

INDIVIDUAL ECONOMIC SECURITY, NATIONAL SECURITY, AND THE
MEDIATING ROLE OF TRUST IN GOVERNMENT: A SURVEY AMONG THE
YOUNG BULGARIAN GENERATIONS' ATTITUDES

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Thesis Abstract

Atanas Andreev, “Individual Economic Security, National Security, and the Mediating Role of Trust in Government: A Survey among the Young Bulgarian Generations’ Attitudes”

This study aims at examining the attitudes and perceptions of the young Bulgarian generation regarding the concepts of individual economic security, trust in government, and national security as well as the correlations between them. An exhaustive literature review has been carried out in order to explore the dynamics of each of the concepts and to build on a platform, upon which to compile a questionnaire. The obtained data from the questionnaire serves to test four basic hypotheses that highlight the relations between economic security, trust in government, and national security. Eventually, a positive correlation between economic security and national security, with the mediation of trust in government, is underlined and statistically proven.

Keywords: individual economic security, bond of trust, trust in government, national security, basic social security, work-related security

Tez Özeti

Atanas Andreev, “Bireysel Ekonomik Güven, Ulusal Güvenlik ve Devlete Güvenin Arabulucu Rolü: Genç Bulgar Jenerasyonlarının Tutumu Üzerine Araştırma”

Bu çalışma, genç Bulgar jenerasyonunun bireysel ekonomik güvenlik, devlete güven, ulusal güvenlik gibi konseptlere ve bu konseptler arasındaki korelasyon karşılıklı olarak bakış açılarını ve tutumlarını değerlendirmeyi hedeflemektedir. Bu konseptlerin dinamiklerini anlamak ve anketi oluşturacak zemini hazırlayabilmek için detaylı bir literatür taraması yapılmıştır. Anketten elde edilen data, ekonomik güvenlik, devlete güven ve ulusal güvenlik arasındaki ilişkileri inceleyen dört hipotezi test etmek için kullanılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, devlete olan güvenin ara bulucu olmasıyla beraber, ekonomik güvenlik ve ulusal güvenlik arasındaki pozitif korelasyon belirtilmiş ve istatistiki olarak kanıtlanmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: bireysel ekonomik güven, güven bağı, devlete güven, ulusal güvenlik, sosyal güvenlik, işe bağlı güvenlik

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: PURPOSE.....	4
Hypotheses.....	6
CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	9
Individual Economic Security.....	9
The Bond of Trust.....	23
The Levers of National Security.....	25
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA.....	30
Research Approach.....	30
Research Philosophy.....	31
Research Strategy.....	32
Time Horizon of the Research.....	34
Survey Content and Data Analysis Methodology.....	34
Validity and Limitations.....	37
Ethics.....	37
CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS.....	39
Demography.....	39
Individual Economic Security.....	41
The Bond of Trust.....	48
Hypotheses Testing.....	51
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	59
Practical Implications.....	60
Recommendations for Future Research.....	62
APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE.....	64
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	66

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The issue of economic security and its ultimate effect on the level of national security is of utmost interest to all the stakeholders involved in ‘breaking’ the enigma of the relationship. Many scholars and practitioners have been preoccupied with the dynamics that determine the importance of economics in terms of a country’s ability to sustain and further develop decent levels of security for its territory and citizens (e.g. Olvey et al., 1984; Goodwin, 1991; King and Murray, 2001; Jordan et al., 2011; Ronis, 2011).

National security is a multifaceted construct that includes not only military might, but also societal, political, and economic strength (Ronis, 2011). The levels of ensured national security are functions of the nation’s infrastructure, which on its turn, according to Ronis (2011), consists of “societal and moral codes, the rule of law, stable government, social, political, and economic institutions, and leadership.” Moreover, the strength of a nation is influenced by the schools and educational programs, which are designed to prepare the future generations for the challenges of the contemporary world. Additionally, factors such as investments in science, engineering, research, technology, and development also exert their significance upon the ability of a country to organize and ensure the security of its territory and citizens (Ronis, 2011). All of these parameters are closely-knit and strongly influence each other. In that sense, maintaining a stable and prolific economic environment for the people of a country is one of the most significant bedrocks upon which a country is able to ensure a decent level of national security to these same people.

History has showed us that severe economic downturns have been followed by negative events. Ronis (2011) observed that the path to World War 2 for Germany and Japan had been laid by the insurmountable economic challenges beforehand. King and Murray (2001), on the other hand, blamed the inevitable failure of the Soviet Union on the deep economic troubles of the centrally planned economy, which could not resonate with the contemporary economic pressures of the world. Ronis (2011) also confirmed this relationship that became obvious with the end of the Cold War.

The issue of economic security is even more contemporary in today's swiftly shifting economic environment of the globalized market. Statesmen as well as businessmen need to navigate their economic endeavors in the turbulent waters of high unpredictability and insecurity brought about by the nimbly changing economic circumstances around the globe. The recent financial global crisis, for example, has exerted a lot of influence on the way business and administrative enterprises are run. Polak et al. (2011) clarify that there has been a shift of the focus of managers from the issue of earnings to the concern of cash availability and liquidity. Companies and other enterprises are not as comfortable in finding cash to finance their endeavors as before. The urge to adopt efficient measures (ultimately brought about by the financial crisis) has definitely impacted on the way businesses and administrations are run in all the respective aspects. Of especial importance should be the impact of those changes on the very employees and members of the society in question. More specifically, the consequences connected with the individual economic security present a significant challenge to the statesmen. Hacker et al. (2010) state that the importance of economic security is defined by the negative consequences of such insecurity on the lives of the individual citizens. The state of uncertainty in relation to the economic prospects leaves

people worse off (Hacker et al., 2010) because people fear bulky economic losses and endure hardship when such losses occur. Numerous scholars have underlined the validity of these notions and have studied the negative impacts of income instability as part of economic insecurity (e.g. Graham and Pettinato, 2002; Mughan and Lacy, 2002; Stephans, 2002; Carroll et al., 2003; Cusack et al., 2006; Hacker, 2008; Miron-Shatz, 2009; Nichols, 2008; Rehm, 2009). The content of the citizens in terms of income stability is of immense importance to the general level of economic stability, and from there, to the level of national security as a whole. In that sense, providing the citizens of a country with a stable and growth oriented individual economic security, the government would eventually increase the general level of national security. It is a complex process that involves many aspects of social, political, and economic life. However, the quantity of research carried out on the topic of economic security, the preoccupation of statesmen with ensuring the best environment for economic security, and recent events around the world indicate that the significance of individual economic security is immense in relation to the general level of national security.

PURPOSE

Individual economic security alone cannot directly influence the general level of national security, which a government can ensure to its citizens. The impact of individual economic security on national security happens via an abstract construct, which performs the role of a mediator. This study aims to clarify the dynamics connected with that special abstract construct, namely the so-called ‘bond of trust.’ This construct includes a lot of concepts that build it up full of meaning. Basically said, the bond of trust is the ‘transfer currency’ between the citizens and the government of a country and the underlying exchange of rights and responsibilities. The higher the bond of trust is, the more likely the citizens are to devote a part of their personal resources to the government, which on its turn would use these resources with the goal of providing general services to the citizens. These services are numerous but are part of the societal, political, and economic realms of citizens’ everyday lives. The government tries to provide benefits to its citizens alongside these spheres. On the other hand, the citizens give up some of their values (be them resources or some freedoms) at the expense of the benefits they acquire from the state. Tilly et al. (1985) have discussed these dynamics in detail, explaining that the role of the state is divided into four spheres, namely 1) to eliminate or neutralize “its own rivals outside the territories in which they have clear and continuous priority as wielders of force,” 2) to eliminate or neutralize its “rivals inside those territories,” 3) to eliminate or neutralize the enemies of its clients (the population being the mentioned clients), and 4) to acquire “the means of carrying out the first three activities” (Tilly, et al., 1985). These ‘channels’ of influence are working in both ways,

since citizens need to agree to the current status quo. The philosophical insights of the social contract theory explain these exchange processes in detail. Moreover, the theory provides the necessary clarifications to understand the root of power the government exerts, namely the mutual understanding between the state and the citizens about the roles of each other. The state is in charge of organizing, implementing, and controlling the rules governing the society, the economy, and the politics while the citizens have to abide by the regulations because, ideally, the population would enjoy the benefits of organization. If the government takes care of the citizens, each individual would be equally considered among others. In that sense the government should adopt policies that provide each individual citizen with equal tender and care towards economic or other matters. Benabou (2000) observed that inequalities between individuals in income related matters tend to decrease people's political support for the government. Therefore, with the adoption of specific redistribution measures and policies, the government would increase its political support from the citizens. This has direct relation with the social contract theory and more specifically with the discussed 'bond of trust' concept. Once having the serious and stable political support of its population, the state would be better suit to fortify the various pillars of national security. Ultimately, the purpose of this study is to show that the 'bond of trust' between citizens and government empower the government to pursue more efficiently and successfully the increase of the general level of national security by reinforcing the vital security interests of the nation. This impact can be achieved through the implementation and proper execution of policies from the realm of individual economic security. The purpose of this study, alongside the underlying levers and mechanisms of influence, are represented by the following Figure:

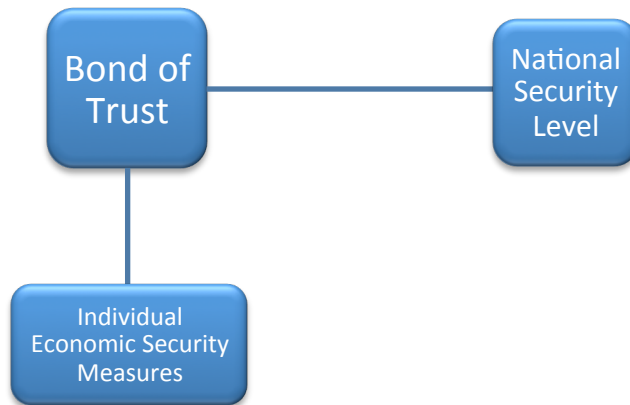


Figure 1: Purpose of the study

Hypotheses

As stated above, the purpose of this study is to display the positive correlation between the concept of ‘bond of trust’ and the general level of national security of a country. However, the relationship is not as simple as it may seem. Each one of the notions (Individual Economic Security, Bond of Trust, and National Security) has its dynamics and underlying factors, which need to be considered and carefully studied. As discussed in the previous paragraph, and as evidenced by the work of other scholars (e.g. Tilly et al., 1985; Benabou, 2000; Rothstein and Uslaner, 2003), the measures directed at reducing the economic inequalities (of both results and opportunity) and thus increasing the universal individual economic security would increase the social trust of citizens towards their government. By using the definitions and divisions provided by the International Labor Organization, this study would clarify on the measures that compile the increase of the individual economic security, namely the factors of basic social

security and work-related security that together form the individual economic security concept. Later on, the increased ‘bond of trust’ can be used by the government of the country in question to more efficiently ensure the protection and general security of its citizens, as following the scenario of Tilly et al. (1985). The impact of the ‘bond of trust’ on the level of national security is initiated via the increase of particular and explicitly stated vital national interests. Based on this information, the study concentrates on the testing of the following hypotheses, with the ultimate purpose of proving that the ‘bond of trust’ helps the government to fortify and increase the general level of national security:

H1: The basic social security factors exert a positive effect on the general level of individual economic security, as perceived by the participants

H2: The work-related security factors exert a positive effect on the general level of individual economic security, as perceived by the participants

H3: Individual economic security increases the ‘bond of trust’, as perceived by the participants

H4: The ‘bond of trust’ concept exerts positive effect on the vital national security interests of a country, thus increasing the general level of national security, as perceived by the participants

The purpose of this study is best served by H3 and H4, which cumulatively would show that the ‘bond of trust’ could positively influence the general level of national security.

