Perceptions of Justice towards Public Administration:
The Views of Finnish Citizens

Ari Salminen, Rinna Ikola-Norrbacka, Venla Mäntysalo

Faculty of Public Administration, University of Vaasa,
PO Box 700, FI-65101 Vaasa, Finland

The focus of the article is on citizens’ perceptions of justice in public administration. The analysis concentrates on justice regarded as equality, respect of public interest and justice of public services. The scope is to find out how the citizens view justice in public administration, what aspects should be respected and what the situation is. The Finnish welfare state model has undergone series of changes during the past decades. The reforms have influenced both service provision and public administration and the experience of justice in society. Evidence of the paper is based on Citizen Survey 2008, implemented in Finland. Citizens expressed their perceptions of justice in Finnish public administration and society. Our main findings indicate that citizens are concerned of the increasing inequality and fair treatment is no longer taken as granted. However, citizens also shared more individualistic view of justice. Efforts to achieve justice and equality should be made and public interest should be respected. Citizens doubt their demands are being responded to. Citizens feel that the Finnish system strives to achieve justice despite the growing inequality.

Keywords: justice, equality, citizens, administrative ethics, public service ethics.

Introduction

As commonly known, justice is a core concept of moral philosophy, concerning the society and the political system. Justice defines the most essential political good and it is the fundamental ordering principle of a democratic society. Fair-mindedness, rationality, prudence, and courage are essential virtues for the practice of public administration [5, p. 325] (see also [22; 27]).

Administrative ethics has been the subject of considerable scholarly study and research (e.g. [2; 5; 6; 10; 14; 16; 17; 25; 26]). As a core element of administrative ethics justice is seen as an integrative normative principle and guide for administrators. According to Lawton [15, p. 44] the justice approach to ethics categorizes justice in distributive and procedural justice, the first one concerning the principles and conditions on which goods and services are distributed within a society, the second is concerned with just and non-discriminatory processes and procedures.

In public administration lawfulness concerns both the citizens and public officials: if they are lawless, the whole system becomes unjust. Comte-Sponville [8] reflects the same question, considering that those who are lawful and fair, are just, and vice versa the lawless and unfair are unjust. The role of justice is also to set ethical parameters for the institutions of society [13].

Politics and administration imply the use of power, therefore the use of power ought to be legitimated by the citizens. A salient problem in public administration is the perceived injustice and inequality of the system. If the citizens experience
public administration as unjust and unequal system it threatens the legitimacy of the whole system.

The subject of our article is justice in the Finnish public administration. In terms of citizens’ perceptions and via their reflections of aspects of justice, we suppose, that an essential part of justice is to some degree measurable quantitatively. Through the survey data, we are interested in analyzing how justice is fulfilled in the Finnish public administration from the citizens’ perspective.

1. The research task

Finland as a Nordic country, with 5.3 million inhabitants, has been a homogenous population for a long time. Traditionally, the Finnish institutional welfare model comprises of extensive public service sector with efforts of maintaining equality between different social classes. The figure of public expenditures is rather high, almost 50 per cent of the GDP. In the beginning of the 21st century, the Transparency International CPI has ranked Finland among the least corrupt countries in the world. In turn, the high ratings in international surveys indicate peculiarities, such as legal administrative tradition and emphasized formal neutrality of civil servants in Finnish society.

The Citizen Survey 2008 pointed out problems and challenges on the experience of justice in Finnish public administration. Especially alarming were the estimations of fulfillment of justice. Estimations are subjective but however they should be taken seriously. We doubt whether the Finnish citizens think that justice as a core value is respected enough in public administration. Therefore our main focus is on the question of justice in different aspects.

We share the opinions of the authors, that equality, public interest and service provision are strongly intertwined with justice (e.g. [4; 10; 13; 29]). In spite of its relevance and importance, citizen approach is often neglected in the analyses of ethical governance.

According to our definition, justice is approached in two basic ways. First, it is a question of whether people are in general treated in a just way? And secondly, if the majority of citizens are treated in an equal way is justice fulfilled?

Three main elements are used such as 1) equality, 2) the respect of public interest, and 3) citizen-centred public services. These aspects stem from a wider framework of administrative ethics, contributing to their existence and to the existence of a just public administration. How we limit the focus of our research, is described in Figure 1.

