RONALD INGLEHART

MODERNIZATION and
POSTMODERNIZATION

CULTURAL, ECONOMIC,
AND POLITICAL CHANGE
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CHAPTER 1

Value Systems: The Subjective Aspect of Politics and Economics

MODERNIZATION AND POSTMODERNIZATION

Economic, cultural, and political change go together in coherent patterns that are changing the world in predictable ways.

This has been the central claim of Modernization theory, from Karl Marx to Max Weber to Daniel Bell. The claim has given rise to heated debate during the last two centuries. This book presents evidence that this claim is largely correct; though we cannot predict exactly what will happen in a given society at a given time, some major trends are predictable in broad outline. When given processes of change are "set in motion, certain characteristics are likely to emerge in the long run.

The idea that social and economic change go together on coherent trajectories has been attractive but controversial ever since it was proposed by Marx. It is intellectually exciting because it not only helps explain economic, social, and political change, but may even provide a certain degree of predictability. So far, most efforts at prediction in human affairs have been exercises in habits; it is common knowledge that many of Marx's predictions were wrong.

Human behavior is so complex and influenced by so many factors, operating on so many levels, that any claim to provide precise, unqualified predictions is likely to go unfulfilled.

We do not make such promises: one cannot foretell the precise course of social change. Nevertheless, certain synergies of economic, political, and cultural changes go together in coherent trajectories, with some trajectories being more probable than others. In the long term, across many societies, once given processes are set in motion, certain important changes are likely to happen. Industrialization, for example, tends to bring increasing urbanization, growing occupational specialization, and higher levels of formal education in any society that undertakes it (Lerner, 1958; Deutsch, 1964). These are core elements of a trajectory that is generally called "Modernization."

This trajectory also tends to bring less obvious but equally important long-term consequences, such as rising levels of mass political participation. Thus, although we cannot predict the actions of specific leaders in given countries, we can say that (at this point in history) mass input to politics is likelier to play a decisive role in Sweden or Japan than in Albania or Burma. And we can even specify, with far better than random success, what issues are likely to be most salient in the politics of the respective types of societies.
The Modernization trajectory is linked with a wide range of other cultural changes. As we will see, certain cultural values are conducive to the economic accumulation and investment that make industrialization possible, and the sharply contrasting gender roles that characterize all preindustrial societies almost inevitably give way to increasingly similar gender roles in advanced industrial societies.

But social change is not linear. Although a specific Modernization syndrome of changes becomes probable when societies move from an agrarian mode to an industrial mode, no trend goes on in the same direction forever. It eventually reaches a point of diminishing returns. Modernization is no exception. In the postwar decades, advanced industrial societies have reached an inflection point and began moving on a new trajectory that might be called "Postmodernization."

With Postmodernization, a new worldview is gradually replacing the outlook that has dominated industrialized societies since the Industrial Revolution. It reflects a shift in what people want out of life. It is transforming basic norms governing politics, science, social life, and family, and leisure behavior. Thus, the process of economic development leads to two successive trajectories, Modernization and Postmodernization. Both of them are strongly linked with economic development, but Postmodernization represents a later stage of development that is linked with very different beliefs from those that characterize Modernization. These new belief systems are not mere consequences of economic or social changes, but shape socioeconomic conditions and are shaped by them, in reciprocal fashion.

Modernization Theory: The Linkage between Culture, Economics, and Politics

The study of Modernization played a major role in social science in the late 1950s and early 1960s. It was derived, in large part, from the philosophical evidence and proposed a modified view of how Modernization works.

The central claim of Modernization theory is that industrialization is linked with specific processes of sociopolitical change that apply widely; though the evidence is mixed, meaningful data on a model of "modern" or "industrial" society toward which all societies tend to move if they commit themselves to industrialization. Economic development is linked with a syndrome of changes that includes not only industrialization, but also urbanization, mass education, occupational specialization, bureaucratization, and communication development, which in turn are linked with still broader cultural, social, and political changes.

On the question of Modernization theory assumed great interest was its promise of predictive power: it implied that once a society entered the trajectory of industrialization, certain types of cultural and political change were likely to take place, ranging from lower birth rates to greater participation by government, higher life expectancies, increased mass political participation, and perhaps even democracy. Some critics criticized Modernization theory for implying that economic development would easily and automatically produce liberal democracies, and they dismissed this outlook as naive utopianism. In fact, most Modernization theorists made more qualified pronouncements than this. But if we drop the gratuitous assumption that Modernization is easy and automatic, even this claim does not seem totally implausible.

Modernization theory has been developing for over a century. A wide variety of social theorists have argued that technological and economic changes are linked with coherent and predictable patterns of cultural and political change. But there has been continuing debate over the causal linkages: does economic change cause cultural and political change, or does it work in the opposite direction?

Marx emphasized economic determinism, arguing that a society's technological level shapes its economic system, which in turn determines its cultural and political characteristics: given the technological level, work, religion, family, and leisure behavior. Thus, the process of economic development leads to two successive trajectories, Modernization and Postmodernization. Both of them are strongly linked with economic development, but Postmodernization represents a later stage of development that is linked with very different beliefs from those that characterize Modernization. These belief systems are not mere consequences of economic or social changes, but shape socioeconomic conditions and are shaped by them, in reciprocal fashion.
thinking matters. When building a drainage system or constructing a steel mill, there are "ways that work and ways that don't work, regardless of one's ideological perspective. While conceding an important role to cultural factors, recent Modernization theories such as Bell (1973) viewed changes in this structure of the workforce as the leading cause of cultural change. For Bell, the crucial milestone in the coming of "postindustrial society" is reached when a majority of the workforce is in the tertiary sector of the economy, producing neither raw materials, nor manufactured goods, but services. This leads to a massive expansion of formal education, driven by the need for increasingly skilled and specialized workforce. Other writers such as Lenser (1958) and Inkeles and Smith (1974) emphasized the importance of formal education as the main factor shaping a "modern" world-view.

Does Modernization lead to democracy? In the late 1950s, Khrushchev's reforms gave rise to hopes that the communist bloc might be on the brink of decommunization. The reorganization of state socialist societies, the emergence of newly independent postcolonial nations in the 1960s intensified these hopes. But optimism collapsed after the communist elite drove Khrushchev from power in 1964, the Soviet world settled into a seemingly permanent authoritarian regime under Brezhnev, and authoritarian regimes took over in most postcolonial nations. Rostow (1961) had argued that economic development was inherently conducive to decommunization; but by the 1970s most social scientists were skeptical of the idea. Authoritarian regimes seemed to be a permanent feature of the world—even (or perhaps especially) in those communist states that had achieved impressive economic growth. Industrialization could give rise to either democracy or dictatorship.

We propose a revised view of Modernization theory. We agree with the Modernization theorists on their most central point: that economic development, cultural change, and political change are linked in coherent and obvious, if some extant, predictable manner. Some trajectories of change are more probable than others because of certain configurations of values and beliefs, and political and economic institutions, are mutually supportive—while others are not. Thus, if one knows one component of a society, one can predict what other components will be associated with far better than random success.

But while we follow Marx, Weber, and their successors in believing that change tends to take predictable rather than random trajectories, we differ from most Modernization theorists on four essential points:

1. Change is not linear. It does not move in one continuous direction until the end of history. Instead, it eventually reaches points of diminishing returns and then begins to move in a fundamentally new direction during the past few decades.

2. Previous versions of Modernization theory were deterministic, with the Marxist version leading toward economic determinism and the Weberian version sometimes leading toward cultural determinism. We believe that the relationships between economy and culture and politics are mutually supportive.
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modern" has been used with scores of different meanings, some of which are associated with a cultural relativism so extreme that it approaches cultural determination: it asserts that culture shapes human experience almost entirely, unlimited by any external reality. Nevertheless, the term conveys an important insight, suggesting that the process known as modernization is no longer at the cutting edge, and that social change is now moving in a fundamentally different direction. Moreover, the literature on Postmodernism suggests some of the specific attributes of this new direction: it is a move away from the emphasis on economic efficiency, bureaucratic authority, and scientific rationality that characterized Modernization, toward a more human society with more room for individual autonomy, diversity, and self-expression.

