

Teemu RANTANEN^a

Laurea University of Applied Sciences, Finland

Timo TOIKKO^b

Seinäjoki University of Applied Sciences, Finland

Social values, societal entrepreneurship attitudes and entrepreneurial intention of young people in the Finnish welfare state

Abstract: The article is focused on Finnish youth's social values, societal entrepreneurship attitudes and entrepreneurial intention. The study addresses how the relationship between social values and societal entrepreneurship attitudes becomes visible among Finnish young people. What is the relationship between social values and entrepreneurial intention? What is the relationship between societal entrepreneurship attitudes and entrepreneurial intention? We also analyze the relationship between different social values of the Finnish welfare state. Survey data (N = 873) were gathered in electronic format from secondary and vocational schools in the Helsinki–Uusimaa region, and questions were based on a multiple-choice Likert scale. The analysis was undertaken using statistical methods. We found that Finnish young people consider entrepreneurship first and foremost a pragmatic career option, which is not supported by ideological arguments or assumptions. On the other hand, the connection between social values and entrepreneurial orientation remains largely at the level of attitudes. On a practical level, entrepreneurship is not thought to be an attractive career option.

Keywords: entrepreneurship, attitudes, social values, entrepreneurial intention.

JEL codes: D00, D63, M13.

Introduction

The Nordic value climate has traditionally been constructed on Western values that emphasize democracy, individual freedom and civil rights on the one hand, and on the basis of societal thinking that underscores collective responsibility on the other

^a Laurea Tikkurila, Ratatie 22, 01300 Vantaa, Finland, e-mail: teemu.rantanen@laurea.fi.

^b School of Health Care and Social Work, P.O.Box 158, 60101 Seinäjoki, Finland, e-mail: timo.toikko@seamk.fi.

hand. In this article¹, we examine the relationship between these values and entrepreneurial intention: Do they serve as factors that inhibit or further inhibit entrepreneurship? The target of this examination is Finnish young people and their social values, societal attitudes and entrepreneurial intention.

According to the Flash Eurobarometer report [2009], Finnish people's interest toward entrepreneurship has increased throughout the 2000s. Nevertheless, if the majority of Finns had a free choice, they would rather work as employees than entrepreneurs. In this sense, Finnish entrepreneurial willingness remains below average compared to other European Union member states [Flash Eurobarometer 2009]. According to the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) survey, the actual entrepreneurial intention of the Finnish adult population is the lowest among Nordic countries. Moreover, growth orientation of entrepreneurs as well as new innovative entrepreneurship in Finland are scarce [Stenholm et al. 2011]. In contrast, external factors for the framework of entrepreneurial activity are at least at the same level as in many other European countries.

The target of this research work was the Uusimaa region in southern Finland. Uusimaa is geographically a small area (3% of Finland's land area), but in terms of population and industrial production it represents approximately one-third of Finland. The Uusimaa region consists of the Helsinki metropolitan area and the surrounding region of smaller cities and rural areas. We asked how the relationship between social values and societal entrepreneurship attitudes becomes visible among the Uusimaa students. Moreover, what kind of a relationship is there between social values and entrepreneurial intention? We also ask about the relationship between societal entrepreneurship attitudes and entrepreneurial intention among Finnish young people and analyze the relationship between different social values [Figure 1].

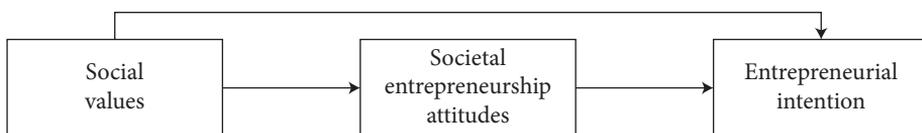


Figure 1. The target of the study

Young people's entrepreneurship attitudes have previously been studied mainly from the perspective of entrepreneurial education and through broad survey research. Several studies have attempted to explain entrepreneurial intentions by means of various psychological factors, such as those from entrepreneurial orien-

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tation [Covin & Slevin 1991; Lumpkin & Dess 1996]. The explanatory models have been complemented by examining various environmental factors and the environment's normative expectations [e.g., Ajzen 1991; Krueger, Reilly & Carsrud 2000]. However, little research has been carried out on the impact of social values on young people's entrepreneurial intention.

