say that there is now a cultural integration regarding key issues of the legitimacy of the distribution system between the east and the west. Nevertheless, considering studies based on previous waves of the ISJP (1991 and 1996),

important cultural differences are still expected to remain in attributions of poverty and wealth, which are attempted to clarify based on theories at a macro and at a micro level.

2. Theoretical Background

Modern societies are characterized by an unequal distribution of resources, which is commonly associated in the public debate with the concepts of poverty and wealth. Since the individual attribution of poverty and wealth is largely related to more general ideas as to “what is considered to be just in a given society”, public opinion related to the concepts of poverty and wealth reflect the perceptions and beliefs of the people about the distribution system as well as its legitimacy (Aalberg, 2003; Della Fave, 1980, 1986; Kreidl, 2000b; Stephenson, 2000). In the literature, these global ideas of justice have been referred to as ideologies (J Kluegel, Mason, & Wegener, 1995), belief systems (Converse, 2004), or meta-theories (Smith & Stone, 1989) which “filter social perceptions and provide the cognitive structure for a host of specific beliefs about the factors that cause (or do not cause) some people to become wealthy and others poor” (Smith & Stone, 1989).

Beliefs about the causes of poverty and wealth can be ordered into two broad dimensions: The *internal* dimension represents the attribution to individual reasons, such as abilities and effort in the case of wealth, or the lack of both in the case of poverty. On the other hand, the *external* dimension relates poverty to the failure of the economic system or to social prejudices, and wealth to individual connections or unequal opportunities. In this paper it is argued that the beliefs in the causes of poverty and wealth can have various determinants. (1) From the macro level perspective, the perception as well as attribution of poverty and wealth can be determined by (a) more general beliefs about the distribution system (ideological explanation) as well as by (b) the socio-economical position of the person in society (structural explanation). (2) Arguing from a micro level perspective, the concept of attribution, in particular the fundamental attribution error, offer theoretical explanations for the evaluation of the distribution system.

2.1 Macro level theories

A classical approach, within the (a) ideological dimension, is called the “dominant ideology thesis” which states that each society has a relatively consistent ideology shared by virtually all of its members about the distribution of scarce goods, and that this ideology serves to justify the privileged status of the economic elites (Kluegel, 1989). Within capitalist societies, characteristic elements of the dominant ideology are the principle of equal opportunities, and the belief in the

responsibility of each person for his or her social position. As a consequence of this ideology, wealth is perceived as a product of one's exceptional effort and talents, while poverty is caused by a lack of both – legitimating therefore the unequal distribution of resources (Shepelak, 1989). Kluegel & Smith (1981) summarize the logic of the dominant ideology in the following syllogism: assuming that (1) the opportunity to get ahead is available to all as well as (2) the position of an individual in the stratification order is a function of personal efforts and abilities and not the result of economic or social factors, "people are responsible for the rewards they receive, the current distribution of rewards is fair, and therefore inequality is positively evaluated" (J. Kluegel, 1989; JR Kluegel & Smith, 1981). Consequently, poverty and wealth are attributed preferably to internal causes.

The dominant ideology approach is criticized for its association with the Marxist *concept of false consciousness*, whereby the subordinate class support the ideology that benefit the dominant class and allow them to keep in power. Although Converse (2004) proposes that the "belief systems" of the masses are derived from the beliefs held by the elites, he also argues that some logical inconsistencies are likely to be found in a broad public, which is also related to a series of critics to the dominant ideology approach. Abercrombie et al. (1980) refused to believe that the dominant ideology could be so deeply rooted in the society, arguing that there is disagreement between social classes regarding the dominant values, and also because they find not really plausible that a small elite could promote these beliefs throughout the society. Besides, Wegener & Liebig (1995) have pointed out that the ideology of the ruling class is not the dominant ideology, since this ideology looks for the legitimation of the ruling class itself, and for this is not necessary that other classes share this ideology.

Besides the ideological dimension, different approaches that appear in the literature on beliefs about social issues focus on the objective position of the person in the stratification system (Kiecolt, 1988). From this perspective, it is expected that characteristics such as income, educational achievement, and social mobility have an impact on beliefs about social inequality, and therefore in the attributions about the existence of poverty and wealth. Guided by feelings of deprivation, low status groups express their discontent with the distribution system explaining poverty and wealth by external causes, which have been referred to in the literature as existential or "challenging beliefs". Therefore, these beliefs are more "'concrete' 'pragmatic' 'experiential' and 'existential'" (Kluegel, 1989), whereas dominant ideology beliefs are related to various agents of socialization such as transmission of values within the family, the educational system and the media.

The *split-consciousness approach* is an attempt to combine the two contrary views explaining beliefs about social inequality. Kluegel and Smith propose that both (a) dominant ideology as well as (b) challenging beliefs can coexist without any preasure to change (J. Kluegel, 1989; J. R. Kluegel & Smith, 1986). Therefore, beliefs about inequality are driven by two broad influences: they are the product of (a) the inculcation of dominant-ideology beliefs, as well as (b) everyday, stratification-related experiences (challenging beliefs). Empirical studies verified the existence of both dominant as well as challenging beliefs associated with the legitimacy of the distribution system - meaning in comparative terms that societies with a strong evidence of challenging beliefs are characterized by a lack of legitimacy of the distribution system.

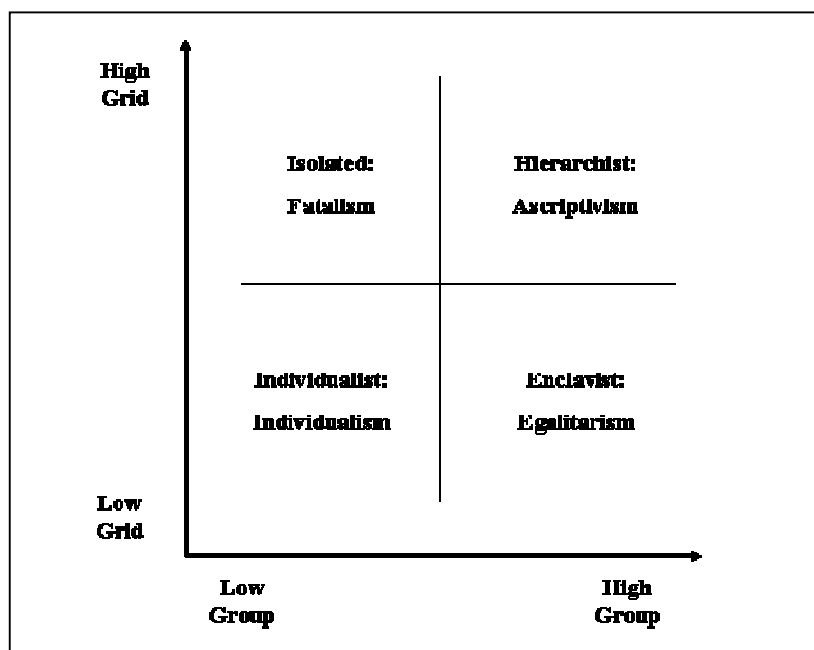
Focusing now on the comparison between former East and West Germany, the question that rises is whether the differences in explanations of poverty and wealth are due mainly to ideological or to structural factors. Since both sides of the current Germany were before 1989 different political system characterized by different ideologies regarding the distribution system, after the reunification obviously were expected different and sometimes contradictory views with regard to what was considered a “just” distribution . Now after more than fifteen years is not that clear anymore that differences between east and west are possible to attribute to cultural factors, since there are also clear differences in the economic situation of both parts of the country and therefore in the “structural” dimension mentioned before. Therefore, the mere descriptive analysis of differences between East and West is not enough to clarify whether these differences are due to cultural or structural factors. A mode of dealing with this problem is proposed by Wegener and Liebig (2000), as the *residual variation approach*, which – applied to the current problem of study – means that first the effect of structural determinants on explanations of poverty and wealth is considered, whereas the unexplained variation left indicates some cultural effects. Now if we consider also cultural variables as specific determinants, at least part of this residual variation is expected to decrease. Culture is conceived here as related with shared values in a given society, and one possibility to introduce it as a determinant is the political orientation in terms of left-right identification, where people on the right side of the political spectrum are expected to attribute more internally than people on the left. A second possibility to introduce cultural variables that is offered by the ISJP data are specific justice ideologies based on the grid-group approach, which are described next.