Unfortunately, the word "Postmodern" has become loaded with so many meanings that it is in danger of conveying everything and nothing. In architecture, the term has a clear meaning, designating a style of architecture that departs strikingly from the bare functionalism of "modern" architecture, which had become sterile and aesthetically repelling. The first glass box was a stunning tour de force, but the one hundredth box, the novelty had worn thin; Postmodern architecture reintroduced a human scale, with touches of adornment and references to the past, but incorporating new technology. In a similar vein, we suggest that Postmodern society is moving away from the standardized functionalism and the enthusiasm for science and economic growth that dominated industrial society during an era of scarcity—giving more weight to aesthetic and human considerations and incorporating elements of the past into a new context.

Neither Cultural Determinism Nor Economic Determinism

We disagree with the cultural determinism that is sometimes linked with the concept of Postmodernism. Postmodern writers are certainly correct in thinking that everyone perceives reality through some kind of cultural filter. Moreover, these cultural factors are steadily becoming a more important component of experience as we move from societies of scarcity, in which economic necessity limits one's behavior rather narrowly, to a world in which human will increasingly prevails over the external environment, allowing broader room for individual choice: this is a major reason why the Postmodern perspective has become increasingly popular. But we reject the notion that cultural construction is the only factor shaping human experience. There is an objective reality out there too, and it applies to all humanity, everywhere, in all times. Similarly, though architecture has considerable scope for choice and imagination, if one forgoes objective engineering principles, the building may collapse. Partly for this reason, architecture has preserved a healthy respect for reality. Similarly again, among physicists and astronomers, cultural biases play a minimal role. Despite some non-scientists' garbled references to the Heisenberg uncertainty principle, there is a worldwide consensus among natural scientists that they are studying a reality that exists independently of their preconceptions; a theory eventually triumphs or is rejected depending on how well it models and predicts that reality—even if it violates people's long-standing beliefs.

The fact that some Postmodern writers' grasp of the physical sciences is a bit shaky was demonstrated rather strikingly in 1996, when Alan Sokal, a physicist irked with Postmodern claims that objective reality had dissolved in the physical sciences, submitted an article to Social Text, one of this school's leading reviews. His article, entitled "Transgressing the Boundaries: Toward a Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity," began: "There are many natural scientists, and especially physicists, who... cling to the dogma... that there exists an external world, whose properties are independent of any individual human being... It has thus become increasingly apparent that physical 'reality', no less than social 'reality', is at bottom a social and linguistic construct; that scientific 'knowledge', far from being objective, reflects and encodes the dominant ideologies and power relations of the culture that produced it." (Sokal, 1996: 217-18).

Though the text that followed was full of nonsense, this viewpoint was all too congenial to many Poststructuralists. Sokal went on to solemnly proclaim a long series of palpable absurdities about physical reality, including claims that the force of gravity and pi were socially constructed. According to the New York Times account, this article was reviewed by a half dozen members of the review's editorial board, none of whom seemed to realize that the piece was a broad self-parody; they caught on shortly after the article was published, when the author himself revealed that it was a hoax.

This is not the first time that an august body has taken pi to be a social construct. In the nineteenth century, the Indiana state legislature passed a resolution officially declaring that pi would henceforth be a round 4.0, instead of the

1 The Heisenberg principle is often misused as indicating that the laws of physics do not really govern the universe, which is fundamentally disorderly and unpredictable. At the level of smallness, the universe is probabilistic, not deterministic. Thus, the behavior of individual photons is unpredictable. But large numbers of photons behave in ways that are indistinguishable from being deterministic; and since human beings normally only deal with enormous numbers of photons, the behavior of light can be predicted very accurately by deterministic physical laws.

Other laws of physics are also somewhat overlapping of reality, for example, though the laws of gases say otherwise, it is conceivable that all of the air molecules in the earth's atmosphere could suddenly rush to the far end of the room and remain there until you put a hand behind them. The reader need not worry. This is technically possible, but the probability is so overwhelmingly low that it would not be expected to occur even once during the entire lifetime of the universe (or even in many lifetimes of the universe). At the macroscopic level, the universe is probabilistic; at a very significant level. But it is extremely misleading to leap from this fact to the conclusion that Newton and Avogadro had it all wrong, and that the universe is disorderly and your brain could spontaneously explode at any moment. Technically, it could. But it's unlikely to happen until long after the sun and the stars have all disappeared from the sky.
incoherence 3.4146; but this may be the first time that the proposition has been accepted by a panel of Ph.D.'s.

Despite this bit of entrenchment, Postmodern thinkers are making a valid and profoundly important point in emphasizing that everyone’s perception of reality is shaped by his or her subjective values and preconceptions. Moreover, these factors help shape even natural scientists’ perceptions of reality—though not quite to the extent that some Postmodernists seem to think it does.

As Kuhn (1962) pointed out, objective tests alone do not immediately cause an entire scientific paradigm to be rejected; as inconsistent observations accumulate, the dominant paradigm may increasingly be called into question and new explanations proposed, but the new paradigm generally comes to be accepted through intergenerational replacement of scientists, more than through conversion of the older scientists. This reflects the fact that the cognitive structures of the older generation are organized around the old paradigm; it is far easier for the new generation to integrate their thinking according to the new paradigm than it is for the older generation, which would have to dismantle elaborate cognitive structures of inconsistent previous learning. At any given time, natural science reflects a cross-cultural consensus depending, ultimately, on how well given interpretations model and predict an external reality. The fine arts are at the opposite extreme. Aesthetic preferences largely are a matter of cultural predispositions.

Social phenomena fall between these extremes. Human behavior is heavily influenced by the culture in which one has been socialized. But objective factors set limits too, a recent example being the collapse and abandonment of state-run economies from Czechoslovakia to China: in running an economy, there are ways that work and ways that do not work.

Nevertheless, the term “Postmodern” is potentially useful. It implies that social change has moved beyond the instrumental rationality that was central to Modernization and is now taking a fundamentally different direction. This book does not discuss in any detail the various writers who have been labeled Postmodern. It is not about them. It deals with a set of empirical changes that are taking place among mass publics and will examine some specific ways in which the direction of social change has shifted. They include the fact that, while Modernization was not necessarily linked with democratization, Postmodernization tries to be inherently conducive to the emergence of democratic political institutions.

Functional Analysis and Predictable Syndromes of Change

Economic, cultural, and political change go together in coherent patterns. The two most influential proponents of Modernization theory, Marx and Weber, agreed on this point. They disagreed profoundly on why economic, cultural, and political changes go together. For Marx and his disciples, they are linked because economic and technological change determines political and cultural changes. For Weber and his disciples, they are linked because culture shapes economic and political life.

Both Marx and Weber had major insights. We believe that economics shapes culture and politics—and vice versa. The causal linkages tend to be reciprocal: Political, economic, and cultural changes go together because societies without mutually supportive political, economic, and cultural systems are unlikely to survive for long: In the long run, the respective components either adapt to each other or the system founders. And systems do indeed founder: most of the societies that have ever existed are now extinct.

A culture is a system of attitudes, values, and knowledge that is widely shared within a society and transmitted from generation to generation. While human nature is biologically innate and universal, culture is learned and varies from one society to another. More central and early learned aspects of culture are resistant to change, both because it requires a massive effort to change central elements of an adult’s cognitive organization, and because abandoning one’s most central beliefs produces uncertainty and anxiety. In the face of ensuring shifts in socioeconomic conditions, even central parts of culture may be transformed, but they are more likely to change through intergenerational population replacement than by the conversion of already socialized adults.

