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Corruptive Tendencies, Conscientiousness, and Collectivism

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Abstract

This research investigated the relation between conscientiousness, collectivism, and corrupt tendency–which is represented by moral emotions (shame and guilt proneness). The study was conducted on 117 students (76 male, 41 female; $M = 18.93$ years old; $SD = 1.67$ years old) in Jakarta. The result shows that collectivism has positive predictive correlation with the tendency of not doing corruption and that conscientiousness is not able to predict corrupt tendencies. Collectivism of which every group member has as a strong moral identity is suggested to be the ideal ecological situation which need to be built to prevent corruption in Indonesia.

Keywords: corruptive tendencies; moral emotion; psychology of corruption; integrity; moral identity

1. Introduction

Corruption is "... behaviour which deviates from the normal duties of public role because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary or status gain; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence" (Nye, 1967). However, recent definitions, stimulated by the Enron and Wall Street scandals, now extend corruption to be the abuse of any sort of "entrusted authority", as would occur by a board chairman (Sampson, 2005). The level of corruption and handling of corruption in Asia is quite alarming (see Fig. 1; in Barlow, 2013), whereas studies showed

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that there is a negative correlation between corruption and quality of life (in terms of happy-life-years) (see Fig. 2: Veenhoven. 2005). Karman (2013) explains that corruption has domino effects, as follows:

"The destructive force of corruption is vast, not only financial state losses. The ability of the state to improve the welfare of the poor also decreases. People do not trust in the administration of justice and could lead to horizontal conflicts. The State will not only be plunged into bankruptcy but also trapped in civil war such as the failed states in Africa."

Chairman of the Corruption Eradication Commission of the Republic of Indonesia, Abraham Samad, stated that if there is no corruption, income per capita of Indonesian people is at least 30 million rupiahs per month (Khafifah, 2013); compared with the regional minimum wage of DKI Jakarta province, capital of Indonesia, in 2013 of 2.2 million rupiahs.

Therefore, study which seeks to explain "why people behave in a corrupt manner" becomes central specifically in order to prevent corruption. Psychology researchers have contributed by proposing a number of theories, even though those theories contain assumption, as well as their excellences and shortcomings. The psychological theories of corruption are exposed in Table 1.

As indicated in Table 1, some studies have linked corruption with personality and culture. However, most of those studies are conducted on the unit of analysis of country, nation, or organization, and corruptive perception index (CPI)–at country level–is often assigned as the dependent variable.

This study is different from previous studies in two ways. First, the measurement was conducted toward corruptive tendencies, i.e. moral emotions, namely shame and guilt, rather than the actual corruptive behaviour. The unit of analysis was the individual. Rozin, Lowery, and Imada (1999) stated that the emotions:

"… involve ongoing assessments of the moral worth and fit of the individual self within a community. These emotions motivate the individual to want to fit in, to behave in a culturally acceptable fashion, and to avoid harming people. They are self-focused and are sometimes referred to as the self-conscious emotions."