Social values can be understood in different ways. Martti Puohiniemi [2002] and Klaus Helkama and Antero Olakivi [2012] have done large value surveys in Finland. This study is focused on societal or social political values. We analyzed values that form a basis of the Finnish societal model.

Likewise the concept of attitude can be defined in different ways [Eagly & Chaiken 1993]; it can be understood as a property or a trait of the individual as well as a social concept [de Rosa 1993]. This means that attitudes are, at least partially, socially constructed and that societal discourses build attitudes [Vesala & Rantanen 2007]. Thus, we approached societal entrepreneurial attitudes by examining the discourses of entrepreneurship in Finland. We examined the attitudes of the general level not, for example, attitudes toward someone's behavior [see Ajzen 1991; Ajzen & Fishbein 2000].

1. Social values in Finland

The Finnish social values are closely connected to the Nordic value world and the idea of the welfare state. The term 'welfare state' can refer to a broad social political system and the value world it is based on. The existing welfare states can be categorized into Nordic, Continental European and Anglo-American states [Esping-Andersen 1990]. The categorization is mostly based on the situation in the 1980's and should hence be regarded a little cautiously [see Hiilamo et al. 2010]. Nevertheless, it provides one starting point to the discourse on welfare states and the rationale behind them [Moreno 2010].

The Nordic welfare state, including Finland, is grounded in the notion of universal welfare services. The state has a central role as the guarantor and producer of welfare, which stresses the standpoint of advancing the common good and support to less advantaged people. It is striven to achieve a good society by providing everyone with equal opportunities for, among other things, education and health care; regardless of people's geographical or social reference group. In this sense, the objective of the Nordic welfare state is to produce social security [Ervasti et al. 2008].

During the past two decades, the Finnish welfare state has changed in numerous ways. A sector of increasingly wide-range private welfare services has emerged next to the public service production [Toikko & Gawel 2012]. This has reduced the

public sector's responsibility for the actual service provision and means that it is no longer automatically the only producer of social security. Moreover, the GINI index that measures income distribution demonstrates the growth in economic inequality that began towards the end of the 1990's [Jutila 2011; Saari 2011]. Instead of collective responsibility, individual rights and responsibilities have become more pronounced. This change is predicted to reflect a broader shift towards individualism and individual freedom as well. Hence, in international comparisons, Finland is defined as an individualistic society [Hofstede].

The welfare state can be seen as a compromise between individualism and collectivism on the one hand; on the other hand, also as a reconciliation of values concerning security and freedom. There is an interesting discrepancy in the development of the Finnish society where collectivism-based social security is underscored while individualism and individual rights and freedom it embraces are simultaneously highlighted. The Nordic welfare state, which emphasizes the collective value system, is still firmly supported by citizens [Muuri 2008] who simultaneously endorse individual values based on the democratic system.

2. Entrepreneurship discourse and its criticism

Traditionally, entrepreneurship in Finland has been considered a significant manifestation of the society's freedom. Entrepreneurs can even be seen as ideal citizens who simultaneously realize a Western individual's right to personal freedom and keep the wheels of economy turning. According to numerous studies, diligence, perseverance and hard work are accentuated in the image of entrepreneurship [e.g. Kivelä 2002; Nevanperä 2003; Hyytiäinen & Pajarinen 2005; Home 2007].

The cultural dimensions of entrepreneurship have also been examined through Geert Hofstede's cultural value theory by using the concepts of individualism and collectivism [e.g. Mueller & Thomas 2000; Lindsay 2005; Linan & Chen 2009]. It has been proposed that low collectivism and high individualism belong to entrepreneurship-oriented cultural values. Strong emphasis on an individual's autonomy is traditionally connected with the very core of individualism, which can be considered as an important motive for entrepreneurship.

The relationship between entrepreneurship and individualism has certainly been put under critical scrutiny as well. The empirical research findings of Patrick Kreiser, Louis Marino and K. Mark Weaver [2001], for instance, show that there is no significant correlation between individualism and risk-taking willingness. They suggest that an explanation for this can be found in the notion that dependence is non-linear, and individualism taken to its extreme level may be a disincentive to en-

trepreneurial behaviour. In his analysis of images of entrepreneurship, Kari Vesala [1996] in turn juxtaposes the individualistic image with a relationistic image of entrepreneurship, which emphasizes the central role of stakeholder cooperation.

