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Conceptualizing the Patterns of Change in Cultural Values: The Paradoxical Effects of Modernization, Demographics, and Globalization

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Abstract: This paper aims to conceptualize the patterns of cultural change. Building on the seminal work of the German sociologist Tönnies and using eight cultural dimensions from Inglehart, Hofstede, Schwartz, and GLOBE, the study analyzes the patterns of cultural change at three distinct levels: (1) socio-economic development/modernization, (2) birth/migration, and (3) globalization/contact. The paper suggests that the path of cultural change is complex and dialectical. While socio-economic development shifts cultural values from traditional to modern, demographic pressures and migratory movements have opposite effects and reinforce traditional cultural values. Moreover, globalization and increasing contact between traditional and modern cultures create a constant blend and conflict.

Keywords: cultural values; culture change; migration; traditional; modern

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1. Introduction

Hofstede (2001) emphasized the stability of national cultures, proclaiming that national cultures remain stable over time. This assertion, however, contradicts evident facts, prompting numerous researchers to scrutinize the temporal stability of Hofstede's cultural dimensions and posit that cultural values are susceptible to change (Minkov and Hofstede 2014; Tung and Verbeke 2010). Human cultures are inherently dynamic, undergoing significant shifts in values, attitudes, and cultural norms as societies experience economic and technological transformations. Some cultural changes are undeniable, particularly in the last four decades, where cultural values regarding religion, homosexuality, same-sex marriage, gender roles, power dynamics, minorities, the environment, divorce, and family have transformed globally, with more pronounced changes observed in Western societies. While the World Health Organization considered homosexuality a mental disorder until 1990 (Drescher 2015), since 2000, over 30 countries have legally recognized marriage for same-sex couples. The workplace has witnessed the presence of women since the late 1970s, and marriage has become less conventional in many developed countries, with people marrying later in life or cohabiting without formal marriage. Single parenthood and divorce rates have surged worldwide over the past few decades, and the prevalence of democracies in world governments has steadily increased since the mid-1970s (Desilver 2019).

Despite societies moving towards individualism and gender equality, the question arises: Do these changes signify a convergence of cultural values? Contrary to the predictions of modernization theorists, including Marx, Nietzsche, and Bell, cultural values do not appear to converge toward modern ideals such as individualism, rationality, and secularism, at least in the foreseeable future. Instead, indicators show the resurgence of opposing cultural values like conservatism, religiosity, fundamentalism, and collectivism globally, even within developed Western economies. Democracy is facing challenges in many countries, with growing support for authoritarianism, intolerance, nationalism, and right-wing movements. The recent upending of Roe vs. Wade in the United States can be interpreted as a triumph of conservative, collectivist, religious, and traditional values over progressive, individualistic, and secular values. These developments underscore that

cultural change is not a straightforward linear process but involves numerous paradoxical twists and turns.

While some studies have ignored the changes in cultural values or have focused only on convergence and divergence perspectives (Akaliyski et al. 2022; Gentry and Sparks 2012; Guo 2015; Inkeles 2019), the current paper aims to conceptualize the various patterns of cultural change. To this end, the study analyzes the patterns of cultural change at three distinct levels: (1) socio-economic development/modernization, (2) birth/migration, and (3) globalization/contact. The study adopts eight cultural dimensions from Inglehart (1997), Schwartz (1992, 1994), Hofstede (2001), and GLOBE (House et al. 2004) and builds on the original theory of the German sociologist Tönnies (1957) to contrast between traditional (Gemeinschaft) and modern (Gesellschaft) societies. The paper posits that cultural changes within each society and globally result from multiple influences and cannot be solely attributed to socioeconomic factors. Specifically, it suggests that the path of cultural change is intricate and dialectical. While socio-economic development propels cultural values from traditional to modern, demographic pressures and migratory movements exert opposing effects, reinforcing traditional cultural values. Furthermore, globalization and the increasing interaction between traditional and modern cultures create a constant tension in which some traditional values transform while others resist. The outcome is a blend and conflict.

The remainder of this manuscript is prepared as follows. First, culture is defined, cultural value dimensions are presented, and the theoretical foundations are discussed. Next, three patterns of cultural change, namely change via development, change via demography/migration, and change via globalization/interaction, are presented, and implications are examined. Finally, the implications are discussed, and avenues for future studies are pointed out.

2. Culture and Cultural Value Dimensions

Culture includes shared meanings, rituals, norms, and traditions (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952). Recognizing its conceptual complexity, a pragmatic approach to studying culture involves identifying various value dimensions for analyzing cultural differences. Broad frameworks proposed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), Hall (1976), Hofstede (2001), Schwartz (1992, 1994), and Inglehart (1997) are widely accepted and employed across disciplines. For this study, we rely on eight selected cultural dimensions from Hofstede (2001), GLOBE (House et al. 2004), Schwartz (1992, 1994), and Inglehart (1997). These dimensions are drawn from widely accepted frameworks for examining culture at the societal/national level.

2.1. Inglehart's Traditional vs. Secular-Rational

According to Inglehart (1997), the traditional versus secular-rational dimension delineates the contrast between societies where tradition/religion holds significance and those where it does not. In traditional/religious societies, emphasis is placed on parent-child bonding, deference to authority, adherence to absolute norms, and upholding traditional family values. Moreover, these societies disapprove of practices such as divorce, abortion, euthanasia, and suicide, exhibiting high levels of national pride and a nationalistic perspective. In contrast, societies with secular-rational values express opposing preferences on all these matters (Inglehart 1997; Inglehart and Baker 2000; Inglehart and Norris 2004; Inglehart and Welzel 2005).

2.2. Inglehart's Survival vs. Self-Expression Values

Societies exhibiting survival values prioritize materialistic orientations, manifesting comparatively lower levels of subjective well-being and reporting relatively poor health. Additionally, they tend to display intolerance towards outgroups, including strangers, women, and homosexuals, ranking lower in interpersonal trust. These societies also prioritize hard work over qualities such as imagination or tolerance. In contrast, self-

expression values highlight autonomy and subjective well-being (Inglehart 1997; Inglehart and Baker 2000; Inglehart and Norris 2004; Inglehart and Welzel 2005).

