

Individual values and cultural value orientations

Martti Puohiniemi

Political Opinion –course

Swedish School of Social Science 13.10.2023

Introduction

- Individual values and value theory
 - Definition of values, value theory and value map
 - The results of the value study, in which 81% of you participated
 - Values change and value-expressive behaviors
 - *Examples are from my new book (written in Finnish): The change in the Finnish set of values, globalization and zeitgeist (2023).*
- Cultural value orientations and national differences
 - A priori value orientations and testing the theory of culture
 - The cultural world map of values
 - *Examples are from Schwartz's (2008/2011) analysis of cultural value orientations, their nature and implications of national differences.*
- Concluding remarks and discussion.

A few global trends

- *Technology has become more personal and binding
 - Individual level digitalization: 1 % → 91 % (in 1991-2015)
- Economy dominates the society in a new way
- *Environment issues have become societal
 - Recycling increased 1093 % (in 1997-2015)
- Media use is fragmenting
- Political populism is increasing
- Finns are ageing fast and the level of education is increasing.

* Value expressive trends (see Schwartz & Butenko, 2014)

The Schwartz's Value Survey (SVS) inventory

SVS is based on anchoring technique, and respondents fill two lists in following way:

- First, they read List 1 through
- Second, they select 1 or 2 most important values
- Third, they select values they resist (-1)
- Fourth, they select the least important values
- Fifth, they evaluate all the values using scale -1 ... 7
- Next, they do the same procedure with List 2.

List 1: Principles in life

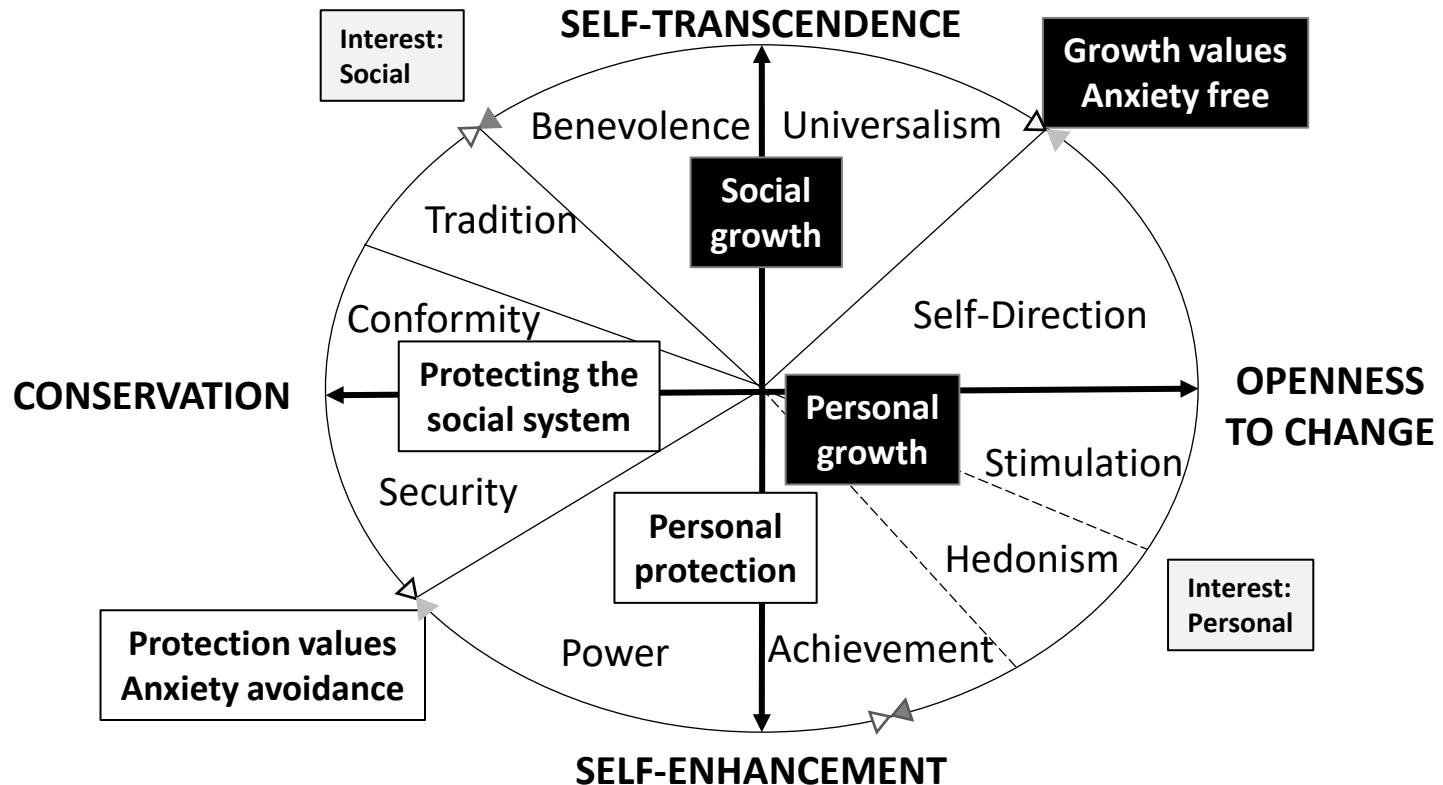
- 1 Equality UN
- 2 [Inner harmony UN/SP]*
- 3 Social power PO
- 4 Pleasure HE
- 5 Freedom SD
- 6 [A spiritual life BE/SP]
- 7 [Sense of belonging SE]
- 8 Social order SE
- 9 Exciting life ST
- 10 [Meaning in life BE/SP]
- 11 Politeness CO
- 12 Wealth PO
- 13 National security SE
- 14 [Self-respect SD/AC]
- 15 Resiprocation of favours SE
- 16 Creativity SD
- 17 A world at peace UN
- 18 Respect for tradition TR
- 19 [Mature love BE]
- 20 Self-Discipline CO
- 21 [Privacy]
- 22 Family security SE
- 23 [Social recognition PO]
- 24 Unity with nature UN
- 25 A varied life ST
- 26 Wisdom UN
- 27 Authority PO
- 28 [True friendship BE]
- 29 A world of beauty UN
- 30 Social justice UN

*[xxxx] Not stable culturally

List 2: Ways of action

- 31 Independent SD
- 32 Moderate TR
- 33 Loyal BE
- 34 Ambitious AC
- 35 Broadminded UN
- 36 Humble TR
- 37 Daring ST
- 38 Protecting the environment UN
- 39 Influential AC
- 40 Honouring parents and elders CO
- 41 Choosing own goals SD
- 42 [Healthy SE]
- 43 Capable AC
- 44 Accepting my portion in life TR
- 45 Honest BE
- 46 Preserving my public image PO
- 47 Obedient CO
- 48 [Intelligent AC]
- 49 Helpful BE
- 50 Enjoying life HE
- 51 Devout TR
- 52 Responsible BE
- 53 Curious SD
- 54 Forgiving BE
- 55 Succesful AC
- 56 Clean SE
- 57 Self-indulgent HE

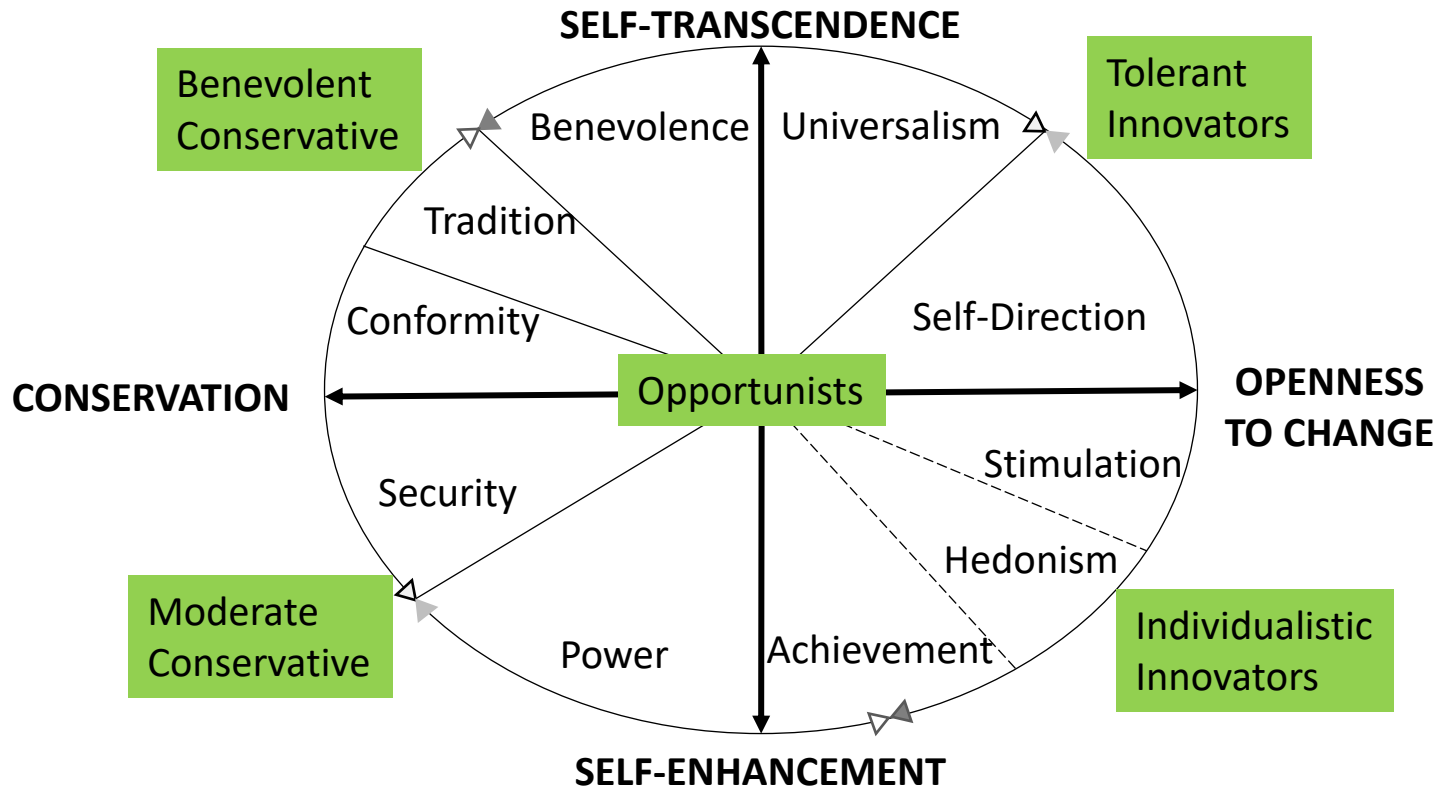
Schwartz's (1992; 2012) theory of values



Values are either compatible or in conflict with each other (Schwartz 1992).

