

UDC 314.316.308

APPLICABILITY OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL VALUES RESEARCH
BASED ON INGLEHART'S THEORY OF EVOLUTIONARY MODERNIZATION

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Popularity and wide applicability of R. Inglehart's evolutionary modernization theory and three pillars of social changes by Inglehart: techno-economic modernization which is manifested in becoming "knowledge society"; growth of self-expression values coming out of declining of violence; democratization as a process in a new type of society which satisfies people's growing need to be emancipated from authorities, to have more options.

Introduction. In the 21st century we can see a lot of processes changing our society, its structure, values of societies in general and of individuals in particular, their lifestyles, and at the same time the demography and political systems. All these processes are reshaping the world we know making it less understandable. It makes our societies concerned about new or old-new elements, which are brought by social and cultural changes; however, societies are obviously different, and their reactions can vary depending on their values basis. The advantage of the humanity is its one-of-a-kind nature and its ability to adapt. Every process that changes our life can inevitably be reflected in social values. However, consistent studying of every change in every specific society can't offer us a fuller picture of their social changes. That is why theories involving certain aspects of social and cultural life, enough to analyze and to understand humanity in general, societies or individuals' values, are becoming very important and are currently in high demand. We believe Inglehart's theory can offer a perfect insight into the global processes in the context of certain national characteristics.

Inglehart successfully combines Marx' and Weber's classical approaches to modernization. From Marx he inherits his theory of social-economic development as a basis of the following socio-cultural changes influencing people's behaviors. From Weber he adopts nonlinear nature of any social changes and his theory of social action based on particular beliefs and desires of individuals, societies' cultural and historical heritage in general. From this approach he freely notices that industrialization (as an economic modernization) leads to rationalization, secularization and bureaucratization, which already are socio-cultural phenomena with their own causes and consequences [1, p. 1, 24 – 31]. In a similar way he describes post-industrial, information society, or "knowledge society" [1, p. 31 – 32, 44 – 45; 2], as the one where the personal autonomy, self-expression and freedom of choice are increasing its value. The first one leads to social atomization and people's need for searching new possibilities of joint action and new mechanisms of public participation [1, p. 115 – 126]. The increasing self-expression values turn social-economic modernization into a human development process – the second pillar of Inglehart's theory of evolutionary modernization [1, p. 2 – 3, 210 – 212]. People's need for freedom of choice, which provides the basis of the two other processes, makes democracy a more favorable option.

Constructing this kind of chain of interconnected processes, Inglehart successfully creates an image of modern socio-cultural evolutionary modernization, provided by economic and technological modernization, increasing of self-expression values and democratization [3]. This brings us a comprehensive view on social changes in dynamic.

Inglehart's scientific works due to their approach grandeur, methodology and big data base have brought him to the top-place in The Political Science 400 rate [4]. He, thus became, the most cited political scientist in the USA. He is also a founder of World Values Survey, one of the founders of "Eurobarometer" and the author of more than 230 scientific works [5].

Universal applicability of Inglehart's theory of evolutionary modernization gives researchers an opportunity to use it as a theoretical foundation of their research and to incorporate various aspects of the societies' developments, such as: social, economic, political and cultural in their analysis. Welzel–Inglehart's Cultural Maps, composed of WVS waves and European Values Survey waves data [6], becomes the illustration of such applicability. The new wave of World Values Survey is coming [7] to bring us recent data that could help us understand and track social values changes in European (or even Western) societies, induced by the increase of nationalistic tendencies (the same process has been tracked in Russia too [8]).

The main part. Inglehart's grand theory is based on multiple processes and a vast body of data. For us as researchers it is particularly interesting (specially) for its relation to different tendencies, other theories and researches. Relying on Weber's interpretative sociology (Verstehen) [9], the theory of evolutionary modernization becomes the theory that makes it possible to understand individuals of a certain society living in a certain country. There are no doubts that we should use such a comprehensive theory that providently takes into account all possible errors of generalizations, which are inevitable when the whole cultural group, country or society

Linguistics, literature, philology

become the object of the research. There will be situational discrepancies. And Inglehart calls us to take that into account [1, p. 65 – 76]: in spite of globalization, countries throughout the world preserve their traditional and national values based on their historical experience. Moreover, the same objective processes influence on different societies inconsistently, which in its turn creates a disproportion in social and values changes.

Expanding semantical connections between basics of Inglehart's theory and other political, social and other kinds of research we get potent tools to realize, understand and explain social, political and cultural changes in any society and even psychological changes in some individual conscious.

From this point of view, for example, democracy by Inglehart becomes not only a sum of political mechanisms, fictive institutions and some kind of agreement between elites, which are prone to concentrate power and resources and to stand apart from masses [10], but the same way a result of civic actions like demanding of being a part of a decision-making process or creating effective system of feedbacks to communicate with authorities. It means the necessity of a "responsive governance" [1, p. 299 – 300], that Inglehart tracks using the "elite integrity" index [1, p. 191 – 196]. The higher the need of self-expression, the stronger the request for participation in the decision-making process. A bright example of worldwide self-expression values increase is the emergence of hybrid political regimes [11], which are authoritarian by nature but are prone to and are forced to imitate more and more democratic institutions. In authoritarian conditions, the democratic institutes become "the dormant institutions", and the consequences of their awakening are unpredictable. But Inglehart's theory makes us believe that the democratic institutions will be in demand and inevitable while self-expression and secular values are increasing. In the same time S. Pinker's studies suggest that unpredictable causes will be less connected with violence and direct human deaths than it used to be in the past centuries [12].