Moral emotion is emphasized in this article to examine corruption because the contemporary theoretical models regarding moral judgment and moral development (1) shows that emotion is part of a significant instrument for and close to moral judgment and decision if compared to moral reasoning, (2) indicates that moral involvement and attachment play a pivotal role as motivational power which embody moral cognitions towards moral behaviour, (3) urges that moral emotions trigger moral psychology researches that are not fixed or glued in the "human as Homo economicus" paradigm, (4) moral emotion variables able to capture the linkage between human and its social environment context, because it is assumed that moral emotion is preceded by social nuanced elicitors, (5) shows that moral action has more co-variation with moral emotion rather than moral reasoning, as well as (6) the latest research notions are being accommodated that emotion is not always irrational and that reasoning is not always reliable (Haidt, 2001; Haidt, 2003; Haidt, Koller, & Dias, 1993).
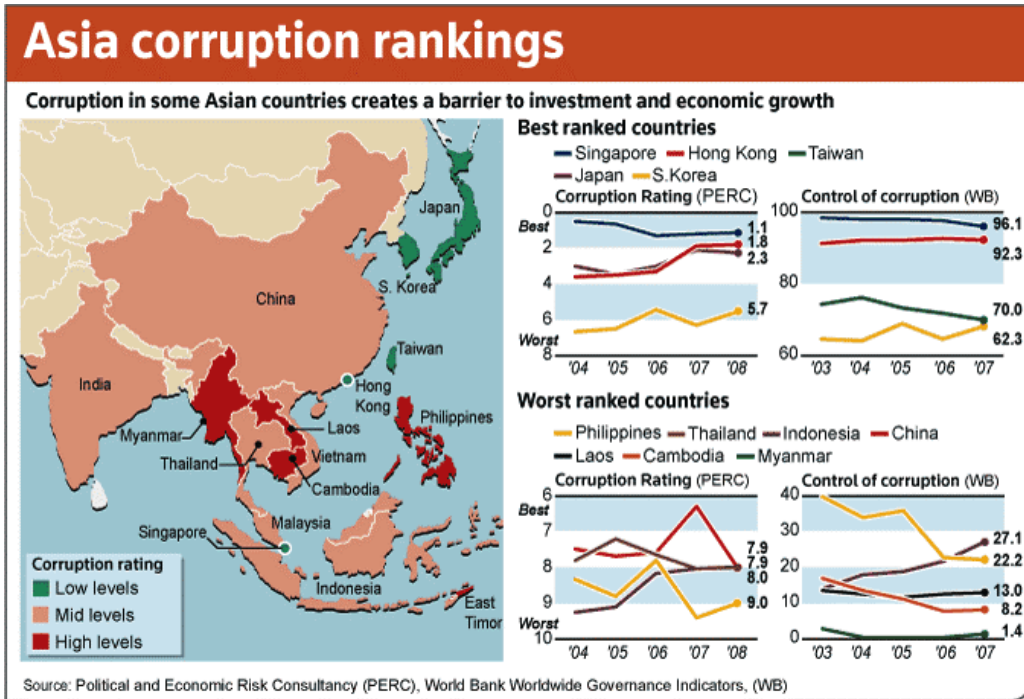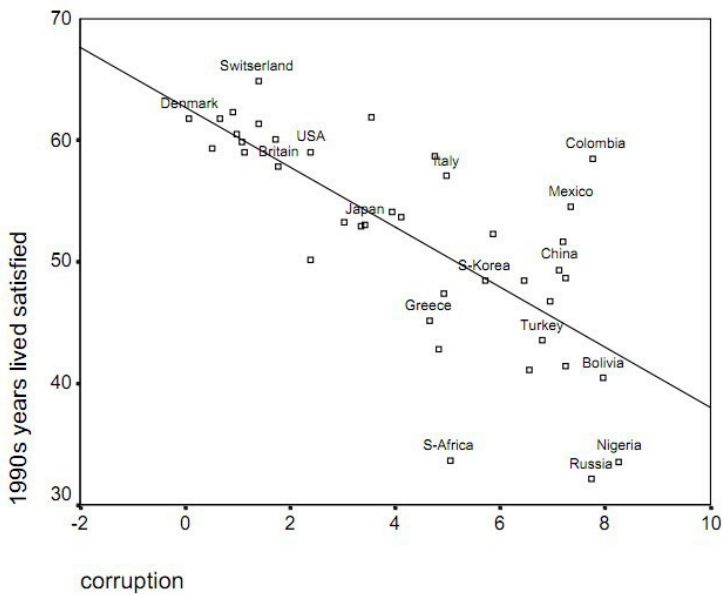
Fig. 1. Asia corruption rankings

Fig. 2. Corruption and happy-life-years in 40 nations in the 1990s

Table 1. Psychological theories of corruption

Psychological approach nature	Explanations
Psychodynamic (Sapochnik, 2007; Abidin, 2008)	Envy, jealousy, and oedipal configuration, relating with power and authority; self-defense mechanism.
	Theories' shortcomings:
	Very speculative, difficult to be falsified.
Behaviouristic (Goltz, 2003)	The level of power abuse as a function of (a) number of reinforcing consequences and aversive consequences, (b) dimensions of consequences (magnitude of consequence, immediacy and delay of consequence, frequency of consequence, and schedule of consequence), as well as (c) the number of individuals in whom control of the consequences can be applied.
	Environment provides "behavioural technology" which provides reward and not punishment to those who abuse their power.
Cognitive, rational-analytical (Koornstra, 2007; Carrol & Payne, 1976); de Graaf (2007)	Expected utility theory: Corruption is a rational decision which is taken by individuals as function of subjective expected utility, probability of success, and expectancy of failure. The probability of success is higher than the probability of failure. For example the Budiadji case: Money corruption of 12 billion is sentenced to 12 years (20 years reduced by remission). This means that for every year he is imprisoned in jail he earns one billion rupiahs. "That is a big income for being imprisoned in jail" (Ancok, 2004).
	Public choice theory: Official makes a rational decision to obtain results that are more or less having been determined. Corruption begins since the actor makes a calculation
	Theories' shortcomings:
	Subjective consciousness has not been understood in the context of social process where individuals act and receive influence from other people (Reck, 1963);
	Lack of consideration of the irrationality aspect from matters that are considered rational. For example, human have been conditioned in a competition within the society where sense of self becomes something that is external. That is to say humans are appreciated when they have good achievement and to the extent success can be achieved (Weber, 1930 in Sulistiyo, 2006). Humans experience self-rejection and self-denial (ironically) in their rationality.
	Situational aspect is mostly ignored; so it cannot explain the triggering causes.
Sociocognitive (Kipnis, 2001)	Power holders generally control the desired resources. They tend to think and find that their ideas and views are readily agreed by their subordinates. Because of the working of the actor-observer differences symptoms in the person perception theory, they do not realize that the role played by their power have formed consent ("yes-saying") from their subordinate. The power holders instead attribute the consent of their subordinates is caused by the quality and value of their ideas, views, and decisions. As a consequence, they believe that their ideas and views are more superior and special than the ideas and views of their subordinates. Furthermore, as a consequence of this matter, the power holders view that they are deserving of resources, privileges and so on which are generally attached with power.
	Kipnis (2001) argues further that the power holders could devaluate ideas and views of their subordinate, as well as perceiving their subordinates as objects for manipulation in order to serve the purpose of the power holders (which is viewed as more important). Next, they adjust the existing ethical code of conduct to rationalize such manipulation. Thus, in all of history, well-intentioned individuals have the potential to commit corruption because of the power they hold.
	A decade after the publication by Kipnis (2001), Fast, Sivanathan, Mayer, and Galinsky (2012) conducted experimental empirical research which successfully proof that power leads to overconfidence bias in decision making.
Cultural (Getz & Volkema, 2001; Barr & Serra,	Cultural dimension of uncertainty avoidance moderates (in this case: strengthens) the relationship between economic adversity of a nation and corruption; whereas power distance and uncertainty avoidance are positively related with corruption.
	Social norms and values within a community (primary socialization) influence individual decision on whether