The relationship of the individual pursue for private financial profit, inherent to entrepreneurial activity, with the Finnish thinking that gives priority to collective social responsibility is also not fully unproblematic. Indeed, two contradictory conceptions of entrepreneurship and the societal significance of entrepreneurs exist and are traditionally apparent in Finnish research of attitudes. Entrepreneurs have been seen not only as diligent ideal citizens with a strong sense of responsibility but also as exploiters who are power-hungry and take advantage of others [e.g. Pitkänen & Vesala 1988, pp. 79–80].

In the Finnish political discourse, entrepreneurship has become increasingly emphasized throughout the 2000's. Entrepreneurial activity is seen as a prerequisite for creating new jobs, as well as for national competitiveness. In many statements, entrepreneurship has been seen as a solution for the challenges of both regional viability and employment of individuals. There are various kinds of programs to support innovative opportunities of businesses. Entrepreneurship has become a core part and task of Finnish politics [Turunen 2011].

Entrepreneurial discourse in Finland is related to the trend of neoliberalism which sees entrepreneurial activity and free markets are seen as the best solution to advancing people's welfare [Harvey 2007; Clarke 2008]. According to Heikki Patomäki [2007], however, hardly anyone in Finland is a self-declared neoliberal. The majority of Finns still believe in the welfare state and the principle of collective responsible inherent to it. Finland has been reformed for nearly two decades consistently with the neoliberal agenda which, nevertheless, has not condensed to be as strong ideology as in many other countries. The reform of the Finnish society has been more pragmatic than ideological. Reforms have been made because they are seen as an imperative solution to globalization and maintaining national competitiveness.

According to Patomäki [2007], the neoliberal reforms applied in Finland often originate from international commissions in which both civil servants of the Ministry of Finance and experts of both administration and business economy have participated [see Alasuutari & Rasimus 2009]. OECD, IMF and the meetings and conferences of the European Union have recommended neoliberal reforms. In this sense, we can claim that in a certain way neoliberalism has, unlike in many other countries, been a project of the elite of civil servants rather than a political movement. In Finland, the neoliberal revolution has been technocratic. It is the experts of different fields that hold the power in a technocratic society: civil servants, researchers and consultants.

Entrepreneurship has made a breakthrough also in the Finnish educational system. Schools want to bring up individuals into entrepreneurial citizens who themselves are responsible for their own employment and wellbeing. Teachers and stu-

dents are trained for internal and external entrepreneurship at all school levels [e.g. OPM 2004]. Entrepreneurial education is seen as learning that promotes active and self-initiated way of functioning which provides the students the opportunity to develop their own skills. Patricia Mccafferty [2010] even speaks about a neoliberal pedagogy.

Within the Finnish entrepreneurial education research community, the neoliberal entrepreneurship discourse and its dominance has also been critically evaluated. According to Risto Ikonen [2006, pp. 35–36] the concept of entrepreneurship has been appropriated as part of neoliberal rhetoric; however, it has also always been part of the expression that defends the Nordic welfare state. In these discourses, also the meanings of entrepreneurship are crucially divergent: Whereas neoliberalism conceives the markets as the only factor regulating the economy, the welfare state-oriented tradition sees that the goals of the economy are subordinate to common decision-making.

Ikonen [2006] makes a division between the two concepts of entrepreneur education and entrepreneurial education. Along with the promotion of economic enterprise, he sees democratic education and the upbringing of an active citizen as the central goals of entrepreneurial education. Intellectual education, democracy education and entrepreneurial education together form a foundation on which a capable and autonomic citizenship is built. At the same time, the promotion of the ability to see differently, criticism of corporate power and media literacy, among other things, become part of entrepreneurial education [Ikonen 2006].