Grid-group and justice ideologies

The consideration of specific justice ideologies provides an additional way attempting to clarify differences between former East and West Germany. If they offer significant explanation of differences in attributions of poverty and wealth after considering structural (and also micro level factors) as a possible determinant, it will be possible to establish more precisely in theoretical terms if the “residual variation” or part of it is due to cultural effects.

The justice ideologies presented here lead back to the grid-group theory of Mary Douglas, and correspondent elaborations from Wegener and Liebig (Wegener & Liebig, 1993) regarding empirical social justice research. Central to Douglas is the idea that “meanings are deeply embedded and context bound” (Douglas, 1982), and that beliefs and values represent implicit cosmologies that permit individuals to justify their actions in their environment. Four environments and four correspondent ideologies are identified and organized in a schema with two dimensions: grid and group. Grid means that social environments are subject to external constraints, which typically stem from structures and regulations associated with the social hierarchy, whereas group dimensions refers to the extent to which individuals belong to specific social groups (Wegener & Liebig, 2000). Regarding these two dimensions, it is possible to build a taxonomy of four typical social constellations corresponding to the four cosmologies of Douglas: the hierarchists, the enclavists, the individualists and the isolates, which are represented in the following picture:

Picture 1: The Grid- Group Paradigm (adapted from Wegener & Liebig, 1993)



The social environment of the *Hierarchists* is characterized by strong grid and strong group, leading individuals to live in closed groups obeying the norms of the group. *Enclavists* have also strong group ties, but contrary to hierarchist, they do not feel the pressure of hierarchical restrictions, being therefore likely to give in to the pressures of group solidarity. People living in environments with low hierarchical constrain and group solidarity, are called Individualists, leaving individuals with the highest independence of movement and control. Finally, the *Isolates* are individual (?) exposed to high hierarchical restrictions without the support of group solidarity (Wegener & Liebig, 1993). These four constellations define four different styles of thought, which have been associated to different beliefs and attitudes regarding the distribution of goods in the society: “ due to their different grid-group locations, hierarchists, enclavists, individualists and isolates are likely to diverge greatly on these issues and they will therefore also have different views of social justice” ((Wegener & Liebig, 2000). The justice ideologies matching these four social constellation are:

- Ascriptivism: corresponds to the hierarchist, and is characterized by favoring a “natural” distribution of privileges and rewards.
- Egalitarianism: is the ideology of the enclavist, who attributes the responsibility for an egalitarian distribution to the state, based on norms of social solidarity.
- Individualism: contrary to Egalitarianism, favors a meritocratic conception where merit is rewarded and a system of free competition is regarded as fair and functional
- Fatalism: is considered to be the justice ideology of the isolates, who blame the system for their unfortunate situation with strong feeling of resignation and a pessimistic world view.

Regarding these four ideologies in the context of attribution of poverty and wealth, Individualistic beliefs are expected to be associated with internal explanations of poverty and wealth, due to their given conception of justice based on merit and achievement. The same internal attribution would be sustained by ascriptivistic world views, since they evaluate the current form of distributions of goods and privileges as just. On the other side, emphasising on redistribution and solidarity as a product of a strong group dimension egalitarists have a strong tendency to attribute wealth and poverty to external constraints, blaming the system and the context in which individuals live, and not their dispositional attributes. Finally, assuming that also fatalists blame the system for their unfortunate situation, they should be more likely to favor external reasons for the attribution of poverty and wealth. Nevertheless, given a lack of social support, the identification of Fatalists with

the concepts and social categories like wealth and poverty is probably weak and no significant or consistent effects in the attribution to internal or external causes of poverty and wealth are expected.

2.2 Micro level theories

Theories at the micro level are aimed to clarify individual differences in attributions of wealth and poverty. Many of them are actually complementary to the dominant ideology approach, arguing that support for these ideologies do not only depend on the elites' capacity to elaborate political formulas to keep in power and control the decision-making processes in any given society, but also rely on processes at the socio psychological level that operates directly to strengthen support for this ideology (J. R. Kluegel & Smith, 1986). The basic idea to point out regarding this "socio psychological process" is the general tendency of individuals to establish an association between what people get from a distribution process, and specific personal characteristics of the same individuals. This conception was already present in the equity theory (Homans, 1976) where those who contribute more to society ought to receive greater rewards, and also in the legitimation theory of Della Fave (1980; 1986), that establish a link between the evaluation of individuals based on resources allocated to them.

The association between what people become and their personal characteristics has received attention in social psychology in the framework of attribution theory, which focuses on the study of causal explanation of behavior and characteristics of people. In this context it is argued that making causal explanations for behaviors are a basic and common human tendency since people actively seek to label and understand their environments (Calder, 1977), which at the same time "provides perceivers with some capability to foresee the consequences of events and with knowledge to guide their own behavior" (Lee, Hallahan, & Herzog, 1996). Attribution refers to the degree to which a given disposition is associated with a given factor (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1975), and its main research focus has been in establishing some common cognition rules or patterns of attributions that characterizes individuals in different societies. One of these patterns best known is called *dispositionalism*, or people's general tendency to overemphasize dispositional or internal causes and underemphasize situational causes underlying behaviors (Lee et al., 1996).

The dispositionalism has reached great attention in empirical research, mostly under the concept of "fundamental attribution error" (Krull et al., 1999; Pettigrew, 1979). In explaining this phenomena, Gilbert, Krull and Perham (1988) highlight the cognitive effort that internal and situational

explanations demand, proposing a two step social inference model in which individuals first have an automatic tendency to make dispositional attributions, and the consideration of situational or external factors occurs only in a second step, given that it implies a deliberate controlled correction process that does not happen automatically. A different and complementary perspective is offered by the belief in a *just world theory* from Melvin Lerner (1980), based on the notion of *justice motive*, which leads people to perceive that people get what they deserve, and deserve what they get. When this equilibrium is broken, or a situation of *injustice* is produced, people would seek to restore justice by reinterpreting the character of the *victim*, whose attributes or behavior are seen as a cause that justify what he or she obtains. This idea supports an internal attribution of wealth and poverty, since they are seen as deserved and merited, and as a result of the acts or characteristics of the individuals.

Nevertheless, cross cultural studies in social psychology have questioned the universality of the tendency to attribute causes to dispositional factors, arguing that there is not a universal attribution error, but there are cultural differences in perceiver's explanations for behavior. Several empirical studies have found that perceivers from individualistic cultures tend to favor dispositional attributions for behavior, whereas perceivers in collectivistic cultures tend to prefer situational explanations (Krull et al., 1999; Lee et al., 1996) recognizing the influences of macro level factors at a micro level. In this sense, in comparing East and West Germany it would be probable that poverty and wealth are attributed principally in internal terms, but also that contextual and cultural factors have a determining influence in the final attribution judgments, as it was pointed out in the macro-level theories. Furthermore, it has been also pointed out that dispositional and situational causal attributions "do not form an unidimensional continuum: that is, a dispositional attribution is not necessarily the opposite of a situational attribution" (Pettigrew, 1979) . In empirical terms, this would mean that internal and external explanations of poverty and wealth compose independent factors.