By culture, we refer to the subjective aspect of a society’s institutions: the beliefs, values, knowledge, and skills that have been internalized by the people of a given society, complementing their external systems of coercion and exchange. This is a narrower definition of culture than is generally used in anthropology, because our purpose here is empirical analysis. We will examine the degree to which internal cultural orientations and external social institutions are linked empirically, rather than simply assume that they are. Building everything into one’s definition of culture would make the concept useless for this type of analysis.

Any stable economic or political system has a compatible and supportive cultural system that legitimates that system. The people of that society have internalized a set of rules and norms. If they had not, the rulers could only get their subjects to comply with their rules by external coercion, which is costly and insecure. Moreover, to be effective in legitimating the system, it must limit to elite as well as mass behavior—shape the political and economic systems, as well as being shaped by them. The process is not teleological, but it operates as if it were: societies with legitimate authority systems are more likely to survive than those without them.

As Axelrod (1984), we find the evolutionary perspective a useful way to analyze how cultures and institutions develop: certain characteristics survive because they have functional advantages in a given environment. Brecher (1982) argues that functionalist interpretations of institutions are fundamentally flawed because they anthropomorphize institutions, postulating a role without a purposive actor—a view that has become widely accepted. While criticism actually only applies to a crude and naive type of function-
past decade, and virtually all of them give prominent roles to legislatures. This reflects a widespread awareness that in the contemporary world those political systems that have legislatures are more likely to enjoy legitimacy and to survive and flourish than are those without them.

Is the Modernization Concept Ethnocentric?

A standard criticism of Modernization theories is that they are either ethnocentric or futilological or both. Some of the early Modernization literature did simplistically equate Modernization with becoming (1) morally superior and (2) like the West. The flaws in this perspective are profoundly evident to people who would attribute moral superiority to Western society today, and it is evident that there is an edge of Modernization in many respects.

But there is nothing ethnocentric in the concept that social change tends to take cohesive, predictably predictable trajectories. In a given economic and technological environment, certain trajectories are more probable than others: it is clear that in the course of history, numerous patterns of social organization have been tried and discarded, while other patterns eventually became dominant. At the dawn of recorded history, a wide variety of hunting and gathering societies existed, but the invention of agriculture led to their almost total disappearance. They were displaced because agriculture had functional advantages over hunting and gathering. An account of the displacement of hunting-gathering societies by farming societies in precolonial Africa attributes this shift to an interaction between economic, biological, and cultural factors:

Farming and herding yield far more calories per acre than does hunting wild animals or gathering wild plants. As a result, population densities of farmers and herders are typically at least 10 times those of hunter-gatherers. That's not to say that farmers are happier, healthier or in any way superior to hunter-gatherers. They are, however, more numerous. And that alone is enough to allow them to kill or displace hunter-gatherers.

In addition, human diseases such as smallpox and measles developed from diseases plaguing domestic animals. The farmers eventually became resistant to those diseases, but hunter-gatherers do not have the opportunity. So when hunter-gatherers first come into contact with farmers, they tend to die in droves from the farmers' diseases.

Finally, only in a farming society—with its stored food surpluses and concentrated villages—do people have the chance to specialize, to become full-time metalwork-

ers, soldiers, kings and bureaucrats. Hence the farmers, and not the hunter-gatherers, are the ones who develop swords and guns and standing armies and political organi-

zation. Add to that their sheer numbers and their guns and it is easy to see how the farmers in Africa were able to push the hunter-gatherers aside. (Diamond, 1993)

Although a few hunting and gathering societies still survive today, they comprise less than one one-thousandth of the human population. Aftersup-

planting them, agricultural societies were dominant for many centuries, until
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culturally and within subcultures, and (2) these variations in subjective orientations reflect differences in one's socialization experiences, with early learning conditioning later learning, making the former more difficult to undo. Consequently, action does not simply reflect external situations. Evaluating differences in cultural learning also play an essential part in shaping what people do and think.

These possidates of the cultural approach have important implications for social change. Cultural theory implies that a culture cannot be changed overnight. One may change techniques and the laws, but the basic aspects of the underlying culture generally take many years. Even then, the long-run effects of revolutionary transformation are likely to diverge widely from revolutionary visions and to retain important elements of the old pattern of society. Furthermore, when basic cultural change does occur, it will take place more readily among younger groups where it does not need to overcome the resistance of inborn early learning than among older ones, resulting in intergenerational differences. An awareness of the inertia linked with cultural factors may be disconcerting to those who would like to believe they have a quick fix for deep-rooted social problems. But this awareness is essential to any realistic strategy of social change, and therefore is likely to produce policies that are more effective in the long run, than a perspective which simply denies that cultural factors are important. An awareness of the fact that deep-rooted values are not easily changed is essential to any realistic and effective program for social change.

The Marxist Left saw cultural factors as engines of the people-forms of false consciousness that could only distract the attention of the masses from the real problems, which were economic. They found it attractive to believe that the proper proletarianization could speedily wash away all previous orientations if the right elite, guided by the one true ideology, could take power and enforce its right programs, all social problems could be quickly solved.

Unfortunately, Marxist programs designed to bring swift and massive change to entire societies overturned the reality of cultural politics. When state programs did not correspond to the deep-rooted values and habits of the people as whom they were targeted, they could be implemented only through coercion. The most ambitious programs of social change relied on a mix of coercion and state violence and failed nonetheless: Stalin's Forced Collectivization and Great Purges and Mao's Great Leap Forward and Great Cultural Revolution not only failed to create a New Soviet Man, or a new Chinese-turk, but led to enormous human suffering and ultimately to mass suicide.

The Postmodem Left tends toward the opposite extreme, sometimes presenting itself as a virtually supreme. There are no objective limits or standards; everything is determined by one's cultural perspective—so as to extend the idea of subjective reality is viewed as almost the basis of all these extremes distort the role of culture. This book presents specific evidence about how culture is a practical part of reality. But it is only part of it.
Change Is Not Linear: Postmodernization

Another way in which early versions of Modernization theory were deficient lay in the fact that they presented a linear view of social change: the future, everywhere, would simply be more of the same. Marx’s tendency to do this is particularly well known; but he had plenty of company. With the advantages of a longer time perspective, it has become evident that such linear projections are far too simple. Although industrial society has become widespread (as Marx correctly predicted), it is not the end of the road. This book presents evidence that, beyond a certain threshold, social change takes a fundamental change in direction. In the past few decades, advanced industrial societies have moved through an infection process from the Modernization phase into a Postmodernization phase.

This book does not examine the intellectual history of Postmodern thought and will refer to Postmodernism only in passing. It is, instead, an empirical analysis of how a Postmodern worldview is spreading among mass publics: as it will demonstrate, a Postmodern cultural shift is taking place that manifests many of the key characteristics discussed by Postmodern thinkers. This book will not discuss how Postmodern thought developed among these writers; but we will examine the reasons why they have become widely influential. No one has fully explained why Postmodern culture has emerged: a vast amount has been written about it, but the explanation has been almost entirely at the level of the intellectual history and permutation of Postmodernism. This is an important aspect of Postmodernism, but it is an adequate explanation of why popular culture today is strikingly different from what it was a generation or two ago. Should we assume that the masses have been profoundly influenced by the writings of Foucault and Derrida? They may have had some (largely indirect) impact, but the change is mainly due to the fact that the first-hand life experiences of mass publics in recent decades has been profoundly different from that of earlier generations. Deep-rooted changes in mass worldviews have taken place that enabled Postmodern ideas to find a receptive audience. This is why a Postmodern worldview that would almost certainly have been generally rejected a generation earlier has gained widespread acceptance in the last few decades.