However, the citizenship education as the goal of entrepreneurial education has been called into question in Finnish entrepreneurship research. S. Keskitalo-Foley, K. Komulainen and P. Naskali [2010, p. 21], for instance, emphasize that the entrepreneurial self that is produced by entrepreneurial education is the ideal subject of the new economy: citizenship is first and foremost defined by its relationship with the markets. An individual has a role as a consumer, as well as a producer and an employee. Expressly the concept of agency lies in the background of the critical analysis of entrepreneurship discourse. According to Nikolas Rose's and Peter Miller's [1992] analysis concerning government, the neoliberal discourse works - despite the markets' apparent freedom of choice - as a new form of social government. An individual's activity is built on constant coercion to make a choice in the markets. From an individual's perspective, entrepreneurial agency contains the possibility of independence, personally significant experiences, and materially rewarding way of life. On the other hand, entrepreneurship discourse signifies a model of social government and making politics where responsibility is to be carried by an individual [Pyysiäinen 2011].

3. Research objective, research questions, and hypotheses

Previous research depicts a multidimensional and even somewhat contradictory image of the social value premises of entrepreneurship discourse and entrepreneurial education. Interest is raised by the type of relationship between collective responsibility, emphasis on individual rights and entrepreneurship from the perspective of young people. Furthermore, it is interesting to analyze young people's societal entrepreneurship attitudes and the criticism of neoliberal entrepreneurial education that they possibly contain. Is the entrepreneurial intention of young people connected to social values or is it mainly a question of a pragmatic career choice? What are the ideological premises that Finnish entrepreneurship discourse and its criticism connect to?

In this research, we focused our interest on Finnish youth's social values, societal entrepreneurship attitudes and entrepreneurial intention. We examined two types of social values: the individual's democratic rights and social justice. Similarly, we studied two types of entrepreneurship attitudes: the general entrepreneurship attitude (a social appreciation of entrepreneurship) and critical entrepreneurship attitude (critique of entrepreneurial discourse). Our examination is limited to the Helsinki–Uusimaa region. We sought to answer the following four research questions:

1. How do Finnish young people relate to the values that emphasize an individual's democratic rights on the one hand and social justice on the other, as well as what is the relationship between these two different values?
2. What is the reciprocal relationship between social values and societal entrepreneurship attitudes among Finnish young people?
3. What type of reciprocal relationship is there between social values and societal entrepreneurship intentions among Finnish young people?
4. What type of reciprocal relationship is there between societal entrepreneurship attitudes and entrepreneurial intentions among Finnish young people?

The first research question is mainly descriptive by nature. We tested the following hypothesis:

H1. Values that highlight an individual's democratic rights and values related to social justice are co-dependent.

We addressed the second research question by studying four hypotheses:

H2. Values that highlight an individual's democratic rights correlate (positively) with social appreciation of entrepreneurship.

H3. Values connected to social justice correlate negatively with social appreciation of entrepreneurship.

H4. Values that highlight an individual's democratic rights correlate negatively with the critique of entrepreneurial discourse.

H5. Values connected to social justice relate to the critique of entrepreneurial discourse.

Two hypotheses are connected with the third research question:
H6. Values that highlight an individual's democratic rights relate to entrepreneurial intention.

H7. Values connected to social justice relate negatively to entrepreneurial intention.

Three next hypotheses are connected with the fourth research question:

H8. General entrepreneurship attitude relates positively to entrepreneurial intention.

H9. Critical entrepreneurship attitude relates negatively to entrepreneurial intention.

H10. General entrepreneurship attitude and critical entrepreneurship attitude are negatively co-dependent.

A research design of the study is shown in Figure 2.