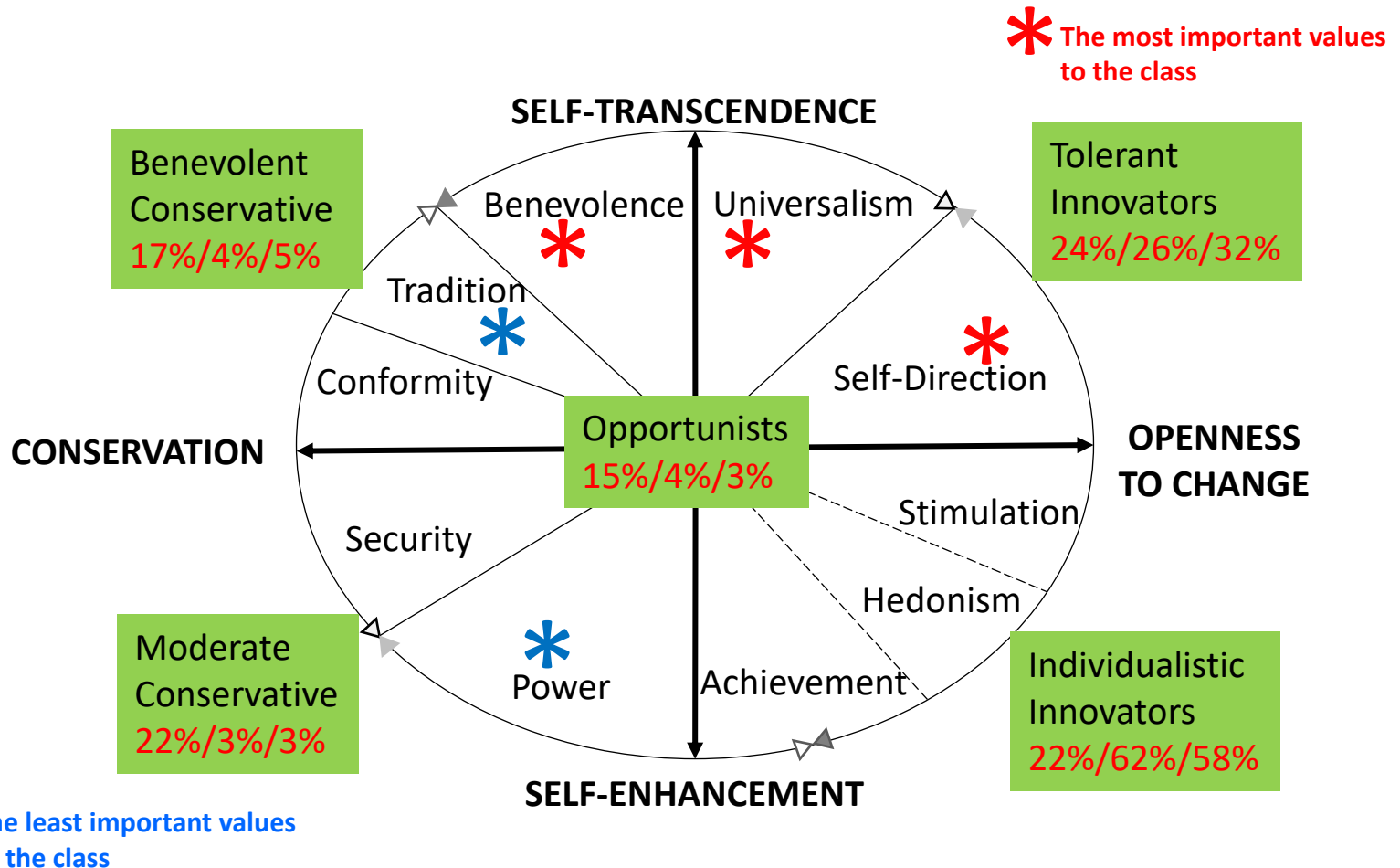
What kind of values guide this class?

Five different value groups



Puohiniemi, 2006

Finns / MMP** / the Class*** on the map



** Marketing and media professionals

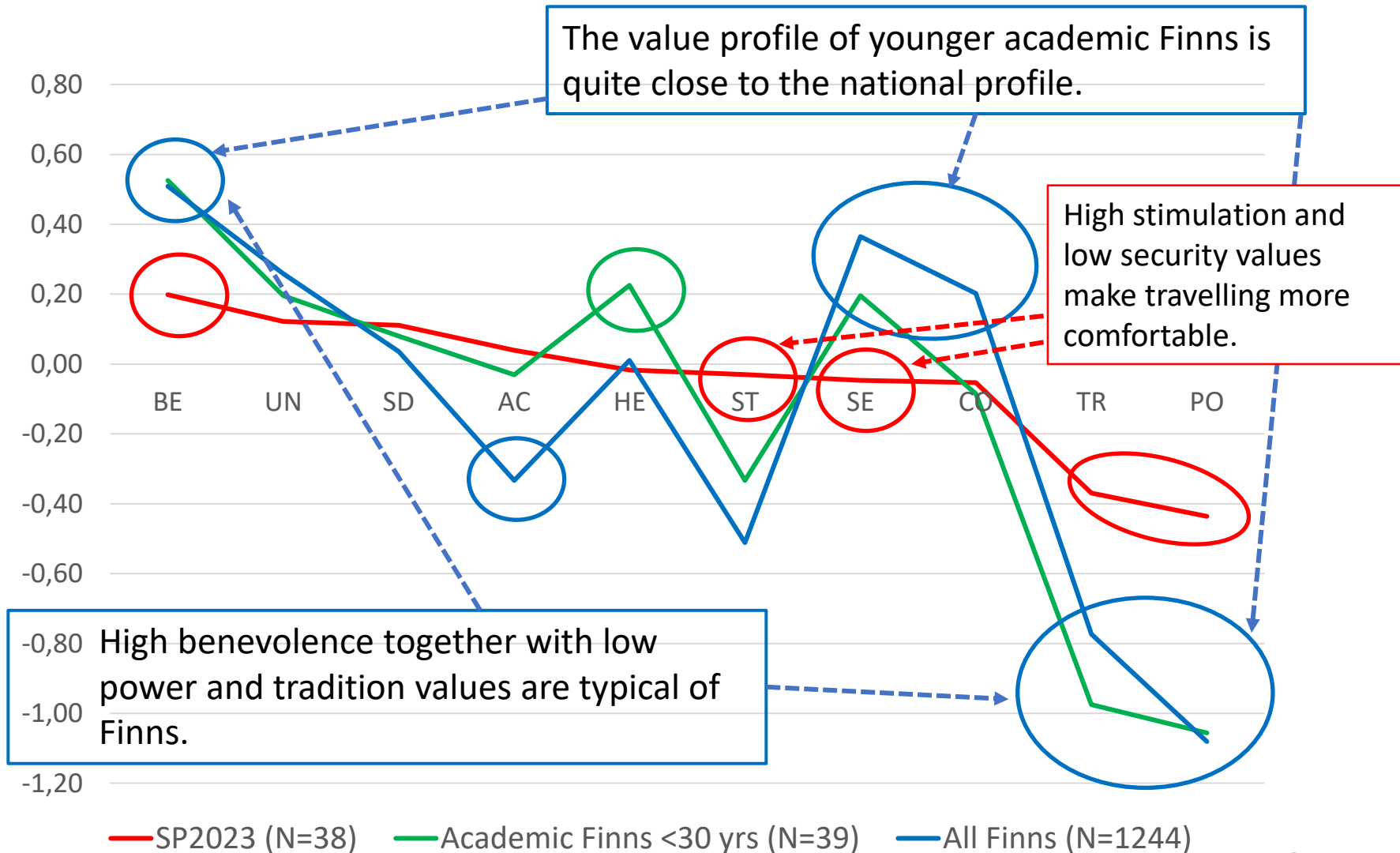
*** 81 % of the class participated the values study

The value profile of the Class

SP2023 (N=38)



Value profiles of the class, Academic <30 Finns and All Finns



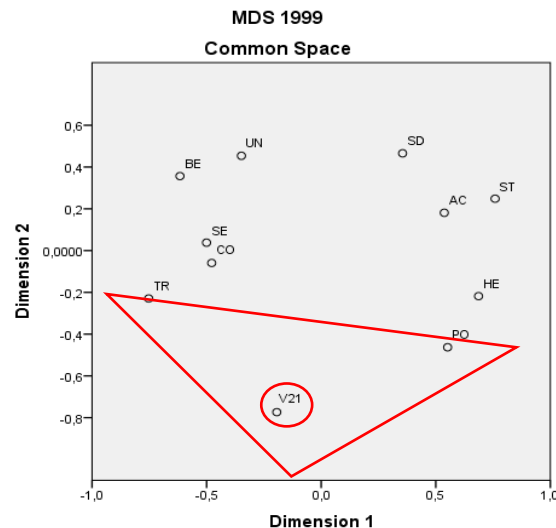
Value change and everyday life

- Although values are stable and changes in values are small, changes in values are consistently linked to:
 - Demographics
 - What people do and feel
 - What happens in society.
- Four examples:
 - How privacy changed its meaning in 1999-2015?
 - How values have changed in 1991-2015?
 - How technological innovativeness is linked to values and values change?
 - How proenvironmental activity is linked to values and values change?