However, the testing of H1 and H2 is inevitable due to their fundamental importance.

H1 and H2 clarify the ways a government can increase the ‘bond of trust’ between itself and the citizens by manipulating the individual economic security factors. This is very

important because the state cannot simply ask for the social trust without providing some benefits to the population. Moreover, it should be duly noted that the study is interested in only the economic measures, which can increase the ‘bond of trust’ and more specifically those initiatives that support the individual economic security of each citizen. H1 and H2 test the effects of the different groups of individual economic security factors, as outlined by the International Labor Organization.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Individual Economic Security

Rejda (2012) clearly states that the notion of security by itself is a very complex one and cannot be easily discussed as a general concept. The issues of security are cross sectional, because people tend to seek protection against any forces that might eventually threaten their security. Due to the high levels and various nature of uncertainty around the world, the concept of security can be analyzed through the prism of many disciplines like economics, political science, philosophy, national defense, etc. (Rejda, 2012). Therefore, the concept of security needs to be narrowed down to a specific realm of science. This study is interested in the economic security and more specifically, the individual economic security as perceived by the citizens of a country. Therefore, the processes, policies, and initiatives connected with the economic security and lack of uncertainty would be discussed in details. Sturmev (1959) observed that welfare, which includes economic security, could be most easily obtained and measured with money. Money is the universal medium of exchange and can easily provide specific services and goods. Therefore, the individual economic security concept can be measured with the amount of money a person is able to obtain and commit to receiving whatever welfare he/she sees fit. Rejda (2012) defines economic security as “a state of mind or sense of well-being by which an individual is relatively certain that he or she can satisfy basic needs and wants, both present and future.” In the contemporary context

of market economy the insurance of this well-being is closely related to the satisfaction of human needs, which on its turn depends on the usage of economic goods and services. When an individual has an access to specific goods and services, then he/she enjoys economic security. Therefore, the importance of income is significant. Income ensures the individual's capabilities of getting an access to goods and services. "The more income a person has – whether from money wages, savings, public or private transfer payments, or the ownership of property – the greater the level of economic security that is possible" – Rejda (2012) puts it clearly enough to understand the basic driver of economic security, namely income. However, Rejda (2012) also clarifies that the feeling of well-being is influenced by the present situation of economic security and the probability of such income earning capabilities in the future. Therefore, individual economic security is not restricted only to the present but is closely connected with the perception of the individual about his/her ability and chances of receiving income in the future.

It should be duly noted that this study regards individual economic security as a complex and multi-faceted concept, which has stirred a lot of debates about its contents, underlying rationale, and consequences (e.g. Gruber, 2001; Stephens Jr., 2001; Davis, 2008). Hacker et al. (2010) observe that most of the researchers on economic security use a common definition of the notion, namely "the degree to which individuals are protected against hardship-causing economic losses." This definition of economic security implicitly displays that economic security, as a concept, is directly impacted by the dubious and complex relationship between the processes of human cognition and the dynamism of economic markets, as observed and discussed by numerous authors (e.g. Kahneman et al., 1991; Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998; Agell, 1999; Benabou and

Ok, 2001; Ligon Schechter, 2003). As seen from the clarifications on individual economic security from the previous paragraph, it is obvious that the economic security concept has a lot to do with what individuals perceive from the economic market environment. This mixture of psychological attitudes and market dynamics should be targeted by specifically designed questions in a questionnaire survey in order to capture the thoughts of the people in the context of market relationships. The attitude of citizens towards their perception of their own economic security status is a subjective measure of the general individual economic security concept.

There is a considerable lack of consensus among researchers and practitioners on what are the specific domains according to which to measure the perceptions of the people about the level of economic security they experience (e.g. Graham and Pettinato, 2002; Mughan and Lacy, 2002; Stephans, 2002; Carroll et al., 2003; Cusack et al., 2006; Hacker, 2008; Miron-Shatz, 2009; Nichols, 2008; Rehm, 2009). However, the fact that individual economic security is dependent on personal perceptions allows for many interpretations of the important measures of the concept. The International Labor Organization (hereafter ILO) gives some in-depth clarifications about the contents of the individual economic security concept. As a part of its Socio-Economic Security Programme, the ILO defines the term economic security as follows: “Economic security is composed of basic social security, defined by access to basic needs infrastructure pertaining to health, education, dwelling, information, and social protection, as well as work-related security” (International Labor Organization). The two components of individual economic security include various factors, the manipulation of which would lead to either an increase or decrease of the general level of economic security. The basic social security factors (hereafter noted as BSS) are information infrastructure,

health infrastructure, social protection, and educational infrastructure. The work-related security factors (hereafter WRS) are more numerous and are as follows: income security, representation security, labor market security, employment security, job security work security, and skill reproduction security. However, the ILO states that the two most important ones are the income and representation securities.

The BSS Factors

Health infrastructure – health infrastructure, as part of the so-called global goods (Smith, 2003) is a factor that directly influences the individual economic security via the individual’s ability to work. The physical condition of the individual dictates his/her functionality and ability to earn income. As a whole, the influence of health infrastructure is defined by its effect on the well-being of an individual as well as the universal economic and social development of society. In relation to healthcare, the health infrastructure has tangible and intangible aspects both in the public and private sectors. Health infrastructure can also be direct (such as the public healthcare system) and indirect (by supporting other activities which protect and improve the health). It is important to note that health infrastructure consists of three main components, namely “institutional capacity”, “knowledge” (public and professional) and “physical infrastructure.” (Powles and Comim). The “institutional capacity” component refers to the capacity of health infrastructure to monitor and respond to changing patterns of diseases. According to the “institutional capacity” the existence and functions of social and administrative institutions which offer the whole package of services (from in-field ones to purely formally-regulated and politically-responsible ones) designed to tackle

the challenges is extremely important. “Institutional capacity” as a component has significant influence on the abilities of the healthcare agencies to enforce systematic control over the changing patterns of diseases, to determine the condition of the country in terms of healthcare and in correspondence with the condition of other countries on local and global scale. The control systems are very important in their role to detect eventual threats to the population of the country in a timely manner.

The component regarding the “knowledge”, in both its public and professional aspects, is significant in terms of an individual’s readiness to overcome potential diseases. It is important to note that a country’s capacity to absorb and make good use of the global stock of knowledge via well-prepared professionals and infrastructure is a strong factor in diminishing the mortality rate of the country in question. In this sense it is important to note that this absorption and application of available “knowledge” does not happen automatically but requires specifically targeted policies and efforts. In terms of the public aspect of the “knowledge” component, the significance stems from the ability of a society to adopt certain patterns of behavior and to build up a specific health-oriented consciousness. These are more of social processes with their own dynamics and requiring longer periods of time. However, these developments are extremely important for the general health condition of a nation.

The “physical infrastructure” importance, as part of health infrastructure, has been growing historically due to the so called ‘urbanization penalty’ which cities pay for their industrial development in general. Problems such as fresh water supply, sewage systems, road infrastructure, pollution control, and production supply have been increasing throughout time and are contemporary scourges of statesmanship.

Health infrastructure is also of significant importance in relation to its implication of the level of trust, which citizens display towards their government. Gilson (2003) noted that the concept of trust is of especial importance for the health infrastructure's ability to generate value in society. Moreover, the stature of healthcare institutions strongly influences the citizens' trust in such institutions. Birungi (1998) noted that the weakening of state institutions of health care automatically leads to rising levels of distrust of citizens towards these institutions and the government in general. In that sense, the preservation and development of such institutions is a focal point of increasing the citizens' trust in the governmental apparatus.

Information infrastructure – information infrastructure is a factor that is continuously gaining a more important role throughout time due to the strides of globalization and the development of information systems. The development and exploitation of more and more powerful computers and the widespread usage of the Internet have significantly aided communication between people as well as the hasty exchange of data over long distances. In addition, the information infrastructure supports the critical infrastructure of a country, namely the distribution of energy, the transport infrastructure, financial operations and the government's delivery of services to the population. Those numerous important roles performed by the information infrastructure have been clearly outlined by the OECD in a special report on the importance of information systems from 2002 (OECD, 2002). In a later report, the OECD divides the critical information infrastructures into three components, namely: 1) information components supporting the critical infrastructures (energy distribution, transport infrastructure, financial operations, etc.), 2) information infrastructure supporting basic

components of the government's work and 3) information infrastructure as a factor supporting the national economy.

Warkentin et al. (2002) discuss the importance of information infrastructure, and more specifically the introduction of the e-government practice around the globe. In their study, Warkentin (2002) indicate that citizen's trust can be used as a catalyst for the quicker and smoother adoption of e-Government. There is a relationship between trust and information innovation - a relationship that this study is interested in the other way around, namely: does information innovation and adoption would increase the trust, which citizens display towards their government. Ndou (2004) has already spotted such tendency. The efficient usage of information technology, be it e-Government or else what, would encourage citizens to participate in political and governmental discussions, sharing of ideas, knowledge, and information. Consequentially, Ndou (2004) argues, these exchange processes would lead to the build-up of citizen trust in government and the amelioration of the relations between the government and the governed. Moreover, the OECD has duly noted that the strengthening of the trust between the government and the citizens has the potential of improving the quality of services the government can provide. This is so, because the extensive usage of information infrastructure would enable the government to tap wider sources of information, opinions, perspectives, and specific solutions to concrete challenges (OECD, 2001). Moreover, the citizens would feel to be a part of the policy-making process in their country, eventually leading to a better relationship between citizens and government (Fang, 2002). Welch et al. (2005) also observed the indirect positive affect of e-Government and technology adoption in general upon citizens' satisfaction and consequentially the level of citizen trust in government.