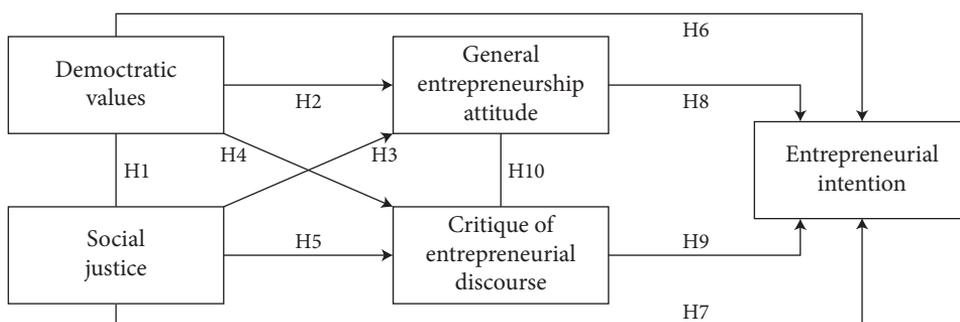


Figure 2. Study research design

The basis of these hypotheses is the traditional assumption of the Finnish image of entrepreneurship being divided into positive and negative entrepreneurship images and that this division is connected with social values. The assumption is that appreciation of entrepreneurship is closely connected to individualism and an individual's democratic rights. Correspondingly, we assumed that values connected to the social justice relate to criticism of neoliberalism, critical entrepreneurship attitude and unwillingness to become an entrepreneur. We also analyzed contradictory conceptions that entrepreneurial emphasis is well suited to the welfare state discourse [Ikonen 2006] and that Finnish neoliberalism is not in fact so much an ideological trend but rather a pragmatic emphasis [Patomäki 2007].

4. General description of the research data

We collected our research data by using an electronic questionnaire we sent to secondary schools in the Uusimaa region located in the Southern part of Finland in January-March 2012. The respondents (N = 873) were 2nd grade students in altogether 13 high schools and vocational schools. Most of the students were 17–18 years old.

The questionnaire contained altogether 72 questions the majority of which were Likert-type scale items (1= Strongly disagree, . . . , 5 = Strongly agree). The questions were related to entrepreneurial intention, conceptions concerning entrepreneurship, societal entrepreneurial attitudes, social values and certain social-psychological background factors (subjective norm, perceived behavioural control and outcome expectation). In this article, we examine the part of the data that is specifically related to social values, societal entrepreneurship attitudes and entrepreneurial intention [see Rantanen 2013].

The results were statistically analysed. The sum variables were variables formed as averages by means of factor analysis (Generalized Least Squares, Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in 5 iterations). The reliabilities of the sum variables were calculated (Cronbach's alpha) and the normality of the distributions was examined by using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. In calculating the correlations, we used Spearman's rank correlation coefficient and the Mean scores were examined by using a t-test.

464 high school students and 409 vocational school students responded to the questionnaire. The entrepreneurial intentions of these groups were not significantly divergent from each other ($t = 0.572$; $p = 0.568$), and hence the groups are examined together from now on.

The used questionnaire was pre-tested with 19 students. On the basis of the test only small changes needed to be made. Electronic data collection proved to be quite feasible and the respondent percentage was 71.0%. The representativeness of the survey appeared quite good in terms of both the native language of the respondents (the proportion of Swedish-speaking Finns in the sample was 6.8% and 8.6% in the population) and their residential area (the proportion of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area was 71.1% in the sample and 68.4% in the population). Also the used measures proved to be feasible and the reliabilities were rather good (the reliability of one sum variable is below 0.70). However, the sum variable distributions do not quite follow the normal distribution.

4.1. Research factors

At first, we formed sum variables related to social values and social entrepreneurship intentions by means of factor analysis. We got 44.0% for the coefficient of determination of the four factor model (see Table 1).

By means of factor analysis, we formed four new variables focusing attention on factor loadings above 0.5. On the basis of factor 1 we formed the sum variable "general entrepreneurship attitude", on the basis of factor 2 the sum variable "an individual's democratic rights" and on the basis of factor 3 "critique of entrepreneurial discourse". When forming the sum variable "social justice" we also included question "*efforts should be made to prevent the growth of income inequality*" in factor 4, even though its factor loading was below 0.5 (see Table 2).

Table 1. Factor analysis: 4 factors, loading items above 0.5

Question	Factor 1 13.0%	Factor 2 12.8%	Factor 3 11.7%	Factor 4 6.6%
27. Entrepreneurs are ideal citizens	0.567	.	.	.
31. Entrepreneurs are typically hard-working and responsible	0.571	.	.	.
35. The work of entrepreneurs is valuable in terms of the entire society	0.720	.	.	.
39. Entrepreneurs are in a key position in terms of society's success	0.677	.	.	.
43. Society's mission is to guarantee the well-being of all citizens	.	.	.	0.592
44. Western democracy is an essential value in our society	.	0.543	.	.
45. Entrepreneurship is over-valued in our society	.	.	0.525	.
46. Society should ensure that no one becomes socially excluded	.	.	.	0.600
47. Individual freedom is one of the core values in our society	.	0.664	.	.
48. Young people are encouraged to become entrepreneurs with too unsubstantial rationale	.	.	0.602	.
49. Efforts should be made to prevent the growth of income inequality
50. Civil rights is the foundation of our society	.	0.731	.	.
51. Entrepreneurship is often discussed with too positive tones	.	.	0.666	.
54. Entrepreneurship is suggested a solution to much too many issues	.	.	0.691	.