2010; Dong, Dulleck, & Torgler, 2012; de Graaf, 2007)	to conduct corruption or not in the future.
	Organizational culture theories: Causal chain of a certain culture (group) toward a mental state, which triggers corrupt behaviours. There are facilitating factors that strengthen the causal chain.
	The decision to engage in corruptive practices depends on the attitude of the possible partners in corruption. This explains the contagious effect of corruption. If within an organization or a community, there are many individuals who acted corruptly, then those individuals will experience less moral cost (shame and guilt) than if there are no corruptive individuals in the community. Even though it is the feeling of shame and guilt which make people to not perceive corruption as beneficial. This explains the "congregated corruption" in Indonesia.

This research also gives construct validity (in terms of corrected item-total correlations) and reliability index of the instrument that measure moral emotion in Indonesian college students. In the future, it is hoped that this instrument can be improved to make mapping about levels of tendencies and/or permissiveness toward corruption in young people in their own environment and generally in Indonesia.

Second, this research employed both personality dimension of conscientiousness and cultural dimension of collectivism/individualism as predictors of corruptive tendency. Cultural value orientation in this research was also measured in individual level.

2. Methods

2.1. Participants and design

Participants of this study are 117 college students (74 men, 43 women; Mage = 19.02 years; SDage = 1.71 years), taken using convenience sampling technique from a private university in Jakarta. Distribution of the study programs of the students are as follows: Visual Communication Design (42), Computer Science (37), Economy & Accountancy (28), and Communication Science (10).

The design of this study is correlational predictive. Data analysis is conducted using multiple linear regressions with predictor variables in the form of collectivism and conscientiousness, and criterion variable in the form of corruption tendency (Fig. 3).
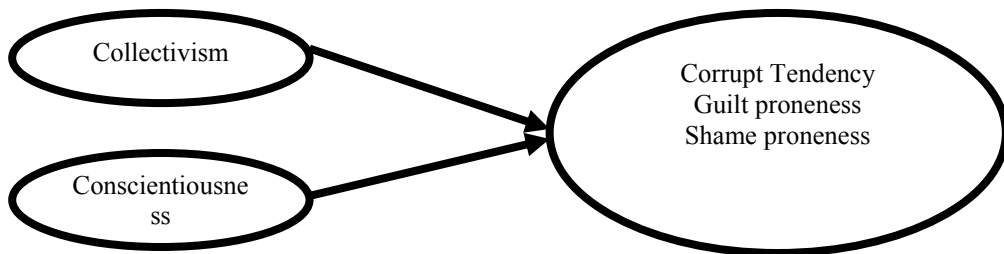

Fig 3. Hypothetical model

2.2. Materials and procedures

Participants are given psychological scales in Indonesian which consist of three segments, to measure the predictor and criterion variables. The measuring instruments are tested on 100 respondents (64 men, 36 women).

The Corruption Tendency measuring instrument is adapted from Guilt and Shame Proneness (GASP) Scale constructed by Cohen, Wolf, Panter, and Insko (2011). Cohen et al. (2011, p. 947) stated:

"GASP has the potential to be an important measurement [of moral emotion personality traits] tool for detecting individuals susceptible to corruption …. [GASP] can aid in the detection of individuals susceptible to unethical decision making and delinquent behaviour."

Participants were asked to imagine that they are in the midst of situations illustrated in the questionnaire, both in public (for eliciting shame proneness) or private situation (for eliciting guilt proneness). Participants were asked to provide responses on the likelihood of their reaction according to the reaction described on each item of the questionnaire. This instrument consists of 16 items, and consists of 4 sub-dimensions, namely Guilt-Negative-Behaviour-Evaluation (NBE), Guilt-Repair (REP), Shame-Negative-Self-Evaluation (NSE), and Shame-Withdraw (WIT).