Social Protection – this factor is of significant importance in terms of individual economic security. Social protection is covered by a body of laws but is still a subject of numerous debates. The role of social protection is of extreme importance in battling the problems of unemployment and in helping out citizens in times of troubles. The Declaration of Human Rights of the European Union also recognizes the right of a person to social protection. Article 34 from part III (Equality) regulates the right to an access to social protection in numerous troublesome times ranging from maternity, illness, work accident to old age and loss of work (Chapter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, 2000). There are many mechanisms through which social protection can be applied on practice. Some of them include financial aid for the unemployed, pensions, children aid, health insurance, schemes for employment, agricultural insurance, etc. It is important to note that the number of social protection constructions is as numerous as the number of countries around the world due to the different contexts and administrations each country provides. However, it has been proven that the existence of social protection measures diminishes the risk of poverty in the European Union by 36% and diminishes the real poverty by up to 50% (European Report on Development). Of course, this data is about the EU where the dynamics are different from the rest of the world, but the example serves to highlight the general principle of social protection schemes' effect. The influence of the social protection factor, besides on the social aspect, is significant on the economy of a country. The benefits that come from social security are evident in the long-term economic growth due to the capital generation, investment involvement, work-force capacity increase, risk management, etc. Delhey and Newton (2003) noted the importance of public safety, which is ensured by social protection mechanisms. It turns out that the level of social trust - hence the political one

(due to the relative overlap of social and political trust Newton (2001) observed) - is high in societies which perceive public safety to be high.

Educational Infrastructure – educational infrastructure is an important part of the development of a country. It provides the basis for the reproduction, development and the application of the population's capacity. Educational infrastructure as a factor can be divided into two levels, namely the material-technical base and the management component. The material-technical base includes the very facilities such as school buildings and other institutions through which education is dispersed as well as the scheme for the location of such facilities. This scheme is of significant importance because it ensures the equal and easy access to schools around a country. The material-technical base also includes another very important element, namely the availability of computer technology and Internet connection. In the context of today's dynamics and bulk of information available worldwide, computer technologies and Internet access are not just a luxury, but rather a must for the competitive edge of a country's educational infrastructure. It is not by accident that the countries with the most developed educational infrastructure have very high levels of computer and Internet access. Countries like USA, Lichtenstein, Australia, South Korea, New Zealand, Hong Kong, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Luxembourg, Iceland, Finland, Switzerland and others have high levels of computer access for 15 year old students – definitely over 60% while most of the levels reach 70%. At the same time, the levels of Internet access of those computers are almost 100%. This comes to show that the young generation is used to modern technologies which are spread worldwide and have access to a huge amount of data and information. Of course, the access to this bulk of information is not the only necessary condition for the development of the educational infrastructure of a country.

The proper usage and application of this resource is equally important. However, Internet access ensures that the information is there.

This leads us to the second component of the information infrastructure, namely the management component. It generally includes administrations such as the Ministry of Education, the regional inspectorates usually located in each region, the county levels under the supervision of local mayors and school directors/headmasters. The management component of educational infrastructure has the task to ensure the regulated access of the citizens to the infrastructure and the application of a state's educational requirements. The management component also includes the organizational infrastructure that determines the program and the contents of the education material. This is of significant importance for the educational level of a country because the smart, adequate and contemporary program management eventually results in better educated and better raised generations; generations that are more capable of finding better professional realization and integrating into society. The educational infrastructure of a country also might include the nongovernmental organizations that commit their resources and energy into increasing the educational level of a country. Their activities, such as programs and initiatives, are of significant importance for the development of well-prepared specialists and nationally conscious citizens.

Christensen and Laegreid (2005) evaluated the factors that influenced the level of trust, which citizens display towards their government. Among numerous factors, citizens' satisfaction with specific public services translates into a higher level of trust in public institutions and government in general. Moreover, Christensen and Laegreid (2005) observed that the trust in government is also influenced by demographic factors, among which age, occupation, and education. The quality of provided education is in

direct relation to the level of trust displayed by the citizens who benefited from this education as well as the majority of other citizens who may or may not have taken the advantage of benefiting from the educational infrastructure of a country.

The WRS Factors

Income security – this factor signifies the real income of the individual, obtained through labor or as a social protection aid and/or another kind of benefit. The income security includes the level of income (absolute or relative), assurance of receipt, and expectation of current and future income, both during working life and in old age or disability retirement. The mechanisms employed for the development of the income security are numerous. However, the most important of them are minimum wage practice, wage indexation, comprehensive social security and progressive taxation. Generally stated, the income security of the individual guarantees his/her sure amount of means that are to be used for the individual's physical and spiritual survival and development.

Representation security – this factor refers to both individual representation and collective representation. Individual representation is about individual rights ensured by the laws as well as the individual's access to institutions. Collective representation means that every individual or group of individuals can be represented by a body that can bargain and negotiate on their behalf and at the same time is significantly big, independent and competent to do so. The mechanisms through which representation security is ensured include trade unions with the right to bargain over wages, benefits

and working conditions as well as to monitor working practices and go on strikes. Such collective groups can be very influential on the whole political arena as well.

Labor market security – this factor influences the individual economic security by providing numerous opportunities for the people to earn income. Labor market security is ensured not only by providing income-earning opportunities, but also by providing adequate opportunities such as work positions in correspondence with the competences of the people. The policies and practices connected with the development of the labor market security include macroeconomic policies for full-employment, the creation of employment agencies and other placing services.

Employment security – this factor influences the chances of an individual to lose his income-earning activity. The more secured the employment, the higher the chances for a person to generate income and thus keep his financial calmness. For wage and salary workers, employment security consists of protection against unfair or arbitrary dismissal and compensation/redress for such dismissals. For the self-employed, employment security means protection against sudden loss of independent work, and/or business failure. Typical mechanisms to counter employment threats include practices against unfair or arbitrary dismissal, regulations on hiring and firing as well as the imposition of costs on employers for failing to observe the rules.

Job security – this factor refers to the availability of niches and opportunities for the individual to have some control over the content of his/her job as well as the opportunity to build a career. The higher the job security, the higher the chances of an individual to follow a career line corresponding to his/her interests, skills, qualifications and expertise. Protections mechanisms that can influence the intensity of this factor include craft boundaries, job qualifications, restrictive practices, craft unions, etc.

Work security – this factor refers to the working conditions of the individual and more specifically to the level of safety. Work security takes into consideration the classical occupational health and safety issues but also pays attention to the new threats, which are contemporary and evolving. Such threats include stress, overwork, absenteeism and harassment. Protection measures against such hazards include provisions and insurance against accidents and illness at work as well as limits imposed on working time.

Skill reproduction security - this factor denotes the workers' access to basic education and training in order to develop the required skills and competences needed for socially and economically valuable occupations. Ways to further the skill reproduction security include policies aimed to generate widespread opportunities to gain and retain skills through education, apprenticeship and employment training.

The Predominance of Income and Representation Security Factors

The predominance of income security and representation security definitely resonates with the observations of Rejda (2012). Individual economic security is predominantly achieved when a person has the financial means to afford economic goods and services (Rejda, 2012). Since these goods and services, in the context of market economy, are available at the expense of a financial transfer, the income security (i.e. the ensured constant inflow of financial means) is of great significance. On the other hand, Rejda (2012) also underlines the other important aspect of economic security, namely its availability throughout the foreseeable future. In that respect, the indicated importance of the representation security by the ILO resonates with Rejda's (2012) observations.

Representation security, with both its components (individual and group representation) ensures the involvement of the individual in the settling of the issues and challenges that accompany the work process. By being adequately represented, an individual would be better suited to voice specific concerns and protect the given rights. Schriesheim (1978) observed a definite trend of workers to display positive attitudes towards work unions whenever they were dissatisfied with work aspects such as security, pay, working conditions, and general company policy. Additionally, Schriesheim (1978) discovered that there was also a relationship (although not as strong as the previous one) between workers' positive attitudes towards work unions whenever they had experienced dissatisfactions with the noneconomic facets of the job, namely independence, variety, creativity, and achievement. Schultz and Mwabu (1997) also discovered the relationship between increasing wages and group representation via labor unions. However, Schultz and Mwabu (1997) observed some negative impacts of group representation security. Membership in such represented groups would lead to a significant increase of income but at the expense of non-group members who might display better skills and qualifications. Freeman and Medoff (1985) also speak about the duality of group representation as far as economic security is concerned. They say that there are two faces of group representation – the undesirable (marked by a tendency towards a monopoly that raises exclusive wages above competitive levels) and the desirable one (marked by the channeling of worker discontent into improved work conditions).

The Bond of Trust

The concept of the 'bond of trust' is of extreme importance as far as the relationship between individual economic security and general national security is concerned. The bond of trust, as of this study, serves the role of a mediator through which the progress done in individual economic security translates into the heightening of a country's general national security. Rose (1994) discusses the issues related to the lack of trust on behalf of the citizens towards the adequate functionality of governmental institutions and political parties in the aftermath of post-communist environment. Rose (1994) found out that the people of post-communist countries are having hard times in trusting the newly found institutions and political parties due to their communist past. Since the institutions as well as the communist party prior to the fall of communism have single-handedly and without consensus with the citizens determined the course of development of politics, economy, and society, the population of post-communist countries do not trust the democratic values and aspirations of the post-communist political actors and institutions (Rose, 1994). In that respect, Shleifer (1997) observed that the success of the transition of a post-communist country is not only measured by the speed of the economic reforms but also by the ability of creating trustworthy institutions, which are capable of supporting a market economy. Shleifer (1997) further discussed that the lack of trust in politicians and institutions was greater in Russia as opposed to Poland, which, he proved, was the reason for the inferior economic performance displayed by Russia. This correlation directly indicates the relationship between beneficial economic performance and the level of trust the institutions, parties, and politicians enjoy. The study of Knack and Keefer (1997) also casts some lights on the relationship between trust and economic

performance. In their critical survey, they found out that there is a correlation between the social capital matters (related to trust and civic norms) and the economic performance of a country, namely that societies marked with higher trust and civic norms are the ones that enjoy equal incomes, high education, and ethnical homogeneity (Knack and Keefer, 1997). Additionally Newton (2001) noted that, although not as evident as considered, there is an overlap between social and political trust, which translates into a correlation between trust in the political bodies of a country and the very economic performance of this country. The nature of this relationship between economic security and political trustworthiness would be a focal point of the study. When are people content enough with the economic circumstances to grant their trust in the governing organs and the representatives of the political class?