2.3. Hofstede's Collectivism vs. Individualism

This cultural dimension pertains to the dynamic between the individual and the collective. Hofstede (2001) characterizes an individualist society as one where personal consideration shapes individuals' beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. In contrast, a collectivist society is marked by loyalty toward one's family, job, and country, influencing attitudes, beliefs, and behavior. In individualistic societies, interpersonal ties are typically loose, and individuals are expected to care for themselves and their immediate families. Conversely, in collectivistic societies, individuals are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, often extended families, which protect in exchange for unwavering loyalty (Hofstede 2001).

2.4. Schwartz's Embeddedness (Conservatism) vs. Autonomy

The embeddedness (conservatism) value type emphasizes social order, respect for tradition, family security, and wisdom. In societies with this value type, individuals are perceived as embedded in a group, deriving meaning in life primarily from social relationships. Embeddedness underscores the importance of maintaining the status quo, propriety and restraining actions or inclinations that may disrupt solidarity or traditional order. In contrast, the autonomy value type (the amalgamation of affective and intellectual autonomy) is associated with a cultural emphasis on desirability, suggesting that people emphasize their ideas and intellectual directions (Schwartz 1992, 1994).

2.5. Hofstede's Power Distance

Hofstede (2001) defines power distance as the degree to which members of organizations or institutions accept and expect unequal distribution of power. While some inequality exists in all societies, Hofstede proposes that certain societies exhibit more equality. Therefore, the power distance dimension centers on the varying degrees of inequality within a society.

2.6. Hofstede's Past vs. Future Orientation (Short- vs. Long-Term)

Hofstede (2001) designated his fifth cultural dimension as short- vs. long-term orientation. Long-term orientation revolves around future-focused rewards, emphasizing traits like perseverance, thrift, adaptability to changing circumstances, planning, and preparation (Fang 2003). In contrast, short-term orientation encompasses values associated with the past and present, including respect for tradition, preservation of face, and fulfilling social obligations.

2.7. Schwartz's Hierarchy vs. Egalitarianism

According to Schwartz (1992, 1994), in hierarchical societies, there is a cultural emphasis on justifying an unequal distribution of power, roles, resources, authority, and wealth. In contrast, egalitarianism aligns with equality, social justice, freedom, responsibility, and honesty principles.

2.8. GLOBE's Gender Egalitarianism

Gender egalitarianism denotes the extent to which a society reduces gender inequality (House et al. 2004). Societies characterized by high gender egalitarianism exhibit increased representation of women in positions of authority, reduced occupational sex segregation, comparable levels of educational attainment for both males and females, and greater involvement of women in decision-making roles in community affairs. Conversely, societies characterized by low gender egalitarianism demonstrate contrasting preferences and behaviors.

3. Pattern-1: Cultural Change via Socio-Economic Development: The Growth of Modern (Gesellschaft) Values

The German sociologist Tönnies (1957) distinguished between a contemporary society governed by rational calculations (Gesellschaft) and a traditional society characterized by communal bonds (Gemeinschaft). According to Tönnies (1957), Gemeinschaft signifies a society where relationships evolve from personal social interactions and emotional connections, encompassing personal allegiance to family, ethnic ties, professional affiliations, shared religious communities, familial bonds, traditional folk customs, close-knit neighborhood connections, and face-to-face engagements. Conversely, in more modern (Gesellschaft) societies, interactions are driven by rationality and human relationships are mediated through formalized conventions, regulations, and monetary transactions. Tönnies (1957) proposed that the traditional pre-modern Gemeinschaft would gradually assimilate into a more modern and rational Gesellschaft society due to socio-economic development.

Tönnies' thesis on transitioning from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft resonates with modernization theorists who posit a robust correlation between socioeconomic development and cultural change (Bell 1973, 1976; Huntington 1968; Inglehart 1997). Accordingly, modernization augments a society's economic and political capabilities through processes like industrialization, bureaucratization, urbanization, social mobilization, and occupational differentiation, contributing to the increased complexity of societies (Bendix 1974; Durkheim and Luhmann 1988; Simmel 1997). Modernization instigates cultural shifts, including alterations in gender roles, attitudes towards authority, declining fertility rates, evolving sexual norms, and emerging democratic governance or broader political participation (Inglehart 1997).

The Changes in Cultural Dimensions via Modernization

Consistent with the previous discussions, in the following sections we examine the changes in the eight cultural dimensions via modernization and formulate eight propositions.

Traditional vs. Secular-Rational
Survival vs. Self-Expression Values

Inglehart (1997) demonstrated a consistent pattern in the cultural values of individuals in affluent and less affluent societies. Wealthier societies typically embrace secular-rational and self-expression values, while lower-income societies lean towards traditional and survival values. Simply put, economic development, albeit with some delay and imperfections, induces predictable and consistent shifts in cultural values, guiding societies from traditional, religious, and survival values (Gemeinschaft) toward secular, rational, and self-expression values (Gesellschaft) (Inglehart and Baker 2000; Welzel et al. 2003). The unprecedented prosperity observed in Western societies implies that a growing portion of the population takes survival for granted (Inglehart 1997). Consequently, these societies prioritize values such as subjective well-being, self-expression, and quality of life (Inglehart 1997; Inglehart and Baker 2000; Inglehart and Norris 2004).

Therefore, we propose:

Proposition 1. *Because of socio-economic development and the ensuing modernization, cultural values move from traditional to secular-rational.*

Proposition 2. *Because of socio-economic development and the ensuing modernization, cultural values move from survival to self-expression.*

Collectivism vs. Individualism
Embeddedness (Conservatism) vs. Autonomy

Contemporary cultures emphasize the autonomy of individuals and their liberation from traditional authority structures (Eisenstadt 2000). The fundamental concept of modernization asserts that the primary unit of society is not the group but the individual.

Individualism perceives each person as an indivisible entity with supreme value, signifying that every individual represents humanity and possesses independent, autonomous, and intrinsic worth (Macfarlane 1992). In this cultural context, individualism enables personal development into an autonomous and self-sufficient agent. Modern societies are visibly characterized by heightened economic prosperity, reducing existential constraints on human choices, freeing individuals from the pressures of material scarcity, and ultimately emancipating them from collective constraints. In contrast, less economically developed traditional societies often exhibit dominance of collectivist and conformity values that mirror restrictions on human autonomy (Welzel et al. 2003). In these societies, where economic development is limited, scarcity and other pressing economic or social conditions constrain individual choices.