Sample items of Guilt-NBE (feeling bad about how one acted) are as follows: "After realizing you have received too much change at a store, you decide to keep it because the salesclerk does not notice. What is the likelihood that you would feel uncomfortable about keeping the money?"; "You lie to people, but they never find out about it. What is the likelihood that you would feel terrible about the lies you told?". Sample items of Guilt-REP (action tendencies, i.e., behaviour or behavioural intentions, focused on correcting or compensating for the transgression) are as follows: "You reveal a friend's secret, though your friend never finds out. What is the likelihood that your failure to keep the secret would lead you to exert extra effort to keep secrets in the future?"; "You strongly defend a point of view in a discussion, and though nobody was aware of it, you realize that you were wrong. What is the likelihood that this would make you think more carefully before you speak?" Sample items of Shame-NSE (feeling bad about oneself) are as follows: "You rip an article out of a journal in the library and take it with you. Your teacher discovers what you did and tells the librarian and your entire class. What is the likelihood that this would make you would feel like a bad person?"; "You successfully exaggerate your damages in a lawsuit. Months later, your lies are discovered, and you are charged with perjury. What is the likelihood that you would think you are a despicable human being?" Sample items of Shame-WIT (action tendencies focused on hiding or withdrawing from public) are as follows: "Your home is very messy and unexpected guests knock on your door and invite themselves in. What is the likelihood that you would avoid the guests until they leave?"; "You take office supplies home for personal use and are caught by your boss. What is the likelihood that this would lead you to quit your job?" The instrument response options range from Very Unlikely (score of 1) to Very Likely (score of 7).

The reliability test results for Guilt (NBE and REP) sub-scales indicate internal consistency index of α = 0.685 by eliminating 3 of the 8 items. Corrected item-total correlations have a range from 0.281 to 0.550. Reliability test results for Shame-NSE sub-scale indicate internal consistency index of α = 0.608 by eliminating 2 of the 4 items. Corrected item-total correlations are 0.441. Reliability test results for Shame-WIT sub-scale indicate internal consistency index of α = 0.680 by not eliminating any items. Corrected item-total correlations have a range from 0.326 to 0.607.

If shame and guilt are made into one composite index (Guilt-NBE, Guilt-REP, and Shame-NSE), the reliability test results indicate internal consistency index of α = 0.761 by eliminating 1 of the 12 items. Corrected item-total correlations range is from 0.273 to 0.631.

The greater the score obtained by the participants, the greater the shame and/or guilt felt by the participants on the situations presented, which means smaller participants' tendencies for corruption.

Collectivism/Individualism instrument measurement is adapted from the Collectivism dimension of CVSCALE (Yoo, Donthu, & Lenartowicz, 2011), a form of measurement towards Hofstede's cultural value orientation (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010) on an individual level. This instrument consists of 6 items. Sample items are as follows: "Group welfare is more valuable than individual rewards"; "Individuals should stick with the group even through difficulties". The response options of this instrument ranged from Strongly Disagree (score of 1) to Strongly Agree (score of 7). Reliability test results shows internal consistency index of $\alpha = 0.636$ by eliminating 4 items. Corrected item-total correlation is 0.466. The high score achieved by the participants on this scale indicates that the participants adhere to collectivism values. Conversely, the low score achieved by the participants indicate that the participants adhere to individualism values.

Conscientiousness measuring instrument is adapted from Conscientiousness of The HEXACO Personality Inventory-Revised (HEXACO-PI-R) (Ashton & Lee, 2007; Lee & Ashton, 2004). Characteristics of individuals with high and low Conscientiousness are as follows (Lee & Ashton, 2013):

"Persons with very high scores on the Conscientiousness scale organize their time and their physical surroundings, work in a disciplined way toward their goals, strive for accuracy and perfection in their tasks, and deliberate carefully when making decisions. Conversely, persons with very low scores on this scale tend to be unconcerned with orderly surroundings or schedules, avoid difficult tasks or challenging goals, are satisfied with work that contains some errors, and make decisions on impulse or with little reflection."

The instrument consists of 16 items, with the following sub-sub-dimensions: Organization, Diligence, Perfectionism, and Prudence. Sample items of Organization sub-dimension are as follows: "I plan ahead and organize things, to avoid scrambling at the last minute"; "People often joke with me about the messiness of my room or desk" (unfavorable item, response reversely coded); "When working, I sometimes have difficulties due to being disorganized" (unfavorable item). Sample items of Diligence sub-dimension are as follows: "When working, I often set ambitious goals for myself"; "Often when I set a goal, I end up quitting without having reached it" (unfavorable item). Sample items of Perfectionism sub-dimension are as follows: "I always try to be accurate in my work, even at the expense of time"; "I often check my work over repeatedly to find any mistakes". Sample items of Prudence sub-dimension are as follow: "I make decisions based on the feeling of the moment rather than on careful thought" (unfavorable item); "I do not allow my impulses to govern my behaviour".

Response options of this instrument ranged from Strongly Disagree (score of 1) to Strongly Agree (score of 5). Reliability test results indicate internal consistency index of $\alpha = 0.660$ by eliminating 10 items. Corrected item-total correlations have a range of 0.331 to 0.439.

3. Results

Multiple linear regression analysis with criterion/dependent variable of Guilt proneness shows that $R^2 = 0.147$, $F_{(2, 116)} = 9.838$, $p = 0.000$. It is found that collectivism ($\beta = 0.310$, $p < 0.05$) and Conscientiousness ($\beta = 0.196$, $p < 0.05$) positively predict tendency of not doing corruption in terms of guilt moral emotion traits (see Table 2).