It is not easy to give a brief account of Postmodern thought: there are several different versions of Postmodernism, and multiple readings of given authors. The literature is complex, contradictory, full of hyperbole, and sometimes reads like gibberish. Question: What is the difference between the Mafia and a deconstructionist? Answer: A deconstructionist makes you an offer you can’t understand.

Ambiguity is a central component of Postmodern worldview, and some writers consider it to be a virtue. This is unfortunate because, underlying the ambiguous rhetoric, a real and important phenomenon is emerging. Another key tenet of Postmodernism is incredulity toward all metanarratives: all ideologies, religions, and other overarching explanations including natural science (and Postmodernism itself) cannot be believed. There is no external standard against which theories can be tested.

This perspective is carried to an extreme by Lyotard (1979) who depicts natural science as having dissolved into a relativism characterized by abrupt ruptures and sudden unforeseen changes of direction. His interpretation, which has had wide influence, implies that science, like normative thought, is no longer oriented by any external reality. Baudrillard (1983) also tends toward this extreme, implying that there is no objective reality out there. This picture of science is one that few natural scientists would recognize. It is true, as Kuhn (1962) pointed out, that the development of knowledge is partly a social enterprise in which, when paradigm shifts occur, there is a temporary breakdown of the prevailing theoretical consensus. Kuhn’s finding concerning the structure of scientific revolutions is frequently misinterpreted to mean that science itself is culture-bound. This is not the case: as we have noted, when a paradigm shift occurs, the split in acceptance is mainly along generational lines, based on different degrees of commitment to prior learning. The fact that science has a hermeneutic aspect does not mean that Indian or Chinese scientists are rejecting an interpretation that is accepted by French or German scientists. Instead, what occurs is an intergenerational culture lag.

But even these historical paradigm shifts involve much less discontinuity than Lyotard seems to imagine. Thus, Einstein’s teaching that the paradigm-shifting breakthrough did not cause the previous body of scientific knowledge to be discarded. Newtonian physics continued (and continues) to function quite adequately; it simply became a special case within a broader Einsteinian framework. Many decades later, Newtonian calculations were used to take people safely to and from the moon: Einstein’s limits become significant only under far more extreme conditions than are normally experienced on earth, or even in lunar voyages.

The way for Einstein’s revolution was prepared by a series of findings that were inconsistent with the implications of Newtonian physics. Einstein developed a new theory that resolved these inconsistencies and generated a number of precise predictions that were then confirmed by a series of empirical tests that left little room for doubt that Einstein was right. These findings (with some delay) gave rise to a new theoretical consensus that gained acceptance from Buenos Aires to Tokyo.

Today, we seem to be on the brink of a new paradigm shift in physics—but it is unlikely to consign previous research to oblivion. Instead, the work of both Newton and Einstein will continue to apply, though within a still broader the-
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1. Postmodernism is the rejection of modernity: that is, of rationality, authority, technology, and science. Within this perspective, postmodernism is considered to be the rejection of modernity.

2. Postmodernism is the revalorization of tradition. Since Modernization essentially devalues tradition, its demise opens the way for this revalorization.

3. Postmodernism is the rise of new values and lifestyles, with greater tolerance for ethnic, cultural, and sexual diversity and individual choice concerning the kinds of life one wants to lead.

These three versions of Postmodernism all capture important elements of what a taking place; though they are not incompatible, they emphasize different things.

Let us start with the rejection of modernity. Modernization offers great rewards, but imposes huge costs. It dismantles a traditional world in which the meaning of life is clear, warm, and communal but gives way to an impersonal, competitive society geared to individual achievement. Industrialization vastly increases human productivity; but (especially before labor unions and working-class political parties bring countervailing pressures to bear against capitalism) it gives rise to inhumane working conditions. Marx criticized not only the ruthless economic exploitation of early capitalism, but also the tremendous psychological costs of industrialization.

Decades later, Weber saw the rationalization of society as an inexorable aspect of Modernization; though it facilitated economic growth and public order, ever-increasing rationalization was disenchancing the world, forcing humanity into a painfully narrow iron cage of bureaucracy and mass production. What Weber deplored was the ubiquitous penetration of Instrumental rationality: the rationality of immediate means was driving out the rationality of ultimate ends. Subsequently, Heidegger (1946, 1949) and Korsch (1949) carried the critique of modernity farther, arguing that the instrumental rationality of industrialization had, ironically, undermined any absolute moral standards and given rise to new forms of irrationality and repression, culminating in the horrors of Hitler and Stalin. Instrumental rationality had virtually banished value rationality.

Today, this trend is beginning to reverse itself: instrumental rationality gained an exaggerated predominance during the rise of industrialization, but today, for reasons we will discuss in this book, a growing segment of society is concluding that the price is too high. Rationality, technology, and authority are here to stay; but their relative priority and their authority among mass publics are declining.

While this first version of Postmodernism, there is a widespread tendency to confound rationality, authority, technology, and science with Westemization. Some of the (now outdated) Modernization literature also equated Modernization with Westernization. If Postmodernism is the rejection of modernity, it would logically follow that Postmodernism is the rejection of modernity.
Westernization. This perspective is found in the work of Lyotard and Derrida, who tend to equate modernization with Western imperialism. Western imperialism was an important phenomenon: it was brutally imposed on the rest of the world, it deserved to be rejected, and it deserves the scorn with which Postmodern writers treat it. But equating Modernization with Westernization is not a useful way to proceed. It emphasizes superficial and accidental aspects of Modernization and ignores the core process. Wearing Western clothing was not crucial; industrialization was. Moreover, it is inexact to equate modern imperialism with Westernization. In the number of people it subjugated, the Japanese empire was the second largest colonial empire in history and was fully as oppressive as any Western empire.

The essential core of Modernization is a syndrome of changes closely linked with industrialization; this syndrome includes urbanization, the application of science and technology, rapidly increasing occupational specialization, rising bureaucratization, and rising educational levels. It also includes one more thing, which was the motivating force behind the whole process: industrialization was a way to get rich. By getting rich, one could dispel hunger, acquire military strength, and obtain a number of other desirable things, including a much longer life expectancy than was possible in preindustrial society. Adopting a life strategy aimed at getting rich becomes compellingly attractive from the perspective of low-income societies, once it has been demonstrated that it can be done. Furthermore, as we will show in this chapter, economic development actually seems to be conducive to subjective well-being (though only up to a certain point in history). In short, industrialization and the Modernization syndrome that goes with it were an attractive package. It carries a high cost, and from the viewpoint of advanced industrial society these costs may seem excessive. But from the perspective of most preindustrial societies, it seemed worth the price. This constitutes another crucial difference between Modernization and Westernization: Western imperialism was imposed on non-Western societies, which almost universally rejected it when they were free to do so. By contrast, the goal of Modernization (that is, the industrialization syndrome) has now been adopted by almost every society on earth—and non-Western societies show no sign of wishing to abandon it. Quite the contrary, it is being pursued today with far more enthusiasm in the non-Western world than in the West. The Postmodern critique of Modernization comes overwhelmingly from within Western societies.

By the 1950s, the tendency to equate Modernization with Westernization had been abandoned by most Modernization theorists. And even if one goes by obvious external indicators, this concept has been outdated since at least 1980, when Japan became the world's leading automobile producer—outstrip- ing the United States at Fordism itself. During the ensuing decade, Japan also attained the highest GNP per capita of any major nation, leading the world in attaining the fruits, as well as the tools, of Modernization. Historically, the Industrial Revolution occurred first in the West. But there is nothing uniquely

Critical Theory
Apart from the Postmodern thinkers, Habermas (1984, 1987) has developed the most influential recent philosophical critique of modernity. Habermas dif-
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goals, satisfies intellectual and aesthetic needs, and finally—no insignificant point—also places some restraints on elites.