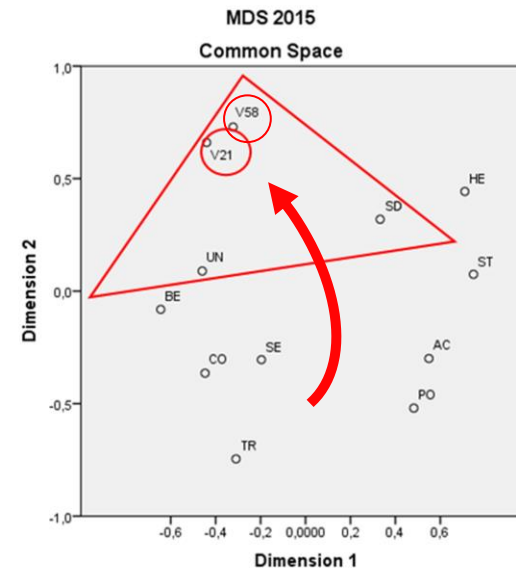
Finnish privacy before the digital era

Privacy changed its meaning in 1999 – 2015. But why?



1999: The proportion of

- Non-digitalized 66.1%
- Digitalized 33.9%



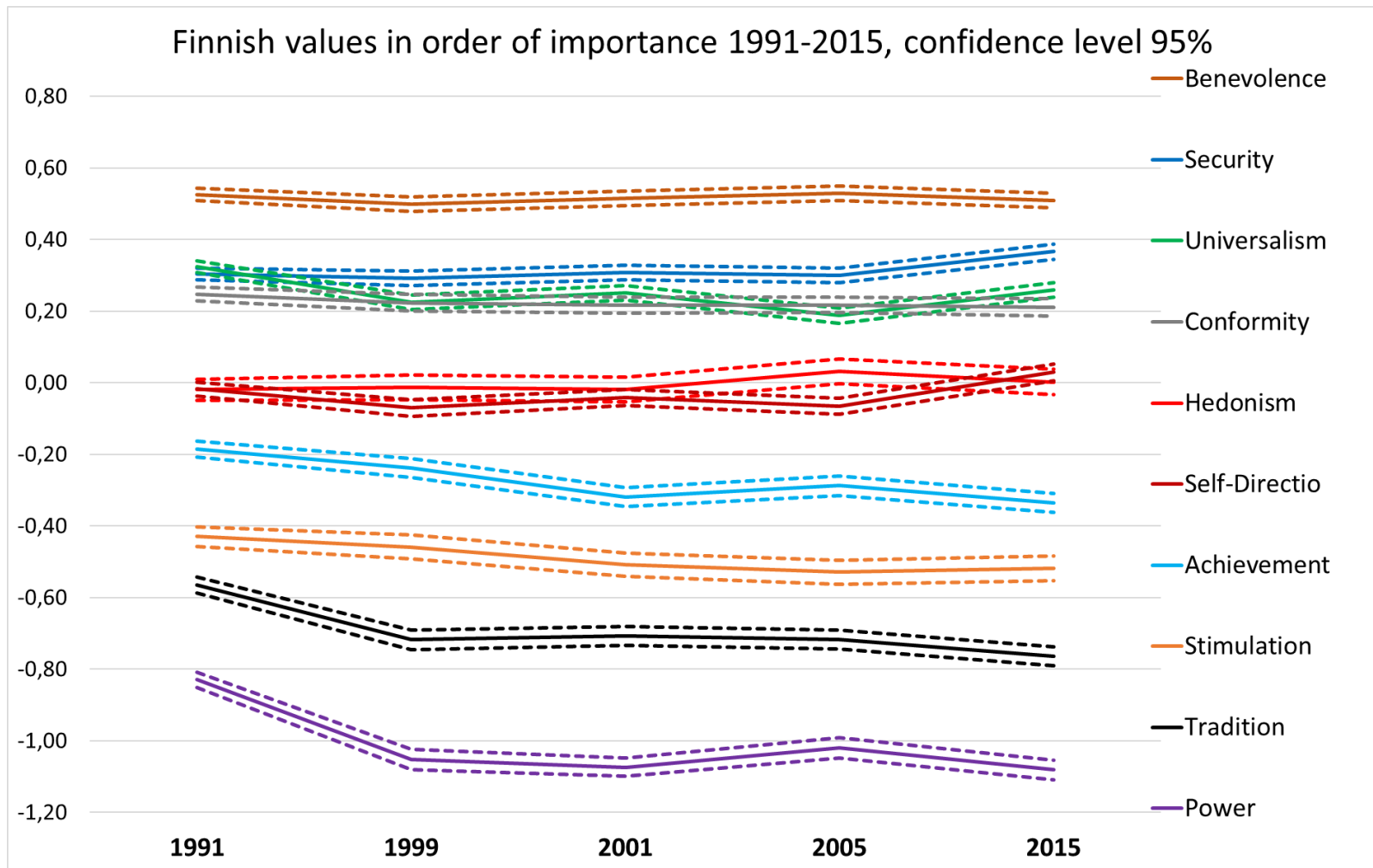
2015: The proportion of

- Non-digitalized 8.9%
- Digitalized 91.1%

Puohiniemi & Helkama, 2018

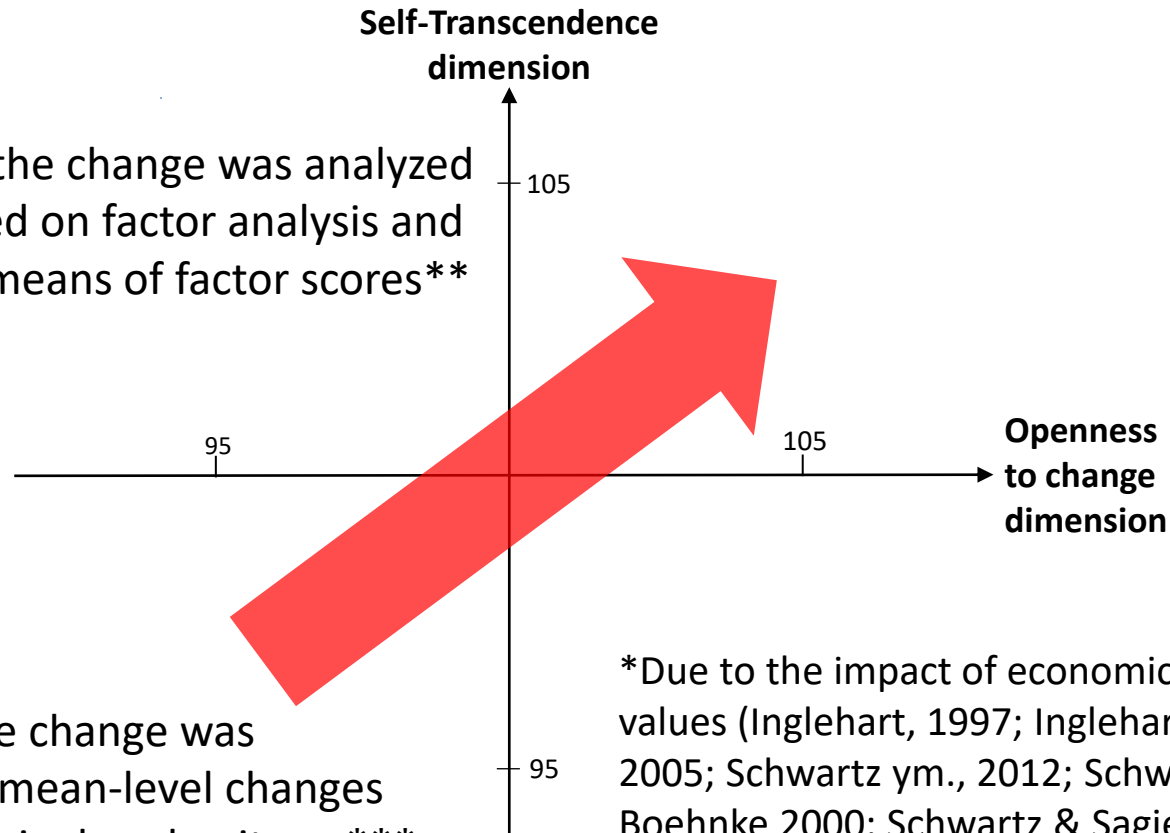
- The value structures of the 1991 - 2015 fit well to the theoretical model each year.
 - No substantial changes happened in the meanings of the 10 values.
- The maps of 1999-2001 that included item V21 (Privacy) were identical with each other, and also the maps of 2005-2015 with Privacy items (V21, V58) were identical with each other.
 - But these two maps differed from each other regarding the place of Privacy.
- Conclusion: Privacy shifted to the other side of the map in 1999-2005 i.e. changed its meaning. The change is linked to increasing digitalization that changed the meaning of privacy.

But how do the 10 values change over time?



Hypothesis: Overall change in values is heading toward north-east*

On aggregate level the change was analyzed with a method based on factor analysis and comparison of the means of factor scores**



On individual level the change was analyzed by studying mean-level changes in the ten values and single value items***