Easterly et al. (2006) observed that issues such as income inequality (a primary target of economic security concerns) determine the general institutional quality. Therefore, the more qualified, capable, result-oriented, economically frugal and efficient the governmental body of agency is, the higher is the likelihood of the citizens to trust the governmental (with the ensuing institutions and political actors) system. Consequentially, as Tilly et al. (1985) discuss, the population would be more likely to support the governmental apparatus with various means (be them financial resources, tolerance, etc.). Once that is achieved, the ruling system would be better suit to execute its other obligations such as protecting the interests of the citizens and protecting the territory and the population from both outside and inside threats (Tilly et al., 1985).

The Levers of National Security

In order to follow the influence of the factors determining the individual economic security over the national security via the ‘bond of trust’ mediator, a clear definition of the parameters determining the national security level of a country is required. This study is concentrated on the case of Bulgaria. The questionnaire through which primary data would be obtained is going to be distributed among citizens of the Republic of Bulgaria. Therefore, in order to get viable and trustworthy information about the drivers of national security in Bulgaria, the best source for study would be the Strategy for National Security of the Republic of Bulgaria. Even though the strategy is predominantly concerned with the Bulgarian context, the regional and global processes have definitely influenced it. This means that the basic components, which influence and build up the national security of Bulgaria, are similar to those of other countries. This is so because global processes, developments, and threats, which do not recognize country and regional borders, have shaped the concerns and challenges to security. Of course, the national security strategy of a country would always include priorities stemming from the characteristic specifications of that country but the basic priorities are global and driven by fundamental ideas such as democracy, economics, civil society, etc. In order to underline this notion, which would provide the basis for further research in this area, a close examination of some of the European Union’s (of which Bulgaria is a member) security priorities would be carried out. The EU is not just accepting the specific characteristics of each Member State’s strategies but tries to find a midway between those of all the Member States – “Whilst in itself not aimed at creating any new competences, but at integrating existing strategies and conceptual approaches, and

acknowledging the framework of the Stockholm Programme, the EU Internal Security Strategy is responsive to this (Council of the European Union, 2010). This means that the strategies of the European Union Member States should be even closer to each other and should be based on the same principles. Therefore, in order to prove the ideological proximity between the Bulgarian strategy and the underlying European Union principles, a juxtaposition between the main points of the Bulgarian National Security Strategy and those of the European Security Model would be carried out.

The Strategy for National Security of the Republic of Bulgaria has been accepted by the National Assembly on the 8th March 2011. The Strategy has been prepared in the context of “democracy, national culture, human rights, as well as the Constitution of the country and the basic actions that guarantee the international security” (Strategy for National Security of the Republic of Bulgaria, 2011). It has also been prepared within the framework of the Bulgarian membership in the European Union and NATO and therefore has been synchronized with the principles, dynamics and goals of those organizations. Among the main principles of the Strategy for National Security of the Republic of Bulgaria is the principle of unity with the allies from NATO and the EU. Therefore, it is logical to claim that the strategies for national security of the other countries that are part of NATO and the EU are similar in their main components. Also, the fact that the Strategy for National Security of the Republic of Bulgaria has been prepared in the context of democracy and has been based on the principles of “unity and relationship between security, universal rights and freedoms of citizens” (Strategy for National Security of the Republic of Bulgaria, 2010), contributes to the universal nature of the factors determining national security on a global level.

The Strategy for National Security of the Republic of Bulgaria distinguishes seven main/vital national security interests. They determine and give direction to the designed and applied policies and practices in the country. At first glance, they seem like generalized abstract concepts, but little by little they transform into specific policies and practices which affect the daily lives of the population. These factors, on the other hand, can also be influenced by other processes. Therefore, the national interests are levers that work both way – they can influence numerous factors but at the same time can be influenced by yet other factors.

According to the Strategy for National Security of the Republic of Bulgaria, the vital national interests bottle down to seven important ones, namely: 1) to guarantee the rights freedoms, security and well-being of the citizen, society and the state, 2) protection of the sovereignty and territory of the country and the unity of the nation, 3) protection of the constitutional order and the democratic values, 4) protection of the population and the critical infrastructure in times of crises, emergencies, calamities, catastrophes and other risks and threats, 5) preservation and development of the national identity, built upon the united citizenship, 6) to guarantee the integration in/of the Bulgarian society and 7) to overcome the negative demographic processes, the considerable disproportions in the development of the regions and to create a socio-economic environment providing the conditions for the development of the coming Bulgarian generations who are capable of guaranteeing a worthy place on the EU and the international political, economic, financial and social processes for Bulgaria. The strategic objectives included in the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Bulgaria have a lot in common with the principles set out in the construction of the European Security Model. As discussed in the Draft of the European Union Internal

Security, “security is in itself a basic right. The values and principles established in the Treaties of the Union and set out in the Charter of Fundamental Rights have inspired the EU’s Internal Security Strategy” (Council of the European Union, 2010). The main principles are as follows:

- “justice, freedom and security policies which are mutually reinforcing whilst respecting fundamental rights, international protection, the rule of law and privacy” (Council of the European Union, 2010). This principle directly relates to the first vital national interest from the Bulgarian Security Strategy.
- “protection of all the citizens, especially the most vulnerable, with the focus on victims of crimes such as trafficking in human beings or gender violence, including victims of terrorism who also need special attention, support and social recognition” (Council of the European Union, 2010). This principle can relate to some extent to the fourth vital national security interest of the Republic of Bulgaria.
- “transparency and accountability in security policies, so that they can be easily understood by citizens, and take account of their concerns and opinions” (Council of the European Union, 2010). This principle relates to third vital national interest of Bulgaria since most of the connotations relate to the lawful and democratic way of governance and the idea of civil supervision over the governing elite.
- “dialogue as the means of resolving the differences in accordance with the principles of tolerance, respect and freedom of expression” (Council of the

European Union, 2010). Again, this principle relates to the third vital national security interest of Bulgaria because of the above mentioned reasons.

- “integration, social inclusion and the fight against discrimination as key elements for EU internal security” (Council of the European Union, 2010). This principle can be related to both the fifth and sixth vital national security interests of Bulgaria because it deals with social matters and is aimed at the development of a homogenous and liberal society on the territory of the European Union.
- “solidarity between Member States in the face of challenges which cannot be met by Member States acting alone or where concentrated action is to the benefit of the EU as a whole” (Council of the European Union, 2010).
- “mutual trust as a key principle for successful cooperation” (Council of the European Union, 2010). The last two principles are EU specific and outline the way the above mentioned principles can be delivered.

As can be seen both the national and European level strategies are synchronized and adopt similar dynamics. This is important to note because it underlines that if the principles and practices applied at national level work, there is a probability that similar practices would work on other national levels under the cap of the European Union. The proximity would render an eventual research in other national contexts viable and worth undergoing.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA

The research methodology section consists of items that have been used throughout the stages of planning, preparation, and implementation. The research methodology part of this study includes clarifications regarding the research approach, the research philosophy, the research strategy, the sampling technique, and the ethics and validity of the carried out research. The various subsections of the research methodology part of this study have been synchronized with the clarifications and recommendations of Saunders (2009) and Chisnall (1986).

Research Approach

The used research approach is the deductive approached as described by Saunders (2009). The deductive approach is chosen in front of the inductive one, because the deductive approach enables the researcher to construct a theoretical framework upon which to test specific ideas and hypotheses via the obtained primary data. Cooper and Schindler (2006) underline some of the advantages of the deductive approach, namely the direct link between the conclusions and the provided reasons. This relation entails the formulation of hypotheses as well as the testing of the proposed correlations with the ultimate goal of explaining the dependencies between the different variables. The usage of the deductive approach ensures that the study would benefit from one strictly structured methodology and data, which can be measured quantitatively. The deductive

approach is beneficial in that the study relies on a bulky literature review, which is instrumental in the compilation of the hypotheses. The deductive approach would be very suitable in testing, accepting, or rejecting the set hypotheses (Gill and Johnson, 2010) with the ultimate goal of resolving the issue of the stated purpose of the study. Since the purpose of this study is related to human perceptions, the most suitable and efficient way of avoiding the imminent uncertainty connected with personal opinions would be to rely in specific hypotheses, which can be tested with the obtained primary data.

Research Philosophy

The chosen research philosophy is the one of positivism. Crowther and Lancaster (2009) note that the deductive approach is linked with the positivism paradigm. The positivist paradigm dictates that real life events can be observed empirically and explained with logical analysis (Kaboub, 2008). The usage of the positivist approach allows the researcher to examine the issues in an environment, which eliminates the complexity of the external world. Therefore, the researcher is able to concentrate on the relations between the various discussed notions and concepts. The outcomes carry a high level of internal validity due to the carefully crafted constructs of relations. This study relies on this advantage of the positivist philosophy, namely the testing of the relations in an enclosed environment with no unnecessary distractions. The validity of the outcomes would be high. However, there is always the threat of lack of validity in the external context (Kaboub, 2008). However, the extensive literature review in combination with

the real life primary data obtained via an online survey should increase the proximity between the internal and external validity of the carried out research.

Research Strategy

Primary Data

The primary data research is carried out with the rationale that the data collection techniques would be best suited to the purposes of this study. In order to obtain the most accurate and suitable information on people's perceptions regarding the variables (related to individual economic security, trust in government, and general level of national security), the survey strategy technique is applied (Chisnall, 1986; Saudners, 2009). Since the primary concern of the study is the perception of people regarding a particular relationship between two concepts, the survey techniques ensures that the information would come straight from the source, namely the opinion of the very individual. As discussed in the literature review section, the feeling of economic well-being is relative and varies from person to person. Therefore, what constitutes economic security for one person might not be enough for another. In that sense, the survey should reach as much people as possible in order to ensure a viable pool of participants. The survey technique is the most way of obtaining a lot of accurate and useful information, especially with the usage of a questionnaire, which according to Saudners (2009), is the most often used technique with the survey strategy. As already stated, the purpose of the study and the nature of the described concepts evaluate various perceptions and interpretations of different people. Therefore, obtaining information from a various

sampling pool would be providing as clear a picture of the attitudes of the citizens towards the various theoretical constructs as possible.