The extreme position, that mass belief systems are completely dominated by elite interests, assumes a degree of mass manipulability that is simply unrealistic. Revist historical developments illustrate this point. Thus, after 70 years of controlling the Soviet Union's educational systems, public discussion, the mass media, church, etc., and all other channels of communication to an historically unprecedented extent, the Soviet elite ultimately was not able to shape the worldviews of their people to conform to their goals. Toward the end, even the Soviet elite really believed the official ideology.

Western advanced industrial societies are also changing—whether their elites like it or not. A modern worldview that was once firmly established has gradually given way to Postmodern values that emphasize human autonomy and diversity. Each of the hierarchy and conformity that are central to modernity. In both cases, a major factor leading to basic cultural change was the fact that the life experiences of a new group gave rise to new perceptions of reality. For the reality of one's firsthand experience ultimately overrides. The official truth, propagated by the dominant elite, usually has a great deal of influence. But the firsthand life experiences of ordinary people add counts—and ultimately may be even greater credibility than the official truth. How do established worldviews begin to crumble?

Why is the Postmodern Shift Occurring?

The shift toward Postmodern values is not the first time that a major cultural shift has occurred. The transition from agrarian society to industrial society was facilitated by a shift from a worldview shaped by a steady-state economy. This worldview discouraged social mobility and emphasized tradition, inter- linked states, and communal obligations, backed up by absolute religious norms. It gave way to a worldview that encouraged economic achievement, individuation, and innovation, with increasingly secular social norms. Today, some of these trends linked with the transition from "Traditional" to "Modern" society have reached their limits in advanced industrial society, where change is taking a new direction.

This change of direction reflects the principle of diminishing marginal utility. Industrialization and Modernization required breaking the cultural constancy on accumulation that are found in any steady-state economy. In Western European history, this was achieved by the rise of the Protestant Ethic, which (though it had a long intellectual history) was like a random mutation from a functional perspective. If it had occurred two centuries earlier it might have died out. In the environment of its time, it found a niche: technological developments were making rapid economic growth possible, and the Calvinist worldview complemented these developments beautifully, forming a cultural-economic syndrome that led to the rise of capitalism and eventually to

CHAPTER I

As a Postmodern school on a number of points. One major disagreement is that, while Postmodernism seeks to depict modernization as a basically bad choice and rejects it, Habermas argues that while it imposed huge costs, it also brought major benefits. Modernization is an unfinished project; we should build on it rather than reject it. Although we think that the process of change has taken a fundamentally new Postmodern turn, we agree with Habermas on this point. Industrialization provided more than just new, polluting automo- biles and mindless television sitcoms. It provided two things that would be considered valuable from almost any cultural perspective: (1) greatly en- hanced chances for survival, as measured by human life expectancy, and (2) higher levels of subjective well-being. Empirical evidence will be presented below in support of these assertions.

Another major disagreement centers on the fact that Postmodern thinkers conclude that there is no longer any basis by which universal moral standards could be validated: both God and Marx are dead. Habermas has put it thus: he argues that moral norms may be merely social conventions, but if they are, it is imperative to develop rules for acting at universally acceptable conven- tions. In a new version of the social contract, Habermas argues that a rational basis for collective life can be achieved only when social relations are orga- nized so that the validity of any norm depends on a consensus arrived at in communication free from domination. Against the Postmodern position that explicit rules are simply myths created by the ruling elite to justify the social order they control, Habermas argues that it is possible to reach a moral con- sensus that is not simply dominated by the ruling elites. Here again, we think he is right, and this debate raises a crucial question: Are cultural norms simply tools of the ruling elite? In order to answer this question, let us examine the relation- ship between authority and culture.

Authority and Culture

Marx defined ideology as false consciousness—that is, a consciousness shaped by power-holders to justify their right to rule (and to exploit), and to make it seem inevitable. The insight that culture is closely linked with power is impor- tant. It would be naive to believe that culture is neutral; in virtually every society, it legitimizes the established social order—partly because the domi- nant elite try to shape it to help perpetuate their rule.

One of the leading themes in the literature on Postmodernism is the claim that culture is used to legitimate political authority; Foucault is a prominent advocate of this view. An extreme version of this position would hold that every reality is a politically constructed system of myths, and the key task of the social critic is to deconstruct these myths, which are simply a means to jus- tify privilege and exploitation.

Without a doubt, culture serves to legitimate the social order. From an elite perspective, this may even be the most important thing it does. But it certainly is not the only thing it does. Culture integrates society in terms of common
the industrial revolution. Once this had occurred, economic accumulation (for individuals) and economic growth (for societies) became the top priorities for most of the world’s population; they are still the central goals for much of humanity. But eventually, diminishing returns from economic growth lead to a Postmodern shift that in some ways constitutes the decline of the Protestant Ethic.

Advanced industrial societies are now changing their sociopolitical trajectories in two fundamental respects:

1. Value shifts. A greater emphasis on individual economic achievement was one of the crucial changes that made Modernization possible. This shift toward Materialistic priorities entailed a de-emphasis on communal obligations and the need to change ourselves; rather, social change became something that individuals could achieve, rather than something into which one was born. Economic growth came to be equated with progress and was seen as the hallmark of a successful society.

In Postmodern society this emphasis on economic achievement as the top priority is now giving way to a new emphasis on quality of life. In a major part of the world, the disciplined, self-styled, and achievement-oriented norms of industrial society are giving way to an increasingly broad latitude for individual choice of lifestyle and individual self-expression. The shift from "Materialist" values, emphasizing economic and physical security, to "Postmodern" values, emphasizing individual self-expression and quality of life concerns, is the most amply documented aspect of this change; but it is only one component of a much broader syndrome of cultural change.

2. Institutional structure. We are also reaching limits to the development of the hierarchically bureaucratic organizations that helped create modern society. The bureaucratic state, the disciplined, oligarchical political party, the mass production assembly line, the one-skill labor union, and the hierarchical corporation all played eminently important roles in mobilizing and organizing the energies of masses of people; they made the industrial revolution and the modern state possible. But the old organization is now reaching two limits: first, they are reaching limits in their functional effectiveness; second, they are reaching limits in their mass acceptability. Let us consider both factors.

Functional Limits to the Expansion of the Bureaucratic State

The rise and fall of the Soviet Union illustrates the limits of the centralized, hierarchical state. In its early decades, the USSR was remarkably efficient in mobilizing masses of relatively unskilled workers and using quantities of raw materials to build the world’s largest steel mill and the world’s largest hydroelectric dam, and to attain one of the fastest rates of economic growth in the world. Although Stalin starved and murdered millions of Soviet citizens, the economic and military achievements of the Soviet state were so impressive that they convinced many people throughout the world that this type of society was the irrefutable wave of the future. Soviet economic growth was re-markable in the 1950s, was still impressive in the 1960s, tapered off in the 1970s, and stagnated in the 1980s. Partly, this happened because a hyperproliferated bureaucratic paralysis and innovational retardation then was inherently detrimental to innovation, and this problem became acute once the Soviet Union had moved past the stage of simply importing already proven technology from the West and was attempting to innovate in competition with the West and Japan. But the problem was not only the failure of central economic planning to cope with an increasingly complex and rapidly changing society. It also reflected a collapse of motivation and morale. Attempts to raise massive proportions, alcoholism became a tremendous problem, and confidence in government eroded until finally the entire economic and political system collapsed. Although the Soviet example is extreme, the case of any of the manifestations of the diminishing effectiveness of hierarchical, centralized bureaucratic institutions can be seen throughout industrial society. State-run economies are giving way to market forces; old-line political parties and collective unions are in decline; and bureaucratic corporations are losing ground to more loosely organized and participatory types of organization.

These organizational and motivational changes are intimately related. One reason for the decline of the classic bureaucratic institutions of industrial society is the fact that they are inherently less effective in high-technology societies with highly specialized workforces than they were in the earlier stages of industrial society. But another reason for their decline is the fact that they also became less acceptable to the public of Postmodern society than they were earlier, because of changes in those people’s values.