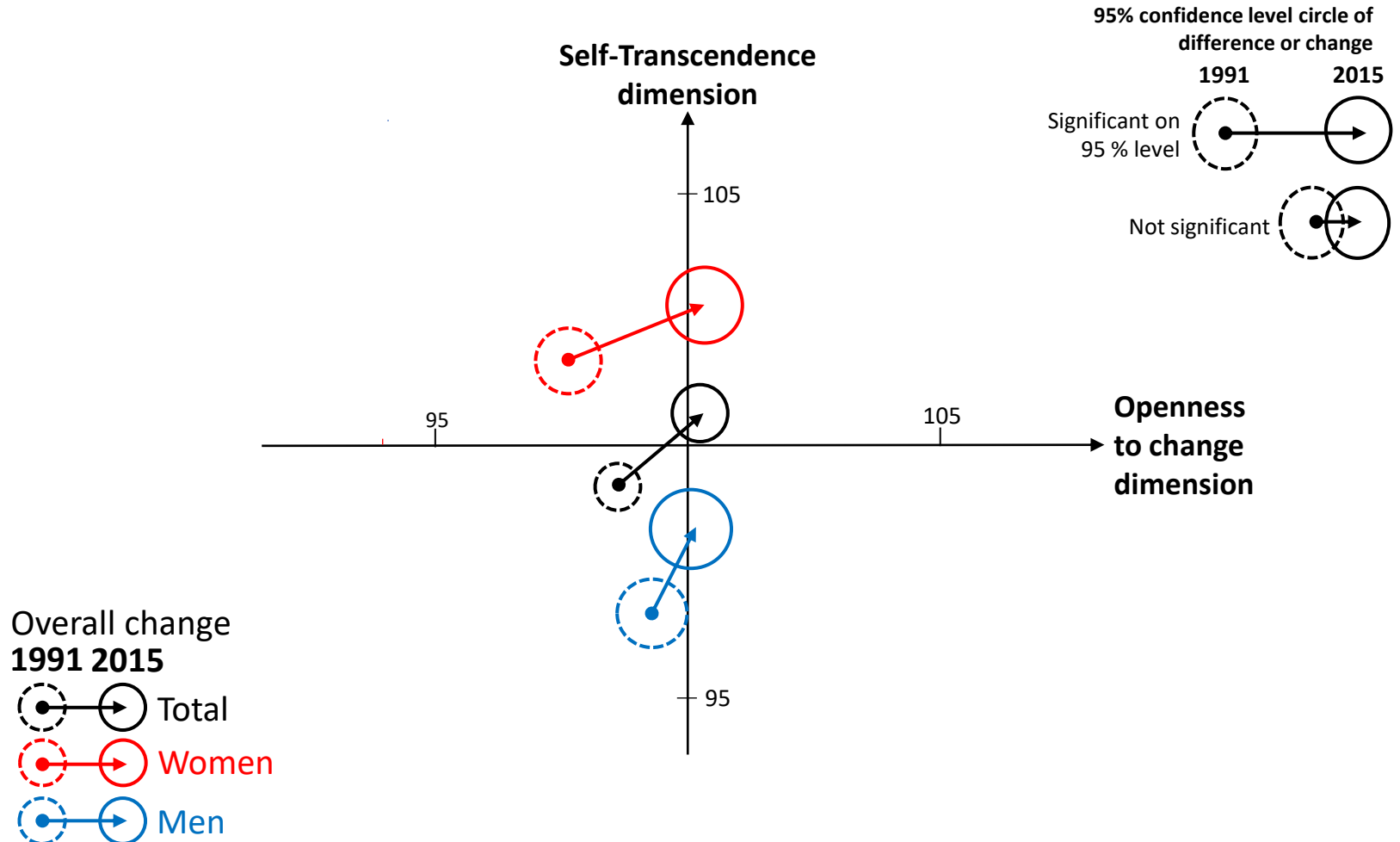
*Due to the impact of economic welfare on values (Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Schwartz ym., 2012; Schwartz, Sagiv, & Boehnke 2000; Schwartz & Sagie, 2000; Allen ym., 2007).

**Verkasalo, Lönnqvist, Lipsanen, & Helkama, 2009

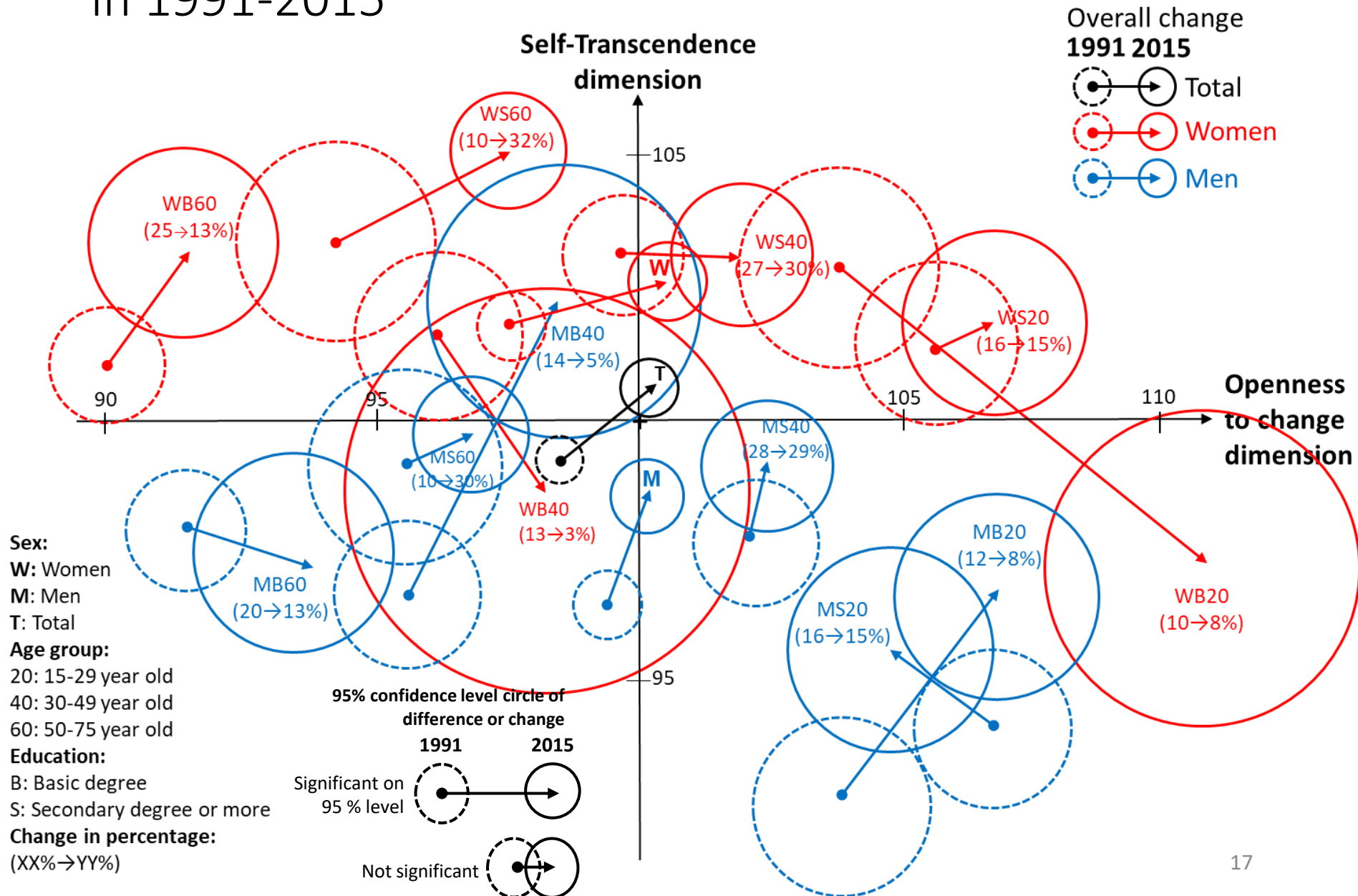
***Puohiniemi & Verkasalo, 2020; Puohiniemi 2022/2023;

For the difference, see also Harris, Loundes & Webster, 2002; Katona, 1979.

“Toward north-east” is the direction of change in Finland, also



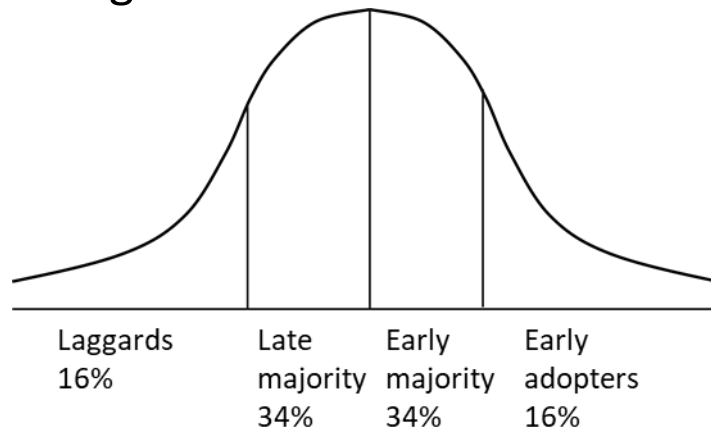
Change in Finnish values by sex, age and education in 1991-2015



Technological innovativeness and proenvironmental activity

Technological innovativeness

- What matters is how early respondents adopt (buy or use) the innovation in relation to others (Rogers 2003).
- Measured with adopter categorization.



Proenvironmental activity

- What matters is the versatility of proenvironmental activity i.e. the amount of different activities the respondents carry out regularly (Puohiniemi 1995; 2022/2023).
- Measured with quartile scales:
 - 1st quartile: Least versatile
 - 2nd quartile
 - 3rd quartile
 - 4th quartile: Most versatile

Due to rapid societal change 1991→ (digitalization; new environment law) both scales were updated for each measure.

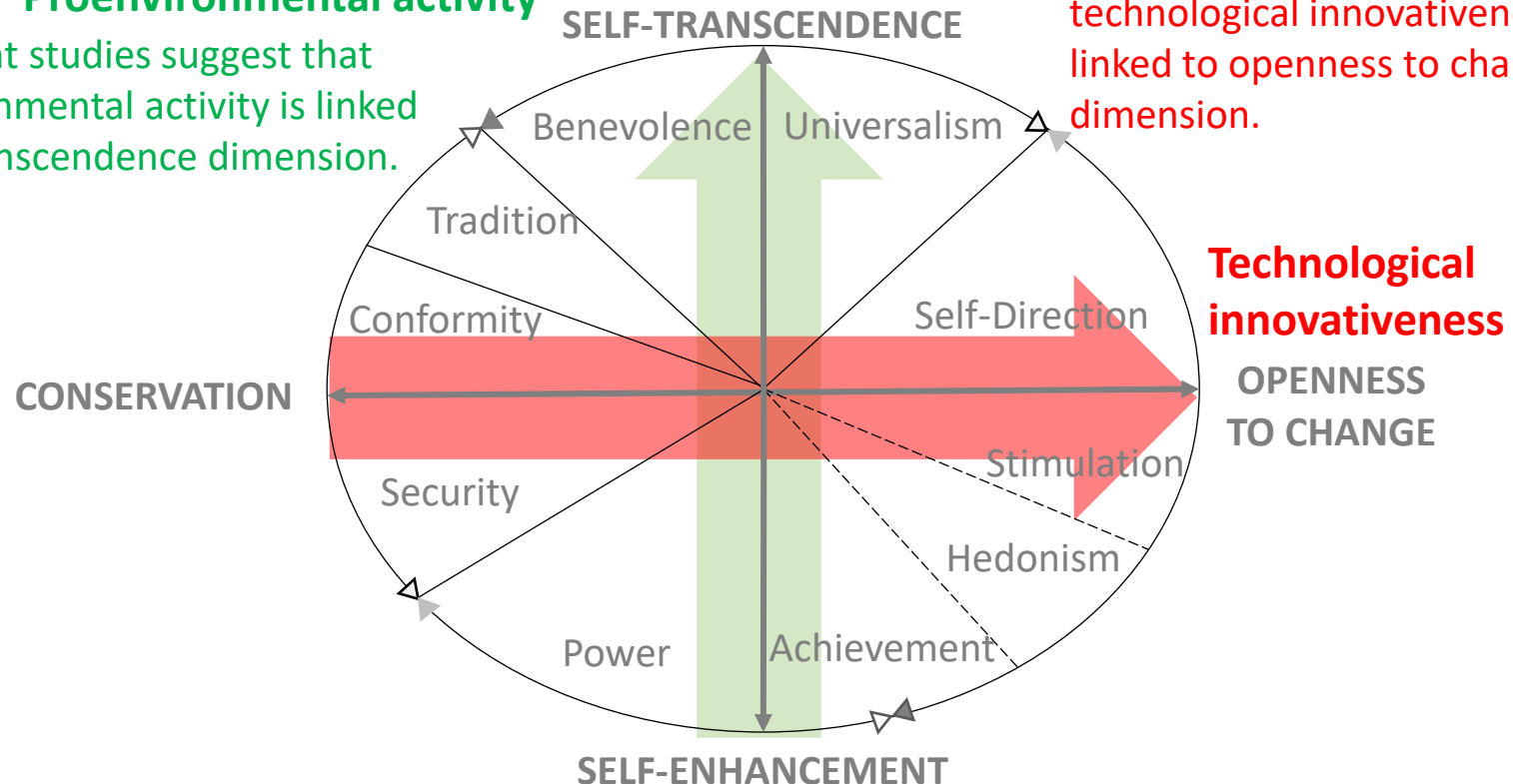
From values to behavior or from behavior to values?