A final contribution of the micro level perspective, is the extension of the attribution theory from the interpersonal level to the intergroup level. A basic premise is that observers make causal explanations about the behavior of others based not only on his or her individual characteristics, but also based on the group or social category to which they belong (Ben-Ari, Schwarzwald, & Horiner-Levi, 1994). This social categorization influence on attribution has as a primary consequence for ethnocentrism – or in-group favoritism. The in-group stereotypes consist of positively attributed dispositional characteristics, while out-group stereotypes comprise negative

dispositional characteristics. Combining these concepts with the fundamental attribution error, consequentially positive characteristics of in-group members and negative characteristics of out-group members are attributed primarily to internal causes. When applied to the self attributed social categories of status, it would be expected that people that attribute themselves a high status would be inclined to favor internal explanations for the existence of richness and poverty, and people that identify themselves with lower status would have a propensity to express external attributions for the causes of poverty and wealth.

3. Previous research

Public opinion studies on beliefs about the causes of wealth and poverty started at the beginning of the 70s with the works of Feagin (1972, 1975) who published a nationwide study in the US about 11 causes of poverty, finding high support for attribution to individual causes. Huber and Form (1973) considered explanations of both wealth and poverty based on a categorization of open-ended responses as personal causation or social structural causation, which resulted in a high support of the dominant ideology of individualism. Following Feagin's research, Kluegel and Smith (1986) found that individual factors were considered much more important than structural ones in accounting for wealth, which was even stronger in the case of accounting for poverty (J. R. Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Smith & Stone, 1989)

Based on the data of the International Social Justice Project from 1991, Kluegel et al. (1995) make a comparative analysis of the explanations for poverty and wealth in thirteen countries, mainly focused in the differences between western and post-communist countries and the legitimacy of the distribution system. Through factor analysis they identify the latent dimension of the item's battery referred to poverty and wealth (which is the same set of items considered for this study), and they determine five factors: two intern and two extern for the explanations of poverty and wealth, and also a factor related with one single item which attributed wealth to dishonesty. Nevertheless, for the multivariate analysis they do not proceed with factor scores of the internal and external attributions of poverty and wealth as dependent variables, but generate variables with the items' means increasing therefore the measurement error, and besides they finally decide for a four factor solution even though the best fit in the confirmatory factor analysis was for five dimensions, which makes that the results and following discussions must be considered with care. They conclude that there is strong support for the split consciousness approach since people do not see external and internal explanations of poverty and wealth as mutually exclusive, and also that the low position in

the stratification order has an effect in considering explanations in the social or situational dimension.

Kreidl (2000a; 2000b) replicates the analysis of Kluegel et al. adding a temporal comparison considering the six countries that participated in the replication of the ISJP in 1996. He identifies three factors for poverty explanation (merited, unmerited and fatalistic), and also three for wealth (merited, unmerited and social capital or connections). Besides of confirming the results of Kluegel as far split consciousness is concerned, he points out that attitudes toward poverty and wealth differ substantially between western and post-communist countries, showing the post-communist less acceptance of inequality (i.e. internal explanations) and explaining wealth primarily in negative terms. Unfortunately, the analysis performed does not permit to establish conclusions about the change of public opinion over time.

A comparison between Russia and Estonia with ISJP data from 1991 and 1996 is carried out by Stephenson (2000), also centred in the explanations of wealth and poverty as a means of dealing with the legitimization of the transformation processes in the two countries. She also extract four factors from the complete battery of items (negative wealth, negative poverty, positive and fatalistic wealth and structural poverty), even though the consideration of the items which attributes wealth and poverty to luck produces a factor solution with high loads in different factors. She concludes that a great amount of individualistic blame is applied to the poor, and also that the transition to capitalism have brought a greater legitimization of wealth. The main methodological innovation is the use of the factors explaining poverty and wealth as independent variables in the determination of support for government intervention, finding that beliefs in the structural causes of poverty and wealth call for a greater role of the government.

Christoph (2000) analyses explanations of poverty, based on ISJP data from 1991 and 1996. It is focused in the differences between West and East Germany, considering the latter in the context of eastern European transformation processes to a market-oriented society, and how this transformation is related to attitude change in the case of explanation of poverty. As comparison countries are also considered Czech Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Russia. Four factors are extracted of the same item's battery, obtaining the solution identified by Kluegel & Smith (1986) (poverty internal / external; wealth external/internal). He concludes that West germans tends to attribute poverty preferably to internal reasons, and east germans to external, and also that instead of becoming similar, from 1991 to 1996 the tendencies increases in opposites directions. Even

though the results appear as theoretically interesting in the framework of transformation processes, they should be considered carefully given some problems in the determination of the dependent variables: in spite of obtaining independent dimension in the factor analysis through varimax rotation, then he builds an index based on the differences of the factors scores for both poverty and wealth. This procedure assumes theoretically that both factors are aligned through one dimension, which contradicts the way of proceeding empirically and also previous research and theory.

3. Data, variables and methods

3.1 Data

The following analyses are based on the International Social Justice Project (ISJP) data from 2006. The ISJP is an international collaborative research project that started in 1991, and that comprises data from representative national surveys of the participant countries. The 2006 data corresponds to the fourth wave of the survey, which was conducted in Germany from May 15th to July 27th through face-to-face interviews, and whose universe of study consists of german citizens living in private houses in age between 18 and 85 years old. The dataset contains information from 3.059 interviewed persons, from whom 51% are females, 77% live in the old federal states, and 29% are between 18 and 35 years old, 35% between 35 and 60, and 36% between 60 and 85 years old .

3.2 Variables

The explanations about the existence of poverty and wealth in the society are the main aspects to be analyzed, and for this reason they constitute the dependent variables of this study. Two batteries of items specifically related to explanations of poverty and wealth are considered, where it is asked how often each of named factors is a reason why there are poor / rich people in the country. People were asked to indicate the importance of each item in a 5 point scale coded as follows: 1 very often, 2 often, 3 sometimes, 4 rarely, 5 never. From these items, where selected those related with the “intern” and “extern” dimensions described before¹. The items are presented in the following table:

¹ From the poverty items where not considered the attribution to “bad luck” and for the wealth items the ones referred to “luck” and to “dishonesty”.

Table 1: Items regarding explanations of poverty and wealth, ISJP 2006

	Items	Dimension
Explanations of poverty:	Lack of ability or talent	Intern
	Loose morals and drunkenness	
	Lack of effort by the poor themselves	
	Prejudice and discrimination against certain groups	Extern
	Lack of equal opportunity	
	Failure of the economic system	
Explanations of wealth:	Ability or talent	Intern
	Hard work	
	Having the right connections	
	More opportunities to begin with	Extern
	The economic system which allows to take unfair advantage	

Independent variables are organized in the following way: the main variable of this group is related with whether the interviewed currently live in the new (East) or the old (West) federal german states, and then are added other general socio demographic variables such as gender, age, income and educational level. The self assigned socioeconomic status as a subjective micro-level variable is measured from one (low) to 10 (high), and the political position in the same way from left to right. Finally, the justice ideologies of egalitarianism, individualism, adscriptivism and fatalism are extracted as variables through factor analysis from a battery of items (for description of the specific items and the factor loadings see appendix B). The variables and their measurement are summarized in the following table:

Table 2: Independent variables.

Region of the country	Dummy (East=1, ref.= West).
Gender	Dummy (Woman=1, ref.= man)
Income	Dummies income quartiles (1 st Quartile, 2 nd Quartile, 3 rd Quartile; ref= 4 th Quartile)
Education	Dummies (CASMIN 2, CASMIN 3; ref= CASMIN 1)
Self rated position	10 point scale: 1= low social standing, 10= high social standing.
Political identification	Left – right 10 point scale: 1= left, 10=right
Justice Ideologies	Individualism, egalitarianism, adscriptivism and fatalism: factor scores calculated after the maximum likelihood factor analysis of the justice ideologies items battery (see appendix b).

3.3 Methods

Items referred to the explanations of poverty and wealth are analysed first in a descriptive way focused on the differences between East and West Germany. Then the items batteries are factor analyzed separately, in order to determine the latent dimensions (intern – extern) for the explanations of poverty as well as for wealth. Once the dimensions are extracted and factor scored, they represent the dependent variables in the ordinary least squares regression analysis, where also the independent variables are included progressively in five models built hierarchically.