Multiple linear regression analysis with criterion/dependent variable of Shame-NSE shows that $R^2 = 0.007$, $F_{(2, 116)} = 0.428$, $p = 0.653$. It is found that collectivism ($\beta = 0.087$, $p > 0.05$) and Conscientiousness ($\beta = -0.012$, $p > 0.05$) cannot predict tendency of not doing corruption in terms of shame moral emotion traits (see Table 3).

Multiple linear regression analysis with criterion/dependent variable of Shame-WIT shows that $R^2 = 0.007$, $F_{(2, 116)} = 0.392$, $p = 0.676$. It is found that collectivism ($\beta = -0.083$, $p > 0.05$) and

Conscientiousness (β = 0.012, p > 0.05) cannot predict tendency of not doing corruption in terms of shame moral emotion traits (see Table 4).

Multiple linear regression analysis with criterion/dependent variable of Shame and Guilt (one composite index) shows that R2 = 0.090, F(2, 116) = 5.648, p = 0.005. It is found that collectivism (β = 0.291, p < 0.05) can predict tendency of not doing corruption; meanwhile Conscientiousness (β = 0.049, p > 0.05) cannot predict it (see Table 5).

Table 2. Multiple linear regression analysis predicting guilt proneness (n = 117)

Variable	B	SE B	ß	p
Collectivism	0.590	0.166	0.310	0.001
Conscientiousness	0.306	0.136	0.196	0.026

Note. R^2 = 0.147, p < 0.05; SE = standard error

Table 3. Multiple linear regression analysis predicting shame proneness-NSE (n = 117)

Variable	B	SE B	ß	p
Collectivism	0.082	0.089	0.087	0.357
Conscientiousness	-0.010	0.073	-0.012	0.896

Note. R^2 = 0.007, p > 0.05

Table 4. Multiple linear regression analysis predicting shame proneness-WIT (n = 117)

Variable	B	SE B	ß	p
Collectivism	-0.137	0.155	-0.083	0.378
Conscientiousness	0.017	0.127	0.133	0.894

Note. R^2 = 0.007, p > 0.05

Table 5. Multiple linear regression analysis predicting tendency of not doing corruption (n = 117)

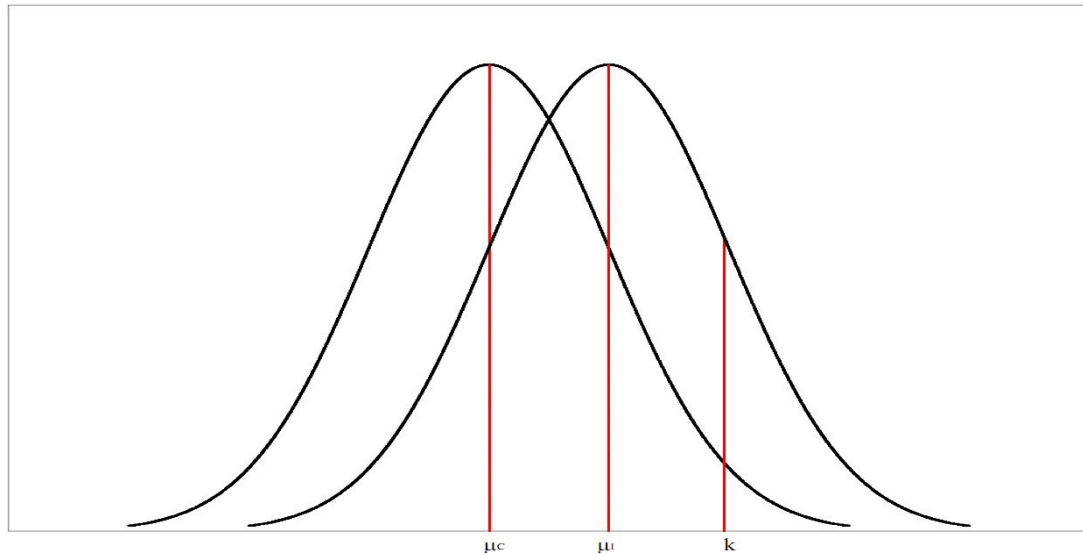| Variable	B	SE B	ß	p
Collectivism	0.990	0.305	0.291	0.002
Conscientiousness	0.137	0.250	0.049	0.586