The mass production assembly line broke down manufacturing into simple standardized routines that were repeated predictably. This was relatively effective in turning out masses of relatively simple, standardized products. But a price was paid for the increased productivity that resulted: the workers became cogs in huge centrally coordinated machines. Max Weber, and others were concerned with the alienation and depersonalization of industrial society that made one’s work uninteresting, frustrating, devoid of meaning. In societies of scarcity, people were willing to accept these costs, for the sake of economic growth. In affluent societies, they are less willing to do so.

Modern bureaucracy makes a similar tradeoff involving loss of individual identity and autonomy for the sake of increased productivity; this enables it to produce thousands or millions of people, using standardized routines. It, too, is inherently depersonalizing; in a rational bureaucracy, individuals are reduced to interchangeable roles. Bureaucracy strips away spontaneity, personal likes and dislikes, individual self-expression and creativity. Nevertheless it was an effective tool for coordinating the efforts of hundreds or even millions of individuals, in the large organizations of modern society.

But its effectiveness and its acceptability are ebbing. Postmodern values give a higher priority to self-expression than economic effectiveness: people are becoming less willing to accept the human costs of bureaucracy and of rigid social norms. As this book will demonstrate, Postmodern society is char-
acerted by the decline of hierarchical institutions and rigid social norms, and by the expansion of the realm of individual choice and mass participation.

Up to the middle of the twentieth century, "Modernization" was an ambiguous term. It referred to urbanization, industrialization, socialization, bureaucratization, and a culture based on bureaucratization—a culture that requires a shift from ascensive status to achievement status, from diffuse to specific forms of authority, from prescriptive obligations to impersonal roles, and from particularistic to universalistic roles. In some areas this Modernization process is still going on. But elsewhere, trends that were central to the Modernization process have undergone a fundamental change of direction.

For example, one of the most striking phenomena of the past two hundred years was the rapidly expanding scope of government. Industrial societies became increasingly centralized, hierarchical, and bureaucratized. Until recently, highly centralized state-run economies and societies like the Soviet Union seemed to be the logical end point of Modernization. One might view this trend as profoundly progressive, with the Marxists, or deplete it as threatening to human liberty, with Schumpeter (1947) and Orwell (1949)—but the growth of government seemed inexorable. At the start of the twentieth century, government spending was only 4 percent of the gross product. By 1980, it ranged from 33 to 60 percent of a much bigger output in Western societies, and 70 to 80 percent in some socialist societies.

Increasing government ownership and control of the economy seemed to be the wave of the future.

It was not. During the 1980s, further expansion of the state reached a point of diminishing returns, both functionally and in terms of mass acceptance. It first ran into growing political opposition in the West and then collapsed in the Eastern bloc.

The mass production assembly line and the mass production bureaucracy were the two key organizational instruments of industrial society, and in the early phase of Modernization they had a high payoff—enabling factories to produce millions of units and governments to process millions of individuals through standardized routines. But the trend toward bureaucratization, centralization, and government ownership and control has reversed itself. Modern economies lose their effectiveness when the public sphere becomes overwhelmingly large. And public confidence in hierarchical institutions is eroding throughout advanced industrial society.

Cultural Changes Leading to Postmodernization

An equally basic change in the direction of change has been a shift in the predominant norm and motivations underlying human behavior. Virtually all agrarian societies were characterized by value systems that stigmatized social mobility. This was inevitable, given their static-state economies. The main source of wealth was land, which is fixed supply; the only way to become rich was by seizing someone else's land—which probably required killing the owner. Such internal violence was threatening to the survival of any society and was represented by norms that emphasized acceptance of the status into which one was born and sanctioned the ambiguous and the arriviste. At the same time, traditional societies emphasized duties of sharing and charity—which helped compensate the poor for the absence of social mobility, but further undermined the legitimacy of economic accumulation.

The rise of a Materialist value system that not only tolerated economic accumulation but encouraged it as something laudable and heroic was a key cultural change that opened the way for capitalism and industrialization. Weber (1904–5) examined this process in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, but his work can be seen as a case study of a more general phenomenon. Today the functional equivalent of the Protestant ethic is operating most vigorously in East Asia and is fading away in Protestant Europe, as technological development and cultural change have become global phenomena.

Precisely because they attained high levels of economic security, the populations of the first nations to industrialize have gradually come to emphasize Postmaterialist values, giving higher priority to the quality of life than to economic growth. This shift has been taking place throughout advanced industrial society during the past few decades, as we will see in chapter 4. With this has come a shift from the politics of class conflict, to political conflict based on such issues as environmental protection and the status of women and sexual minorities. Marxist ideology, based on economic determinism, was an immensely influential guide for interpreting the transition from agrarian to "modern" or industrial society. It is outdated for the analysis of a "Postmodern" society.

To clarify what we mean by this term, let us examine the specific changes that are linked with Postmodern values. Some of these trends differ radically from those of Modernization.

The Origins of Postmodern Values: Existential Security

A new worldview is gradually replacing one that has dominated Western society since the Industrial Revolution. The consequences of these transformations are still taking shape, and elements of the older culture are still widespread, but the major features of the new pattern can be discerned. This shift in worldview and motivations springs from the fact that there is a fundamental difference between growing up with an awareness that survival is precarious, and growing up with the feeling that one's survival can be taken for granted.

The urge to survive is common to all creatures, and normally survival is precarious. This reflects a basic ecological principle: the population of any organism tends to rise to meet the available food supply; it is then held constant by starvation, disease, or predators. Throughout most of history, this principle has governed the lives of all organisms, including humanity. Until very recently, the survival of most human beings was precarious.

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Eventually, culture began to soften the competition for survival among humans. Although in ways in which this was done varied enormously from one society to another, virtually all traditional societies established cultural norms that limited the use of violence and repressed aspirations for social mobility. On one hand, they emphasized sharing and charity among those who were relatively well-off, stagnating accumulation as a goal; and on the other hand, they justified acceptance of the existing social order by the poor. And cultural norms limiting reproduction softened the ruthless competition for survival that overpopulated the world.

A few centuries ago, cultural changes in Protestant Europe led to the reversal of the traditional stigma against economic accumulation, and a Materialist worldview began to spread. Using new technology and organizational techniques, production began to upscale population growth. Nevertheless, well into the twentieth century, severe economic scarcity still prevailed widely: the Marxist view that people and history were motivated primarily by the struggle for economic goods was a fairly accurate first approximation of the driving force underlying the modernizing phase of industrial society.

The economic miracle and the welfare states that emerged after World War II gave rise to a new stage of history, and ultimately laid the way for the rise of Postmodern values. Fundamental changes in formative experiences have given rise to a distinct value system among a growing segment of those raised in advanced industrial societies during the years since World War II. The postwar birth cohorts in these societies grew up under conditions profoundly unlike those that shaped previous generations. They differed in two respects: first, the postwar economic miracles produced levels of prosperity that were literally unprecedented in human history. Real per capita income in most industrial societies rose to levels several times as high as had ever been experienced before the war; in some cases (such as Japan) to levels 20 or 30 times higher than ever before. The economic pie became much bigger; this alone would tend to encourage a greater sense of economic security.

But the impact of unprecedented prosperity intersected with a second factor: the emergence of the modern welfare state. A sense of existential security, not absolute wealth, is the crucial variable, and the welfare state reinforced economic growth in producing a sense of security. The pie was bigger than ever before, and it was distributed more evenly and more relatively than before. For the first time in history, a large share of the masses grew up with the feeling that survival could be taken for granted.