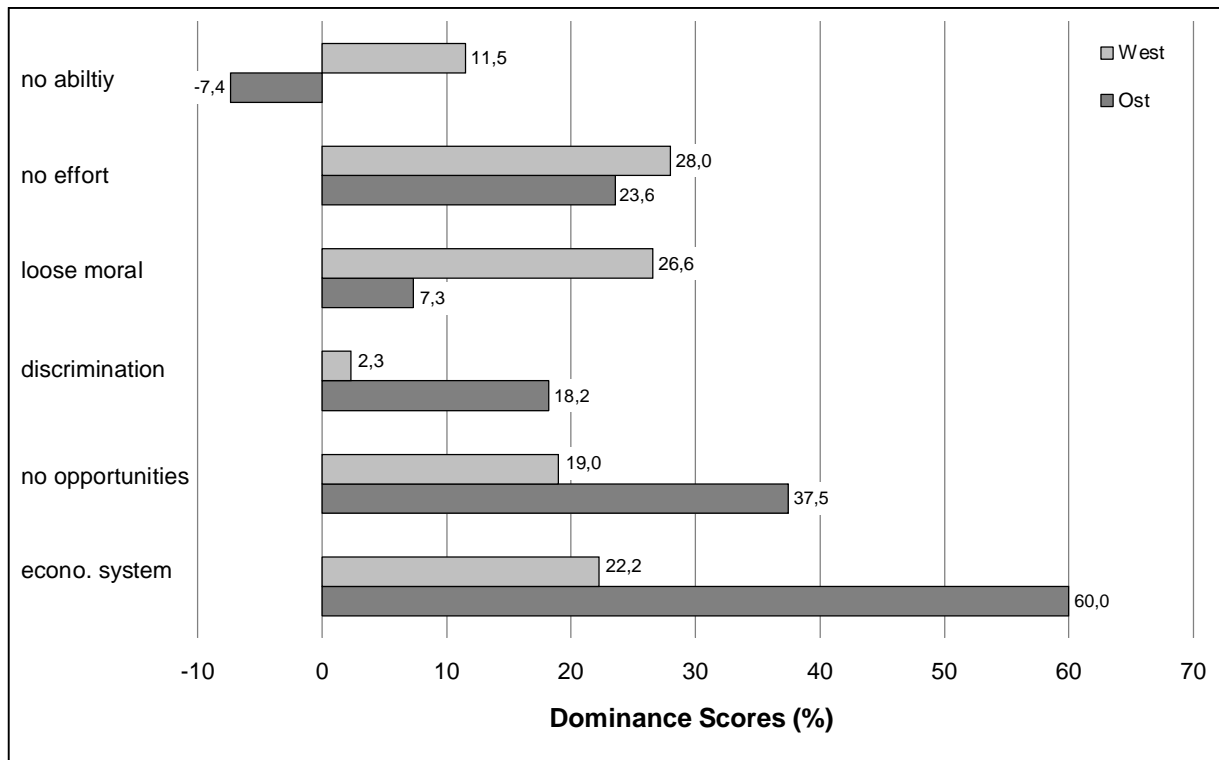
4. Results

4.1 Differences in the attributions of poverty and wealth between East- and West-Germany

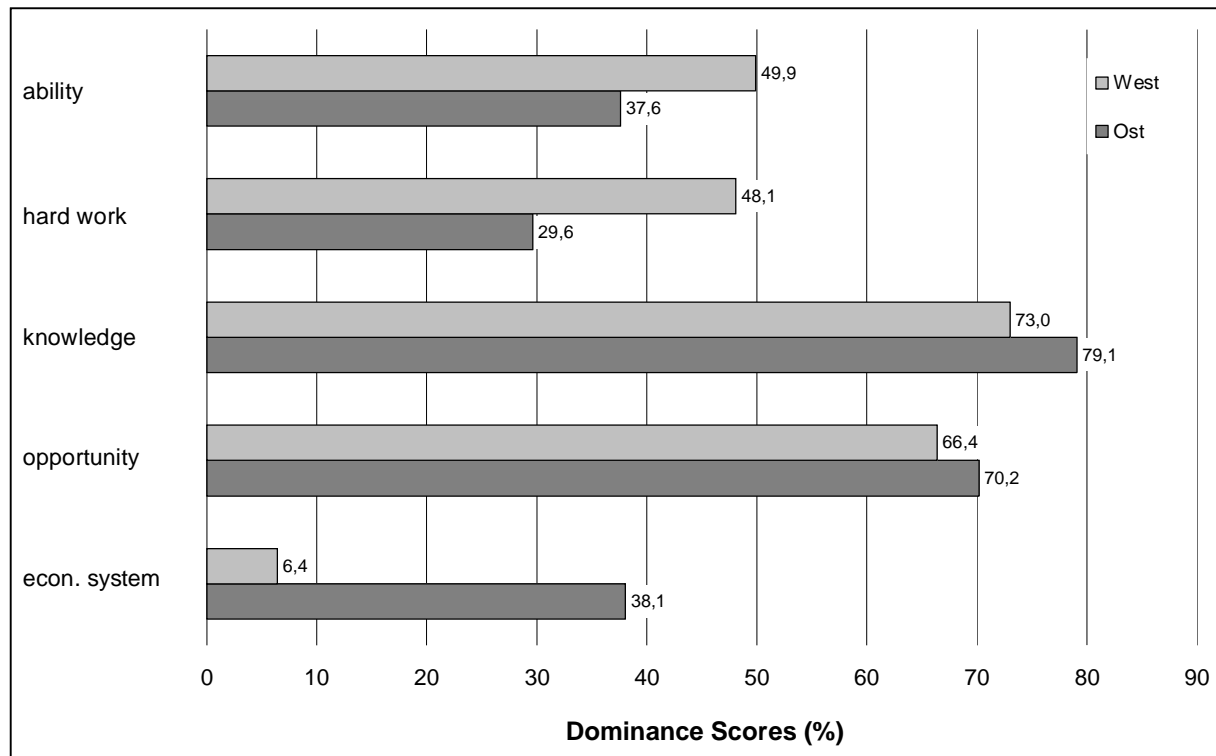
Graphic I and II present *dominance scores* for different causes of poverty and wealth. This descriptive measure consist of the percentage of “often” or “very often” responses minus the percentage giving “rarely” or “never”. Concentrating on the differences between east and west, the graphics point out three relevant outcomes: (1) with only one exception (poverty – ability in the

east), all of the causes (especially those of wealth) were overall accepted explanations indicated by *positive* dominance scores. (2) Furthermore, internal/individual causes such as ability, effort, loose morals as well as hard work were more prominent explanations in the west – whereas external/social causes received more support in the east. (3) While the inner division in Germany is more prominent in explaining poverty, more unity is reached on reasons for wealth.

Graphic I: Dominance Scores: Poverty



Note: Dominance scores equals the percentage giving “often” or “very often” responses minus the percentage giving “rarely” or “never” responses.

Graphic II: Dominance Scores: Wealth

Note: Dominance scores equals the percentage giving “often” or “very often” responses minus the percentage giving “rare” or “never” responses.

4.2 Internal and external attribution of poverty and wealth

The dominance scores indicate a still existing gap between the east and the west especially in the beliefs of poverty-causation. Further investigation of the determinants of attribution in/between both parts requires factor analysis.

Table 1 shows the results of a maximum-likelihood factor analysis which has been varimax-rotated. As expected, two factors were extracted both for the items of poverty and for the ones of wealth. In the case of poverty, one factor can be interpreted as *extern* or social attribution including “prejudice/discrimination”, “lack of opportunity” as well as the “failure of the economic system” as reasons for poverty. The second factor covers what we call the *intern* causation of poverty by explanations such as “no ability/talent”, “loose morals and drunkenness”, as well as “lack of effort”. Testing for differences between east and west, the factor analyses present low deviations of the factor scores within the same factor structure (see Appendix A).