- Conventional thinking goes **from Values to Behavior**, and says that values motivate behavior:
 - People have certain kind of values and therefore they behave in a certain way.
- Nowadays thinking goes **from Behavior to Values**, and is based on the self-perception theory (Bem 1970; 1972). This approach takes into account also the contribution of situation to actual behavior (Hofstede, 1980), and says that people infer their values from their behavior:
 - “My values are pro-environmental because I behave in a pro-environmental way”
- Recently, several value researchers (Steg, 2016; Fischer, 2017; Schwartz et al. 2017) have found the idea of self-perception theory (Bem, 1970; 1972) suitable for the analysis of values and behavior.
- In my own studies I use this idea in the analysis of societal change.
- In everyday life both ways – from values to behavior and from behavior to values – are possible.

How proenvironmental activity and technological innovativeness are linked to values?

Proenvironmental activity

All relevant studies suggest that proenvironmental activity is linked to self-transcendence dimension.



All relevant studies suggest that technological innovativeness is linked to openness to change dimension.

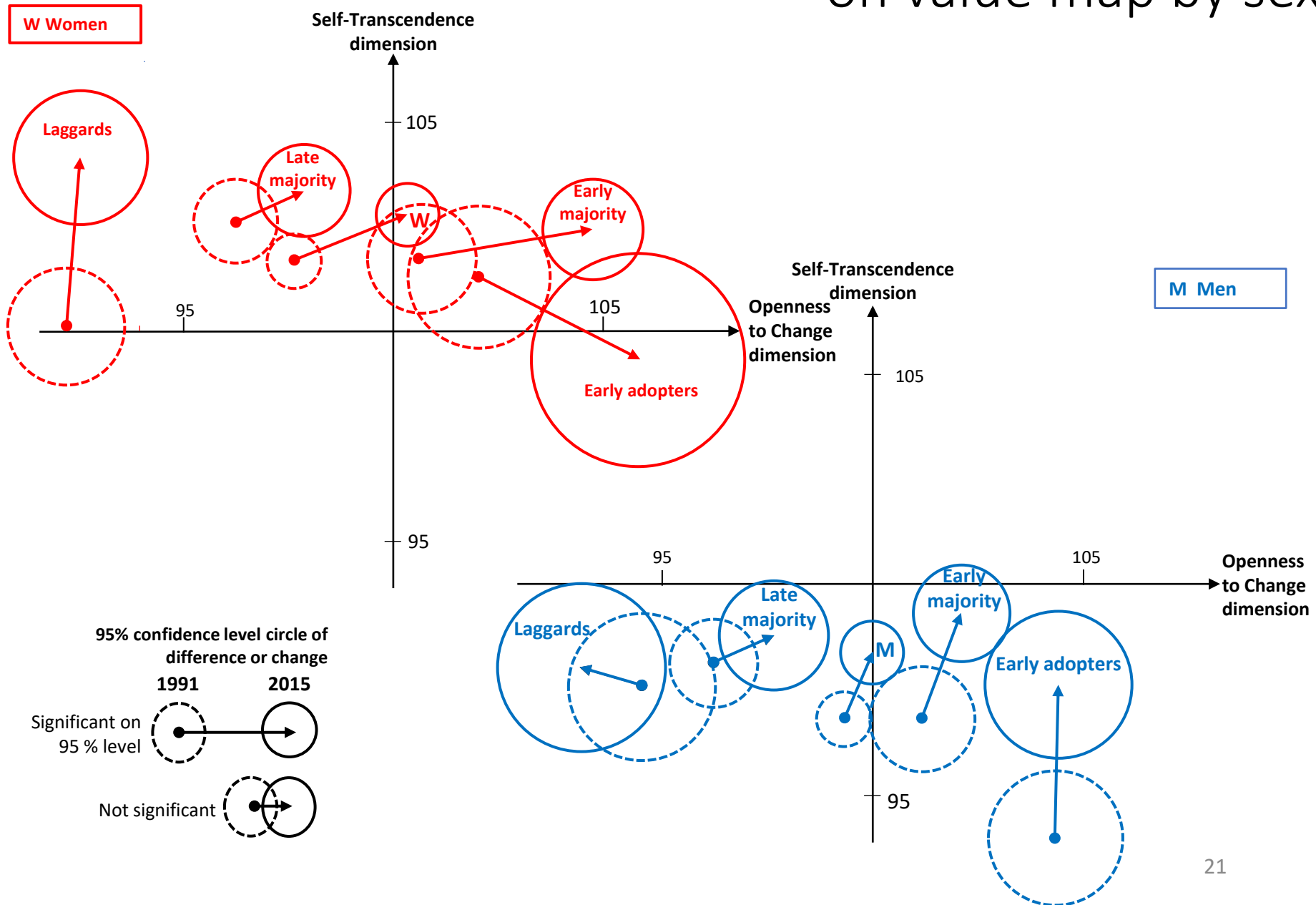
Technological innovativeness

OPENNESS TO CHANGE

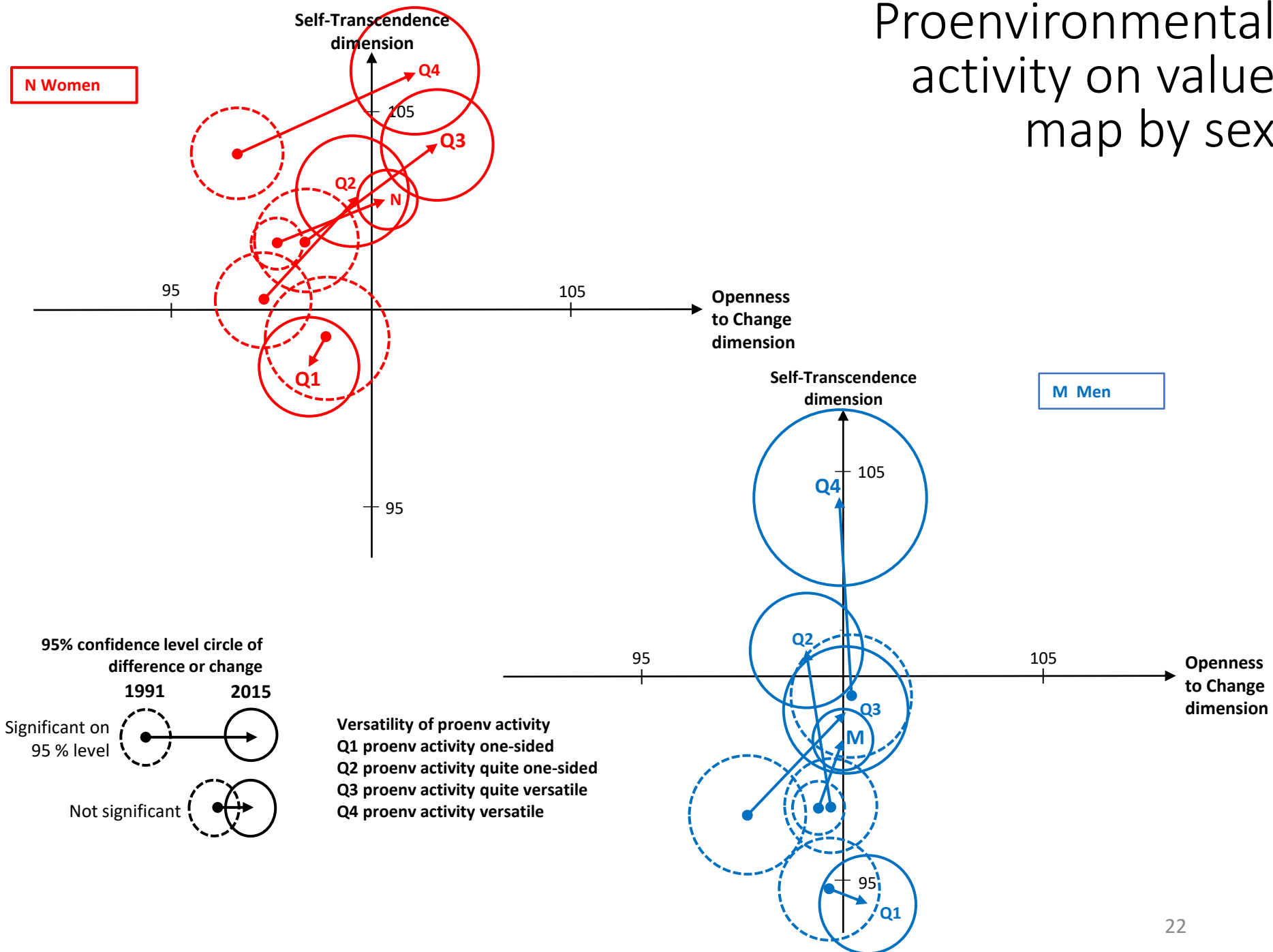
The interesting thing is that these two behaviors have not been studied before

- In a same sample, or
- In relation to values change.