Consequently, decisions, actions, and interests in traditional societies are often influenced by collective survival. The advantages of conformity and collectivist values become more pronounced when existential constraints on human choices are more severe. Indeed, collectivism and individualism align with the concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, respectively (Tönnies and Harris 2001).

Therefore, we propose:

Proposition 3. *Because of socioeconomic development and the ensuing modernization, cultural values move from collectivism to individualism.*

Proposition 4. *Because of socioeconomic development and the ensuing modernization, cultural values move from embeddedness to autonomy.*

High Power Distance vs. Low Power Distance
Hierarchy vs. Egalitarianism

In accordance with Inglehart (1997) and Inglehart and Baker (2000), traditional and agrarian societies prioritize the significance of clan, family, and tribal connections, along with deference to authority. These societies typically feature a centralized authority and vertical specialization, led by a few elites and numerous ordinary citizens. As societies progress through economic development, experiencing increased income and social complexity, they gain access to improved education, heightened political and economic participation, and ultimately witness a reduction in Hierarchy within both society and organizations. Notably, autocratic leadership tends to be more effective in traditional or developing societies and less effective in modern or developed societies.

Therefore, we propose:

Proposition 5. *Because of socio-economic development and the ensuing modernization, cultural values move from high power distance to low power distance.*

Proposition 6. *Because of socio-economic development and the ensuing modernization, cultural values move from hierarchy to egalitarianism.*

Past vs. Future Orientation

Tradition places a strong emphasis on the past, neglecting the importance of the future. Tradition revolves around preserving past patterns, teachings, ceremonies, and accomplishments. According to modernization theory, cultures rooted in tradition give prominence to elements such as religion, rituals, seniority, and absolute moral standards, all deeply rooted in historical contexts (Inglehart 1997; Inglehart and Baker 2000; Inglehart and Norris 2004; Inglehart and Welzel 2005). As proposed by Lévi-Strauss, tradition is fundamentally repetitive and intricately linked to the past (Lévi-Strauss and Charbonnier 1969; Phillips et al. 2004). Traditional cultures prioritize adherence to tradition over embracing transformation, progress, rationality, and associated forward-looking values.

In contrast, modernization entails abandoning past practices and values and embracing rationality, transformation, and progress (Inglehart 1997; Inglehart and Baker 2000). Modern sciences and technologies exhibit a strong orientation toward the future, emphasizing prediction and planning in their pursuits while referencing the past mainly in planning for the future. Studies by GLOBE indicate that advanced economies score high on future orientation, whereas developing economies exhibit lower levels of future orientation (Lee et al. 2017).

Therefore, we propose:

Proposition 7. *Because of socio-economic development and the ensuing modernization, cultural values move from past to future orientation.*

High vs. Low Gender Egalitarianism

The literature extensively documents the positive impact of socioeconomic development on gender equality (Dollar and Gatti 1999; Forsythe et al. 2000; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Seguino 2011). Modern societies, characterized by higher per capita income levels, naturally afford their citizens elevated living standards, encompassing universal health care, education, and social protection, thereby benefiting women in various ways. Additionally, economically prosperous societies are generally advanced in their industrial and post-industrial stages of economic development. In contrast, traditional societies often exhibit agrarian and labor-intensive economies with a notable gender division in economic production, placing women at a disadvantage. As societies undergo development, transitioning from agrarian to industrial and post-industrial economies, the gender divide in economic production diminishes, ultimately reducing gender disparities. Consequently, socioeconomic development facilitates a widespread distribution of educational and occupational resources, reducing gender disparities (Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Reynolds 1999; Rule 1994; Siaroff 2000).

Therefore, we propose:

Proposition 8. *Because of socio-economic development and the ensuing modernization, cultural values move from low to high gender egalitarianism.*

4. Highlighting the Relationship between Modernization and Cultural Value Dimensions

In line with Inglehart (1997), modernization can be explained through two discernible value dimensions: Traditional versus secular-rational and survival versus self-expression values (Inglehart 1997). Given that cultural modernization comprises these two dimensions, its measurement combines both. Modern cultures exhibit elevated scores in both secular-rational and self-expression dimensions, while traditional cultures display lower scores in both dimensions. Consequently, employing the Pythagorean theorem, we can compute the total cultural modernization score as follows:

Equation (1):

$$\text{Cultural Modernization} = \sqrt{(\text{Rationality\&Secularity})^2 + (\text{SelfExpression})^2} \quad (1)$$

To examine the association between cultural modernization and various cultural dimensions, we initially applied Equation (1) to compute cultural modernization scores. Subsequently, we computed (bivariate) Pearson correlations between cultural modernization and the eight different dimensions. Additionally, we assessed the correlation between the eight cultural dimensions and the indicator of socio-economic development, represented by the Human Development Index (HDI). As depicted in Table 1, the eight cultural dimensions exhibit significant correlations with both modernization and socio-economic development measures, providing empirical support for the earlier hypotheses.

Table 1. Correlation between modernization and socio-economic development with the eight pairs of cultural dimensions.

Traditional Societies (Gemeinschaft) Developing Economies			Modern Societies (Gesellschaft) Developed Economies		
Cultural Dimension	**HDI**	**Modernization**	**Cultural Dimension**	**HDI**	**Modernization**
Traditional/Religious	−0.597 **	−0.896 **	Rational/Secular	+0.597 **	+0.896 **
Survival	−0.569 **	−0.959 **	Self-Expression	+0.569 **	+0.959 **
Collectivism	−0.638 **	−0.503 **	Individualism	+0.638 **	+0.503 **
Embeddedness	−0.617 **	−0.818 **	Autonomy	+0.617 **	+0.818 **
High Power Distance	−0.552 **	−0.631 **	Low Power Distance	+0.552 **	+0.631 **
Hierarchy	−0.493 **	−0.523 **	Egalitarianism	+0.493 **	+0.523 **
Past orientation	−0.340 **	−0.290 *	Future orientation	+0.340 **	+0.290 *
Low Gender Egalitarianism	−0.476 **	−0.559 **	High Gender Egalitarianism	+0.476 **	+0.559 **

Notes: Data were obtained from multiple sources, including World Value Survey, Hofstede, Schwartz, GLOBE, the World Bank, the United Nations. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). HDI stands for Human Development Index and is calculated as the mean of 15 consecutive years (2001–2015).