Table 3: Factor structure of poverty attribution: Germany 2006

Item: Reasons for poverty in Germany....	External	Internal	Uniqueness
No ability/talent	-0.09	0.44	0.80
Loose morals and drunkenness	0.04	0.63	0.60
Lack of Effort by the poor themselves	-0.08	0.74	0.45
Prejudice and discrimination against certain groups in G.	0.60	0.10	0.64
Lack of equal opportunity	0.83	-0.06	0.31
Failure of the economic system	0.56	-0.14	0.67
Explained Variance	1.37	1.17	

N = 2798; Maximum Likelihood Faktor Analysis; Varimax Rotation; Percentage of explained variance: 0.42; Log Likelihood (2 factors): -8.95; Likelihood-Ratio-Test independent vs. saturated $\chi^2(15) = 2733.96$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0000$; 2 factors vs. saturated $\chi^2(4) = 17.88$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0013$; BIC: 1 factor: 1201.75; 2 factors: 105.21; 3 factors: 122.13; Correlation between factors: -0.05;

In the case of the items referred to wealth, following the same factor analysis procedure it is also possible to identify two dimensions: one named *intern*, composed by the items “ability or talent” and “hard work”, and the second called *extern*, related to the attribution of wealth to “having the right connections”, “more opportunities to begin with” and “the economic system which allow to take unfair advantage”. The results are presented in the following table:

Table 4: Factor structure of wealth attribution: Germany 2006

Items: Reasons for wealth in Germany	External	Internal	Uniqueness
Ability or talent	-0.03	0.52	0.73
Hard work	-0.02	0.68	0.53
Having the right connections	0.62	-0.02	0.61
More opportunities to begin with	0.67	0.01	0.55
The economic system which allow to take unfair advantage	0.44	-0.28	0.72
Explained Variance	1.03	0.82	

N= 2907 . Maximum Likelihood Faktor Analysis; Varimax Rotation; Percentage of explained variance: 0.36; Log Likelihood (2 Faktoren): - .2418285; LR test: independent vs. saturated: $\chi^2(10) = 1463.95$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0000$; LR test: 2 factors vs. saturated: $\chi^2(1) = 0.48$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.4871$; BIC: 1 factor: 546.9884; 2 factors: 72.25755 ; Korrelation zw. Faktoren: -0.0224

As well as in the poverty items, performing the same factor analysis for the wealth items separately for east and west Germany show similar results (see appendix A).

4.3 Multivariate Analysis

The scored factors for poverty and wealth constitute the dependent variables of this analysis: poverty intern, poverty extern, wealth intern and wealth extern. The analysis is presented in two steps: first, four hierarchical OLS regressions models are calculated for each variable, and in a second step separated summarized regression models are presented for east and west.

In the first part, the description of each regression model is the following: in model 1 are considered the dummy East Germany and structural variables such as sex, age, income and education. In the second model is added the subjective social standing as a micro-level variable measuring the effect of the self assigned social position on the attribution regarding other individuals. Finally the third and fourth models include ideological variables, which in the third are represented for the left-right orientation, and in the fourth this is replaced by the four justice ideologies. In table 5 are presented the results for the regression models on poverty extern and intern, and in table 6 for wealth intern and extern.

Looking at the models of external poverty, it is possible to observe that in the east poverty is significantly more attributed to external factors with regard to the west. The significance of the effects continues throughout the following models, even though their magnitude decreases progressively when incorporating micro level and ideological variables. About the specific structural variables, women attribute poverty significantly more than men to external factors, which can be linked to specific structural conditions of this group that lead them to express attitudes that challenge the legitimacy of the distribution system. All income variables appear as significant in model one, which means that in reference to the highest income quartile, the lowest income groups attribute poverty based on external factors. Nevertheless, the effect of the third quartile disappears when incorporating social standing, and the one of the second when adding to the model the ideological variables. Only the lowest income quartile remains significant, suggesting that the previous significant differences between quartile 2 and 3 with regard to quartile 4 are possible to be attributed to micro or ideological factors instead of pure structural conditions. The positive effect of subjective social standing can be interpreted as the lower the people situate themselves in a status scale, the more they attribute poverty to external factors. From the social identity approach (Tajfel, 1982) is possible to identify the effect of in-group favouritism, where people that assign themselves a

Table 5: OLS regressions models for external and internal attribution of poverty.

	External				Internal			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
East G.	0.32 (7.74)**	0.26 (6.33)**	0.23 (5.63)**	0.14 (3.44)**	-0.26 (6.62)**	-0.23 (5.68)**	-0.21 (5.28)**	-0.17 (4.29)**
Woman	0.13 (3.75)**	0.14 (4.09)**	0.13 (3.71)**	0.11 (3.17)**	0.07 (2.03)*	0.06 (1.85)	0.07 (2.08)*	0.07 (2.32)*
Age	-0.00 (3.22)**	-0.00 (2.66)**	-0.00 (2.42)*	-0.00 (1.90)	-0.00 (3.69)**	-0.00 (4.07)**	-0.00 (4.22)**	-0.00 (4.37)**
Income 1	0.40 (6.93)**	0.25 (4.16)**	0.24 (4.08)**	0.14 (2.42)*	-0.22 (3.90)**	-0.13 (2.15)*	-0.12 (2.08)*	-0.08 (1.47)
Income 2	0.21 (3.72)**	0.13 (2.20)*	0.11 (1.91)	0.07 (1.32)	-0.01 (0.23)	0.04 (0.71)	0.05 (0.88)	0.04 (0.67)
Income 3	0.14 (2.59)**	0.09 (1.68)	0.07 (1.21)	0.05 (0.95)	-0.07 (1.33)	-0.04 (0.75)	-0.03 (0.49)	-0.03 (0.50)
Income 4	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
No income infor.	0.16 (2.96)**	0.09 (1.73)	0.08 (1.48)	0.07 (1.28)	-0.02 (0.37)	0.02 (0.41)	0.03 (0.55)	0.05 (0.90)
Casmin 1	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Casmin 2	-0.12 (2.56)*	-0.01 (0.35)	-0.04 (0.97)	0.01 (0.99)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.13 (2.86)**	-0.11 (0.44)	-0.07 (0.01)
Casmin 3	-0.07 (1.58)	-0.02 (0.16)	-0.06 (1.25)	0.05 (0.22)	-0.06 (1.46)	-0.03 (0.76)	-0.02 (2.27)*	0.00 (1.54)
Social standing		-0.09 (7.98)**	-0.08 (7.43)**	-0.07 (5.93)**		0.05 (5.01)**	0.05 (4.69)**	0.04 (3.51)**
Left-right			-0.07 (7.86)**	---- ----			0.04 (4.13)**	---- ----
Egalitarianism				0.24 (10.5)**				-0.04 (2.05)*
Fatalism				-0.02 (1.11)				0.07 (3.46)**
Individualism				-0.07 (2.95)**				0.23 (10.1)**
Ascriptivism				-0.13 (5.81)**				0.07 (3.39)**
Constant	-0.10 (1.23)	0.39 (3.82)**	0.77 (6.88)**	0.29 (2.86)**	0.28 (3.53)**	-0.02 (0.20)	-0.21 (1.96)	0.02 (0.17)
Observations	2437	2437	2437	2437	2437	2437	2437	2437
R-squared	0.07	0.09	0.12	0.15	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.10

Absolute value of t statistics in parentheses * *significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

lower status, probably identify with the group about they have asked – the poor – and consequently tend to attribute their situation to external causes that are out of their control.

Regarding variables associated to the ideological area, the left-right identification has a significative effect in the expected sense, where people that assign themselves to the political left tend to attribute poverty to external factors. When replacing this variable by the justice ideologies, egalitarianism appears positively associated with an external attribution of poverty, whereas individualism and ascriptivism exhibit a negative association. This result is consistent with the grid-group approach and the impact of the group solidarity and the responsibility of the group in the redistribution, and in the case of individualism the appeal to the internal instead of the external reasons for a just distribution make them dismiss external causes of poverty.