Table 2. Sum variables and their reliabilities

Variable	N	Items	Cronbach's alpha
Democratic values	873	3	0.729
Social justice	873	3	0.629
Critique of entrepreneurial discourse	873	4	0.717
General entrepreneurship attitude	872	4	0.740

The reliabilities of sum variables formed this way were quite good (above 0.7) except the variable social justice. In accordance with the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, the variables did not quite follow the normal distribution, even though they were quite close to it when briefly looked at.

4.2. Young people's social values

The respondents related very positively to an individual's democratic rights and questions concerning social justice (see Table 3). Opinions were divided the strongest by the question "*Efforts should be made to prevent the growth of income inequality*" but still clearly over half of the respondents agreed and only 10% disagreed with it. 64% agreed with "*Western democracy is a core value in our society*" and one third took a neutral stand. We can assume that the abstract quality of the concept Western democracy partly explains the multitude of a neutral position with this question. As concerns the rest of the questions, 75–85% of respondents agreed with each one.

Table 3. Questions concerning social values (N = 873)

Variable	Question	N	Mean	Sd	Agree (in %)	Disagree (in %)
Democratic rights	44. Western democracy is an essential value in our society	872	3.86	.881	63.9	3.6
	47. Individual freedom is one of the core values in our society	872	4.24	.870	80.4	3.0
	50. Civil rights is the foundation of our society	873	4.14	.860	77.5	3.1
Social justice	43. Society's mission is to guarantee the well-being of all citizens	873	4.30	0.937	84.7	6.1
	46. Society should ensure that no one becomes socially excluded	872	4.06	0.970	74.9	7.5
	49. Efforts should be made to prevent the growth of income inequality	873	3.74	1.054	57.7	10.1

The results are in harmony with the previous ones. In concern with an individual's democratic rights the respondents largely agreed with the claims. More specifically, 80% of the respondents agreed with the claim "*individual freedom is one of the core social values*". Hence, the results support the view of the Finnish society's individualistic quality [Hofstade]. On the other hand, the results also support the assumption that the basic value premise of the welfare state is also strongly endorsed amongst young people [see Muuri 2008].

Democratic rights of an individual and social justice were strongly correlated ($R = 0.486$; $p < 0.000$). Hence, our first hypothesis proved to be valid: The social values of the Finnish youth form an entity in which an individual's democratic rights and the social justice are combined. Even though individualism and collectivism divert from each other in regard to their basic premises, they become intertwined in the Finnish young people's social values.

4.3. Social values and societal entrepreneurship attitudes

Next, we focus on societal entrepreneurship attitudes. We separately examine the general entrepreneurship attitude and, on the other hand, the critical entrepreneurship attitude (criticism of entrepreneurship discourse). The distribution of responses to these questions is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. General entrepreneurship attitude and critique of entrepreneurial discourse

Variable	Question	N	Mean	Sd	Agree (in %)	Disagree (in %)
General entrepreneurship attitude	27. Entrepreneurs are ideal citizens	872	3.37	0.890	41.2	12.2
	31. Entrepreneurs are typically hard-working and responsible	872	3.80	0.811	68.5	4.9
	35. The work of entrepreneurs is valuable in terms of the entire society	872	3.84	0.912	65.6	5.7
	39. Entrepreneurs are in a key position in terms of society's success	872	3.41	0.865	43.5	11.9
Critique of entrepreneurial discourse	45. Entrepreneurship is overvalued in our society	873	2.73	0.920	14.8	36.8
	48. Young people are encouraged to become entrepreneurs with too unsubstantial rationale	873	3.20	0.906	33.3	18.4
	51. Entrepreneurship is often discussed with too positive tones	873	3.10	0.969	31.3	23.8
	54. Entrepreneurship is suggested a solution to much too many issues	873	3.08	0.913	26.1	19.7

All in all, young people's relationship with entrepreneurship seems to be fairly positive according to the research results. In particular, entrepreneurs were considered diligent and responsible, which also is in accordance with the previous research findings [e.g. Kivelä 2002; Nevanperä 2003; Hyytiäinen & Pajarinen 2005; Home 2007]. In contrast, a neutral stand was pronounced on questions concerning entrepreneurship discourse criticism. Approximately one third of the respondents estimated that young people are encouraged to become entrepreneurs with too unsubstantial rationale and entrepreneurship is often discussed with too positive tones.

