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10 PRIVACY CHANGED ITS MEANING IN FINLAND 1999-2015

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Privacy (the right to have a private sphere) is one the value items in the Schwartz (1995) Value Survey. It belongs to the set of items that does not pass the test of cross-cultural meaning invariance. This report focuses on the meaning of *privacy* in one country, Finland. We use the Schwartz model (see Chapter 2) in the manner Schwartz and Sagiv (1995) suggested - to identify culture-specific meanings of *privacy*, by examining its correlations with the ten core values. The ten culturally invariant values can be described in terms of a two-dimensional circular structure, which displays motivational continuity, so that adjacent values are compatible and opposite values in conflict. In other words, values form an integrated system. It is possible that a value item that does not have a cross-culturally invariant meaning may still be part of the value system within one culture. For instance, the meaning of *honour* varies from one country to another. However, the Finnish *honour* is part of the Finnish cultural value system while the Russian *honour* is part of the Russian cultural value system, which is manifested in the regular sinusoidal patterns of *honour's* correlations with the ten core values in each country (Helkama et al., 2013). It is also possible that a value item is motivationally mixed, i.e. reflects several, possibly even opposing motivations from the point of view of Schwartz's circular model, and thus fails to show the sinusoidal pattern of correlations with the core values even within one country. The meaning of such a value item could then possibly change over time.

Studies of change of value priorities (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011) suggest that change mirrors the structure of values in that adjacent values tend to change in the same direction and opposing values in the opposite direction. This has been found to hold both for intraindividual value changes and changes in the mean importance of values in a group. Thus, a value system has its own internal dynamics that is manifested in the patterns of change.

Schwartz (2011, 314) pointed out the need to develop alternative ways of measuring cultural-level values that “do not depend upon aggregating individual values (e.g., proverbs, laws, popular books)”. A look at Finnish popular books suggests that privacy might be regarded as a shared Finnish culture level value, in both main uses of the term, “state of being alone or undisturbed” and “freedom from interference or public attention” (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 1989). In the classic Finnish novel, Aleksis

Kivi's *Seven Brothers* (1870), the brothers move to live "in the lap of the woods" for ten years, to get privacy: "The forest shelters her cubs. It's the only place we can be at home. <...>And if they want to hound us there, they'll find out what it is like to disturb the peace of seven bears in their den" (Kivi 1991, 86). The Finns do not traditionally draw public attention to themselves by talking. The Finnish silence is well-known in cross-cultural psychology (e.g., Smith, Bond & Kağitçibaşı 2006, 158).

What is the location of Finnish *privacy* (*the right to have a private sphere*) in the Schwartz value model? Because privacy, as specified in terms of the right to the private sphere refers to **protection** from disturbances from others, it could relate to self-protection values (self-enhancement and conservation; Schwartz, 2016) The fact that shared national values, by definition, serve to maintain community cohesion and continuity and those who identify with their nation tend to prefer conservation values, at least in Finland (Anttila, 2007) and in Israel and the US (Roccas, Schwartz & Amit, 2010), would, by extrapolation, suggest that privacy correlates most highly with those values, i.e. security and conformity.

The dictionary definition of *privacy* involves **freedom** (from disturbance), which would speak for its location within the Self-direction (SD) value (freedom being one of the SD items). We would argue that also the rapid growth of information technology would associate privacy more closely with self-direction values. Self-direction has been found to be closely linked to innovative technology (Lam et al., 2003; Lebedeva et al., 2013).

Accordingly, it seems plausible to hypothesize that the increasing use of the internet would be related to the increase in the freedom (and hence self-direction) component of privacy. Also, the increasing importance of privacy issues associated with the Internet suggests that it is worthwhile to examine meaning shifts of privacy especially in relation to diffusion of digitalization. If an individual is defined as digitalized when s/he has access to the internet and owns a personal computer and a mobile phone, then individual-level digitalization steadily increased in Finland from the turn of the new millennium: 34% (1999), 47% (2001), 70% (2005), and 91% (2015). The new kind of interest in privacy becomes visible in Google searches. In 1990 "Internet & Privacy" provided 11.400 hits worldwide but in 2015 the number of hits has increased to 93.900.000.

In sum, then, one could expect that Finnish *privacy* is motivationally heterogeneous in the Schwartz model, as conservation values and self-direction are located on opposite sides of the model. We examine the meaning of privacy over the sixteen-year period 1999 – 2015, relying on four national

samples. We test the hypothesis that in the early years of digitalization (1999, 2001) privacy is more related to conservation values that are related to national identity, but as digitalization proceeds (2005, 2015) it will be increasingly related to self-direction.

METHOD

The data were gathered in 1999, 2001, 2005, and 2015 in national surveys (N=5,327) among the Finnish-speaking population of Finland in the age group of 15-75 years. For the analyses, the data were weighted by sex, age and education to correspond to the census data of the same years.