In the models referred to the internal attribution of poverty it is also possible to observe a consistent negative effect in the east in reference to the west in the four models, pointing out that in the east part of the country people attribute poverty significantly less to internal causes. This was already possible to appreciate in the descriptive analysis, but now the results show that this difference maintains even after controlling for structural, subjective and ideological factors. Nevertheless, each of these factors contribute to clarify at least one part of the east-west differences. Gender and age again show significative effects, but in the same direction as in the external attribution. This is possible to happen since internal and external attributions of poverty form independent factors, and *ceteris paribus* the negative effect in one side does not necessarily mean a positive in the other. A possible interpretation of this apparently inconsistent effect is that sex as well as age represent categories with a combined influence of socialization but also represent groups affected by specific structural conditions in society. A way out to clarify this situation is to analyse the separated effects in East and in West, and to observe whether this situation is maintained or is specific to one specific parts of the country. This is discussed afterwards in the second step of the multivariate analysis.

The income variable on internal attribution have a weaker effect when compared to the external. Only people belonging to the first or poorer quartile generates significant negative values, meaning that they attribute poverty less in internal terms in reference to the richer quartile. But this significant effect disappears when incorporating justice ideologies, unlike model 4 of the previous analysis of external attribution of poverty. This can be explained based on that internal attribution of poverty as a more expanded and generalized phenomena in modern societies, and not

representative of specific groups given their structural constraints or own interests. At a subjective level, the variable social standing reveals that those who assign themselves a higher social position in the society tend to attribute poverty to internal characteristics such as lack of ability or effort, an effect that as in the case of the previous models keeps stable even when controlling for ideological variables. Also consistent with the models on external attribution of poverty, people that identify themselves with the right wing of the political spectrum is associated with a significative internal attribution, and when replacing this variable by the justice ideologies in model 4, egalitarians have a negative association with the internal attribution, whereas fatalists individualists and ascriptivists a positive one. The last two were among the expected given the tendency of ascriptivists to be subjugated under the rigid rules indicating their place in the society, and in the case of individualism due to their faith in individual effort and achievement, but the positive effect of the fatalists is not so easy to interpret. One possibility is that they passively accept the dictates of the social environment, assuming then that poor themselves are responsible for their situation and hence there is no much room for manoeuvre to attempt any change regarding this situation.

Considering now the regression models for the wealth factors (table 6), we have again a significative difference between east and west which is similar to the previous models, existing in the east a general tendency to attribute wealth more external and less internal when compared to the west. In the models regarding external attribution, the variable sex has no significative effect but age exhibit a significative negative effect throughout the models, meaning that older persons tend to attribute wealth to external causes. There are also some significant differences in terms of income, but they tend to disappear when introducing subjective and ideological variables. Nevertheless, it is worth to point out that in the case of internal attribution, is the third quartile the one showing significant differences with the fourth, instead of the quartile two or one. This is, people who are closer to the richest quartile attribute wealth significantly less to internal causes, but not the lowest income groups, which can be explained in terms of the relative deprivation feelings of people that can take the upper income reference group as a reference for comparison (Runciman, 1966). This same approach can be considered to explain the effects in the education variables, whereby an intermediate level of education (Casmin 2) shows a significative lower internal attribution of poverty, an effect that maintains even when introducing the ideological variables. The effect of social standing is consistent with the attributions of poverty, being the high self rated status negatively associated with an external attribution of wealth, and positively associated with an internal one. The justice ideologies have the expected effect in the internal attribution of wealth,

Table 5: OLS regressions models for external and internal attribution of poverty

	External				Internal			
East G.	0.24 (6.32)**	0.18 (4.94)**	0.17 (4.63)**	0.12 (3.24)**	-0.24 (6.89)**	-0.20 (5.71)**	-0.19 (5.21)**	-0.10 (2.97)**
Woman	0.05 (1.45)	0.05 (1.73)	0.05 (1.56)	0.04 (1.15)	0.08 (2.86)**	0.08 (2.66)**	0.09 (2.95)**	0.11 (3.97)**
Age	-0.00 (2.89)**	-0.00 (2.38)*	-0.00 (2.29)*	-0.00 (2.09)*	-0.00 (1.25)	-0.00 (1.72)	-0.00 (1.88)	-0.00 (2.20)*
Income 1	0.20 (3.80)**	0.07 (1.21)	0.06 (1.16)	0.02 (0.31)	-0.20 (3.96)**	-0.09 (1.76)	-0.09 (1.68)	0.00 (0.01)
Income 2	0.10 (1.89)	0.02 (0.42)	0.02 (0.31)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.12 (2.41)*	-0.06 (1.17)	-0.05 (0.98)	-0.02 (0.36)
Income 3	0.10 (2.02)*	0.06 (1.16)	0.05 (0.97)	0.04 (0.75)	-0.15 (3.19)**	-0.12 (2.46)*	-0.10 (2.15)*	-0.07 (1.62)
Income 4	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
no income infor.	0.07 (1.52)	0.01 (0.30)	0.01 (0.19)	0.01 (0.21)	-0.12 (2.51)*	-0.07 (1.48)	-0.06 (1.31)	-0.03 (0.70)
Casmin 1	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Casmin 2	-0.07 (1.76)	-0.00 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.28)	0.05 (0.22)	0.03 (0.70)	-0.01 (2.69)**	0.14 (0.03)	-0.02 (2.03)*
Casmin 3	-0.05 (1.30)	0.03 (0.60)	0.01 (0.19)	0.01 (1.17)	0.19 (4.77)**	0.11 (0.34)	0.00 (3.35)**	0.09 (0.40)
Social standing		-0.08 (8.07)**	-0.08 (7.84)**	-0.08 (7.35)**		0.06 (6.73)**	0.06 (6.36)**	0.04 (4.56)**
Left-right			-0.03 (2.91)**				0.04 (4.91)**	
Egalitarianism				0.15 (7.02)**				-0.16 (8.15)**
Fatalism				-0.04 (2.09)*				0.00 (0.03)
Individualism				-0.02 (0.81)				0.19 (9.32)**
Ascriptivism				-0.00 (0.04)				0.10 (5.08)**
Constant	0.01 (0.07)	0.46 (4.94)**	0.58 (5.72)**	0.44 (4.76)**	0.13 (1.78)	-0.23 (2.64)**	-0.44 (4.52)**	-0.17 (2.01)*
Observations	2506	2506	2506	2506	2506	2506	2506	2506
R-squared	0.03	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.07	0.08	0.14

Absolute value of t statistics in parentheses; * *significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

with a negative association with egalitarianism and a positive one from the side of individualism and ascriptivism. Fatalists appear now not attributing wealth to external causes and with a non significant effect with regard to the internal attribution of wealth, which can be again associated to the difficulty in expecting consistent responses in the internal or external attributions of wealth and poverty for individual characterized by an acceptance of the situations such as they are.

Attending to the explained variance of the models, with the variables considered it is possible to reach a better explanation of external poverty and internal wealth, whereby the explanatory power of the justice ideologies is comparatively greater in the internal than in the external attributions. This is actually consistent with the macro level theories regarding the role of ideologies in the internal attribution, and also with the external attributions and their “challenging” element associated to specific groups in society and their consequent interests.