Note. R^2 = 0.090, p < 0.05

Fig. 4. Individualism and corruption

4. Discussion

This study found that collectivism is able to predict corruption tendency in a negative direction. Li and Vermillion (2006) as well as Husted and Allen (2011) provides theoretical proposition that individuals who are collectivistic tend to prioritize group goals rather than personal achievement, forming ethical intentions based on social norms rather than personal moral schemas, as well as more contextual in their behaviour. When linked with the results of the present study, then the proposition by Li and Vermillion implicates that for participants of this study, corruption or other behaviour with no integrity (presented in scenarios on the questionnaire) appears as behaviour that is viewed as detrimental to the group. Meaning, in the context where this study was conducted, integrity (as the adversary of corruption) is still social expectation of the group where students lived so that transgression upon it creates guilt. Further study can be conducted for further inquiry regarding those who are included in the "in-group". The more collectivistic a student is, the more he/she does not have tendencies for corruption. In other words, Jakarta students believe that corrupt behaviour is more likely conducted by individualistic person. The compelling thing is that the finding is in line with the finding of Arghyrou (2010) using economic approach on societal (not individual) analysis level: "Corruption is a form of extreme individualism". The logic presented is as follows (see also: Fig. 3; Arghyrou, 2010, p. 33):

"Individualism is defined as the proportion of an agent's resources dedicated to exclusively self-rewarding actions. Corruption is defined as a proportion of self-rewarding actions exceeding the critical threshold of legitimate individualism described by k (the area under the curve on the right-hand side of k). In all societies, the average level of individualism is assumed to be below corruption's critical threshold. Relatively individualistic societies exhibit higher average score of individualism compared to relatively co-operative societies ($\mu I > \mu C$). Given a common critical threshold of legitimate individualism (k), individualistic societies will exhibit a higher frequency of corruption."

This shows that on both individual and group analysis unit, individualism positively correlated with corruption tendencies.

The result of this study is not in line with study by Seleim and Bontis (2009) which found that on the individual level, collectivism as a cultural value does not correlate with corruption, although they also found that there is a positive correlation between collectivism as a cultural practice with corruption. They explain that individuals who are collectivistic interpret laws, rules, and regulations for the benefit of their groups and close friends (p. 179), so they tend to be corruptive. These finding gaps can be explained by referring to samples taken at each study. Samples of Seleim and Bontis study are managers of industries from various countries, whereas the samples of this study are college students with an average age of 19 years in Jakarta, Indonesia. It is highly likely that there is a different meaning regarding collectivism between these two samples. By referring to the study by Sala (2002) as well as French, Eisenberd, Purwono, and Sallquist (2012), the author suspects that collectivism of students who are samples of this study is marked by religiosity as one component of cultural meaning systems which is highly salient in Indonesia. French et al. (2012) stated, "We expected that religion would be connected with many aspects of the social life of Indonesian adolescents" (p. 148); whereas on the other hand, all religion is against corruption. In addition, Cukur, De Guzman, and Carlo (2004, p. 617) stated:

"Most religions espouse values that move away from individual fulfilment through worldly possessions and self-focused gratification. Many sects espouse self-sacrifice and a focus on more spiritual rather than material and worldly aspirations (e.g., Catholicism, Islam, Protestantism)."

Cukur et al. also concluded through their empirical research that collectivistic people tend to be more religious than individualistic people, although it is also true that the former more conservative and less open to change. Thus, "religious/spiritual collectivism" will be negatively correlated with corrupt tendency. The researcher need to further test conjecture about the relationship and interaction between collectivism and religiosity in a diverse sample of Indonesian.

However, study by Teoh, Serand, and Lim (1999) found that Indonesian college students who are collectivistic have a more positive perception towards unethical behaviour, and this is not in line with the results of this study. Teoh et al. described that the college students (1) perceived lower level of risks concerning unethical behaviour, (2) perceive a greater level of achievement (psychic, financial gain) if the achievement has a lot of influence on the in-groups, as well as (3) have a less negative attitude towards unethical behaviour. Unfortunately, they do not provide an adequate explanation on their findings. The author suspected that Accountancy discipline of which the sample of Teoh et al. embrace also contributes to the "illusion of control", in which the term originates from accounting literature (Rosanas & Velilla. 2004). The illusion of control is the tendency to place success probability above objective reality, such as in the case of those with a previous success history or with entrepreneurs (Keil, Depledge, & Rai, 2007). Habits and feelings of success in managing money among accounting students can create an illusion of control regarding money which is the object of financial corruption. Illusion of control is accompanied by illusory superiority (Alicke & Govorun, 2005) makes moral standard become not clear enough so that anxiety of making mistakes becomes smaller and corruption tendencies become greater.

Wated (2002) found that collectivistic person is more able to provide external attribution on bribery. It means that collectivistic individuals are more prone to explain corrupt behaviour as behaviour influenced by factors outside themselves. Its implication, people can justify or also tolerate unethical behaviour by blaming organization, community, or other external environment. This is not in line with the result of this study which found that collectivism is the opposite direction of corrupt behaviour. The author explains this gap with an argument: Wated (2002) had mixed improperly collectivism concept with an external locus of control concept. On the contrary, McCarty and Shrum (2001) shows that collectivism can have behaviour outcome that is the same with the internal (not external) locus of control. Brewer and Chen (2007) differentiate relational (personalized, based on interpersonal relationship) collectivism with group (depersonalized, based on social categorization or social identity) collectivism. They state "Individual agency may be combined with a strong sense of duty to group in many cultural context" (p. 142), which

means that internal locus of control can be compatible with group collectivism. Thus, collectivism does not implicate greater tendency for individual to give an external attribution to behaviour like corruption as proposed by Wated.

