

responsibility to the larger society, so that we are not quite as tempted to engage in undesirable behavior. Union members are also more likely to endorse moral behavior, at least on five of the eight questions. The biggest impacts are for keeping money found, cheating on taxes, and lying.

Union membership does produce solidarity, but only in the United States. Union members are more likely to object to claiming benefits you aren't entitled to, to cheat on taxes, to avoid fares on public transportation, and to hit a car without making a report. Three of the four items involve government: Unions tie people to larger institutions. On the other hand, we see no effect at all for education. At least part of the null effects come from the coding of education. A more refined measure would likely show greater effects among the college educated (cf. Putnam, 1995; Uslaner, 1996). But we shall see stronger effects for Canada and especially the U.K. Finally, we see strong effects of age throughout.

### The British Secular Morality

Moral behavior in the United States is driven mostly by personal morality, guided by religion. For the more collectivist British culture, expectations of reciprocity don't matter quite as much. The Brits are a moral people, but their ideals are more driven by secular values than religion. *Self-obey commandments is significant in all eight equations. The coefficients are almost uniformly higher in the U.K. than in the U.S.* The shared moral codes of British citizens picks up where religious values leave off. There are only sporadic significant relationships for clear standards of good and evil (for lying and cheating on taxes at  $p < .05$  or better and for keeping money and hitting a car with no report at  $p < .10$ ). Only joyriding gives a significant ( $p < .10$ ) coefficient for belief in hell. And marital faithfulness is significant for only half of the measures of moral behavior, all of which involve some element of deception (buying stolen goods, lying, cheating on taxes, and keeping money).

Expectations of reciprocity matter less in the more collectivist U.K. than in the United States. Others obey commandments is significant only for lying. And trust is not so central. It counts most for buying stolen goods and for joyriding; it barely makes the grade for lying and keeping money. As in the United States, interpersonal trust counts most for relations among individuals, especially strangers. It matters less when you have to decide to whether to cheat the government, whether your target is tax money, fares on public transportation, or benefits.

As in America, connections count. Marriage makes one less likely to endorse amoral behavior. So does growing older. But union membership in a more class-oriented society doesn't bring much solidarity. Union families are *more prone* to say that it is acceptable to claim benefits you aren't entitled to and to cheat on taxes. This probably reflects the greater class consciousness of the British in general and union members in particular. It could reflect class tensions--and a Robin Hood attitude: take from the government and redistribute to the lower classes. When you find someone else's money, you must return it. You could be taking money from a fellow worker.

There is no ethnic division. But, as we saw with union households, the Brits are polarized by education level. Even this crude measure produces powerful effects for most of