Let us consider now the separated models for east and west (tables c1 and c2 in appendix C). With regard to attributions of poverty, some differences appear in the variables sex and age between both parts of the country. The significative effect of sex is here an specific case in the west where women tend to attribute poverty preferably to external causes in comparison to men, which can be seen as a challenging position of woman regarding the distribution system. Age has similar effects in east and in west, whereby an increase in age lead to a less internal attribution. Observing now the income quartiles, significant effects are found in the east for the case of external attribution, probably associated to the circumstances and interests of people with lowest income (quartile 1), an also to deprivation feelings in the case of the quartile 3. Since people of quartile 2 do not show a significant effect, is not possible to establish a linear or progressive association between income and external attributions of poverty in the east. With regard to the educational variables, the only significant effect is again in the east for the intermediate (Casmin 2) level of education, who attribute poverty less intern than people with a lower educational level, being in this case interesting that there are not significant effects of the group with higher education with regard to the lowest one in the attributions of poverty. All in all the educational level does not seem to have an stronger and decisive effect as the other variables considered.

Adding now the justice ideologies to the models, it is possible to observe a relative consistent effect in comparison with what was already observed in the previous models, nevertheless it is important to underline the distinctive contribution of the ideologies to the overall model that in the case of the

internal attribution in the east raises from 0.6 to 0.17. In this context, egalitarianism plays an important role both in the negative external as well as in the positive internal attribution of poverty.

Finally, some differences are also possible to observe in the east and the west regarding the attributions for wealth. First, women in the east show significantly attribution to internal causes for wealth when compared to men, which can be explained as a legitimization of the existence of wealth from the side of this group, a pattern that in the west turned out to be completely the opposite. Income and education do not contribute significantly to the separated models, and again the justice ideologies contributed to clarify an important proportion of the explained variance, and also again specially in the east. It is noteworthy that the significant effects of the ideologies show the same pattern in the east as well as in the west: a positive association between egalitarianism and external attribution of wealth, and a positive relationship between internal attribution and individualism as well as ascriptivism. Only fatalism exhibit a non consistent effect between east and west in the external attribution of poverty, which again can be explained given the acceptance and subjugation to the fate which are characteristic of this ideology, a fate that can be perceived as more external in the east, and less external in the west in relation to the causes of wealth.

Conclusions

This paper was centred on analysing attributions toward causes of poverty and wealth comparing the former East and West Germany. A first conclusion possible to derive already from the descriptive analysis is that there are clear differences between both societies, where in the east both poverty and wealth are attributed less internally and more externally than in the west. According to the literature, this attribution pattern is associated to a challenging position regarding the distribution system, since poor and rich are seen in the east less responsables for their situation as they are perceived in the west, and therefore the attributions emphasize the role of external constraints such as discrimination, lack of opportunities, and the economic system. A possible interpretation for the descriptive results are the differences in cultural backgrounds that still has a strong influence in the perceptions and attributions given the socialist values of the former GDR. Nevertheless, it could be also possible that specific structural factors such as income and education, or belonging to groups in the society that could be affected by specific conditions (women or age groups) have also an effect in these strong differences.

The multivariate analysis permitted to shed some light over some of these questions regarding the “inner wall” still existing between east and west. The differences between both parts of the country

remain significant even under control of variables such as sex, age, income and education. Some of the remaining variations were explained by the subjective variable of the self rated status position, with a quite stabile and consistent effect throughout the models. Instead of a concrete stratification variables such as income and education, is the subjective perception of the own position in society what seems to count the most in this case, where processes of attribution are probably related with the self identification with groups in society: if someone consider him or herself as having a high position in society, they will consider wealth caused mainly internally since they also probably identify with this group and my their own position is attributed mainly to ability and effort – own merits – instead of external grounds.

The introduction of the justice ideologies was also an attempt to clarify the remaining unexplained variation of the differences between east and west. This was successfully achieved since the ideological variables increased in all cases the explanatory power of the models, principally in the case of internal attributions of poverty and wealth, a situation among the expected given the strongest role of structural determinants in the case of external attributions. All and all the differences between east and west remain significant and a marked difference in term of cultural values regarding distribution is the major result of this study. Future research about the role of different groups in society in dimensions such as gender, age and income will allow progress in clarifying the remaining differences, as well as the changes in the effect of cultural and structural variables in different moments since the reunification of Germany.

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Appendix A: Factor structures for West and East Germany.

Factor structure for causes of poverty: 2006 - East

Item: Reasons for poverty in Germany.	Intern	Extern	Uniqueness
A Lack of ability or talent	0.60	-0.10	0.63
C Loose morals and drunkenness	0.71	0.04	0.50
D Lack of effort by the poor themselves	0.80	-0.11	0.36
E Prejudice and discrimination against certain groups	0.06	0.60	0.64
F Lack of equal opportunity	-0.06	0.86	0.25
G Failure of the economic system	-0.20	0.58	0.63
Eigenvalue	1.54	1.46	

N = 664; Maximum Likelihood Faktor Analysis; Varimax Rotation; explained variance: 0.5; Log Likelihood (2 Factors): -2.99; Likelihood-Ratio-Test independent vs. saturated $\chi^2(15) = 919.36$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0000$; 2 factors vs. saturated $\chi^2(4) = 5.95$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.2030$; BIC: 1 factor: 454.67; 2 factors: 77.47; 3 factors: 97.68. Correlation between factors: -0.03

Factor structure for causes of poverty: 2006 - West

Item: Reasons for poverty in Germany.	Extern	Intern	Uniqueness
A Lack of ability or talent	-0.06	0.37	0.86
C Loose morals and drunkenness	0.04	0.61	0.63
D Lack of effort by the poor themselves	-0.05	0.70	0.51
E Prejudice and discrimination against certain groups	0.59	0.11	0.64
F Lack of equal opportunity	0.82	-0.04	0.33
G Failure of the economic system	0.54	-0.09	0.70
Eigenvalue	1.31	1.02	

N = 2134; Maximum Likelihood Faktor Analysis; Varimax Rotation; explained variance: 0.39; Log Likelihood (2 Factors): -9.06; Likelihood-Ratio-Test independent vs. saturated $\chi^2(15) = 1732.69$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0000$; 2 factors vs. saturated $\chi^2(4) = 18.09$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0012$; BIC: 1 factor: 716.26; 2 factors: 102.44; 3 factors: 120.32. Correlation between factors: -0.07;

Factor structure for causes of wealth: 2006 - East

Item: Reasons for wealth in Germany.	Extern	Intern	Uniqueness
A Ability or talent	-0.0530	0.7178	0.4819
D Hard work	0.0231	0.5604	0.6855
E Having the right connections	0.6382	-0.0855	0.5854
F More opportunities to begin with	0.7101	0.0413	0.4940
G The economic system which allows to take unfair advantage	0.4569	-0.1953	0.7531
Eigenvalue	1.12366	0.87646	

N = 694 . Maximum Likelihood Faktor Analysis; Varimax Rotation; explained variance: 0.40 Log Likelihood (2 Factors): -.766
LR test: independent vs. saturated: $\chi^2(10) = 406.60$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0000$ LR test: 2 factors vs. saturated: $\chi^2(1) = 1.52$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.2171$
BIC: 1 factor: 175.9486 ; 2 factors: 60.41435; Correlation between factors: 0.0214

Factor structure for causes of wealth: 2006 - East

Item: Reasons for wealth in Germany.		Extern	Intern	Uniqueness
A	Ability or talent	-0.0074	0.4746	0.7747
D	Hard work	-0.0226	0.6943	0.5174
E	Having the right connections	0.6146	-0.0001	0.6223
F	More opportunities to begin with	0.6474	-0.0086	0.5808
G	The economic system which allows to take unfair advantage	0.4196	-0.2865	0.7418
Eigenvalue		0.97350	0.78944	

N= 2213 . Maximum Likelihood Faktor Analysis; Varimax Rotation; explained variance: 0.35 Log Likelihood (2 Factors): -.066884

LR test: independent vs. saturated: $\chi^2(10) = 989.70$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.0000$ LR test: 2 factors vs. saturated: $\chi^2(1) = 0.13$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.7148$

BIC: 1 factor: 389.3097; 2 factors: 69.45271; Correlation between factors: -0.0308