Next, we analyse whether these entrepreneurship attitudes of young people are explained by social values. The correlations between the sum variables are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Attitudes towards entrepreneurship and social values: correlations

Variable	General entrepreneurship attitude		Critique of entrepreneurial discourse	
	Spearman's rho	sign (2-tailed)	Spearman's rho	sign (2-tailed)
Democratic rights	0.315	0.000	-0.045	0.179
Social justice	0.129	0.000	0.083	0.014

Democratic rights of an individual clearly correlated with the *social appreciation of entrepreneurship* as we had assumed. Hence, hypothesis 2 is valid. In other terms the correlation coefficients were fairly small. The correlation between social justice and entrepreneurship discourse criticism points to the right direction but is only almost significant (hypothesis 5). Our two other hypotheses were not supported: Democratic rights and critical entrepreneurship attitude do not correlate with each other (hypothesis 4). The correlation between social justice and social appreciation of entrepreneurship in turn was, against our assumption (hypothesis 3), faintly positive. Hence, social justice in fact correlated positively with both general and critical entrepreneurship attitudes.

All in all, social entrepreneurial attitude does seem to be related to social values to some extent. The obtained results are in accordance with Ikonen's [2006] view that emphasis on entrepreneurship and welfare state discourse are well-suited to each other. Similarly, the positive correlation between an individual's democratic rights and positive conception of entrepreneurship is rather natural from the viewpoint of Ikonen's conception of citizenship.

A critical entrepreneurship attitude correlated only quite faintly with social values. This is rather surprising, taking into account the neoliberal tones related to new entrepreneurship discourse. Perhaps an explanation lies in Patomäki's [2007] analy-

sis, according to which the neoliberal emphasis in Finland has been more pragmatic than ideological. Hence, neither would criticism of entrepreneurship discourse be related to social values.

4.4. Social values and entrepreneurial intention

Lastly, we analyse the relationship between social values and entrepreneurial intention. Sum variable entrepreneurial intention is formed of four questions which were connected not only to the actual entrepreneurial willingness but also to how likely a career choice entrepreneurship is considered by a young person. The reliability of the formed sum variable was quite good ($\alpha = 0.899$). Questions concerning entrepreneurial intention and the distribution of their responses are shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Questions concerning entrepreneurial intention

Question	N	Mean	Sd	Agree (in %)	Disagree (in %)
55. If I could freely choose, I'd rather be an entrepreneur than an employee	873	2.95	1.25	34.0	38.3
59. My aim is to become an entrepreneur in the future	873	2.53	1.17	18.8	48.9
63. I am going to make a living as an entrepreneur	873	2.42	1.12	13.6	49.1
67. For me, entrepreneurship is a probable career choice	873	2.45	1.16	17.1	51.3

As Table 6 shows, the proportion of young people intending to become entrepreneurs was fairly small. The question that compared entrepreneurship and employment as career choices received a larger proportion of those who disagreed than those who agreed, which is in line with the GEM survey. Less than one fifth of the respondents agreed with the other questions.

The correlation coefficients and their significance between social values, societal entrepreneurship attitudes, and entrepreneurship intent are shown in Figure 3.

The correlations between societal entrepreneurial attitudes and entrepreneurial intentions were in accordance with the assumptions: social appreciation of entrepreneurship is in a positive (hypothesis 8) and critical entrepreneurship attitude is negative relation with entrepreneurial intention (hypothesis 9). Also hypothesis 10 is valid: general entrepreneurial attitude is negatively dependent on critique of entrepreneurial discourse.