This led to a process of intergenerational value change that is gradually transforming the politics and cultural norms of advanced industrial societies. The best documented aspect of this process is the shift from giving top priority to economic and physical security, to giving top priority to self-expression and the quality of life. This shift from Materialist to Postmaterialist priorities has been measured annually since 1970 in surveys carried out in a number of Western societies. A massive body of evidence is now available, and it demonstrates that an intergenerational shift has been taking place in the predicted direction. This shift from Materialist to Postmaterialist value priorities has brought new political issues to the center of the stage and provided much of the impetus for new political movements.

More recent research indicates that the rise of Postmaterialism itself is only one aspect of a still broader process of cultural change that is reshaping the political outlook, religious orientations, gender roles, and sexual mores of an advanced industrial society (Inglehart, 1990). These changes are related to a common concern: the need for a sense of security that religion and absolute cultural norms have traditionally provided. In advanced industrial societies during the decades since World War II, the emergence of unprecedentedly high levels of prosperity, together with the relatively high levels of social security provided by the welfare state, have contributed to a decline in the particular sense of vulnerability. For the general public, one's fate is no longer so heavily influenced by unpredictable forces as it was in agrarian and early industrial society. This has been conducive to the spread of Postmaterial orientations that place less emphasis on traditional cultural norms—especially those norms that limit individual self-expression.

THE THEORY OF INTERGENERATIONAL VALUE CHANGE

Let us reexamine the theory of intergenerational value change in light of recent findings. Our theory is based on two key hypotheses (Inglehart, 1977):

1. A Scarcity Hypothesis. An individual's priorities reflect the socioeconomic environment: one places the greatest subjective value on those things that are in relatively short supply.

2. A Socialization Hypothesis. The relationship between socioeconomic environment and value priorities is not one of immediate adjustment: a substantial time lag is involved because, to a large extent, one's basic values reflect the conditions that prevailed during one's preadult years.

The scarcity hypothesis is similar to the principle of diminishing marginal utility in economic theory. The complementary concept of a need hierarchy (Maslow, 1954) helped shape the survey items used to measure value priorities. In its simplest form, the idea of a need hierarchy would probably command almost universal assent. The fact that unmet physiological needs take priority over social, intellectual, or aesthetic needs has been demonstrated too often in human history: starving people will go to almost any length to obtain food. The rank ordering of human needs varies as we move beyond those needs directly related to survival; Maslow's need hierarchy does not hold up in detail. But there does seem to be a basic distinction between the "material" needs for physiological sustenance and safety, and nonphysiological needs such as those for esteem, self-expression, and aesthetic satisfaction. The recent economic history of advanced industrial societies has significant implications in light of the scarcity hypothesis. For these societies are a striking exception to the prevailing historical pattern: they still contain poor peo-
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But most of their population does not live under conditions of hunger and economic insecurity. This has led to a gradual shift in which needs for

Wealthy individuals and nationalities tend to feel more secure than poor ones, these feelings are also influenced by the cultural setting and social wel-

One of the most pervasive concepts in social science is the notion of a basic human personality structure that tends to crystallize by the time an individual

In individual cases, dramatic behavioral shifts are known to occur, and the process of human development never comes to a complete stop (Erickson, 1982; Levinson et al., 1979; Brim and Kagan, 1980). Nevertheless, human de-

This, of course, does not imply that no change occurs during adult years. If most people have attained material security, and because they have attained ma-

One hypothesis that suggests how people may reduce their need for the non-material aspects of life is the need for a sense of purpose and meaning. This need can be satisfied through social participation and self-fulfillment. When people feel that they are making a difference in the world, they are more likely to experience a sense of purpose and meaning.

The shift from Post-materialist to Postmodern values has implications for the future of society. As people become more concerned with the quality of life, they may demand greater social and political involvement in decision-making processes. This can lead to more participatory and democratic forms of governance, where individuals have a voice in decisions that affect their lives.

The final stage of Postmaterialism is characterized by a focus on personal fulfillment and self-actualization. People value experiences, relationships, and personal growth over material possessions. This stage emphasizes the importance of human rights, social justice, and environmental sustainability.

From a cultural perspective, the shift to Postmaterialism suggests a move away from traditional values and towards more individualistic and consumer-oriented lifestyles. This shift poses challenges for policymakers, as it requires a rethinking of societal priorities and the design of public policies that support individual well-being and social cohesion.

In conclusion, the Postmaterialist paradigm offers a powerful lens through which to understand the evolving values and priorities of modern societies. By examining the interplay between economic conditions, cultural trends, and individual preferences, we can gain insights into the complex dynamics of social change and the aspirations of contemporary populations.

The shift from Postmaterialism to Postmodern values is a dynamic and ongoing process that reflects the evolving nature of human needs and desires. As societies continue to adapt to new challenges and opportunities, the framework of Postmaterialism provides a valuable tool for understanding and navigating the complexities of modern life.
to accumulate property." The core societal goal of the Modernization process was economic growth. This made a good deal of sense. Early industrializing nations had only recently acquired the technological means to cope with chronic scarcity. In such societies, where malnutrition is the main cause of death, economic achievement is an overwhelmingly important part of the pursuit of happiness. The transition from preindustrial society to advanced industrial society brings a change from a life expectancy of 35 or 40 years, to one of 75 or 80 years. This is a huge improvement.

As the possibility of starvation receded from being a major concern to an almost insignificant prospect for most people, prevailing values gradually changed. Economic security is still something that everyone wants, but it is no longer a synonym for happiness. Increasingly, the publics of advanced industrial societies have come to emphasize quality of life concerns, sometimes giving environmental protection priority over economic growth. Thus, emphasis on economic achievement rises sharply with the Modernization process, but then levels off as Postmodernization occurs. Societies in which Postmaterialists are most numerous have lower growth rates than those in which Materialists are overwhelmingly predominant—but the former tend to have higher levels of subjective well-being. Postmodernization brings declining emphasis not only on economic growth itself, but also on the scientific and technological developments that make it possible; emphasis shifts from coping with survival, to maximizing subjective well-being.

The Risk Society

Ironically, as survival has become unprecedentedly secure, the peoples of advanced industrial societies have become increasingly sensitive to risk. Indeed, one of the most influential critiques of postmodern society characterizes it as Risk Society (Beck, 1992). According to this diagnosis, the distributional conflicts over "goods" (such as property, income, and jobs) that characterized industrial society have given way to distributional conflicts over "hazards," such as the risks of nuclear technology, genetic research, and the threat to the environment. With industrialization, the religious certainties of feudal society were eroded, but they gave rise to an increasing degree of existential security; with the rise of Postmodern society, the risks of life have become incubalible and increasingly escape the control mechanisms of society. In this updated version of the dogma of late capitalism, the ecological crisis takes over the role previously played by the legitimation crisis of late capitalism. It is ironic that in societies where human life expectancy has risen by 20 years during the last century, concerns about risk have become central political issues. It is ironic, but logical: for it is precisely because the risk of starvation has receded almost to the vanishing point that people have been able to redirect their concerns from pervasive daily uncertainty concerning survival to more remote concerns such as the ecological crisis. The very success of the welfare states of advanced industrial society in providing an unprecedented de-


gree of existential insecurity has given rise to the expectation that the state can and should ensure everyone against all uncertainties. As Samuelson has put it, the reason for this paradox is entitlement: a postwar word and concept. By entitlement, I mean more than the catalogue of well-known government benefits (Social Security being the most prominent) or various modern "visions" (such as the "right" of those in wheelchairs to public range). Entitlement expresses a modern conviction, a broader sensibility, that defines Americans' attitudes toward social conditions, national institutions and even the world. Increasingly, we have come to believe that certain things are (or ought to be) guaranteed to us. We feel entitled. Among other things, we expect secure jobs, rising living standards, enlightened corporations, generous government, high-quality health care, racial harmony, a clean environment, safer cities, satisfying work, and personal fulfillment. (Samuelson, 1995:4)

What Samuelson attributes to American society holds true of other Postmodern societies. As long as people were overwhelmingly engaged in coping with survival, more remote concerns had little salience. But the attainment of existential security does not bring Nirvana. Postmodern society has brought increasing attention to quality of life problems, and far more demanding standards for societal performance. As a result, people probably worry as much as ever, but they worry about different things: there are profound differences in the behavior and worldviews of people who feel insecure about their personal survival and people who worry about global warming.