Values were measured with the Schwartz (1995) Value Survey (SVS) and scores were computed for each of the ten basic values. *Privacy* replaced *detachment* as the item #21 in the 1995 SVS. To reduce the response effects value items were standardized around individual means.

The literal translation of privacy into Finnish is '*yksityisyys*', a noun derived from the adjective '*yksityinen*' (private). However, when *privacy* was first introduced to the Finnish version of the Schwartz Value Survey in 1995, '*yksityisyys*' was not yet widely used in Finnish. For instance, it did not figure in the 6-volume Dictionary of Current Finnish (*Nykysuomen sanakirja*) in 1961, but was only taken to the Basic Dictionary of the Finnish Language (*Suomen kielen perussanakirja*), under the influence of English, in 1994. In 1995 '*yksityisyys*' still sounded somewhat unnatural, and so privacy was rendered *oma rauha* (lit. "one's own peace"), the first equivalent given by the English-Finnish dictionary (1995) for *privacy*.

Because privacy in the meaning of '*yksityisyys*' became an issue in the Millennium time due to the increasing use of the Internet, we included in the 2015 SVS an additional value item #58 *yksityisyys (oma rauha)* in which the value item and the parenthetical phrase changed places. The correlation between these two was 0.70 ($p < 0.001$), and their means and standard deviations were on the same level (#21: 4.83, 1.50; #58: 4.95, 1.58). In the MDS analysis both items were located close to each other. In the present study we use #21.

RESULTS

Table 1 shows the correlations between privacy and the ten values 1999-2015. The correlations are rather low, but as expected, in 1999 the highest correlation for privacy was with conformity (CO), followed by security (SE) and tradition (TR), as implied by the structural model. However, the highest

negative correlation was with achievement (AC), and while the correlations with openness to change values were negative and, as a whole, the pattern of correlations was far from the sinusoidal form. By 2015, the pattern had changed. Strikingly, SD correlated negatively with privacy in 1999 but positively in 2015. SD also showed the largest positive increase in the magnitude of the correlation. TR, by contrast, showed the largest negative change in its correlation with privacy, from (a non-significant) positive one to a negative one. A similar decreasing trend was exhibited by the two other conservation values, CO and SE, for which however, the correlation remained positive. In all, then, Table 1 illustrates a slow shift in the meaning of privacy from a more or less “pure” conservation value toward a strengthening of its self-direction (and hedonistic) components within the 16-year-period. Interestingly, while none of the four patterns (1999-2015) of correlations for *privacy* with the core values followed the sinusoidal form, the pattern of changes did. The largest positive change was for SD and the largest negative one for TR, on the opposite side of value circle, and the magnitudes of the changes conformed to a sinusoidal pattern fairly well ($\rho = .77, p < .01$).

Table 1. *Correlations between Privacy and the Ten SVS Composite Scales in 1999-2015, and the Change in Correlations from 1999 to 2015*

(N)	1999		2001		2005		2015		Change from 1999 to 2015	
	(1204)	Sig.	(1402)	Sig.	(1293)	Sig.	(1351)	Sig.	Difference	Sig.
PO	0,00	ns.	-0,05	ns.	-0,08	**	-0,11	***	-0,11	***
AC	-0,13	***	-0,21	***	-0,11	***	-0,19	***	-0,06	**
HE	0,00	ns.	0,01	ns.	0,02	ns.	0,08	**	0,08	***
ST	-0,08	**	-0,12	***	-0,10	***	-0,08	**	0,00	ns.
SD	-0,06	*	-0,03	ns.	0,01	ns.	0,06	*	0,12	***
UN	-0,07	*	-0,01	ns.	0,02	ns.	0,02	ns.	0,09	***
BE	-0,10	***	-0,04	ns.	-0,08	**	-0,02	ns.	0,08	**
TR	0,04	ns.	0,04	ns.	-0,03	ns.	-0,08	**	-0,12	***
CO	0,19	***	0,08	**	0,11	***	0,09	**	-0,10	***
SE	0,09	**	0,03	ns.	0,03	ns.	0,04	ns.	-0,05	*

Note. The mean of all values is controlled in partial correlation. Significance levels ns., $p < 0.05^*$, $p < 0.01^{**}$, $p < 0.001^{***}$. For the significance of the change in correlations, see Mustonen 1992, p. 56.

The two-dimensional multidimensional scalings (MDS) of the 10 SVS-values and Privacy (#21) item illustrate the meaning shift of *privacy* from 1999 to 2015 in the total sample. To be more specific, the MDS structures of 1999 and 2001 were very close to each other, as well as the structures of 2005 and 2015. Thus, the meaning shift of Privacy occurred between 2001 and 2005.