Social justice in turn correlated negatively with entrepreneurial intention as we assumed (hypothesis 7). On the contrary, an individual's democratic rights do not correlate with entrepreneurial intention; that is, hypothesis 6 did not prove to be

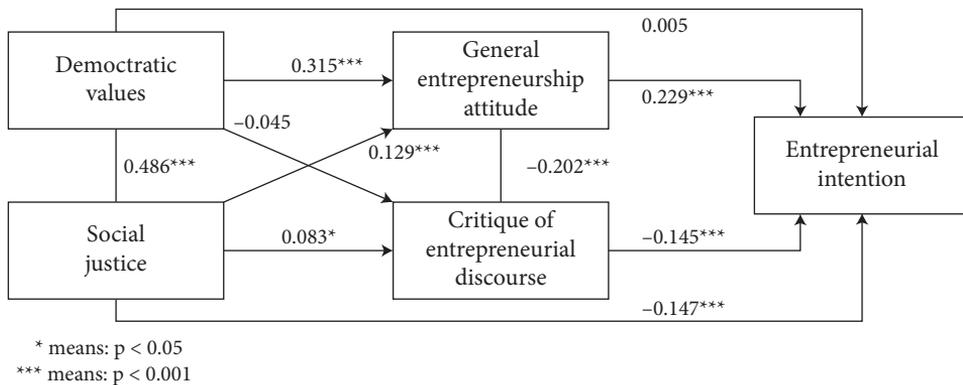


Figure 3. The correlation coefficients and their significance between social values, social entrepreneurial attitudes, and entrepreneurship intent

valid. This is interesting also from the point of view that an individual's democratic rights and, again, general entrepreneurship attitude in turn correlated significantly with entrepreneurial intention.

According to the research findings, the relationship of social values with social entrepreneurial attitudes and entrepreneurial intention is very complex and all connections and interactions between them are insubstantial and incoherent. The relationship of democratic rights with social appreciation of entrepreneurship is clearly positive ($R = 0.315$). Other correlations are quite low ($R < 0.15$). Social values explain entrepreneurial intention clearly weaker than, for instance, the expectations of a young person's close environment, faith in one's own capacities and faith in one's own success [Rantanen 2013]. It is possible that there is also a common social psychological phenomenon in the background: general attitudes (such as relating to the society or social values in general) explain rather poorly the behaviour of an individual, whereas more specific attitudes (such as attitude towards entrepreneurship) have a clearly better explanatory capacity [see Eagly & Chaiken 1993; Ajzen 1991].

Conclusions and discussion

Our research results showed that the Finnish young people's world of values contains two closely connected entities. On the one hand, young people emphasise an individual's democratic rights, and on the other hand, they are committed to the value premise of the Nordic welfare state. Young people share the Finnish value climate, which is a combination of individualism and collective responsibility. How can individualism and collectivism then be so well reconciled? One possible interpretation is connected to the Finnish welfare state's current historical phase. In an

institutionalized welfare state, the core of collective responsibility is the state's responsibility to all citizens rather than an individual's commitment to joint liability. Hence, welfare state-oriented collectivism is not an obstacle to individualism.

In the cultural models of entrepreneurial attitudes, high individualism has been related to entrepreneurship-oriented cultural values [e.g., Lindsay 2005] and entrepreneurial orientation [Mueller & Thomas 2000]. According to our research findings, there is a clear connection between highlighting an individual's democratic rights and social appreciation of entrepreneurship. A positive conception of entrepreneurship can be seen as a natural continuation of individualism that underscores individual rights. However, this connection remains largely at the level of attitudes. Young people's concrete entrepreneurial willingness remains at a modest level [Flash Eurobarometer 2009; Stenholm et al. 2011].

Our core perception is indeed the weak connection between social values and entrepreneurship. It is likewise apparent in our findings that criticism of entrepreneurship discourse has little to do with social values. One explanation for these perceptions may be that young people consider entrepreneurship as the first and foremost pragmatic career option rather than an ideological choice. Similarly, entrepreneurship discourse and its assessment are perceived more from a practical perspective than from ideological criticism of neoliberalism [see Saari 2001; Patomäki 2007].

According to Ikonen [2006, p. 35], entrepreneurship can be emphasised from the discourse premises of both neoliberalism and the welfare state. Ikonen suggests that it is erroneous to assume that the importance of entrepreneurial education is justified only with one of the two narratives as the point of departure. According to our research findings, entrepreneurial intentions of young people have an insubstantial connection with social values. Hence, promoting entrepreneurship does not necessarily need to be supported by any great social narrative.

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