Technological innovativeness on value map by sex

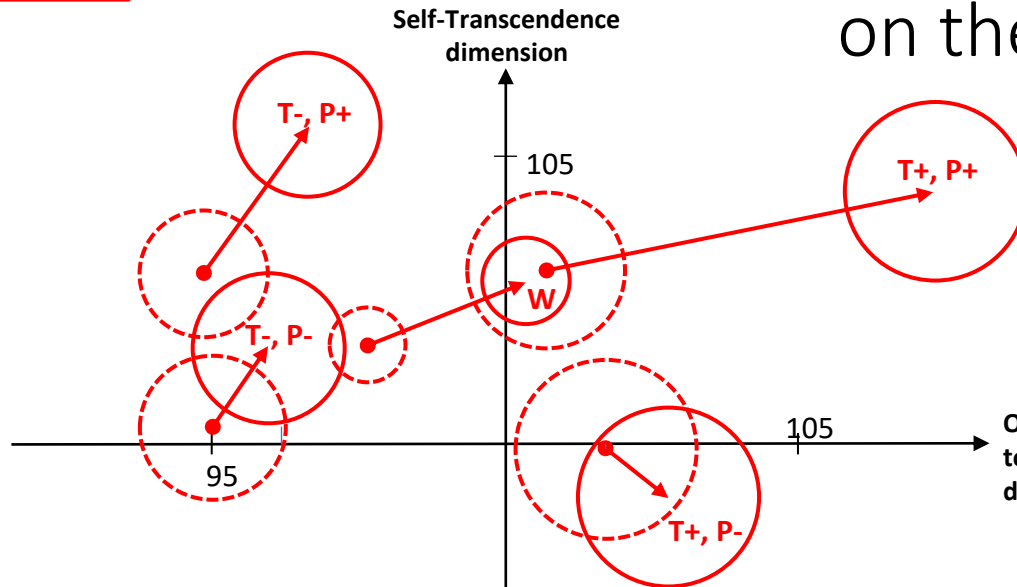


Proenvironmental activity on value map by sex



Technological innovativeness and proenvironmental activity on the same value map by sex

W Women



Tech.innovativeness and the versatility of proenvironmental activity

T- Tech.innovativeness low
 T+ Tech.innovativeness high
 P- Proenv.activity low
 P+ Proenv.activity high

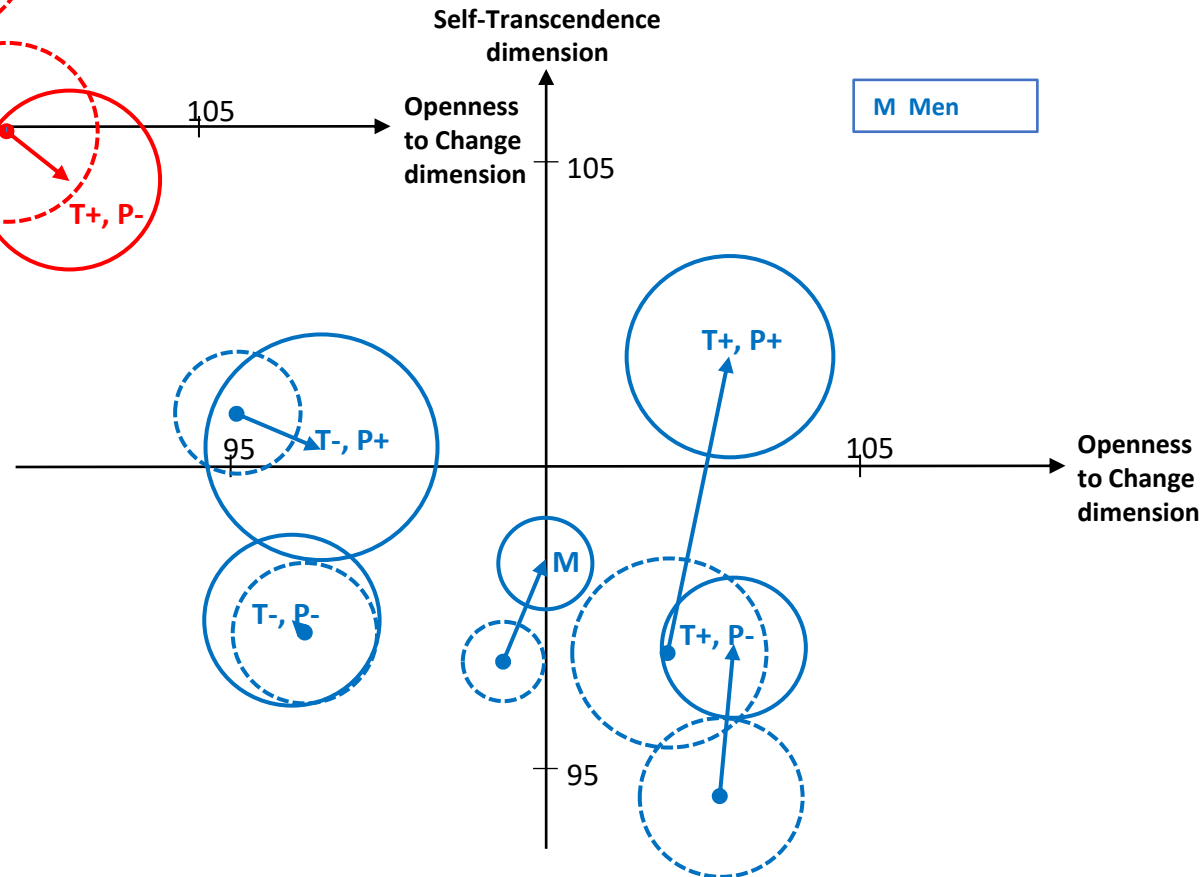
95% confidence level circle of difference or change

1991 2015

Significant on 95 % level

Not significant

M Men



Reciprocal relationship between values and behavior

- Openness to change values motivate technological innovativeness and self-transcendence values motivate proenvironmental activity.
- The relationships between values and both behaviors have become stronger in 1991-2015.
- The roles of the new infrastructures based on the **new environment law** and **new digital practices** are important: they force people to behave in new ways.
- When people behave in a new way without a reward, they notice that they are proenvironmental / innovative (self-perception theory).
- The results suggest that the relationships between values and behavior are reciprocal: Values motivate behavior and behavior changes values.
- As a result
 - the values of younger women and men have become more similar (see the “sex, age and education” map of values)
 - and women are leading the change toward north-east.

Summary

- Although values are fairly stable, they change gradually in relation to
 - What happens in the society, what people are, what they do, and what they are afraid of.
- Understanding values change becomes easier if
 - Current societal trends are taken into account
 - Values are put into societal context
 - Research concentrates in value expressive behaviors.
- Remember that the structural properties of Schwartz's value theory are heavily underestimated
 - Please, start taking full advantage of them, if you study values!

Cultural value orientations

Schwartz's "Tale of Two Theories" (1)

27

- In the 1980s Schwartz faced a most disappointing research failure: At first, he got nothing out of his analysis of RVS values.
- But after mulling six months of over the data, he invented the idea of how values might be organized on individual level (Schwartz, 2011).
- Next, Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) published the idea in an article: 'Toward a psychological structure of human values'.
- Thereafter, Schwartz started to develop the theory of universal structure and content of individual basic values with his colleagues.
- The first SVS-value inventory was constructed in 3 languages: English, Finnish and Hebrew.

Schwartz's "Tale of Two Theories" (2)

- The individual level theory (see Schwartz, 1992) was to be tested in five cultures. The tests started in 1988. Soon the new theory was tested in 20 cultures. And this happened before the Internet era began(!)
- During the next few years, the count of countries providing values data approached 40 and the number of samples passed 80.
- Schwartz's team realized that with matching samples from so many countries they could study values at the culture level, like Geert Hofstede.
- At this point they started to develop a theory about culture based on cultural value orientations (Schwartz 1994; 2007; 2011).
- The refined version of the individual level theory was published in 2012.

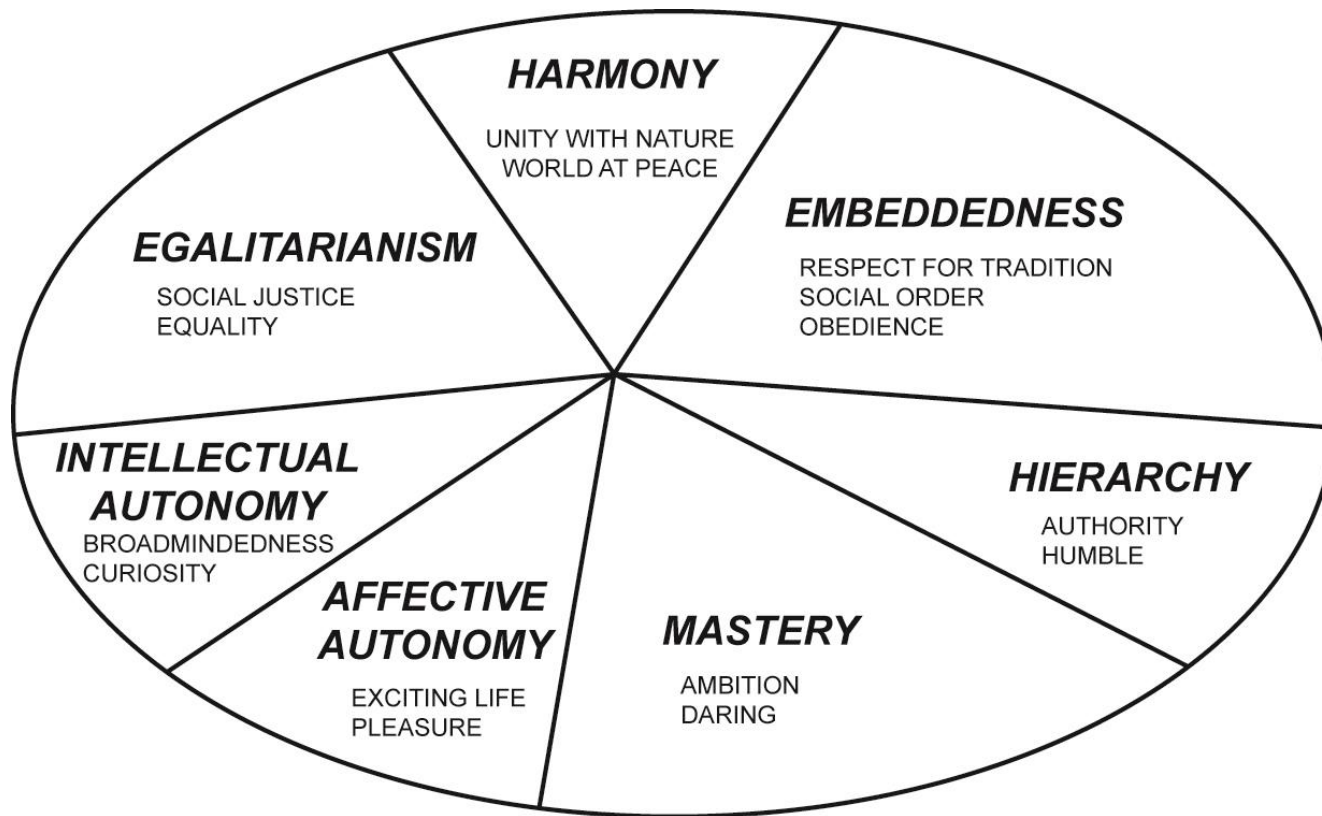
What are Cultural Value Orientations?