5. Pattern-2: Cultural Change via Demographics: The Growth of Traditional (Gemeinschaft) Values

Culture does not exist in vacuum; it is present only within human populations and passed down from generation to generation. When a population group expands, the corresponding cultural values tend to increase. Conversely, if a population group contracts, the associated cultural values are likely to decrease. Consequently, any examination of cultural change should take into account trends in human populations, with particular attention to birth and migration rates. For simplicity, mortality is excluded from consideration as its impact on cultural values does not seem to be significant.

The Changes in Cultural Dimensions via Birth and Migration

Consistent with the above discussion, in the following sections we examine the changes in the eight cultural dimensions via birth and migration and formulate eight propositions.

Traditional vs. Secular-Rational
Survival vs. Self-Expression Values

While in developing countries, children serve their parents as breadwinners and increase the family's financial security, in modern and developed societies, children become liabilities. Furthermore, time is relatively cheap in traditional cultures, so spending time away from work to care for a child is not as expensive as in a wealthy country. In developed and modern cultures, raising children is very expensive. Furthermore, traditional cultural values emphasize parent/child ties, religiosity, and the gender gap, while they reject homosexuality, divorce, abortion, euthanasia, and suicide (Inglehart 1997; Inglehart and Baker 2000; Inglehart and Norris 2004; Inglehart and Welzel 2005). Raising kids and training girls as future mothers and wives is very important in traditional cultures. Therefore, traditional cultures are marked by large families and higher fertility rates. Traditional cultures are often in the early stages of economic development and cannot create enough jobs for their youth. Consequently, many young people in traditional cultures consider migrating to developed countries to escape poverty, unemployment, or underemployment.

The opposite is true for secular-rational cultures that do not emphasize traditional families, religiosity that approve of gender equality, homosexuality, divorce, abortion, euthanasia, and suicide (Inglehart 1997; Inglehart and Baker 2000; Inglehart and Welzel 2005). In secular-rational cultures, families are generally small, and girls marry later in life. In addition, secular-rational cultures are often economically developed and create

good economic growth and employment. For that reason, secular-rational cultures have relatively low fertility/birth rates and attract many migrants as foreign workers, students, and refugees.

Cultures characterized by survival values emphasize those values that serve the basic physiological needs, including food, birth, procreation, and distinct gender roles. Survival cultures are mainly underdeveloped and agrarian economies marked by a large number of populations employed in village agriculture. For that reason, survival cultures are often marked by high birth rates and produce many young migrants.

By contrast, self-expression cultures enjoy higher levels of subjective well-being and seek autonomy, self-expression, and quality of life (Inglehart 1997). Self-expression cultures do not seek security in raising kids, and they approve of divorce, homosexuality, and abortion, which could result in lower birth rates. Furthermore, self-expression cultures are generally well-developed and prosperous economies that attract many migrants, refugees, and foreigners.

Therefore, we propose:

Proposition 9. *Traditional/religious and secular/rational cultures, respectively, have higher and lower birth rates.*

Proposition 10. *Traditional/religious and secular/rational cultures, respectively, produce and attract migrants.*

Proposition 11. *Survival and self-expression cultures, respectively have higher and lower birth rates.*

Proposition 12. *Survival and self-expression cultures, respectively, produce and attract migrants.*

Collectivism vs. Individualism
Embeddedness (Conservatism) vs. Autonomy

Cultures marked by collectivism and embeddedness are traditional societies (Gemeinschaft) and marked by economic under-development, scarcity, and restriction on individual choice. In such cultures, decisions, actions, and interests are driven by collective survival in traditional societies. In cultures dominated by collectivism and embeddedness, people live in close relations, including family, tribe, and community. Therefore, such cultures often have higher birth rates, encourage large families, and are the origins of a large number of migrants and asylum seekers. By contrast, individualistic and autonomy cultures have the opposite characteristics; therefore, they have lower birth rates and attract a large number of migrants and asylum seekers.

Therefore, we propose:

Proposition 13. *Collectivism and individualism cultures, respectively, have higher and lower birth rates.*

Proposition 14. *Collectivism and individualist cultures, respectively, produce and attract migrants.*

Proposition 15. *Embeddedness (conservatism) and autonomy cultures, respectively, have higher and lower birth rates.*

Proposition 16. *Embeddedness (conservatism) and autonomy cultures respectively, produce and attract migrants.*

High Power Distance vs. Low Power Distance
Hierarchy vs. Egalitarianism

As previously discussed, high power distance and hierarchy are the features of traditional cultures and developing economies with very high birth rates and producing many outgoing migrants. By contrast, low power distance and egalitarianism belong to modern cultures and developed economies that have low birth rates and attract migrants and asylum seekers.

Therefore, we propose:

Proposition 17. *High- and low-power distance cultures, respectively, have higher and lower birth rates.*

Proposition 18. *High- and low-power distance cultures, respectively, produce and attract migrants.*

Proposition 19. *Hierarchy and egalitarianism cultures, respectively, have higher and lower birth rates.*

Proposition 20. *Hierarchy and egalitarianism cultures, respectively, produce and attract migrants.*

Past vs. Future-Orientation

Past orientation is essentially about a focus on tradition. Past orientation societies are generally developing economies emphasizing traditional cultural values, including religion, seniority, large and nuclear families, and distinct gender roles (Lee et al. 2017). Therefore, the past-oriented societies tend to have higher birth rates and higher population growth levels that will produce many migrants. By contrast, future orientation implies forward thinking, innovation, progress, and economic growth. Future-oriented cultures abandon traditional values in matters such as family and gender roles, have smaller families, lower birth rates, and higher median ages, and therefore tend to receive migrants.