Figure 1. *The Two-Dimensional Multidimensional Scaling of the 10 SVS-Values and Privacy (V21) item in 1999 (Digitalized Respondents in the Sample: 33.9%)*

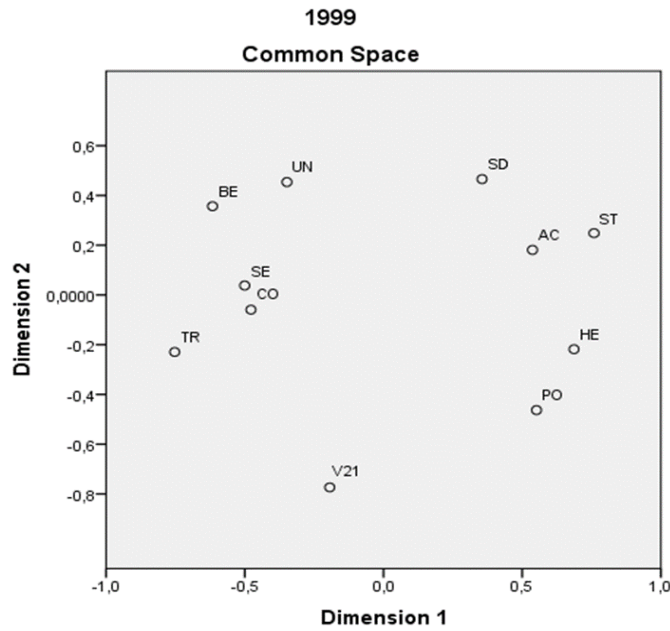
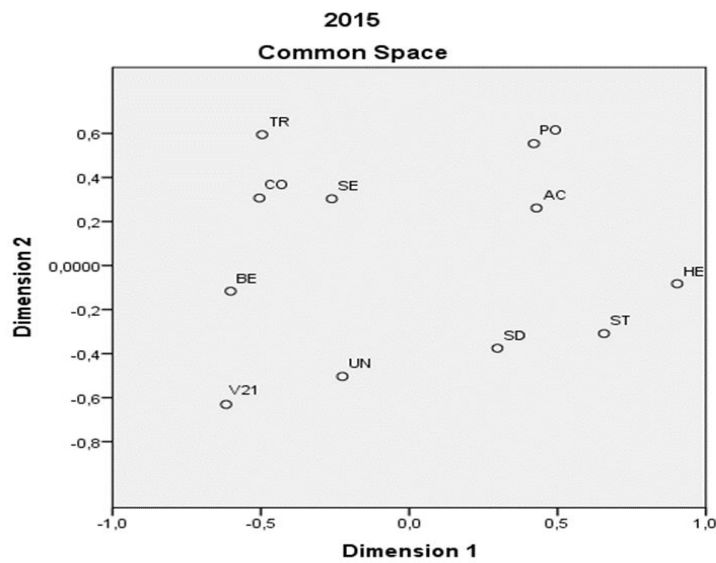


Figure 2. *The two-dimensional multidimensional scaling of the 10 SVS-values and Privacy (V21) item in 2015 (digitalized respondents in the sample, 91.1%)*



DISCUSSION

The results supported our hypothesis that in the earlier stage of digitalization 1999 privacy was motivated by conservation values, but later on its motivational bases shifted toward self-direction and hedonism, while the highest correlation was still with conformity.

Notably, the highest negative correlation of *privacy* was with achievement in 2015, and its correlation with power had increased from zero to weakly negative over the 16-year period. Thus, on the whole, it could be argued that those who endorse privacy do not have high economic or any other form of ambitions but are largely satisfied with peaceful life, which has increasingly, since 1999, become associated with self-direction and hedonism.

The pattern of correlations of *privacy* with the Schwartz core values did not follow the sinusoidal form, unlike those of honor (Helkama et al., 2013), which suggests that *privacy* is a motivationally heterogeneous value. We interpreted this heterogeneity in terms of the influence of two factors, the Finnish cultural-level meaning of privacy, which emphasizes its conservation component, and the internet-induced pressure towards individualistic self-determination, which grew over the 16-year period.

Although the correlations were low, the direction of change was significant. Moreover, the structural shift that was found in the MDS analyses occurred in between the first two samples (1999, 2001) and the two latter ones (2005, 2015). Thus, the results suggest that the shift in the meaning of Privacy (#21) is linked to the diffusion of digitalization for two reasons. Firstly, the MDS analysis takes into account the whole value structure instead of the relationships between the single values. Secondly, although MDS probably exaggerates the shift to some extent due to the low correlations, the shift is consistent and occurs between 2001 and 2005 when the proportion of digitalized respondents in the sample increased from 47% to 70% from 2001 to 2005.

The Schwartz model was helpful in making sense of this meaning shift, but remarkably, it also helped to understand the structure of the change, which followed the sinusoidal form. This supported the model of value change advanced by Bardi and Goodwin (2011) – the meaning change of *privacy*, defined in terms of changes in its correlations, closely followed the pattern that mirrored the structure of values. – Obviously, more comparative cross-cultural evidence is needed to confirm or refute the above interpretations, which are limited by the fact that the data – even though from national samples – came from one single country.

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