29

- All societies in all times have to solve three problems:
 1. How to define the nature of the relations and boundaries between the person and the group.
 2. How to guarantee that people behave in a responsible manner that preserves the social fabric.
 3. How to regulate people's treatment of human and natural resources.
- In different cultures the answers are different. These answers are expressed in the prevailing value emphases in the society.
- Schwartz's theory defines seven cultural value orientations that capture the basic cultural differences between societies.
- The cultural value orientations provide justification for policies and practices applied in a society, and give legitimacy to these policies and practices.

Seven cultural value orientations: a theoretical structure

30



Testing the theoretical structure

- In each culture the theory was tested by using the 56 or 57 item version SVS (Schwartz Value Survey).
- The number of respondents was 55.022. They were from 72 countries and from 81 different cultural groups.
- The individual level value maps have similar structure in all the cultures.
- Culture-level analysis is based on the comparison of culture-level scores (aggregated data) that are computed from the individual-level data.
- Culture-level scores have proven to be extremely stable in comparisons over time.

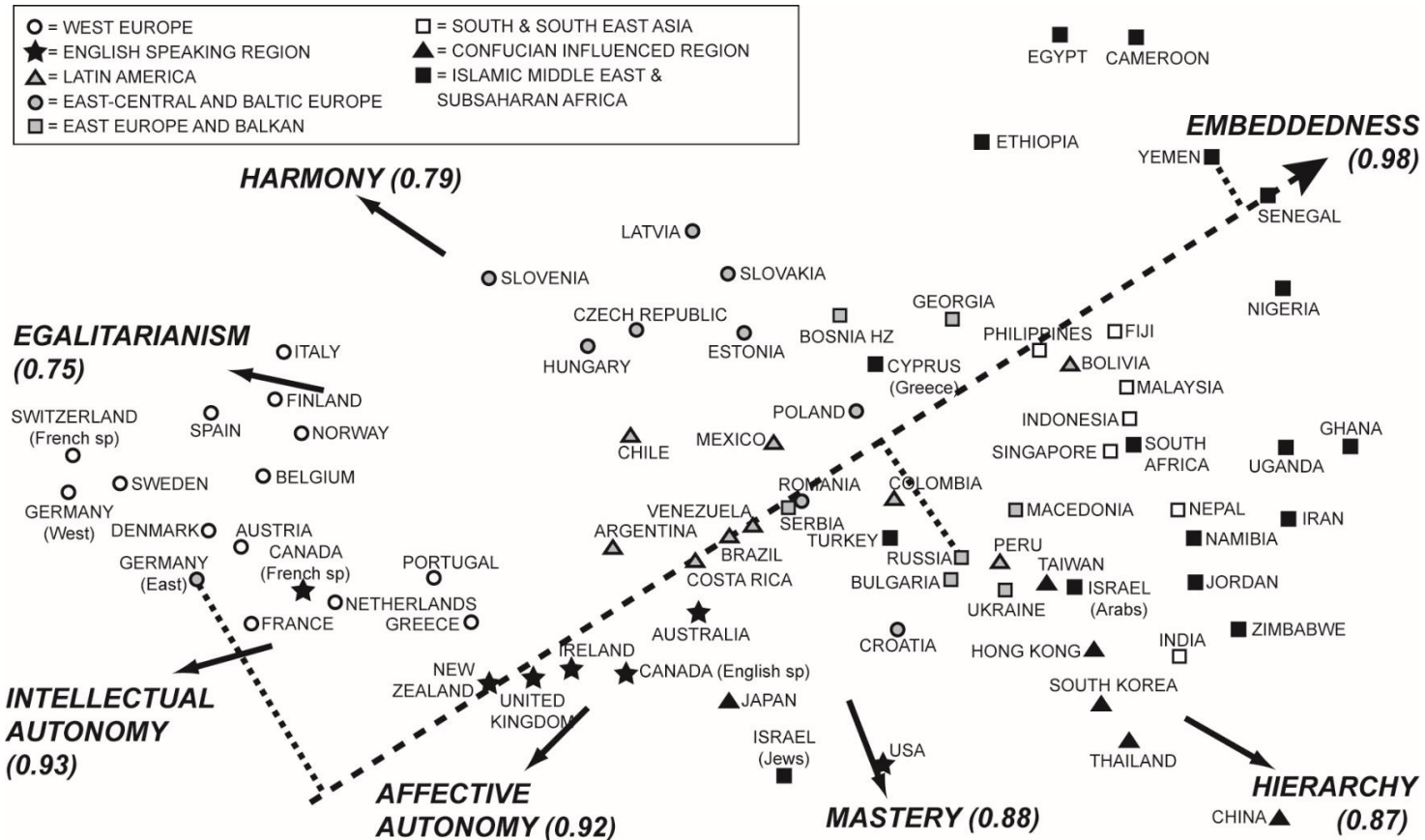
The map of cultural values

32



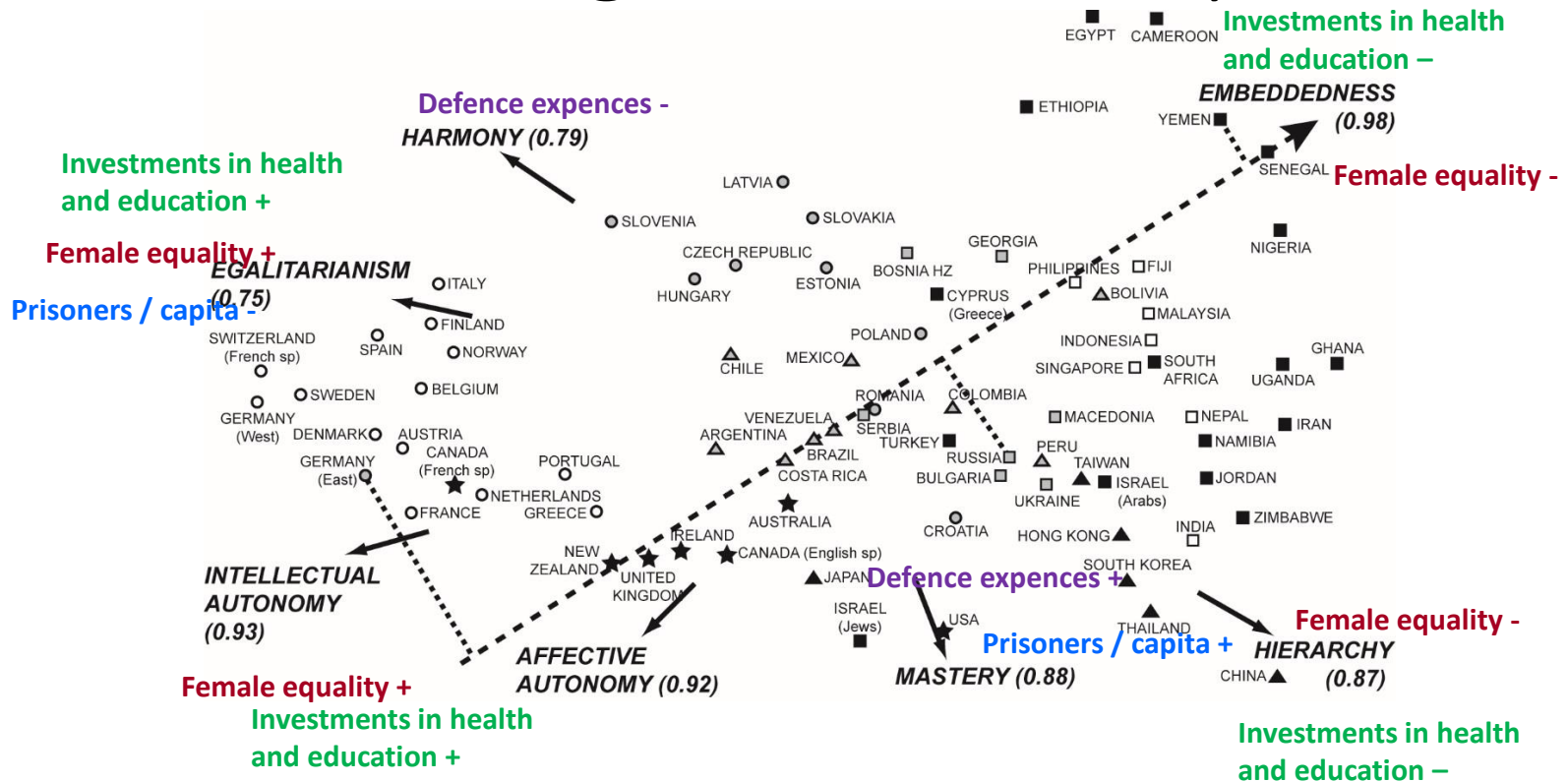
- Multidimensional scaling (MDS) map computed of 233 samples from 81 cultures.
- Value structures on individual and cultural level are different due to different meanings e.g. humility and social power –values. On individual level humility is a traditional value.