Proposition 21. *Past- and future-oriented cultures, respectively, have higher and lower birth rates.*

Proposition 22. *Past- and future-oriented cultures, respectively, produce and attract migrants.*

High vs. Low Gender Egalitarianism

Low gender egalitarianism is often seen in traditional and collectivist cultures that have not reached economic development. Low levels of gender equality imply that women should not pursue educational, professional, and financial achievements and instead should spend their lives at home as mothers and wives. In such cultures, women marry early in their lives and give birth to many children who, as adults, cannot get easily employed. Therefore, low levels of gender egalitarianism cause higher birth rates and higher levels of migration. By contrast, a high level of gender egalitarianism is a sign of socio-economic development and is often seen in individualistic and modern cultures. High gender egalitarianism implies a lower gender gap, women's active participation in education and the economy, smaller families, and lower birth rates and migration levels.

Proposition 23. *Low- and high-gender egalitarianism cultures, respectively, have higher and lower birth rates.*

Proposition 24. *Low- and high-gender egalitarianism cultures, respectively, produce and attract migrants.*

6. Highlighting the Relationships between Cultural Dimensions, Birth Rates and Migration

One of the main characteristics of traditional cultures (Gemeinschaft) is their high fertility/birth rates compared to modern cultures (Gesellschaft). As societies undergo socio-economic development, they experience lower fertility/birth rates and higher median age. There is a robust negative relationship between fertility rates and gross domestic product (GDP) per capita worldwide. For example, in nations with a GDP per capita surpassing $10,000 annually, women typically have no more than two children. Countries

with lower economic development and Gemeinschaft cultural values, including religiosity, collectivism, embeddedness, Hierarchy, high power distance, and low gender equality, tend to have the highest birth rates and population growth. As shown in Figure 1, low economic development, traditional cultural values, and high fertility form a vicious cycle and mutually reinforce each other.

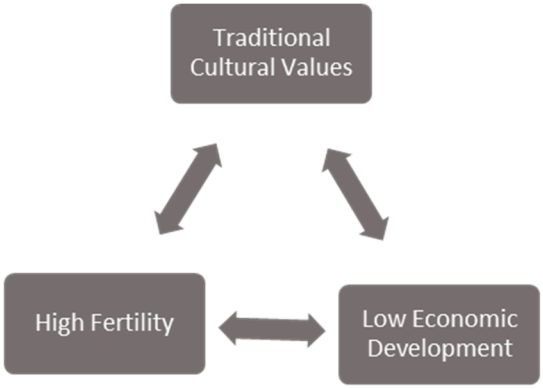


Figure 1. The Mutual and Circular Effects of Traditional Cultural Values, High Fertility Rates, and Low Economic Development.

Regarding cultural tradition, Africa exhibits the highest population growth rate at 2.5 percent, while Europe has the lowest rate at 0.04 percent (United Nations 2019). Over half of the global population growth in the next four decades is projected in Africa. Similarly, several Asian countries, particularly India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, characterized by Gemeinschaft cultural values, are witnessing high birth rates and population growth. By 2050, the African population alone is expected to increase by 1.3 billion, while Asia, primarily India, is expected to contribute another billion people (United Nations 2019).

Likewise, international migratory movements are correlated with demographic trends, cultural values, and economic development. Europe, Northern America, and Australia, which are developed economies and Gesellschaft cultures, are net receivers of international migrants as they have lower fertility rates and higher median age levels. On the contrary, Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean countries, which are under-developed economies and Gemeinschaft cultures, are net senders of migrants. Between 2000 and 2015, 2.8 million people per year migrated to Europe, Northern America, and Oceania (Parkes 2015). Europe and North America contain 15 percent of the global population but are home to more than half of the world's international migrants (United Nations 2019). The direction of migration is always from the less developed and traditional countries to the developed and modern countries. In the next four decades, the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, and Italy are expected to be the top receivers of international migrants (Parkes 2015). During the same period, Sub-Saharan Africa, India, Bangladesh, China, Pakistan, and Mexico are expected to be the top sources of international migrants (United Nations 2019). Furthermore, migration is a crucial contributor to population growth in high-income countries, as migrants often have higher birth rates than the host population (Hackett et al. 2015).

In order to test the above proposition, we tested the relationship between the eight pairs of cultural dimensions with fertility and out-migration rates. As shown in Table 2, fertility and out-migration rates are strongly associated with the eight pairs of cultural dimensions and, therefore, empirically confirm the previous propositions.

Table 2. Correlation between birth and migration rates with the eight pairs of cultural dimensions.

Traditional Societies (Gemeinschaft) Developing Economies			Modern Societies (Gesellschaft) Developed Economies		
Cultural Dimension	**Fertility**	**Out-Migration**	**Cultural Dimension**	**Fertility**	**Out-Migration**
Traditional/Religious	+0.604 **	+0.191	Rational/Secular	−0.604 **	−0.191
Survival	+0.102	+0.491 **	Self-Expression	−0.102	−0.491 **
Collectivism	+0.315 **	+0.485 **	Individualism	−0.315 **	−0.485 **
Embeddedness	+0.498 **	+0.381 **	Autonomy	−0.498 **	−0.381 **
High Power Distance	+0.229	+0.363 **	Low Power Distance	−0.229	−0.363 **
Hierarchy	+0.246	+0.321 *	Egalitarianism	−0.246	−0.321 *
Past orientation	+0.336 **	+0.273 *	Future orientation	−0.336 **	−0.273 *
Low Gender Egalitarianism	+0.281*	+0.173 *	High Gender Egalitarianism	−0.281 *	−0.173 *

Notes: Data were obtained from multiple sources, including World Value Survey, Hofstede, Schwartz, GLOBE, the World Bank, the United Nations. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). Fertility rates have been calculated woman/1000 for 2001–2015. Out-migration rates for 2010–2015 from the World Bank.

7. Pattern-3: Cultural Change via Globalization and Contact: The Blend of Traditional (Gemeinschaft) and Modern (Gesellschaft)

7.1. Globalization/Contact and the Spread of Modern (Gesellschaft) Values

Globalization establishes circumstances in which events, decisions, and activities occurring in one part of the world have substantial consequences in other regions (McGrew 1990). This issue indicates that individuals in the globalized world progressively recognize each other's existence and engage in reciprocal communication and interaction. Giddens (1990) proposes that globalization is an interactive and dialectical process that connects distant localities, shaping local occurrences through events taking place miles away and vice versa (Giddens 1990).