Secondary Data

The secondary data usage is very important for the proper execution of the goals of the study. The secondary data, primarily obtained from articles and other academic work from various scientists preoccupied in the issues of national security, governmental trust, and economic security, enabled the in-depth construction of the concepts and notions used in this study. The secondary data allows for an extensive theoretical framework, upon which to base the research methodology and the questionnaire for primary data extraction as well. It is important to note that some of the articles that have been used in the literature review section are relatively old (e.g. Tilly et al., 1985). However, this comes to show that the issues of the discussed concepts have occupied a decent place in academic discussions long before contemporary times. The importance and ever-present nature of the notions of economic security, trust in government, and national security are further fortified by the usage of articles throughout a nearly 30 years time span dedicated to these topics.

The research for this study has been done over a bulky volume of articles dedicated to the various concepts. Besides searching for publications on the concerned topics, a snowballing technique was applied, namely exploring the references used in an article that has already been overviewed. The snowballing technique provided a lot of contemporary and in-depth information that shed even more light over the particularities of the researched concepts. Besides providing clarifications about the dynamics of the

discussed topic, the secondary data also served the role to fortify the findings obtained via the survey. The impact of the secondary data in that respect is especially sensible in the confirmation of the third (H3) and fourth (H4) hypotheses, respectively the positive correlation between individual economic security and the bond of trust, and between the bond of trust and the general level of national security.

Time Horizon of the Research

The research and more specifically the obtained results and conclusions take a snapshot of the citizens' perceptions of the dynamics of individual economic security as well as the interrelations between the notions of economic security, trust in government, and national security. The results are obtained in a specific moment of time and do not track the development of these results over a larger time span. The alternative, i.e. carrying out a research, which evaluates the tendency of the perceptions and attitudes shifts, is impossible for the time being. This is so because as Hofstede (1980) discusses, societal changes and cultural perceptions change over very long periods of time. Therefore, the carrying out of a cross-sectional, snapshot research is the best option and most effective way of directly testing the hypotheses within the contemporary context.

Survey Content and Quantitative Data Analysis Methodology

The survey technique is used for the compilation and dissemination of a questionnaire, through which primary data would be obtained. The questionnaire consists of 11 questions, which are answered via a 5-point Likert scale, which ranges from "Strongly

Disagree” to “Strongly Agree” as well as 2 multiple choice questions that provide information on gender and age. The questions are designed in such a way as to allow the application of the Pearson’s Correlation Coefficient test. The questions are structured in such a way as to collect information on the perceptions of the participants towards the researched concepts and correlations. The questions are randomly squandered throughout the questionnaire so that the participants would not find logical linkage between the different questions, thus being able to display biased judgment through their answers.

The analysis of the acquired data was carried out on Microsoft Excel. The nature of the statistical test that is used for the verification of the study’s hypotheses does not require the usage of complex statistical tools because Excel has a built-in formula for the adequate execution of the Pearson’s Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient test as clarified by Kothari (2004). This statistical tool allows the measurement of the strength of the linear association between two variables. Microsoft Excel allows the calculation of the correlation coefficient (r) to be carried out easily using the CORREL function. The significance level of the two-tailed test of the hypotheses is fixed at 0.05 or $\alpha=5\%$. The degrees of freedom are calculated within the following formula:

$Df=N-2$, where N is the number of the sample size.

As already stated, the hypothesis testing relies on the Pearson’s Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient. The actual methodology is as follows:

1. Brief summary of the gathered data

2. Definition of the Null and Alternative Hypotheses

For the purposes of the research, the Null Hypothesis is that there is no significant relationship between the variables comprising the hypotheses. On the other hand, the alternative hypotheses will be that there is a significant relationship between the variables and the relationships are actually positive

3. Definition of one type of test – one-tailed or two-tailed – and the calculation of the degrees of freedom. Setting up of the decision rule via the r-table where the combination of α and Df will allow the researcher to set an appropriate level of significance.

4. Statement of the decision rule and calculation of the test statistics.

After the completion of the previous step, the setting of the exact parameters would be possible. To calculate the test statistics, the formula that lies in the core of the Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient would be used, namely:

$$r = \frac{n(\sum xy) - (\sum x)(\sum y)}{\sqrt{[n\sum x^2 - (\sum x)^2][n\sum y^2 - (\sum y)^2]}}$$

5. Statement of the results and conclusion of the conducted test.

In this last step, the actual results of the performed test would be announced.

Validity and Limitations

Because of the nature of the chosen sampling technique, it should be duly noted that there might be some significant limitations. The questionnaire was disseminated online via the usage of direct emailing as well as social networks. This way of reaching the potential participants ensures vast public but still does not reach significant portions of the population. People who have an access to a computer as well as the Internet have answered the questionnaire. This shrinks the circle of people who could share their perceptions regarding the concepts and the various relations between them.

Unfortunately, people of interest to this study, but not regularly using online services such as emails and social networks have not been approached specifically. However, some efforts have been paid in order to mitigate the lack of such respondents by printing out a hardcopy version of the questionnaire and distributing them personally to people of interest. In conclusion, it is important to say that the lack of responses from specific potential participants does not hamper fatally this academic research and its contribution to the specific topic.

Ethics

The issues of ethics and validity are universal and should always be considered when carrying out a scientific research. During the research carried out for this study, no children under the age of 18 have been given the questionnaire. All the participants who answered the questionnaire have been given information about the purpose of the questionnaire and that it is part of a scientific research. Moreover, all the participants

who answered the questionnaire have given their consent to use the information for the purpose of the research topic. Additionally, no personal questions concerning income, medical condition, sexual orientation, political or religious views as well as marital status have been included in the questionnaire. This is due to the ethical considerations as well as the lack of relativity to the purpose of the scientific study.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

Demography

A total of 47 respondents answered the online questionnaire. The number of respondents is above 30, which according to Mood et al. (1974) is in correspondence with the chosen level of significance of $\alpha=5\%$. Out of the 47 participants, 21 are female and 26 male. This is relatively even distribution of 45% female and 55% male participants. However, it should be duly noted that the current demography of Bulgaria does not resonate with the demography of the participants in this study. In Bulgaria, the female population exceeds the male one in numbers. This should be taken into considerations prior to the usage of this study's results for whatever purposes.

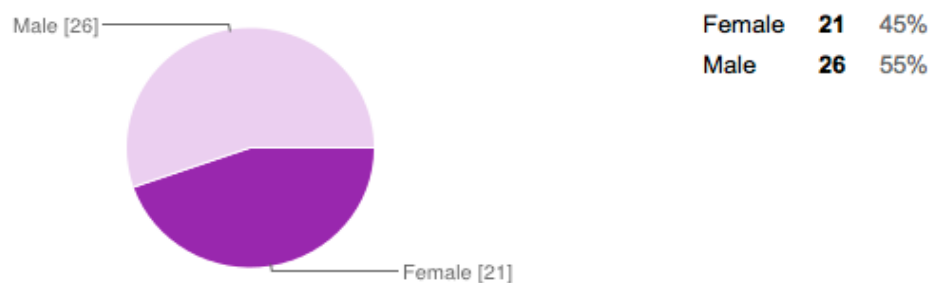


Figure 2: Male-Female Distribution of the Sample Size

In terms of age of the participants, the distribution is not as equal as the gender one. The predominant number of participants falls within the 18-29 years old range. Out of the 47

respondents, 44 (i.e. 94%) are aged within the 18-29 years old region. Only two of the respondents are within the 30-49 years old group and one of the respondents is aged above 66 years old. This is a very uneven distribution and it should make room for some considerations, namely that the results of the study are predominantly valid for the young generation of Bulgarians. The results should not be related to the older generations of Bulgarians. Moreover, in order to capture the attitudes of the older generations of Bulgarians, the dissemination of the questionnaire should be initiated via a different strategy. However, as of now, the age structure of the sample size underlines that this study captures the young generations' attitudes towards the issues of economic security, trust in government, and national security. This observation should be duly noted in the title of the study, underlining the sole influence of the young generations' opinions about the covered topics. The examination of the answers of potential respondents from the other age groups is deemed strongly interesting and worth pursued to complement the current research. The differences between the perceptions of various age groups are usually significant and provide a comprehensive picture of the whole society's attitude towards the discussed issues.

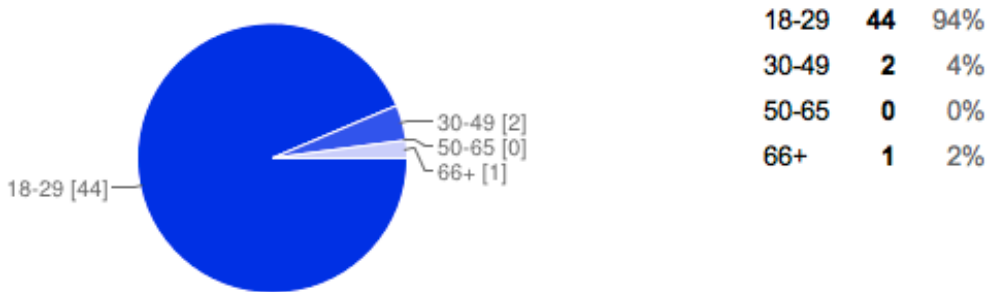


Figure 3: Age Structure of the Sample Size

Individual Economic Security

The results of the online questionnaire provide valuable insights on the attitudes of the participants towards the concepts and issues discussed in the literature review.

Questions one, two, three, five, six, and seven provide comprehensive information about the dynamism of individual economic security concept and its underlying factors of basic social security and work-related security. The survey outcomes are unequivocal in underlining the resonance between the theoretical review and the attitudes of the younger Bulgarian generation.

Question one, namely “I believe that good education would make me more competitive and able to perform better economically in the future,” received a big portion of the answers in the region of agree and strongly agree. Out of the 47 respondents, 30 answered with the number 5 option, which is the closest one to the “Strongly Agree” statement. Thirteen answered with the fourth position. These outcomes show that the participants in the questionnaire consider obtaining a good education and vocational training to be strongly beneficial in their eventual realization and achievement of individual economic security. Numerous scholars have studied the relationship between equally distributed education and social benefits such as prevailing income equality and rising income levels (Psacharopoulos, 1977; Fields, 1980; O’Neill, 1995; Fernandez and Rogerson, 1996; De Gregorio and Lee, 2002; Muller, 2002; Glomm and Ravikumar, 2003). Moreover, the studies have been set in different country contexts and over different time periods, thus underlining the resilience and actuality of

the correlation between education and income. However, as a conclusion it should be duly noted that the participants in this study have displayed a strong preference towards the statement that education increases the chances of higher income.