A central element of justice is equality, in different forms. Equality of opportunities, equality before the law, gender equality and equality of rights and liberties, and equality in service provision are relevant aspects of justice. Generally fairness and equal treatment contribute to justice, society and public administration should promote them and treat citizens equally. Fairness is a precondition for the legitimacy of public administration.

![Figure 1: Central elements describing justice in public administration](image)

Public interest connotes common good and common will. In public administration the respect and realization of public interest is a necessary condition for the functioning and legitimacy of the system. There is an obligation to pursue the public interest in administration, therefore organizational goals should be of secondary priority [5, p.325].

Public services are directed to citizens, constituting the main arena in which the citizens encounter public administration. Public services entail the distribution of wealth and extensive service provision of the public sector implies and requires the allocation of tax funds. If the public services are perceived as just and fair, it improves the legitimacy of the whole public administration. A group of theories of justice prioritize private property and individual liberty to begin with, considering the redistribution of wealth itself as unjust. On the other hand, other theories find the distribution of wealth and large public services as a means to support and promote equality and justice in the society.

2. The survey method

Frederickson and Walling [12] state that the field-based empirical research on administrative ethics in public management is less common than
research based on normative and philosophical literature. According to them the use of questionnaires is probably the most common methodology in administrative ethics research.

The evidence of this research is based on the empirical data from a national citizen survey implemented independently by the University of Vaasa in 2008. The research program is funded by the Academy of Finland.

The original questionnaire consisted of citizens’ assessments on ethics of public services, good administration and virtues of public authorities, and ethics of political system. The questionnaire form covers 17 question groups, and 128 statements and assessments of the ethical themes. Each of the three themes has one open-ended question. Three additional open-ended questions were included and through these questions a large amount of personal stories were collected from the respondents.

In the survey data of our analysis, citizens express their views towards the questions of justice. The single statements of the questionnaire are formatted in the way that the respondents estimate how either the state of affairs should be or how it is. The data is also explained by seven societal background factors.

In Appendix 1 the central observations of different individual topics are briefly shown [25]. Justice in society was one of the topics but for the purposes of this paper also justice-related questions of good governance and ethics of public service were chosen for analysis.

The questionnaire was sent to 5000 Finnish citizens, aged 25–65, in spring 2008. The sample was chosen to represent Finland in miniature. The survey-sample was received from the Finnish public agency (The Population Register Centre). All the questions were multiple-choice questions and they were executed in Likert’s scale to secure the statistical runs. The answers were recorded in the statistics program SPSS.

The selection of the respondents raises the validity of the results of our study. Another thing for the validity is the relatively high response rate. Although incentives were not used, the response rate rose to 40.4%. Altogether more than 2000 carefully completed questionnaire forms were returned.

For gathering opinions, attitudes and expectations, the survey technique is an accurate tool in administrative ethics when the purpose is to reach a wider population [23; 25; 28]. The relevant questions of the questionnaire form with exact percentage shares are presented in Appendix 2.

3. The societal context of justice

Societies carry out various policies in order to promote justice and equality by appropriate means, supporting the aspects of equality that they consider to be important. Traditionally, the Finnish system has relied on strong public sector, extensive welfare services and a large number of public sector employees.

As a part of the Nordic welfare model the Finnish system relies strongly on three principles. Rule of law is dominating feature of the system. Another dominating feature is the loyalty to political decision making. Compassion is the third feature. There has been a strong tradition to take care of the least-advantages for example by means of the wide social security to all citizens and free education and health care system.

In the discourse of justice and the elements of justice, the underlying question that remains unresolved is what is good for a society? Another problematic question in the debate of justice and welfare state is the right to tax people in order to help others.

3.1. Welfare state in transition

One may claim that the Finnish society is less equal and less just than a couple of decades ago. One may ask, whether opportunities are equal to all as promised in the Constitution? Is the mixture of public services and social benefits still meant for the entire population?

Because the government is rolling back from its previous comprehensive responsibility, the concept of welfare state needs profound discussion and re-thinking. Although ideological and political challenges are in the front line, the Finnish welfare state is facing several ethical challenges as well [21].