Globalization is driven by capitalism and technological innovation in advanced Western nations, thus disseminating modern cultural values such as individualism, the rule of law, gender equality, human emancipation, autonomy, hedonism, secularity, rationality, egalitarianism, and democracy (Carnoy et al. 1993). In an interconnected global landscape, goods, labor, capital, people, technology, and particularly ideas traverse borders more swiftly and effortlessly than ever before. Large multinational corporations leverage their considerable influence to overcome institutional and legal barriers that nation-states impose. On a global scale, consumers engage with the same television programs, enjoy pop music, partake in everyday global brand products and services, and adopt similar clothing styles (Prasad and Prasad 2006). Computerized networks facilitate the rapid and unrestricted flow of information across national boundaries, transcending the constraints of time, space, language, and tradition (Castells 1996). These transformations gradually steer all global populations toward embracing the modern cultural value systems prevalent in established Western capitalist economies.

7.2. Globalization/Contact and the Persistence of Traditional (Gemeinschaft) Values

In accordance with functionalist theory, culture serves as a means to fulfill a society's fundamental needs (Holmwood 2005). Consequently, cultural norms and values cannot be merely adopted from foreign nations. Generally, the cultural values imported may not meet the basic functions of the recipient societies and may clash with their historical norms. Therefore, particularly in developing countries and notably in Islamic societies, some individuals perceive cultural globalization as a disruptive force or an intrusion of global capitalism on local cultures, religions, traditions, and identities (Beck 2018; Berger 2002). Confronted with globalization, local communities may become more conscious of their unique values and take pride in their cultural identities (Tomlinson 2003). They may

regard shifts in consumption patterns, language usage, dress code, human image ideals, education, and sexual behavior as potential threats of globalization to their local cultures and identities (Beck 2018; Berger and Huntington 2003; Kaufman 2016; Pieterse 1996). A sudden and drastic change in local identities could result in significant psychological and social shocks. Therefore, local cultures often develop resistance against the disruptive forces of globalization, seeking to protect or even emphasize their own traditional values.

7.3. Globalization/Contact and the Blend of Traditional and Modern Values

The interaction between global and local cultures creates a constant battle between global and local forces, blending traditional and modern values (Burton 2009; Cvetkovich 2018; Pieterse 2006). The main idea of the cultural blend is that local/traditional cultures receive some elements of the global/modern cultures and gradually become part of them. However, some parts of the local/traditional cultures remain intact. Therefore, the new blended cultures integrate both global/modern and local/traditional values but are neither the former nor the latter (Ritzer and Atalay 2010; Robertson 2001). Since culture has different layers, the superficial elements of a culture are more likely to be changed, but the deeply rooted values and beliefs remain intact. In short, globalization, telecommunication, and contact could result in mixed cultures (Appadurai 1990).

Therefore, we propose:

Proposition 25. *Because of globalization and intercultural contacts, traditional (Gemeinschaft) and modern (Gesellschaft) cultures are blended.*

8. Discussion

In the previous sections, we analyzed cultural change at three socio-economic, demographic, and global levels. At the first level (see Figure 2), as societies undergo socio-economic development, they move from traditional (Gemeinschaft) to modern values (Gesellschaft). Specifically, due to socio-economic development, cultural values such as secularism, rationality, self-expression, individualism, autonomy, low power distance, and gender egalitarianism become widespread while the opposing cultural values decline.

At the second level, we suggested that traditional cultural values (Gemeinschaft) grow over time because they are held by populations marked by high fertility rates (see Figure 2). Similarly, we mentioned that traditional cultures, because of their high fertility rates and underperforming economies, produce large numbers of migrants who would be attracted by modern cultures to escape poverty, unemployment, or underemployment. In other words, traditional cultures (Gemeinschaft) produce many migrants who are attracted to modern cultures (Gesellschaft).

At the third level, we studied cultural change via globalization and contact (Figure 2). We suggested that globalization connects the world's peoples in such a way that they become increasingly aware of each other's presence as they engage in trade, travel, communication, and other activities. Globalization is fueled mainly by modern capitalism and technological innovation in the West; it tends to spread modern cultural values, including individualism, the rule of law, gender equality, secularism, rationality, and democracy. However, the diffusion of modern values does not lead to convergence or homogenization of cultural values because many globalized cultural values and norms are incompatible with the recipients' cultures. Moreover, traditional cultures passionately resist the disruptive forces of globalization and emphasize their lifestyles (See Figure 2). Therefore, the interplay between global and local cultures leads to a conflicting mix of traditional and modern values (Burton 2009; Cvetkovich 2018; Pieterse 2006).

Based on the above discussions, it is possible to suggest that the process of cultural change is paradoxical, conflictual, and dialectical. While due to socio-economic development, the general tendency is towards the predominance of modern values (Gesellschaft), the high birth rates and migration rates of traditional cultures (Gemeinschaft) make them practically more critical. All traditional cultures strengthen the family, encourage people to

have children, and ask women to stay home and raise their children. Additionally, traditional cultures do not accept abortion, divorce, or anything that interferes with childbearing (Norris and Inglehart 2011). Thus, traditional cultures display much higher fertility rates, growing populations, and higher levels of migration, which, in turn, hinder their economic development and reinforce their traditional values.