Cultural value map of the world



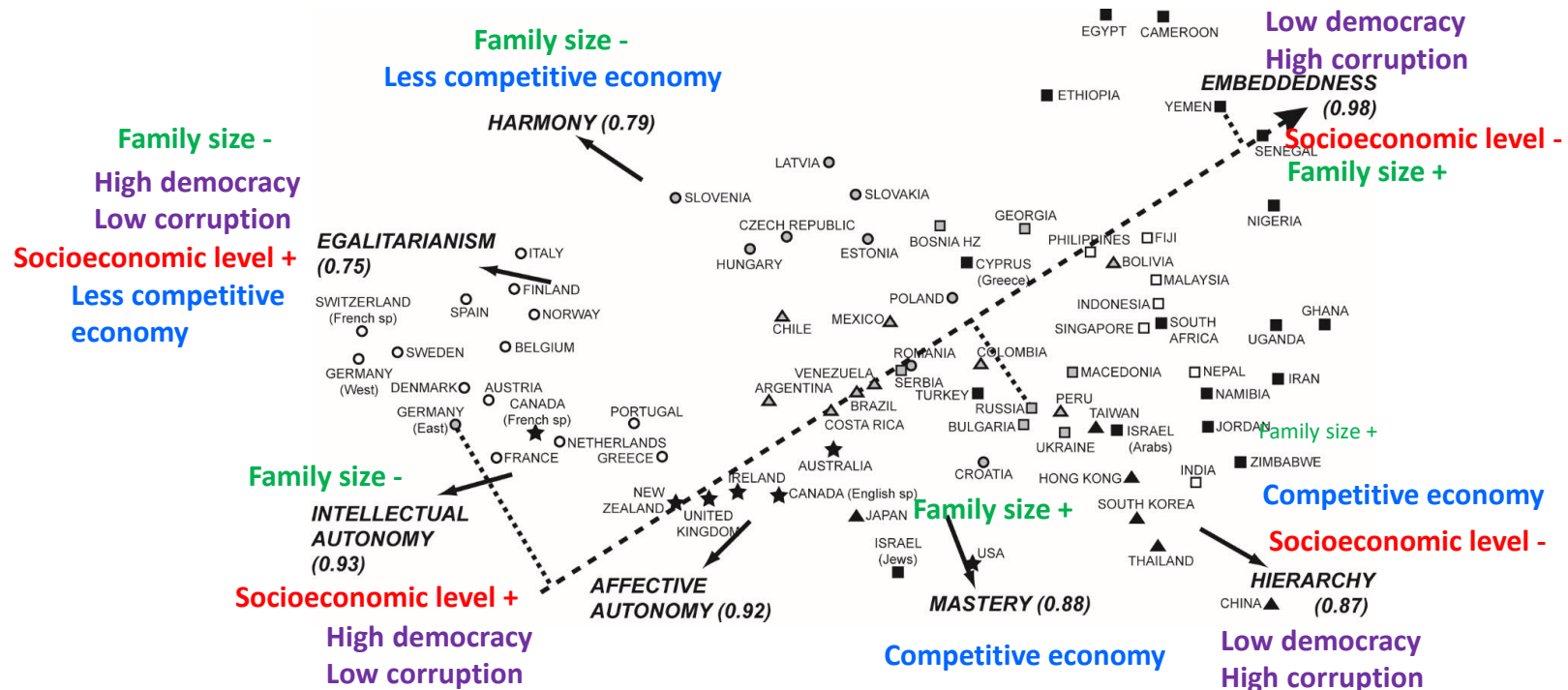
- Cultural value map of the world is a MDS-map of 77 cultures and how these cultures are related to seven cultural value-orientations and to each other (means of correlations between cultural groups).

Four domains of public policy as the target of the study



Female equality + vs. –
Investments in health and education + vs. –
Prisoners / capita + vs. –
Defence expences + vs. –

Cultural value orientations and the structures of societies



Socioeconomic level + vs. -
Democracy and corruption
Competitiveness of economy
Family size + vs. -

Summary of cultural value orientations (1)

- Schwartz's culture-level theory identifies seven cultural value orientations that form three cultural value dimensions:
 - Autonomy (intellectual; affective) vs. embeddedness
 - Egalitarianism vs. hierarchy
 - Harmony vs. mastery
- All three dimensions contribute uniquely to mapping national cultures and to explaining socially significant phenomena.
- The mapping of countries identifies cultural regions that are similar to those identified in the Inglehart's and Huntington's studies, although the approaches differ in their basic cultural constructs, their methods of measurement, and the types of samples studied.
 - Countries are meaningful cultural units.
- Also, regarding Finland, Schwartz's, Hofstede's, and Inglehart's approaches give quite similar interpretation of Finnish values (see Puohiniemi, 2023).

Summary of cultural value orientations (2)

- Cultural value orientations can be studied as
 - Dependent or independent variables or as moderators of the relations among other variables.
 - For instance, gender differences in values are largest in cultures where the importance of equality is highest (e.g. in Finland and Sweden).
- However, cultures are never fully integrated and coherent
- For instance, different institutions within societies give more emphasis to orientations compatible with their functions:
 - Hierarchy in armies
 - Embeddedness in families
 - Mastery in markets
 - Intellectual autonomy in universities.

Concluding remarks and discussion

Concluding remarks and discussion

- Values do matter! In a rapidly changing world values offer a steady frame of reference for the analysis of society, people and societal change.
- Although human basic values are relatively stable, they change depending on whom you ask, when and where.
- But values do not change arbitrarily. They change in relation to what people think, say and do, and what happens in the society.
- The cultural value orientations are deeply embedded in every society and provide justification and legitimacy for policies and practices applied in a society.
- All in all, Schwartz's value theories offer an excellent frame of reference for the analysis of values in general and also in societal context.

Check out my new book. Written in Finnish. Title in English: The change in the Finnish set of values, globalization and zeitgeist (2023)



- For now, the book is only available in Finnish.
- Also, the e-book is now published, at a price of around €20.

13.10.2023 Martti
Puuhiniemi

Individual values and cultural
value orientations

References (1):

- Allen, M. W., Ng, S. H., Ikeda, K., Jawan, J. A., Sufi, A. H., Wilson, M., & Yang, K.-S. (2007). Two decades of change in cultural values and economic development in eight East Asian and Pacific Island Nations. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 38(3), 247-269.
- Bardi, A., Buchanan, K.E., Goodwin, R., & Slabu, L. (2014). Value stability and change during self-chosen life transitions:
- Fukuyama, F. (2020). *Identiteetti*. (Inn Finnish, Identity. Docendo. Jyväskylä.
- Harris, M. N., Loundes, J., & Webster, E. (2002). Determinants of household saving in Australia. *The Economic Record*, 78(241), 207-223.
- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization: Cultural, economic, and political change in 43 Societies*. Princeton, NJ, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R., & Welzel, C. (2005). *Modernization, cultural change: The human development sequence*. New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Katona, G. (1979). Toward a macropsychology. *American Psychologist*, 34(2), 118-126.
- Puohiniemi, M. (2023). Suomalaisen arvomaailman muutos, globalisaatio ja ajan henki. (In Finnish, The change in the Finnish set of values, globalization and zeitgeist). Norderstedt, Saksa: Books on Demand.
- Puohiniemi, M. (2006): The era of smart life and new collectivism. (In Finnish, Täsmäelämän ja uusyhteisöllisyyden aika). Limor kustannus.
- Puohiniemi, M. & Verkasalo, M. (2020): Zeitgeist Effects, Fragmentation of Media Use, and Value Consensus. *Journal of Social*
- Puohiniemi, M. & Helkama, K. (2018): Privacy Changed Its Meaning in Finland 1999-2015. In Klaus Helkama (Editor): *Values*
- Puohiniemi, M. ja Nyman, G. (2007): MIES. Arvot, roolit ja tunteet. (In Finnish, MAN. Values, roles and emotions. 2.painos.
- Rescher, N. (1969). What is value change? A framework for research. In Baier, K. & Rescher, N. (Eds): *Values and the future. The impact of technological change on American values*. USA, New York: The Free Press.

References (2):

- Schwartz, S.H (2011): Kulttuuriset arvo-orientaatiot. Kansallisten erojen luonne ja seuraukset. Limor kustannus. Translated by Martti Puohiniemi. Original text in English by Schwartz, S. H. (2008) Cultural value orientations: Nature and implications of national differences. Moscow: State University—Higher School of Economics Press. PDF available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265997557_Cultural_Value_Orientations_Nature_Implications_of_National_Differences [accessed Oct 12 2023].
- Schwartz, S. H. (2007a). A theory of cultural value orientations: Explication and applications. In Y. Esmer & T. Pettersson (Eds.), *Measuring and mapping cultures: 25 years of comparative value surveys* (pp. 33-78). Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1994). Beyond individualism/collectivism: New cultural dimensions of values. In Kim, U., Triandis, H. C., Kagitcibasi, C., Choi, S.-C., & Yoon, G. (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications*. (pp. 85-119). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In Zanna, M. (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25, pp. 1-65). New York, NY, USA: Academic Press.
- Schwartz, S.H., & Butenko, T. (2014). Values and behavior: Validating the refined value theory in Russia. *European journal of social psychology*. Vol 44, 7, 799-813.
- Schwartz, S. H., Cieciuch, J., Vecchione, M., Davidov, E., Fischer, R., Beierlein, C., Ramos, A., Verkasalo, M., Lönnqvist, J.-E., Demirutku, K., Dirilen-Gumus, O., & Konty, M. (2012). Refining the theory of basic individual values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 103(4), 663-688.
- Schwartz, S.H. (2011). Studying values: Personal adventure, future directions. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. 42(2) 307-319.
- Schwartz, S.H., & Sagie, G. (2000), Value consensus and importance: A cross-national study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vol. 31 No. 4, 465-497.
- Schwartz, S.H., Sagiv, L., & Boehnke, K. (2000). Worries and values. *Journal of Personality*, 68(2), 309-346.
- Schwartz, S. H. and W. Bilsky (1987). 'Toward a Universal Psychological Structure of Human Values'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Vol. 53, No. 3, 550-562.
- Verkasalo, M., Lönnqvist, J.-E., Lipsanen, J. O., & Helkama, K. (2009). European norms and equations for a two-dimensional presentation of values as measured with Schwartz's 21-item portrait values questionnaire. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 39, 780-792.