This study also found that collectivism positively correlate with guilt proneness. This is in line with the finding by Dolan-Henderson (2003, p. vii, 197):

"Guilt-proneness was significantly related to constructive anger and Meaningful Connectedness …. Persons with a Communitarian ethical orientation are more prone to healthy guilt and to an approach to life that values and finds meaning and purpose in connection to others and to the community."

What is also interesting from the finding of this study is that collectivism does not correlate with shame proneness. This finding is not in line with the proposition by Dansie (2009, p. 65) which states:

"Individuals in collectivistic cultures appear more integrated or motivated by shame because of their stronger interdependence, and greater desires for unity and belongingness, which contrasts greatly with Americans' zeal for greater individuality and personal autonomy."

The result might be caused by the existence of two natures of shame, namely adaptive and maladaptive. Shame (or: feeling of disgust toward the self; Terrizzi, 2013) can be maladaptive because it creates depression symptoms (which is greater than guilt), withdrawal/hide/disappear behaviour, suicide ideation and attempts, as well as attribution of failure, not as low effort (meaning that failure is uncontrollable, outside the control of humans), also produce feelings of deficit or inadequacy in the self that are not as easily repaired (Haidt, 2003; McLeod, 2002; Navaratnam, 2011). However on the other hand, shame also has an adaptive function (Dansie, 2009; Wong & Tsai, 2007). By using evolutionary psychology explanation and support from experimental data, Dansie (2009) shows that shame serves as an appeasement function in social relationships. Expression of shame also hampers assertive or dominant behaviour and communicate to other parties in the social group that themselves understood that they have committed a violation and shows submissive expression. Expression such as this further reduces punishment and aggression tendencies from other parties (Dansie, 2009; Haidt, 2003). Because there are two functions of shame, then it is not surprising when uncertainties in the direction of the correlation occurs, causing a lack of correlations between collectivism with shame proneness. Su (2010) states that shame is adaptive in collectivistic culture which emphasize interdependency; however, it is maladaptive in the individualistic culture which emphasizes independency. The author argues that participants of this study, namely Jakarta college students, live in a pluralistic metropolitan city where the saliency of interdependent and independent self-construal can dynamically change, and because of it, the adaptive and maladaptive functions of shame are competing in their psychic reality.

Meanwhile, the researchers (such as, Haidt, 2003; Tangney & Dearing, 2002) have reached a consensus that guilt is always adaptive, in the sense of generating a tendency to act which restore the damaged condition due to moral violations, improving relationships with the aggrieved party, motivating confession of "sin and mistake" and apologies, as well as showing responsible behaviour by treating well the partner which has become a victim of moral violations. This is also true at the organizational level (Flynn & Schaumberg, 2012). In addition, unlike shame, guilt assumes that failure is controllable and can be correlated with human effort. Thus, this study, as mentioned above, found a positive correlation between collectivism and guilt proneness.

This study also found that conscientiousness is not able to predict corruption tendency. This study result is not in line with the study by Yu (2008) which found that conscientiousness negatively correlate with attitudes toward faking on employment integrity tests. This can be understood if we review the examination of Becker (1998) that integrity surpasses conscientiousness. We should remember that integrity is "the other side of the same coin" of corruption (Money, 1999; Yu, Chen, Juang, & Hu, 2008). Yu et al. (2008, p. 168) states:

"One of the tools for combating corruption is continuously monitoring the integrity of the government as well as society as a whole."

Definition and feature of integrity according to Becker (1998, p. 157) is as follows:

"Integrity requires more than adherence to some arbitrary set of values (personal integrity) and more than adherence to a set of values acceptable to some other individual or group (moral integrity). Integrity is commitment in action to a morally justifiable set of principles and values, where the criterion for moral justification is reality—nor merely the acceptance of the values by an individual, group, or society. Because survival and happiness are the ultimate standards of morality, life—nor subjective opinion—is the foundation of integrity."

However, integrity is more than conscientiousness because conscientiousness is a general belief that responsibility, carefulness, and organization are preferable modes of conduct, but ownership of this attribute by a person is not enough to guarantee the integrity of him/her (Becker, 1998). The concept of conscientiousness proposed by Lee and Ashton (2005, 2013) is thick with "moral neutrality"; meanwhile, moral neutrality is not a feature of integrity because integrity is thick with moral connotation and content. Responsibility is an element of moral conscientiousness with moral content, but the moral element is only a part and not the whole conscientiousness. For clarity, the following example is given (Becker, 1998, p. 158):

"The stereotypical absent-minded professor might be rather careless (misplacing things) and somewhat disorganized (not writing down ideas or plans) but still have high integrity by acting in accordance with moral values and virtues (e.g., reason, purpose, and independence)."

Because of that, it is not difficult to understand that conscientiousness, in this study, is not able to predict corruption tendency. That is to say if a person is organized, diligent, perfectionist, and prudent, it does not necessarily mean that he/she lacks or has fewer tendencies to corrupt.