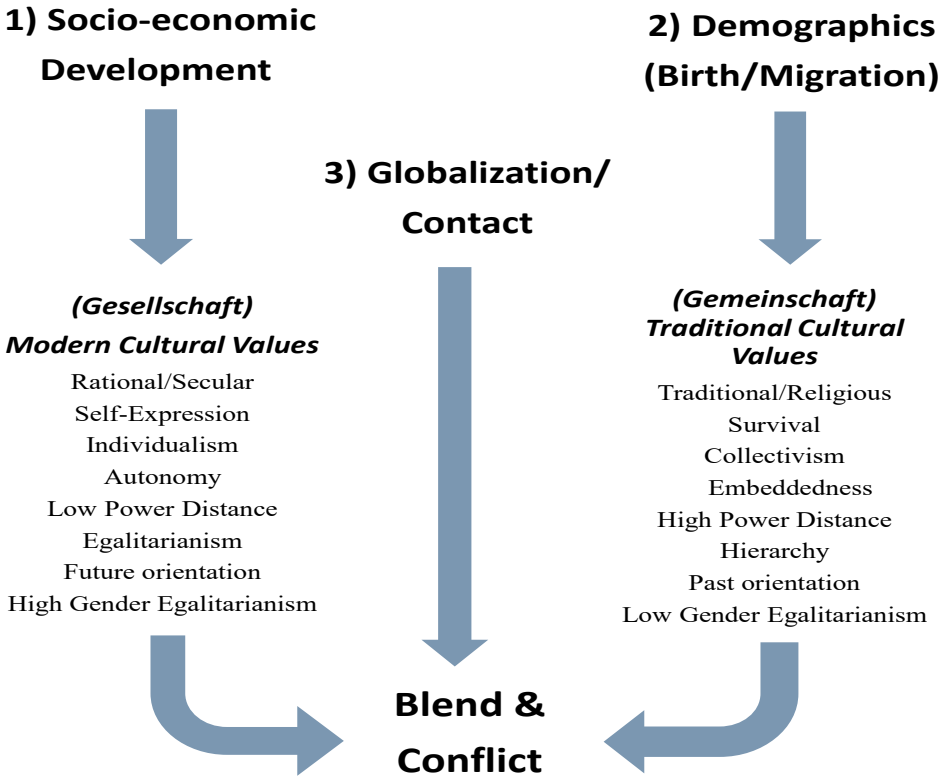


Figure 2. Conceptualizing the patterns of change in eight cultural values at the three levels: socio-economic development, demographics, and globalization/Contact.

Modern cultural values result from socio-economic development and are naturally compatible with materialism, competitiveness, and economic productivity. In contrast, traditional cultural values are compatible with low economic development, spirituality, religiosity, and faith. By the same logic, the power of modern cultures lies in their economic production and technological advancement, but the power of traditional cultures comes from their population growth. The former cultures are individualistic and invest in everyone; the latter are collectivist and invest in the community to the detriment of the individual. Modern cultures can afford to emphasize self-reliance, democracy, and freedom of expression, while traditional cultures focus on survival, authoritarianism, and stability that benefit collective interests.

Since modern values (Gesellschaft) are often associated with advanced economies, women in these cultures are freed from their conventional roles of mother and wife and instead receive education and training to contribute to economic production. In contrast, in traditional or underdeveloped economies, women must bear children and increase the population. In other words, modern cultures focus on "having" (economic growth), while traditional cultures focus on "being" (population growth). Consequently, the former become economically more prosperous and culturally more modern, while the latter become economically poorer and culturally more traditional. Paradoxically, while the two camps go in opposite directions, they complement each other economically. For example, modern and developed cultures often build large economies that attract cheap labor and natural resources from traditional societies.

Modern cultures benefit from advanced economies, better technologies, more financial and material resources, sophisticated multinational corporations, and stronger military forces. Therefore, modern cultures rely on a combination of economic and technological forces to promulgate their dominant cultural values, including individualism, egalitarianism, gender equality, freedom of expression, the rule of law, democracy, and human rights. Because traditional cultures are generally poorer and less advanced, they increasingly rely on large demographics, high birth, migration, and immaterial forces such as religion, zeal, sacredness, nationalism, tribalism, and sacrifice to stay strong. Simply put, the power of Gesellschaft cultures lies in creation (economic production), and that of Gemeinschaft cultures lies in procreation. The first is oriented toward doing and having more, and the second is toward being more.

Because of the overall socio-economic development worldwide and higher levels of urbanization, schooling, and commerce in recent years, almost all societies, to some extent, have embraced Gesellschaft (modern) values. Nevertheless, the process of cultural modernization in many countries encounters significant setbacks. In every society, people with traditional values constitute a growing proportion of the population and resist change (Norris and Inglehart 2011).

Western capitalism undermines traditional cultures by promulgating its own cultural values, including individualism, democracy, and gender equality. On the other hand, the latter react by promoting their own traditional and religious values. The rise of Islamic fundamentalism at the international level and the rise of far-right movements at the national level may be interpreted as the reactions of Gemeinschaft cultures against the Gesellschaft camp. The constant tension between traditional and modern cultures implies that cultural values do not converge and that cultural conflicts continue. Contrary to Fukuyama's (1989) famous thesis, there is no end to history as long as humans live.

The spread of Western culture or the Westernization of the world that began with colonization in the 16th century resulted from the economic and demographic expansions of European countries. As shown in Table 3, only 100 years ago, many European countries had weighty populations compared to non-Western countries. Since the 1960s, population growth has shifted to non-Western and developing economies, which experienced phenomenal population growth of 9 to 12 times. Traditional societies have high fertility rates that will secure rapid population growth for at least the next four decades (United Nations 2019). The high populations of traditional cultures in conjunction with migratory movements will contribute to the dominance of traditional cultural values in the countries of origin and the countries with modern values that are the major destinations of migratory movements.

Table 3. Comparing the population growth in selected countries.

	The Year 1900	Year 1950	The Year 2000	Year 2022	Growth Percent		The Year 1900	Year 1950	The Year 2000	Year 2022	Growth Percent
United Kingdom	45 * m	51 m	59 m	67 m	49%	Egypt	10 m	21 m	69 m	106 m	960%
France	39 m	42 m	61 m	68 m	74%	Saudi Arabia	2.5 m	3.2 m	20 m	36 m	1340%
Germany	57 m	51 m	82 m	84 m	47%	Nigeria	16 m	38 m	122 m	216 m	1250%
Italy	33 m	47 m	57 m	59 m	79%	Algeria	5 m	9 m	31 m	46 m	820%
Spain	19 m	28 m	41 m	48 m	152%	India	240 m	376 m	1057 m	1417 m	490%
Belgium	7 m	9 m	10 m	12 m	71%	China	400 m	554 m	1263 m	1414 m	254%
Netherlands	5 m	10 m	16 m	18 m	260%	Pakistan	23 m	38 m	142 m	230 m	900%

Notes: Data were obtained from the World Bank and the United Nations. * Numbers are the population in million.

As modern cultures are less religious and more rational, they tend towards humanism, liberalism, and utilitarianism and emphasize human achievement regardless of ethnicity,

religion, race, sexual orientation, and even nationality. On the contrary, ethnic group, tribe, zeal, religion, race, and national origin remain significant in traditional cultures. When modern and national cultures compete and face each other, modern cultures may suffer from an identity crisis and lose ground despite their material and technological superiority.