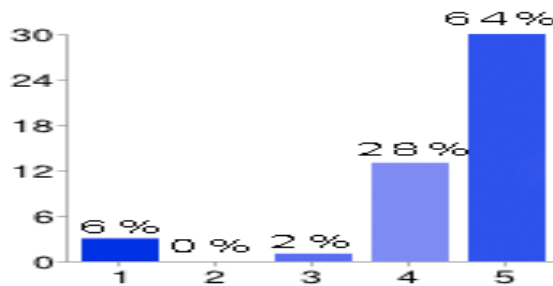


Figure 4: Answers to Question 1 of the Questionnaire as Percentages

Question two, namely “I believe that if I get financial aid from the state or state provided job opportunities in times of personal economic hardship (e.g. unemployment, illness, disability, maternity leave, etc.) I would be more likely to recover from the hardship in question and to regain my economic security,” did not produce as unequivocal results as question one. However, the predominance of the answers to question two are orientated towards the “Strongly Agree” options. There is an increased variance in the distribution of the answers alongside position three, four, and five. Cumulatively, the respondents to question two have showed confidence in the importance of social protection towards the attainment of individual economic security. Social protection ensures social safety and economic security, as observed by Delhey and Newton (2003). Additionally, Devereux (2002) and Grosh et al. (2008) speak about the importance of social protection and other safety nets in terms of their promotion of growth and positive affect on inequalities. The outcomes of the questionnaire for this study reinforce such observations.

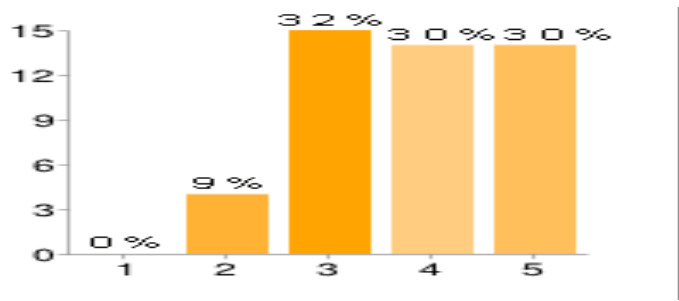


Figure 5: Answers to Question 2 of the Questionnaire as Percentages

Question three, namely “I believe that if I am able to obtain more information via innovative technologies (e.g. e-Government) and avoid encountering bureaucracy, I would be more efficient in my economic performance,” received a lot of answers oriented towards the “Strongly Agree” option. This reveals a tendency according to which young Bulgarians are overwhelmed by bureaucracy, consider it ineffective, and would prefer to obtain information and services usually rendered to them by the administrations via more innovative and technological mediums such as the e-Government. A poll conducted by the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry displayed that the top companies in Bulgaria considered poor administration to be the top problem of the business environment and the investment climate (Novinite.bg). With that information in mind, the results of this study’s questionnaire to question three are in complete resonance with the Bulgarian context. The level of information infrastructure affects the perceptions of people in terms of their chances to reach and attain individual economic security.

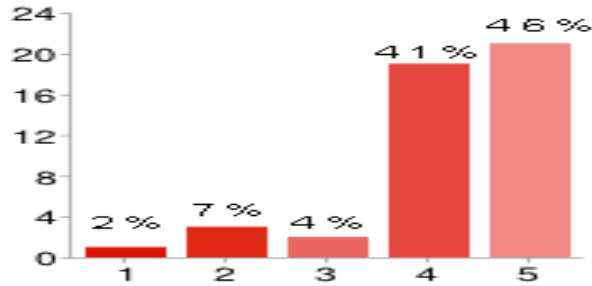


Figure 6: Answers to Question 3 of the Questionnaire as Percentages

Question four, namely “If I receive good and adequate public healthcare in times of need I am more likely to increase my trust in the government and the whole political system,” evaluates the relationship between health infrastructure and the level of trust in government which citizens display. The results of the answers unequivocally highlight the importance of healthcare as perceived by the young generation of Bulgarians. As Birungi (1998) observes, good healthcare system for citizens translates into heightening trust in the governmental institutions. Moreover, Adler (2001) as well as Zak and Knack (2001) underline that trust environment and trust in institutions are beneficial for the economic development and levels of investments in a country, thus increasing the probability of citizens to obtain and sustain individual economic security.

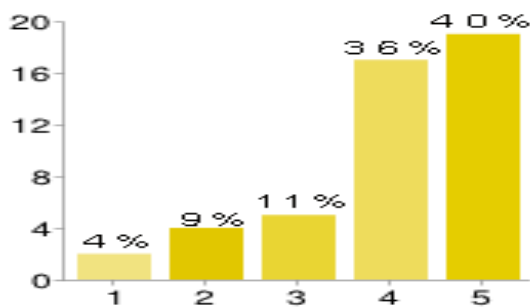


Figure 7: Answers to Question 4 of the Questionnaire as Percentages

Question six, namely “I believe that if both my current and future incomes are ensured I would be more efficient and successful in my current and future economic performance, hence economic security attainment,” measures the participants’ perceptions of the importance of the income security factor. The respondents displayed predominant preference for the options closer to the “Strongly Agree” statement. The satisfaction of human needs by the acquitting and usage of goods and services determines an individual’s enjoyment of well-being (Rejda, 2012). Since the universal medium of exchange in the contemporary market economic context is money, the ensuring income is the best way of acquiring economic goods and services. Furthermore, Easterlin and Sawangfa (2010) as well as Oswald (2012) observed a positive relationship between happiness and economic growth. In that sense, the results of the questionnaire for this study support the correlation. When people are able to enjoy goods and services (obtained via money exchange) they increase their happiness, which on its turn improves their economic performance.

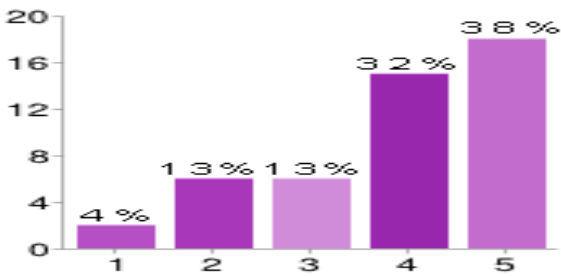


Figure 8: Answers to Question 6 of the Questionnaire as Percentages

Question seven refers to the participants' attitudes towards the concerns and problems at their work position and moreover the solution of these problems. The answers to this question tend to check on the respondents' opinions regarding the representation security of the work-related security factors. The results are equivocal in that the largest percentage of respondents opted for option number 3, which is the most neutral and undecided one. However, when compared, the answers closer to the "Strongly Agree" statement are more numerous than those closer to the "Strongly Disagree" statement.

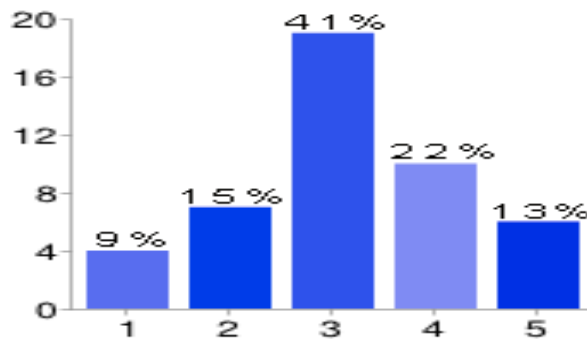
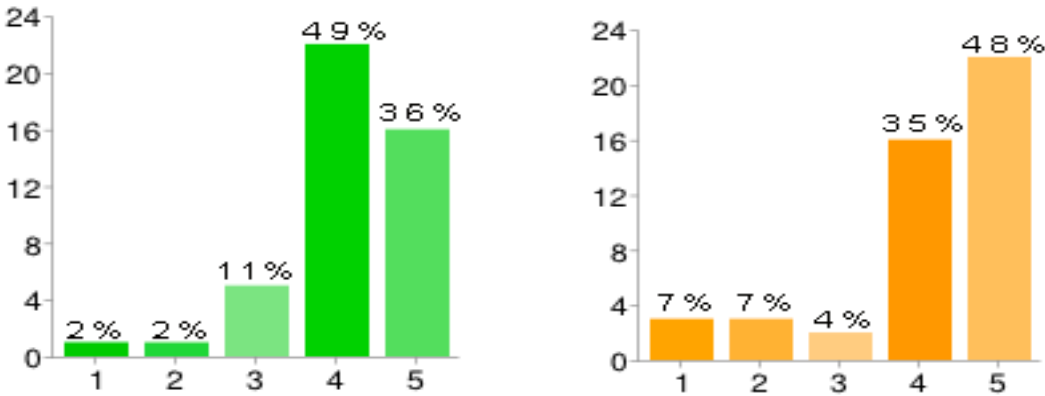


Figure 9: Answers to Question 7 of the Questionnaire as Percentages

Questions five and eight clarify some general assumptions about the nature of individual economic security as a whole. Question five, namely "I believe that my economic performance and economic security depend on various factors from both the work-related (e.g. income security) and basic social (e.g. education, information and social protection) realms," aims at evaluating the participants' perceptions of the composing elements of the individual economic security notion. As evidenced by the results, people tend to agree that individual economic security and economic performance are strongly influenced by two different sets of factors from different realms, namely the purely

work-related ones and the ones regulating the general social cohesion. Furthermore, the strong preference of the 5th option to question eight dictates that the participants consider the achievement of economic security as a top priority in their lives. This is due to the capabilities and opportunities, which economic security enables namely the acquisition and enjoyment of the available economic goods and services that increase people's satisfaction. The fact that most of the respondents opted for the "Strongly Agree" answers means that the participants are economic subjects that are striving to achieve economic security. Therefore, they would purposefully and carefully evaluate their actions in order to channel them towards the achievement of economic security. This means that the participants are aware or try to become aware of the dynamics of individual economic security and navigate their efforts as efficiently as possible.



Figures 10 and 11: Answers to Questions 5 and 8 of the Questionnaire as Percentages

The Bond of Trust

The questionnaire examines the dynamics of the ‘bond of trust’ concept, which was introduced earlier on. Questions nine, ten, and eleven provide valuable data coming from the young Bulgarian generation about the ‘bond of trust’ concept as well as the participants’ perceptions of the transfer of resources to the government in case of the strengthening of this ‘bond of trust.’ The answers to the online questionnaire resonate with the specificities and dynamics, which have been discussed in the literature review section of this study.

Question nine, namely “I believe that newly-formed institutions and political parties/figures with no communist past are more capable of navigating within the contemporary market economy context,” directs the participants’ attention to the issue of the political heritage of post-communist countries. In resonance with Rose’s (1994) observations, the respondents to the online questionnaire for this study tend to display a lack of trust in the institutions, parties, and political figures, which have some connection to the communist past of the Republic of Bulgaria. The participants predominantly agree that the newly formed and communist past free political institutions and figures are more able as well as more trusted to efficiently and successfully navigate the country within the turbulent environment of contemporary market economy.