This study found that conscientiousness is able to predict in a positive direction the guilt proneness even though its predicting power is weaker than the collectivism predictor. This correlation can be explained as follows: The researchers (e.g. Becker, 1998; Bogg & Roberts, 2004; Christopher, Zabel, & Jones, 2008; Price, 2001) agree that in the conscientiousness concept, there are several common variances that can be given a label of "responsibility" (morally, socially). Responsibility (in several literatures are synonymic with "dutifulness", "reliability") is called as one of the facets of conscientiousness. Responsibility as one of the components of conscientiousness has a characteristic as follows (Roberts, Lejuez, Krueger, & Richards, 2012, p. 3):

"On the high end of the spectrum, responsibility reflects the tendency to follow through with promises to others and follow rules that make social groups work more smoothly."

Meanwhile, as disclosed in the discussion above, responsibility is a feature of guilt. The responsibility contained in both constructs (conscientiousness and guilt proneness) enables both to correlate. However, this proposition still requires further empirical examination.

Conscientiousness is found not able to predict shame proneness. This can be explained by contradiction with the function of shame proneness, namely adaptive and maladaptive as stated above. In addition, Klibert, Langhinrichsen-Rohling, and Saito (2005) found that socially prescribed perfectionism is one of the elements of conscientiousness that positively correlate with shame. However, on the contrary, "Those who have higher, maladaptive levels of conscientiousness are characterized by an aversion to shame" (Schoenleber & Berenbaum, 2012, p. 302). Javaras et al. (2012) also found negative correlation between conscientiousness and negative effect, influenced by effective emotion regulation aspect of conscientiousness. Because conscientiousness is related with shame from various directions and ways, thus the absence of predictive correlation can be understood.

There is no interaction between conscientiousness and collectivism/individualism in predicting corruptive tendencies ($p > 0.05$). It means that conscientiousness does not have a buffering effect toward

collectivism/individualism in moderating corruptive tendencies and vice versa. The limitation of this study is that it did not conduct further statistical analysis based on control of potential demographical variables.

5. Conclusion and recommendation

The contribution of this study is the construction of a theoretical model on an individual level consisting of two predictors simultaneously, namely in personality (conscientiousness of HEXACO) and culture (collectivism of Hofstede's cultural value orientation), to predict corruption tendency (guilt and shame of GASP). This theoretical model surpasses the trend of current research, namely: (1) measurement of corrupt behaviour is mostly conducted on the group and organization level (including country), not individual; (2) measurement on the individual level mostly focus on integrity, not corruption; (3) corruptive behaviour research (specifically bribery) on the individual level is mostly conducted with experimental methods (with a risk of weakening ecological validity), not survey method; and (4) corruptive behaviour research is mostly conducted using economical and sociological approach rather than psychological.

This study found that (1) collectivism positively correlate with guilt proneness, (2) collectivism negatively correlate with corruption tendency, (3) collectivism does not correlate with shame proneness, (4) conscientiousness does not correlate with corruption tendency, (5) conscientiousness correlate positively but weakly with guilt proneness, (6) conscientiousness does not correlate with shame proneness. The result of this study stressed the type of personality that seems closest to morality and integrity (i.e. conscientiousness) apparently has little or no role in predicting corruption tendency. Based on these findings, we keep away from the following accusations by the situationists (Bauman, 2011, p. 153):

"We often commit the fundamental attribution error when we explain the causes of behaviour by referring to character traits. For example, we may attribute callousness to Jim when he rushes past a person who fell in the subway, but we did not know that Jim must rush to pick up his sick daughter."

If personality has little or no role, then it is not surprising that culture plays a role in influencing behaviour of integrity (and corrupt behaviour) as indicated in the result of this study. In relation to natural and built environment, it is known that physical environment can influence collectivism/individualism of an individual (Kim, 1995; Van de Vliert & Yang, 2013). For example, collectivism which roots strongly and solidly among Jewish in 1920s was actually an effect of the first "kibbutzim" construction, a large collective farm, which also raises collective economy (Schwartz, 1957; Zakim, 2006). The problem is that an individual experience different cultures according to the place where he/she lives. However if culture "shifts", whether as its implication, moral behaviour always changes according to culture? It is not as simple as it seems. This raises urgency on the need of other psychological construct to bridge this logical gap, and the most potential answer to this gap is moral identity. The influence of moral identity construct on corrupt tendencies needs to be further tested in terms of its main effect and especially its interaction with collectivism, conscientiousness, and other related psychological variables. Moral identity includes (Bauman, 2011, p. 86):

"… moral values while introducing the coherent identity-conferring commitments and determination that provide the stable character needed to be trustworthy."

Making moral identity ingrained in a person requires a number of things, such as that expressed by Zaman (2012, p. 19): "Considerable understanding, believing, planning and skills were required to make environmental ethical commitment (EEC) concept to be a factor of environmental excellence." This is thought to be effective in improving the integrity and lowering corrupt tendency.

Subsequent research needs to build process model from the relationship between moral identity, culture, and corrupt behaviour, on non-student sample, both at the micro-, meso- (community, organization) and macro- (country) level. In addition, subsequent research needs to use culturally sensitive methodology (including measuring method) (see: Miller, 2002).

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