Appendix B: Factor structure of justice ideologies

	Egalitarismus	Askriptivismus	Fatalismus	Individualismus	Uniq.
The government should guarantee everyone a minimum standard of living (v129)	0.53	0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.72
The government should provide a job for everyone who wants one. (v131)	0.55	0.04	0.18	0.05	0.65
The government should place an upper limit on the amount of money any one person can make (v130)	0.63	-0.17	0.22	0.01	0.53
Government should redistribute income from the better-off to those who are less well-off (v50097)	0.54	-0.29	0.08	-0.06	0.61
People are entitled to keep what they have earned, even if this means some people will be wealthier than others (v202)	-0.03	0.64	0.02	0.12	0.57
People are entitled to pass on their wealth to their children. (v204)	-0.08	0.57	0.02	0.11	0.66
People with money should be left to enjoy it.. (v50100)	-0.21	0.57	0.04	0.06	0.63
There is no point arguing about social justice since it is impossible to change things. (v213)	0.12	0.03	0.79	0.10	0.35
The way things are these days, it is hard to know what is just anymore. (v214)	0.28	0.00	0.39	-0.02	0.78
There is an incentive for individual effort only if differences in income are large enough. (v112)	-0.02	0.10	0.12	0.57	0.65
People would not want to take extra responsibility at work unless they were paid extra for it. (v114)	0.03	0.13	0.10	0.62	0.58
Eigenvalue	1.82	1.39	0.54	0.51	

Appendix C: Separated regressions models for former East and West Germany.

Table C1: OLS-Regression models for poverty extern and intern in east and west Germany.

	East				West			
	Extern		Intern		Extern		Intern	
Woman	0.11 (1.53)	0.11 (1.57)	0.05 (0.68)	0.09 (1.28)	0.14 (3.55)**	0.11 (3.00)**	0.07 (2.02)*	0.07 (1.87)
Age	-0.00 (1.45)	-0.00 (1.95)	-0.01 (3.13)**	-0.01 (2.43)*	-0.00 (2.29)*	-0.00 (1.53)	-0.00 (2.88)**	-0.00 (3.21)**
Income 1	0.45 (3.33)**	0.29 (2.16)*	-0.19 (1.29)	-0.08 (0.57)	0.20 (2.88)**	0.12 (1.79)	-0.10 (1.60)	-0.10 (1.62)
Income 2	0.24 (1.77)	0.18 (1.39)	0.02 (0.12)	0.04 (0.27)	0.10 (1.61)	0.08 (1.34)	0.06 (0.95)	0.02 (0.40)
Income 3	0.32 (2.36)*	0.33 (2.54)*	-0.12 (0.80)	-0.07 (0.54)	0.01 (0.24)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.33)
Income 4	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
no_income info	0.24 (1.77)	0.26 (1.97)*	0.16 (1.05)	0.11 (0.78)	0.05 (0.93)	0.03 (0.56)	-0.01 (0.12)	0.02 (0.31)
Casmin 1	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Casmin 2	-0.16 (1.62)	-0.06 (0.68)	-0.11 (1.08)	-0.08 (2.40)*	-0.03 (0.29)	0.04 (0.63)	-0.07 (1.46)	0.02 (0.41)
Casmin 3	-0.20 (1.75)	0.06 (0.55)	-0.22 (1.81)	-0.28 (0.76)	-0.01 (0.50)	0.03 (0.78)	0.01 (0.20)	-0.02 (0.46)
Social standing	-0.10 (4.55)**	-0.07 (3.17)**	0.08 (3.34)**	0.06 (2.61)**	-0.08 (5.80)**	-0.06 (4.88)**	0.04 (3.12)**	0.03 (2.26)*
Left-right	-0.10 (4.94)**		0.03 (1.54)		-0.07 (6.19)**		0.04 (3.82)**	
Egalitarianism		0.39 (7.71)**		-0.19 (3.58)**		0.20 (8.03)**		0.01 (0.37)
Fatalism		0.05 (1.12)		0.03 (0.68)		-0.05 (1.98)*		0.08 (3.29)**
Individualism		-0.01 (0.28)		0.34 (7.22)**		-0.09 (3.18)**		0.16 (6.25)**
Ascriptivism		-0.15 (3.27)**		0.01 (0.31)		-0.12 (4.62)**		0.10 (4.13)**
Constant	1.19 (4.64)**	0.38 (1.75)	-0.27 (0.98)	-0.05 (0.20)	0.69 (5.59)**	0.27 (2.39)*	-0.22 (1.86)	0.04 (0.34)
Observations	588	588	588	588	1849	1849	1849	1849
R-squared	0.13	0.20	0.06	0.17	0.08	0.11	0.03	0.06

Absolute value of t statistics in parentheses - * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Table C2: OLS-Regression models for wealth extern and intern in east and west Germany.

	East				West			
	Extern		Intern		Extern		Intern	
Woman	-0.02 (0.31)	-0.04 (0.59)	0.20 (3.04)**	0.21 (3.44)**	0.08 (2.21)*	0.07 (2.09)*	0.05 (1.65)	0.09 (2.66)**
Age	-0.00 (0.59)	-0.00 (0.92)	-0.00 (2.02)*	-0.00 (1.65)	-0.00 (2.60)**	-0.00 (2.23)*	-0.00 (0.93)	-0.00 (1.59)
Income 1	0.01 (0.10)	-0.08 (0.66)	-0.15 (1.21)	-0.03 (0.26)	0.07 (1.15)	0.05 (0.75)	-0.06 (0.99)	0.02 (0.32)
Income 2	-0.07 (0.57)	-0.11 (0.98)	-0.03 (0.26)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.04 (0.62)	0.04 (0.71)	-0.05 (0.83)	-0.01 (0.24)
Income 3	-0.07 (0.53)	-0.06 (0.49)	-0.10 (0.82)	-0.09 (0.76)	0.08 (1.54)	0.08 (1.48)	-0.09 (1.78)	-0.06 (1.21)
Income 4	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
no_income info	0.12 (0.94)	0.11 (0.93)	0.04 (0.32)	-0.03 (0.30)	-0.02 (0.43)	-0.03 (0.49)	-0.07 (1.49)	-0.03 (0.71)
Casmin 1	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Casmin 2	-0.21 (2.33)*	-0.14 (1.38)	-0.06 (1.29)	-0.05 (0.55)	0.04 (2.39)*	0.03 (0.71)	0.02 (0.40)	0.08 (1.78)
Casmin 3	-0.39 (3.83)**	-0.12 (1.45)	0.13 (0.71)	0.06 (0.62)	0.12 (0.78)	0.10 (1.91)	0.14 (3.10)**	-0.01 (0.24)
Social standing	-0.08 (4.30)**	-0.07 (3.64)**	0.03 (1.74)	0.01 (0.52)	-0.07 (6.32)**	-0.07 (6.25)**	0.07 (6.35)**	0.06 (5.03)**
Left-right	-0.05 (2.71)**		0.08 (4.27)**		-0.02 (1.78)		0.03 (2.90)**	
Egalitarianism		0.31 (6.96)**		-0.16 (3.63)**		0.11 (4.55)**		-0.15 (6.78)**
Fatalism		0.14 (3.56)**		0.07 (1.74)		-0.11 (4.85)**		-0.03 (1.21)
Individualism		0.07 (1.69)		0.29 (7.39)**		-0.05 (1.90)		0.14 (5.93)**
Ascriptivism		-0.01 (0.27)		0.12 (3.01)**		0.01 (0.48)		0.09 (4.31)**
Constant	1.11 (4.80)**	0.67 (3.41)**	-0.58 (2.50)*	-0.05 (0.25)	0.48 (4.24)**	0.39 (3.82)**	-0.45 (4.23)**	-0.25 (2.57)*
Observations	608	608	608	608	1898	1898	1898	1898
R-squared	0.10	0.18	0.08	0.18	0.04	0.06	0.05	0.10

Absolute value of t statistics in parentheses - * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%