9. Modeling the Dynamic Relationship between Traditional and Modern Cultures

Based on what was previously discussed, traditional (Gemeinschaft) and modern (Gesellschaft) cultures constantly interact and compete and affect each other's growth. A helpful approach to modeling the dynamic relationship between the two types of culture may be the Volterra (1928) integro-differential equation that has been applied originally in scientific fields such as biology, medicine, ecology, and population growth (Bartlett 1957; Harper et al. 1961; Hassell and Comins 1976). In this paper, we rely on the dynamic of two-interacting-species first modeled by Lotka (1925) and Volterra (1928). Obviously, theoretical models involve some simplifications and imperfections, but still, they are beneficial in offering a clear understanding of complex and dynamic relationships between two groups (Bacaër 2011).

Suppose we have the two traditional (Gemeinschaft) and modern (Gesellschaft) cultures evolving and thus competing in the same environment. Let the size of the two cultures be respectively N_{tr} and N_{md}. Let ε_{tr} and ε_{md} be the population growth rate or increase coefficients for the two cultures, respectively. Furthermore, suppose that all the environmental resources sufficiently satisfy the individuals in both cultures.

Then we shall have:

Equations (2) and (3):

$$\frac{dN_{tr}}{dt} = \varepsilon_{tr} N_{tr} \tag{2}$$

$$\frac{dN_{md}}{dt} = \varepsilon_{md} N_{md} \tag{3}$$

Suppose that both traditional and modern cultures grow. Then: $\varepsilon_{tr} > 0$ and $\varepsilon_{md} > 0$.

Because the individuals of the traditional and modern cultures continually increase in number, they diminish the environmental resources of which each individual can dispose. We can suppose that the presence of the traditional culture or N_{tr} diminishes the environmental resources by an amount of $h_{tr}N_{tr}$. Likewise, the presence of the modern culture or N_{md} diminishes the environmental resources by amount $h_{md}N_{md}$.

Consequently, the environmental resources are diminished by the combination of the two. Therefore, the diminution amounts to $h_{tr}N_{tr} + h_{md}N_{md}$.

The two cultures have the unequal need of environmental resources. For instance, the members of the modern culture have a much higher need for environmental resources than the individuals in traditional cultures. Therefore, we should factor in the unequal needs for resources in the calculation of the coefficients of increase for each culture. Assuming that γ_{tr} and γ_{md} are the needs for environmental resources for traditional and modern cultures, we can calculate the coefficients of increase for each culture as follows:

Equations (4) and (5):

$$\varepsilon_{tr} - \gamma_{tr}(h_{tr}N_{tr} + h_{md}N_{md}) \tag{4}$$

$$\varepsilon_{md} - \gamma_{md}(h_{tr}N_{tr} + h_{md}N_{md}) \tag{5}$$

We shall then have the following differential equations that can be used to model the dynamic relationships between traditional and modern cultures:

Equations (6) and (7):

$$\frac{dN_{tr}}{dt} = (\varepsilon_{tr} - \gamma_{tr}(h_{tr}N_{tr} + h_{md}N_{md}))N_{tr} \tag{6}$$

$$\frac{dN_{md}}{dt} = (\varepsilon_{md} - \gamma_{md}(h_{tr}N_{tr} + h_{md}N_{md}))N_{md} \tag{7}$$

In Equations (6) and (7), we must assume that $\varepsilon_{tr}, h_{tr}, \gamma_{tr}, \varepsilon_{md}, h_{md}, \gamma_{md}$ to be positive constants.

Based on the previous discussions, ε_{tr}, or the coefficient of increase for traditional culture, is much bigger than ε_{md}, or the coefficient of increase for modern culture. Furthermore, γ_{tr} is often much smaller than γ_{md} because the members of traditional cultures have much lower needs for environmental resources than their counterparts in modern cultures. Therefore, by referring to Equations (6) and (7), we can conclude that traditional cultures would overtake modern cultures in the absence of significant changes in the common environment. In other words, despite the general transformation of cultural values from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft, in practice, the Gemeinschaft cultures are expected to overshadow the Gesellschaft cultures.

10. Conclusions

This paper was an attempt to conceptualize the patterns of cultural change at different levels. To this end, we defined culture as shared meanings, rituals, norms, and traditions and relied on eight cultural dimensions from Inglehart (1997), Hofstede (2001), Schwartz (1992, 1994), and GLOBE (House et al. 2004). By referring to the seminal work of German sociologist Tönnies (1957), we categorized cultural dimensions as traditional (Gemeinschaft) and modern (Gesellschaft) values. Subsequently, we analyzed the cultural change at three levels: socio-economic, demographic (birth/migration), and global/contact. We examined the patterns of change in the eight cultural dimensions for each level.

Our analyses revealed that the trajectory of cultural change is complex and dialectical. While socio-economic development pushes cultural values from traditional (Gemeinschaft) to modern (Gesellschaft) values, the demographic pressures and migratory movement have the opposite effects and strengthen traditional cultural values. By discussing the main features of the two types of cultural values, we suggested that globalization and the increasing levels of contact between traditional and modern cultures would lead to a constant tension between traditional and modern values. We proposed a mathematical model and indicated that traditional values are likely to surpass modern values in the competition between the two types of cultures.

While the proposed models and analyses offer valuable insights into the complex dynamism of cultural values, we should recognize certain limitations. Despite its theoretical clarity, dividing cultural values into traditional (Gemeinschaft) and modern (Gesellschaft) is a simplification that overlooks some cultural differences worldwide and neglects the distinction between modern and post-modern cultures. Furthermore, the eight cultural dimensions used in this study have different features and may change independently of each other. Finally, the proposed levels and the mathematic models imply assumptions that could impact their accuracy.

Despite the limitations, the paper offers a novel approach to understanding the dynamism of cultural values. In a world marked by increasing levels of cross-cultural contact, multiculturalism, globalization, and clash, the paper offers a multidisciplinary and inspiring understanding of the culture change process. Future studies may rely on the findings to analyze cultural values at the civilizational, national, and organizational levels. Furthermore, the proposed theoretical models may be incorporated into the empirical studies.

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