In current political decision making, the tradition of market liberalism and individualism is much stronger than doctrines of institutional welfare or collectivism. For a long time, the welfare policy was based on political faith, commonly shared values and consensus between the political actors of the country. A just and legitimate political system was composed of a sense of social solidarity, political consensus and capacity of gathering all political parties (ideologies) for joint policy formation. The old welfare model was a result of political compromises.

Things have changed. Such an organized administrative welfare model has lost its support. The market-oriented model is challenging the old-fashioned model. Markets and market-type mechanisms play an increasing role in the practice of public administration.
The welfare state is reformed by different strategies. The new governance of the reformed welfare state is less hierarchical, more flexible and more networked. The government and the market are working together with shared values. The new values come from both private and public sector. The new model is more sensitive in citizens’ expectations, but not to all expectations [1; 28]. Politicians from left to right do agree that poverty should be reduced and equality improved through welfare provisions and redistribution of income. However a universality of benefits and a comprehensive social security system are gradually being questioned.

Nevertheless, people are prepared to pay their taxes, but high taxation is not anymore the central instrument in welfare formation and in establishing a legitimate public welfare administration. Buchanan [3] reminds us about tax illusion: uncertainty increases, unless individuals do not know exactly how public economy spends the funds paid in taxes. The contrary lesson, however, is that the smaller the income taxes, the more restricted the possibilities of the state to finance social benefits [21].

3.2. How the citizens view the future of Finnish society

According to above said, there are many aspects that relate societal change to justice. The questions concerning the current state and the future of the Finnish welfare state were posed, such as:

- rawlsian adjustments of justice,
- experiences of injustice and
- issues of inequality.

Some of these ethical issues are dealt with Figure 2. The broad question included several statements and thus various possible interpretations.

The questionnaire’s results of social justice are represented with percentage shares of agree, neutral and disagree answers. As shown in Appendix 2, the question 14 was mainly dealing with the theme of change in society.

In the citizens’ eyes Finnish society is trying to achieve justice, even though the future of the society does not seem to be just and fair. Nearly 70 per cent of the respondents thought Finnish society should be trying to achieve justice. However, another perspective
on the same issue, development towards injustice, produced a more balanced result. Almost half of the respondents felt that Finnish society is becoming more unjust, nearly one fourth disagreed with this statement.

The citizens agreed clearly with our statement concerning the relation with society’s welfare to individual’s welfare. They also agreed strongly with the statements concerning growth of income disparities and deepening class differences. The citizens also somewhat agreed with the statements concerning increasing unequal treatment of citizens and increasing injustice in the Finnish society.

The increasing differences in society are a sign of injustice, especially class differences and disparities in incomes are relevant for the citizens. No less than 86 per cent of the respondents felt that class distinctions will deepen in the future. Nearly all the respondents felt that disparities in incomes will increase as well. Other options did not produce as strong views. These questions survey the future of the Finnish society. The results are somewhat conflicting. People think that Finnish society is becoming more unjust but the number of agreeing is not even close to the high numbers describing class differences or disparities in incomes. Actually, Finland is one of the Western countries, with New Zealand, Canada and Norway where the rise of income inequality has been significant during the 21st century. Majority of Finnish citizens feel that Finnish society is trying to achieve justice. However they estimate that the income gap is getting bigger. Does it show that Finnish citizens approve the fact of increasing gap because the majority is still thinking that the society is trying to achieve justice? Or do citizens think that increasing gap in incomes is originating not from the society but from the business?

4. Three topics of justice

We discuss further the question of just public administration through three topics. The next issues deals with equality, public interest and public services.

4.1. Equality

The important aspect of equality is the equality of opportunities, and often it is regarded as a responsibility of the society, providing equal opportunities to everyone. Equality refers to equal and fair treatment of citizens. One consequence of this is that public offices and positions are open to all. Rawls [22] and Dworkin [9, p. 110] view equality and distribution of resources as ideals based on envy-free action. In a market-driven society, everyone should have an equal access to competition.