While governing structures are bureaucratizing, the citizens are inventing new forms of political involvement and social participation, for example, the Internet. Inglehart notices citizens embrace the idea of signing up petitions more and more [1, p. 115 – 126]. In Russia, for example, signing petitions on www.change.org is amazingly influencing legislation procedures in the State Duma. Another example of increasing political participation that is a part of elite-challenging civic actions is cooperating in some social networking services like it was during the 2012 Russian protests on Bolotnaya Square or during many anti-corruption meetings of A. A. Navalny.

The self-expression values increase is connected with a global drop of violence which is tracked and explained by S. Pinker [12, 14] and is also connected with democratization or hybridization which can be observed in Center for Systemic Peace Researches [13].

It is enjoyable to look at the Inglehart's theory using Welzel-Inglehart's visual cultural maps [6], where all societies participating in WVS are disposed in one graph (who does not like diagrams?) consisting of two axes: abscissa where survival values vs. self-expression values are depicted and ordinate where traditional values vs. secular-rational values are delineated. Moreover, societies are grouped by main religion that fits well in Inglehart's idea of cultural-historic values prerequisites. *Look Fig.*

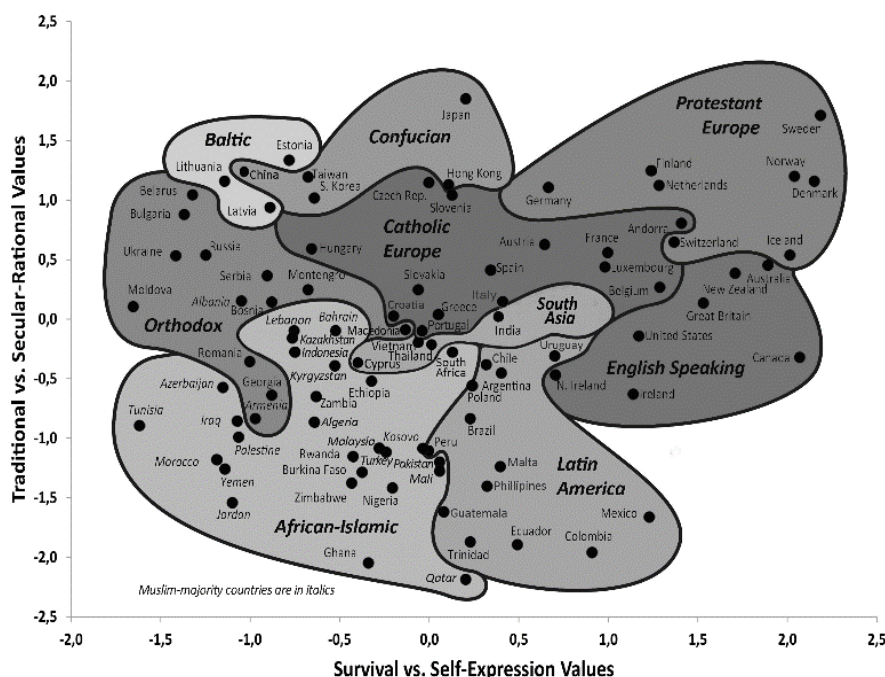


Figure. – Welzel- Inglehart's cultural map based on WVS6 (2010 – 2014)

Societies with high level of self-expression values are more developed statistically, they are xenophilic and secular, people there are more prone to trust while entering a social communication and interaction [15]. The process of gradual secularization in a new historic era is being confirmed by S. Pinker too. He believes that it leads to decreasing of violence and rates of battle deaths in armed conflicts [12, 14]. The societies with higher level of survival values, however, are more xenophobic, with rigid thinking and trying to find some ground in traditions and religion, people in these societies are tend to be distrustful mostly to the foreigners or those social groups which do not share the same values. We should notice that if people are not provided with enough resources to live and not be afraid of, for example, death of hunger or being repressed by any means of oppression, they will be actively engaged in searching of means of subsistence to search democracy, freedom or self-development [1, p. 157 – 160].

There is one more aspect we would like to describe in this work. The generational aspect. In Inglehart's work, there are many profound comments in regard to inheritance of values from previous generation as well as from historic experience. Generations are different in values, and sorting a society by age or generation we can receive a fuller picture of values allocation. For example, a ruling class, the elites are more likely to share survival values than younger generations that are not cooptated the same time in the governance system [1, 10, 15]. That creates perspectives of demographical researches studying connections between demography, political science and other social sciences.

Conclusion. Uniqueness of Inglehart's theory of evolutionary social and cultural modernization is determined by its applicability that can sound paradoxically but, in reality, is only a result of a big generalization. Inglehart parallel with other social and political researchers studying objective processes – tendencies that influence the whole world but in different ways, tendencies that can not be stopped, but can be slowed down in some cases. It is also unique that the theory based on global tendencies is stable towards regional and national disproportion but Inglehart's theory just suggests to study other aspects to include them in itself and this way to fill some gaps. All these sides of evolutionary modernization theory bring us closer to cultural understanding, to effective social communications, to the educational process, to constructing of democratic institutions and so on.

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Linguistics, literature, philology

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