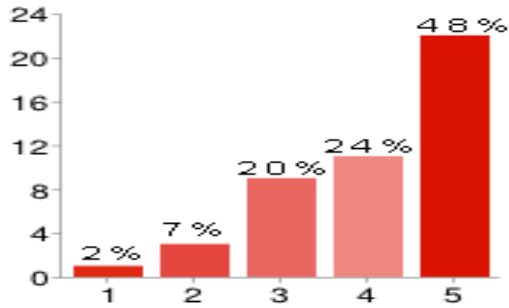


Figure 12: Answers to Question 9 of the Questionnaire as Percentages

Question ten, namely “I believe that the incumbent government should be adequately, qualified, capable, result-oriented, frugal, and efficient in ensuring favorable economic environment, which fights income inequality and fortifies economic growth and economic security,” tests what the participants would like to see their government deliver. The answers are predominantly oriented towards the “Strongly Agree” statement. The results indicate that the participants, namely the young generation of Bulgarians, are interested in the development of the economic realm, thus showing preference towards economic well-being. The outcomes to question ten are in synchronization with the results of the other questions in that the participants realize the composition of the individual economic security concept, cherish the different factors that influence it, and expect their government to cooperate in the achievement and attainment of this economic security.

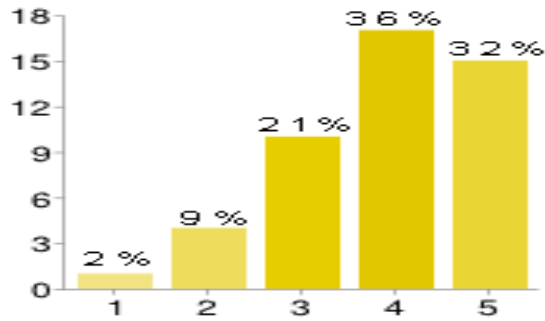


Figure 13: Answers to Question 10 of the Questionnaire as Percentages

Question eleven, namely “I am willing to devote more of my personal resources and time (e.g. higher tax payments, participation in civil society initiatives, active participation in the elective process, etc.) if the incumbent government performs efficiently and well in ensuring a beneficial and frugal economic growth and security,” tends to test the participants level of devotion to the enhancement of the economic situation. The answers are skewed towards the “Strongly Agree” statement revealing the eventual content and satisfaction the respondents would get if they see that the government is successfully performing its duties in the economic realm. The predominantly positive answers (i.e. those oriented towards the “Strongly Agree” statement) to question eleven are in resonance with the overall results of the study, namely that the participants are interested in the economic development of the country and would be willing to contribute to the achievement of the common goal. The results of question eleven are also very important in terms of the Tilly et al. (1985) article, which specifies the economic build-up (in terms of the state caring for the interest of its citizens) as the benefit people get from the organized system and the reason because of which the citizens are willing to devote trust and resources to the governing apparatus for the attainment of the other statehood tasks. Question eleven is closely related to the

philosophy of social contract, which has been widely discussed and enriched by names such as Hobbes and Locke. Therefore, the importance of question eleven is immense in evaluating the proposed relationship between citizens and state – a relationship that has always been, still is, and will always be contemporary and of upmost interest to everybody.

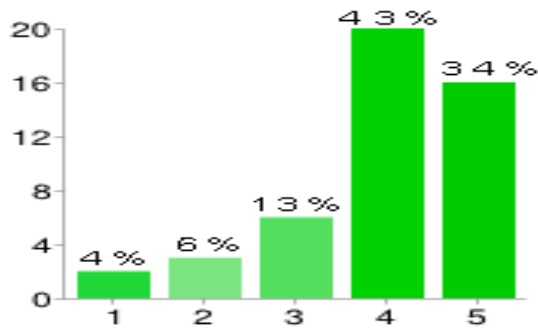


Figure 14: Answers to Question 11 of the Questionnaire as Percentages

Hypotheses Testing

The testing of the hypotheses would be carried out in accordance to the steps described in the Survey Content and Quantitative Data Analysis Methodology section.

H1: The basic social security factors exert a positive effect on the general level of individual economic security, as perceived by the participants

As discussed in the literature review section, the basic social security factors include health infrastructure, information infrastructure, social protection, and educational infrastructure. These factors exert an influence on the general level of individual economic security. The perceptions of the participants regarding the most important aspects of each concept have been tested via the online questionnaire.

Therefore, the carrying out of the Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient testing would reveal if the obtained data resonates with the theoretical background of the concepts of basic social security as part of individual economic security. With a total of 47 respondents the degrees of freedom (Df) are set at 45 (Df=n-2). The test would be one-tailed due to the very nature of the relation between the variables. Therefore, the critical value is set to be at 0.248. In that case, the null hypothesis would be that if the correlation coefficient is below 0.248 there is no correlation between the two variables. The alternative hypothesis would be that if the correlation coefficient is above the critical value of 0.248, then there is a strong positive correlation between the two tested variables.

H1₀: $r \leq 0.248$

H1_a: $r > 0.248$

Hypothesis one, namely "The basic social security factors exert a positive effect on the general level of individual economic security, as perceived by the participants," is tested via the calculation of the r coefficient for four relations, which test the different components of the basic social security concept. Firstly, question one of the questionnaire ("I believe that good education would make me more competitive and able to perform better economically in the future") is related to question five ("I believe that my economic performance and economic security depend on various factors from both the work-related and basic social realms") in order to test the importance of education infrastructure in relation to the general level of individual economic security. The r for this relation is 0.811, which refutes the null hypothesis and proves the alternative

hypothesis correct. Therefore, there is a positive relation between educational infrastructure and individual economic security.

In order to evaluate the relation of the other questions dedicated to the remaining three components of basic social security (namely, social protection, information infrastructure, and health infrastructure) to question five. The relation between questions two (social protection) and question five (composition of individual economic security concept) results in a coefficient of 0.840, well above the critical value of 0.248. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and the positive relationship between social protection and individual economic security is confirmed. The relation between questions three (information infrastructure) and question five (composition of individual economic security concept) results in a coefficient of 0.916, which is above the critical value of 0.248. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and the positive correlation between information infrastructure and individual economic security is confirmed. The relationship between questions four (health infrastructure) and question five (composition individual economic security concept) produces a correlation coefficient of 0.937, thus rejecting the null hypothesis and confirming the positive relation between both variables.

Hypothesis 1 is confirmed with all its four underlying relationships. The resulting correlation coefficients are high above the initially set critical values. Therefore, the outcomes of the survey as far as the first hypothesis is concerned represent a strong positive relationship between basic social security factors and the general level of individual economic security. The high coefficients of correlation are in resonance with the literature review insights and confirm the observations of the scholars in the field by providing empirical data for the young Bulgarian generation.

H2: The work-related security factors exert a positive effect on the general level of individual economic security, as perceived by the participants

As already stated in the previous hypothesis testing, the critical value on which the rejection/confirmation of the null hypothesis depends is set at 0.248. For the testing of the second hypothesis the critical value is the same.

H2₀: $r \leq 0.248$

H2_a: $r > 0.248$

The work-related security factors, as discussed in the literature review section are composed of seven factors, among which two are predominant, namely income security and representation security. Therefore, the testing of the second hypothesis would be done via the testing of the relationship between these two work-related factors (income and representation security) and the composition of individual economic security as tested via question five of the online questionnaire. The relationship between questions six (income security) and five (composition of individual economic security concept) results in a correlation coefficient of 0.926, which is well above the critical value of 0.248. Therefore, the result rejects the null hypothesis and confirms the alternative one, namely that there is a strong relation between the work-related security factor and the general level of individual economic security. Furthermore, the relationship between questions seven (representation security) and five (composition of the individual economic security concept) result in correlation coefficient of 0.871. Therefore, the null

hypothesis is rejected and the alternative one is accepted. This work-related factor also exerts a positive effect on the general level of individual economic security.

Both relations are well above the critical value set for the testing of hypothesis two. Therefore, it is fair to state that the null hypothesis does not hold and the alternative hypothesis displays a strong relationship between the variables of work-related security factors and the individual economic security concept.

H3: Individual economic security increases the ‘bond of trust’, as perceived by the citizens of a country, as perceived by the participants

The bond of trust concept and more specifically the input, which the attainment of individual economic security provides to it, is of especial importance for the state-building activities the incumbent government can and should implement. As discussed in the literature review section, the ‘bond of trust’, or otherwise said the trust in government displayed by the citizens of a country, tends to increase if the incumbent government performs successfully in ensuring favorable economic conditions. Question eight examines the preoccupation of the participants with the issue of economic security. The predominantly agreeable answers to the question statement show that people rate the achievement of economic security as a top priority in their lives. Question ten evaluates the participants’ attitudes towards a government that manages to provide favorable economic environment for the accomplishment and the attainment of high economic security. The relation between both of them would show that the participants would trust a government that cooperates with its citizens in the accomplishment of one

of their top priorities. As earlier discussed the critical value for the rejection/confirmation of the null hypothesis is 0.248.

H3₀: $r \leq 0.248$

H3_a: $r > 0.248$

The confirmation of the null hypothesis would mean that there is no considerable relationship between both notions, whereas the rejection of the null hypothesis translates into the confirmation of the suggested hypothesis. With a correlation coefficient of 0.874 the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternative one is confirmed. Additionally, the literature review section provided interesting insight in the communist past of institutions and political figures factor, which might influence the level of trust in government exhibited by the citizens. Question nine is designed to test citizens' preference towards communist past free political institutions, parties, and figures as the choice of the controllers of the contemporary market economy policies and initiatives. The participants in the survey displayed a strong preference of newly-formed institutions and political figures that are capable of executing what the respondents consider important for an incumbent government. The relationship between questions nine and ten result in a correlation coefficient of 0.918, which is well above the 0.248 critical value. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternative one is confirmed. Both the correlation coefficients are above the critical value of 0.248. Therefore, the third hypothesis, namely "Individual economic security increases the 'bond of trust', as perceived by the citizens of a country" is confirmed.