Fairness in public administration is connected to fair decisions and just system. Administrations decisions are considered just when they produce just outcomes (distributive justice) and are produced by a fair process. Fairness functions as a cornerstone of a just public administration in a larger setting. A society based on just public administration has the possibility to achieve justice, regarding that citizens have legitimized the system of public administration and public services.

The results are presented in Figure 3. The majority of Finnish people want equal rights and freedom to be ensured for all citizens. This is the ideal type, of course. Alike, citizens do strongly subscribe to the principle presented by Rawls: inequality shall not hurt the least-advantaged. These statements are obscure but however understandable enough. It is sure that in the times of recessionary periods these values are more important to people than in the times of economic growth.

This survey has been implemented before the recession became evident and under public debate.

The respondents were decisive with the above-mentioned rawlsian statement. Significant majority of citizens agreed somewhat or fully, other alternatives received little support. Almost all respondents agreed also, that equal rights and freedoms should be guaranteed for all citizens. These two strong agreements reflect the utmost importance of equality as an element of justice in citizens’ perceptions.

There was yet a statement about justice concerning estimations of increasing unequal treatment of citizens. Citizens’ assessments were not as united as with previous questions. The result appears alarming since even more than 60 per cent shared this view, and only 15 per cent disagreed.

One third of Finnish citizen agreed that public servants treat all citizens fairly. Almost half of the respondents felt neutral with the statement. However there is an increasing gap between the expectations – how citizens feel they should be treated – and the reality – how citizens feel they are treated. Balanced development of the society requires however that the gap between expectations and reality is not growing intolerable to different societal groups.

4.2. Respecting public interest

The next issue is public interest, which is related to various aspects, for example public good, common good, citizens’ interest and collectivism. Public inter-
est presumes that individual interests are subordinated to a larger set of communal values. The differing opinions of citizens about public interest are seen as a debate over substantive democratic values, moreover about equality of condition or equity. This view instrumentalizes public interest as a debate between those who would promote greater equality, and between those who would not limit individual liberty at its expense [19].

![Figure 3: Equality: the views of citizens](image)

If citizens regard the decisions as just and in accordance with the public interest, they can accept even complicated decisions concerning for example service provision and taxation. The fulfilment of public interest is safeguarded by just decisions and the commitment to serve all citizens, not just a specific privileged group of citizens or customers. Figure 4 represents the citizens’ estimations to the question of public interest.

The statement concerning prioritizing citizens’ interest produced convergent results. More than half of respondents estimated it to be rather or very important. However one fifth did not consider citizens’ interest to be important.

Citizens’ comments indicate clearly the importance of public interest in ethical administration. Therefore also criticism is given regarding the public interest. We found out that for the citizens, it is important, that the public interest is not ignored, and it should be taken into account in decision-making.

About half of the respondents agreed with the statement that realization of public interest is the most important thing in political decision-making. Public servants cannot be totally satisfied with the estimations concerning their commitment to serve all citizens. Only about one third of the respondents agreed with statement. The mean is near three, which illustrates the neutral alternative which can be seen also in the figure three as the highest number of neutral answers.

### 4.3. Citizen-centred public services

The final issue of justice deals with citizen-centred public services. In this case we have fo-
cussed on the question are public services just and fair in citizens views, and in accordance with their expectations, and therefore contribute to the legitimacy of the whole system and public administration. Due to the constant reforms in public administration and the adaptation of new models in the public service provision, the perception of justice is being transformed.

![Figure 4: Public interest: the views of citizens](image)

Ethical principles and values have been set on public services in order to establish an ethical standard on them. In Finland the services were for a long time totally free of charge. Nowadays citizens are usually paying very nominal substitution for the services they are using. However, the present taxation, even with the nominal substitutions by citizens, is not sufficient to cover the expenses of public services.

Generally, citizens’ ability to estimate received services is good, but what about the estimations based on services the citizens have not used personally? Citizens pose different expectations and wishes on the public services. Therefore the content and availability of services are estimated according to citizens’ criteria, not according to the official criteria by public administration.

In Figure 5 the public service values are represented with percentage shares of agree, neutral and disagree answers. As seen from the figure, almost half of the respondents estimated that services are equally guaranteed for everyone. The percentage share is somewhat low when comparing it to the Finnish social welfare - idea, for example free education - system in all levels, social security system for all citizens and extensive public health care.

The estimations concerning responding to the citizens demands are rather dramatic. Only about one fourth of respondents agreed with the statement. The number of respondents who disagreed is much too high.

A clear majority of Finnish people agreed that tax allowances are rationally used. At least they did not totally disagree. However, controversially they somewhat disagree that citizens demands are being responded to. More than half of the respondents were satisfied with the service expenses, even though they have been gradually augmented in the Finnish public services. However, over one third of citizens disagreed that the service expenses in the future would be designed according to the customers’ ability to pay.

The situation on the whole concerning public service values is not excellent, not even good. But we may argue that situation could also be much worse. It is a known fact that people rarely think that services respond exactly their needs.
There is always a need for better and more diverse services. The system is considered to be legitimate, if the tax allowances are rationally used as the citizens strongly expect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Services are equally guaranteed for everyone (n=1981)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens demands are being responded to (n=1976)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax allowances are rationally used (n=1984)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The service expenses are reasonable (n=1967)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public services are designed according to the customers’ ability to pay</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5: Public services: the views of citizens

Citizens’ attitudes towards the rational use of tax allowances are in a class of its own compared to other statements. Citizens regard it as extremely important ethical feature in public administration. Even if the situation in other statements looks not so positive, it is not reasonable to say that these aspects are showing low quality or they do not have the public support. Responding to citizens demands is the only statement, where the estimations are negative, clearly the citizens’ demands should be respected more. The service expenses are estimated to be quite reasonable which tells us that citizens have accepted and adapted the realities of the public service production.

5. Final remarks

According to the previous discussion on different aspects of justice in Finnish public administration, are there any conclusions to be drawn? What about the requirements of justice: are they being fulfilled or not? The empirical data reveals the statistical facts. What about the “hidden” opinions of the respondents?

The results remind us of the fact that the citizens are willing to accept societal changes. As long as their expectations correlate with the future reforms, the system can be regarded as legitimate. However, if the facts of the survey are reliable, what appears to be the main concern of the citizens?

The citizens express their concern on the increasing inequality. People are worried about whether they can still expect to receive similar services in the future. According to the citizens, a fair treatment is no longer taken as granted. They express doubt that their ability to pay public services will significantly weaken. Citizens are fairly content in service expenses. They agree strongly that tax allowances should be rationally used and that citizens’ interest should be prioritized.

One further conclusion is obvious. As proved previously, the citizens’ views make a distinc-
tion between two types of the responses and opinions. The distinction is illustrated below. The first one tells us about a sort of idealistic view “what it should be”, and the latter about realistic “what it is”. Based on such a distinction, a few perceptions in the previous figures are regrouped here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Should be”</th>
<th>“Is”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Striving for justice and equality</td>
<td>• Increasing income inequality and class differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Respecting the rawlsian principle of justice</td>
<td>• Increasing unequal treatment of citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Importance of public interest in decision-making</td>
<td>• Weakness of commitment to serve all citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Responding to citizens demands</td>
<td>• Services are not necessarily equally guaranteed for everyone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eight relevant views of citizens are worth mentioning here. In the end, the ideal level “should be” and the realistic level “is” are intertwined. It is evident, that maintaining ideal level justice and equality is strongly explained by real changes in society. For example if income inequality continually grows, which we are afraid of in Finland, citizens’ demands are not anymore met in traditional public service delivery.

According to the questions already discussed, there were two questions in our survey which clarified the citizens’ conceptions of justice. The opposing statements were posed, first one stating that justice is based on the property rights of individuals, and the other suggesting justice is based on collectivism. Remarkably large number of the respondents shared the individualistic view. In spite of this perceived increase of individualism, the rawlsian principles and Nordic compassion are still highly respected.

To others, justice is based on individualism, and to others, on collectivism. A generally agreed definition of justice does not perhaps exist. The survey data indicate that Finnish citizens seem to present more individualistic perspective about justice. From historical perspective, Finland is rather collectivistic country (strong labour movement). This leads to a conclusion that attitudes of citizens have been changed.