H4: The ‘bond of trust’ concept exerts positive effect on the vital national security interests of a country, thus increasing the general level of national security, as perceived by the participants

The relationship between the ‘bond of trust’ concept and the national security development is tested via the correlation of the results of questions ten and nine. Question ten examines the participants’ preferences about what the government should pursue in its agenda. On the other hand, question eleven examines the respondents’ readiness to devote personal resources to the government if it is achieving the conditions preferred by the citizens. As Tilly et al. (1985) further clarify, this transfer of resources from the citizens to the government would ensure the adequate and proper execution of the remaining state responsibilities, namely the protection of the country’s territory and citizens from outside and inside threats, the protection of the interests of the citizens, as well as the fortification of the favorable economic conditions. Thus, the general level of national security is likely to be raised. The correlation between questions ten and eleven results in a particularly high coefficient of 0.944, which is significantly higher than the critical value of 0.248. The null hypothesis is rejected and the alternative one, namely the strong positive relation between both variables, is confirmed.

H4₀: $r \leq 0.248$

H4_a: $r > 0.248$

The ‘bond of trust’ concept is thus translated into direct support via the transfer of resources from the citizens to the governmental apparatus. The government, on its

turn, would be more likely to successfully implement its policies with the idea of achieving the goals it has been elected to fulfill. Moreover, the government, after once achieved high trust from the citizens, would be more careful in performing successfully in order to retain this trust in the future and be reelected. As Frey and Schneider (1978) discussed some decades ago, the reelection concern is pressing for governments and surpass the urge to follow the ideological goals. This rationale for incumbent governments to use the levers of statehood in order to ensure reelection has been observed in numerous studies as well (e.g. Frey and Schneider, 1979; Van der Ploeg, 1984; Alesina and Tabellini, 1990; Besley and Case, 1992; Dreher, 2004; Kayser, 2005). With result-seeking and conscious citizens, who are aware of their preferences of governmental efforts and are willing to devote resources to achieving these ends, the incumbent government would be likely to channel its efforts into fulfilling the expectations. Thus, it would be reelected and sustain its power, which is a predominant priority for political parties/figures. This study provides the foundations for such behavior as far as the attitudes and readiness of the young Bulgarian generation to devote personal resources to the government is concerned.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

The study examines the complex and indirect, yet proficiently frugal relationship between the individual economic security concept and the general level of national security a country might experience. Although not as obvious, the correlation between both notions is present, as evidenced by the carried out survey, and provides a solid base for the further development of both concepts. Incumbent governments should evaluate the chances of enhancing economic security due to its strong correlation to such governments' chances of fortifying national security and indulging the preferences of their potential electorates. Newton (2001) observed the relationship between social trust and political trust. Therefore, the promotion of economically viable policies that raise the perception of economic security increases the social cohesion, which on its turn translates into political trust. Then, as Tilly et al. (1985) discuss, the incumbent government would find itself in the beneficial position of securing the citizens' trust in its abilities and potential development and would be better suited to exploit all the ensuing benefits of this situation. The young Bulgarian generation seems to display strong preferences to a functional and economically frugal governmental tenure and would be likely to support such a government once it proves able to provide universal economic security.

Practical Implications

The practical implications of this study should be predominantly oriented towards the consequences of the fourth hypothesis, namely that “the ‘bond of trust’ concept exerts positive effect on the vital national security interests of a country, thus increasing the general level of national security.” This is the main contribution of the study. It is in resonance with the work of Tilly et al. (1985) who outline the main tasks that a government should fulfill. By pursuing economic security policies, a government would indirectly enjoy the benefits of heightening trust from its citizens. Therefore, the government would generate a credit of trust, which it can use to advance policies, which would increase the general level of national security. Since the study’s results come from the Bulgarian context, and more specifically the younger Bulgarian generation, the vital national interests, according to the Bulgarian strategy for national security should be in the focus of interest. As discussed in the literature review section, the vital national interests of the Republic of Bulgaria are seven and include various notions. The vital interests are 1) to guarantee the rights, freedoms, security and well-being of the citizens, society, and the state, 2) the protection of the sovereignty and territory of the country and the unity of the nation, 3) the protection of the constitutional order and the democratic processes/values, 4) the protection of the population and the critical infrastructure in times of crises, emergencies, calamities, catastrophes, and other risks and threats, 5) the preservation and development of the national identity, built upon united citizenship, 6) to guarantee the integration in/of the Bulgarian society, and 7) to overcome the negative demographic processes, the considerable disproportions in the development of the regions and to create a socio-economic environment providing the

conditions for the development of the coming Bulgarian generations who are capable of guaranteeing a worthy place in the European Union and the international political, economic, financial and social processes for Bulgaria.

The attainment of trust from the citizens of the country provides the incumbent government with a credit of trust, which it can use to further the development of all seven vital national interests. The advancement of the economic security of citizens proves to be a viable tool through which the government might enjoy the benefits of trust from its citizens in order to increase the general level of national security. However, of particular interest are the more abstract and perceptive national security interests. This is so because the 'bond of trust' concept is more of a cognitive and abstract notion, rather than a tangible asset. Specifically, vital interests five and six - respectively the preservation and development of the national identity, built upon united citizenship and the guarantee of the integration in/of the Bulgarian society - might be strongly influenced and advanced by the attainment of a high degree of trust in the incumbent government. Scholars (e.g. Seligson, 2002; Hetherington and Nelson, 2003; Van de Walle and Bouckaert, 2003) have discussed the various dynamisms and importance of the relationship between trust in government and the heightening of the national unity perceptions of citizens. People tend to experience social cohesion when they perceive their governments as trustworthy organizations capable of indulging the preferences of the people. As discussed in the literature review section, the advancement and sustainment of economic security leads to increased levels of social cohesion and trust in government. Thus, indirectly economic security via the mediation of trust in government translates into heightening levels of one of the vital national security interests of the Republic of Bulgaria.

The issue of integration in/of the Bulgarian society is also influenced by the social cohesion provided by the development of favorable economic conditions and growth. Coburn (2000) observed that heightening income inequalities lead to lowering social cohesion levels. Hence, the promotion of economic policies that diminish income inequalities and generally stimulate economic growth and economic security would lead to heightening levels of social cohesion. From that point on, the increasing levels of social cohesion benefit the integration in/of a society as evidenced by the works of scholars (e.g. Kawachi et al., 1997; Gough, 1999; Gibson et al., 2006; Jansen et al., 2006). This study shows the favorable predisposition of members of the young Bulgarian generation towards the advancement of economic security. Therefore, the government would benefit from exploiting these preferences in order to increase its trustworthiness and to eventually increase the level of national security by fortifying the sixth vital national security interest of the Republic of Bulgaria.

Recommendations for Further Research

First of all, this study would benefit from consequential research of the discussed issues via a survey of other age groups. As evidenced by the obtained results of the online questionnaire, the predominance of participants was grouped in the youngest (18-29) age range available. Although this fact is beneficial due to the long-term orientation of the study, a more complete picture of the current attitudes of Bulgarians nowadays would be obtained if the middle groups' (both the 30-49 and 50-65 ones) opinions are evaluated. This is a significant opportunity for research. Moreover, the results of such a research would be very valuable in that they can be compared to the attitudes of the younger

Bulgarian generation. An eventual dissonance of the results might point out potential fault lines and gaps between the different age groups in Bulgaria. Furthermore, the concepts discussed in the literature review can be more deeply researched and clarified. This can be achieved by increasing the number of questions in the questionnaire. Thus, primary data with greater amount of details would be obtained. This would result into more clarity about the nature of some of the correlations obtained. Of particular interest is the result for the importance of health infrastructure. The correlation coefficient is very high and it serves as a signal for the more detailed research of the reasons behind this result.

Another opportunity for research would be carrying out some in depth interview in order to obtain detailed qualitative data about the perceptions of Bulgarians. Eventual interviews would enable the researcher to examine not only the attitudes and opinions of potential respondents but also the underlying reasons for their choices. Thus, some rationales, which have not been exhaustively covered by the available literature might be discovered and eventually researched.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

First, I would like to thank you that you have dedicated part of your time to answer this questionnaire. By answering these questions you would contribute greatly to the successful completion my my MA thesis in the topic of economic security, trust in government, and national security. I ensure you that the answers you give would remain anonymous and would be used solely for the purposes of my MA thesis. Thank you a lot in advance.

N.B. The questionnaire should be answered by anyone interested. However, there are some basic restrictions. First of all, the questionnaire is designed to measure the perceptions and attitudes of citizens of the Republic of Bulgaria. Therefore, one of the requirements to answer the questionnaire is to be a Bulgarian national. Secondly, children under the age of 18 are not allowed to participate in this study due to ethical considerations.

Q1 I believe that good education would make me more competitive and able to perform better economically in the future.

Strongly Disagree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Strongly Agree
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Q2 I believe that if I get financial aid from the state or state provided job opportunities in times of personal economic hardship (e.g. unemployment, illness, disability, maternity leave, etc.) I would be more likely to recover from the hardship in question and to regain my economic security.

Strongly Disagree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Strongly Agree
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Q3 I believe that if I am able to obtain more information via innovative technologies (e.g. e-Government) and avoid encountering bureaucracy, I would be more efficient in my economic performance.

Strongly Disagree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Strongly Agree
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Q4 If I receive good and adequate public healthcare in times of need I am likely to increase my trust in the government and the whole political system.

Strongly Disagree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Strongly Agree
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Q5 I believe that my economic performance and economic security depend on various factors from both the work-related (e.g. income security) and basic social (e.g. education, information, healthcare and social protection) realms.

Strongly Disagree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Strongly Agree
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Q6 I believe that if both my current and future incomes are ensured I would be more efficient and successful in my current and future economic performance, hence economic security attainment.

Strongly Disagree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Strongly Agree
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Q7 I believe that if my job-related concerns and problems are going to be taken into account and dealt with by a trade union, the law, the governmental institutions, I would be more likely to successfully perform at my job position.

Strongly Disagree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Strongly Agree
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Q8 I consider the accomplishment of individual economic security to be among the top priorities in my life.

Strongly Disagree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Strongly Agree
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Q9 I believe that newly-formed institutions and political parties/figures with no communist past are more capable of navigating within the contemporary market economy context.

Strongly Disagree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Strongly Agree
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Q10 I believe that the incumbent government should be adequately qualified, capable, result-oriented, frugal, and efficient in ensuring favorable economic environment, which fights income inequality and fortifies economic growth and economic security.

Strongly Disagree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Strongly Agree
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Q11 I am willing to devote more of my personal resources and time (e.g. higher tax payments, participation in civil society initiatives, active participation in the election process, etc.) if the incumbent government performs efficiently and well in ensuring a beneficial and frugal economic growth and security.

Strongly Disagree	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Strongly Agree
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Q12 What is your gender?

- Female
- Male

Q13 What is your age?

- 18-29
- 30-49
- 50-65
- 66+

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