Additionally, the ethical level of justice in the Finnish public administration is also strongly dependent on globalization, occurrence of corruption and behaviour of large companies and other business organizations. The citizen survey describes images on asked themes. Those images are controversially dependent on the citizens’ experiences of public administration and public services.

Appendix 1. Central observations of the Citizen Survey 2008
University of Vaasa

The survey was based on 17 questions, which include 128 statements. The most important items of the survey:

- **Decent citizen**
  A decent citizen is willing to pay taxes, respects the law and appreciates honest work.

- **The fulfilment of justice**
  Public interest shall be prioritized. Growing income disparities and deepening class differences signifies injustice.

- **Accountability and responsibility**
  Public officials should be accountable to customers/citizens. There should be more clarity who is the responsible agent of issues concerning citizens.

- **Openness and transparency**
  Citizens do not believe that openness will increase in society. Active support in information needs is expected from public officials, the availability of information is important.

- **Trust**
  Citizens trust public organizations and institutions, but they do not trust the promises of politicians.

- **Corruption**
  Severe forms of corruption occur seldom, however the "old-boy” networks distort the ethical administration.

- **Principles of good administration**
  Law-abiding provides the basis for good administration. Improvements are needed in the practices of administration. Citizens are being heard but they are not being listened to.

- **Ethics of public service**
  There are commonly shared service values. New forms of alienation are a threat for public services. Citizens feel that their feedback is being ignored.
Appendix 2. The Citizen Survey 2008: justice related questions from the questionnaire form
University of Vaasa

1. According to Your experience, how are the following statements concerning safeguarding the public service being fulfilled?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly disagree (%)</th>
<th>Disagree somewhat (%)</th>
<th>Neither agree, nor disagree (%)</th>
<th>Agree somewhat (%)</th>
<th>Strongly agree (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Services are equally guaranteed for everyone (n=1981)</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The service expenses are reasonable (n=1967)</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. According to You, how are the following values being realized?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Very badly (%)</th>
<th>Quite badly (%)</th>
<th>Neither badly nor well (%)</th>
<th>Quite well (%)</th>
<th>Very well (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Responding to citizens demands (n=1976)</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. How would you describe the future of public services?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Strongly disagree (%)</th>
<th>Disagree somewhat (%)</th>
<th>Neither agree, nor disagree (%)</th>
<th>Agree somewhat (%)</th>
<th>Strongly agree (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Public services are designed according to the customers’ ability to pay (n=1983)</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. According to You, how do the virtues of public service actualize?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Virtue</th>
<th>Not at all (%)</th>
<th>Quite little (%)</th>
<th>Somewhat (%)</th>
<th>Quite well (%)</th>
<th>Very well (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Public servants treat all citizens fairly (n=1982)</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Public servants are committed to serve all citizens (n=1975)</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. How important do You consider the following ethical features are in public action?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Not at all important (%)</th>
<th>Not very important (%)</th>
<th>Somewhat important (%)</th>
<th>Fairly important (%)</th>
<th>Very important (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Citizens interest comes first (n=1984)</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tax allowances are rationally used (n=1984)</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. What do you think of the following statements?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly disagree (%)</th>
<th>Disagree somewhat (%)</th>
<th>Neither agree, nor disagree (%)</th>
<th>Agree somewhat (%)</th>
<th>Strongly agree (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. The most important thing in decision-making is the realization of public interest (n=1986)</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. How do you consider the following statements related to changing society?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly disagree (%)</th>
<th>Disagree somewhat (%)</th>
<th>Neither agree, nor disagree (%)</th>
<th>Agree somewhat (%)</th>
<th>Strongly agree (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Finnish society is trying to achieve justice (n=1984)</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Finnish society is becoming more unjust (n=1983)</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Equal rights and freedom shall be ensured for all citizens (n=1973)</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>59.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Unequal treatment of citizens is increasing (n=1970)</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Disparities in incomes will increase (n=1984)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>56.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Class differences will become deeper (n=1985)</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. If individuals are doing well, so is society (n=1983)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Inequality shall not hurt the least-advantaged (n=1964)</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>58.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References  
Ari Salminen, Rinna Ikola-Norrbacka, Venla Mäntysalo

Teisingumo viešajame administravime suvokimas: Suomijos piliečių požiūriai

Santrauka