Stress, Coping Strategies, and Relief Systems

Far-reaching though it is, the rise of Postmaterialist values is only one aspect of a still broader process of cultural change that is reshaping orientations toward authority, religion, politics, gender roles, and sexual norms among the publics of advanced industrial society. What is driving this broad shift from survival values toward well-being values? This question is at the heart of the recent research in social psychology on the relationships between stress, coping strategies, and belief systems. People who feel that their survival is threatened react with stress; this stimulates efforts to cope with the threat. But high levels of stress can become dysfunctional and even life-threatening. One's belief system mediates the response to new or threatening situations, helping to modulate stress and shaping the strategy used to cope with the threat. If one has a belief system that provides a sense of predictability and control, it reduces stress to a level conducive to coping behavior (Roter, 1966). In the absence of such a belief system, people experience a sense of helplessness, leading to withdrawal instead of coping behavior; these withdrawal responses may take the form of depression, fatism, resignation, or alcohol or drug abuse (M. Inglehart, 1991).

Virtually all of the world's major cultures have belief systems which provide reassurance that, even though the individual alone cannot understand or
predict what lies ahead, it is in the hands of a benevolent higher power. One's future may be unpredictable, but this higher power will ensure that things work out. Our religion and secular ideologies provide assurance that the universe is not random, but follows a plan which guarantees that (in this world or the next) everything will turn out well. This belief reduces stress, enabling one to shut out anxiety and focus on some immediate coping strategy. Without such a belief system, extreme stress is likely to produce withdrawal reactions.

Religion is the dominant influence on the belief systems of most preindustrial societies. In religious worldviews, the higher power is an omniscient and benevolent God. Stress is reduced by a system of absolute rules that govern many aspects of life and maximize predictability. In secular societies, the state or a strong political leader fills the role of the higher power. Under conditions of great unpredictability, people have a powerful need to see authority as not only strong, but also benevolent—even in the face of evidence to the contrary. Communist ideologies provide a functional equivalent to religion, furnishing an explanation of how the universe functioned and where history was going. Although many of Marx's predictions eventually turned out to be wrong, the ideology provided a sense of predictability and reassured people that authoritative leaders were in charge.

The Authoritarian Reflex

In societies undergoing an historical crisis, a phenomenon has been observed that might be called the Authoritarian Reflex. Rapid change leads to severe insecurity, giving rise to a powerful need for predictability. Under these circumstances, the Authoritarian Reflex takes two forms:

1. Fundamentalist or militant reactions. This phenomenon frequently occurs in preindustrial societies when they are confronted with rapid political and economic change through contact with industrialized societies; and it is often found among the more traditional and less secure strata in industrial societies, especially during times of stress. In both cases, the reaction to change takes the form of a rejection of the new, and a compulsive insistence on the infallibility of old, familiar cultural patterns.

2. Adulation of strong secular leaders. In secularized societies, severe insecurity brings a readiness to defer to strong secular leaders, in hopes that superior men of iron will can lead their people to safety. This phenomenon frequently occurs in response to military defeat or economic or political collapse. Thus, disintegrating societies often give rise to authoritarian and xenophobic figurations. Pogroms broke out in the declining years of Tsarist Russia, and after its collapse power was seized by rulers who were even more ruthlessly authoritarian than the czars. Similarly, the Great Depression of the 1930s helped bring Hitler to power in Germany and contributed to the rise of fascist dictators in a number of other countries, from Spain to Hungary to Japan. Massive insecurity is conducive not only to a need for strong authority figures to protect one from threatening forces, but also to xenophobia (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Hamilton, 1981; Jackson and Inglehart, 1996). Frighteningly rapid change breeds an intolerance of cultural change, and of different ethnic groups. Thus, in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the price of cotton went down, lynchings of Blacks went up in the South. This was a reaction to insecurity, not a cognitive response to the belief that Blacks were manipulating the price of cotton: the lynchers were aware that Blacks had little influence on the cotton market (Beck, Munsay, and Toftey, 1989). Similarly, the Great Depression of the 1930s gave rise to the twin phenomena of Hitler and anti-Semitism—and ultimately, to the Holocaust. There was nothing inevitable in this horror story. It occurred in a society that previously had been more tolerant toward Jews than had Russia or France, and had one of the most socially integrated Jewish communities in Europe. It reflected traumatic insecurity caused by military defeat and political and economic collapse, rather than anything uniquely German. In a hauntingly parallel phenomenon, the collapse of the economic and political systems of what used to be the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia has given rise to ultranationalism and "ethnic cleansing."
Changing Religious Orientations, Gender Roles, and Sexual Norms

The rise of Postmodernism is the revivae of the Authoritarian Reflex: Postmodernist values characterize the way we see a core element of a Postmodern shift that is reshaping the political outlook, religious orientations, gender roles, and sexual norms of advanced industrial society. Two factors contribute to the decline of traditional political, religious, social, and sexual norms in advanced industrial societies.

The first is that an increasing sense of security brings a diminishing need for absolute rules. Individuals under high stress have a need for rigid, predictable rules. They need to be more of what is going to happen because they are in danger—their margin for error is smaller and b4 they need maximum predictability. Postmodernists embody the opposite outlook: raised under conditions of relative security, they can tolerate a little ambiguity; they are less likely to see the security of absolute rigid rules that religious sanctions provide. The psychological costs of deviating from whatever norms one grew up with are harder to bear if a person is under stress than if a person feels secure. Taking one's world apart and putting it together again is extremely stressful. But Postmodernists—people with relatively high levels of security—can more readily accept deviation from familiar patterns than people who feel anxiety concerning their basic existential needs. Consequently, Postmodernists accept cultural change more readily than others.

The second reason is that societal and religious norms usually have a function. Such basic norms as "Thou shalt not kill" (the Judeo-Christian version of a virtually universal social norm) serve an important societal function. Restoring violence to social contexts, predictable channels is crucial to a society's viability. Without such norms, a society would tear itself apart.

Many religious norms such as "Thou shalt not commit adultery" or "Honor thy father and mother" are linked with maintaining the family unit. Various versions of these norms are also found in virtually every society on earth because they serve crucial functions. But in advanced industrial society, some of these functions have dwindled. The role of the family has become less crucial than it once was. Although the family was once the key economic unit, in advanced industrial society one's working life overwhelmingly takes place outside the home. Similarly, education now takes place mainly outside the family. Furthermore, the welfare state has taken over responsibility for survival. Formerly, whether children lived or died depended on whether their parents provided for them, and the parents' survival depended on their children when they reached old age. Today, though the family is still important, it is no longer a life or death relationship; it has largely been taken over by the welfare state. The new generation can survive if the family breaks up—or even if neither parent is around. One-parent families and childless old people have vastly better chances of survival under contemporary conditions than ever before. As long as it threatens the survival of children, society is apt to view divorce as absolutely wrong; it undermines the long-term viability of society. Today, one functional basis of this norm and other norms reinforcing the two-parent family has eroded: does that mean that society changes its norms?—at least, not immediately.

Cultural norms are usually internalized very firmly at an early age, and backed up by personal sanctions. People's opposition to divorce does not simply reflect an individual's rational calculation that "the family is an important social unit, so I should stay married." Instead, divorce tends to be a question of good and evil, through absolute norms. Norms that constrain people's behavior even when they strongly want to do something else are norms that have been taught as absolute rules and are inculcated, so that their consequences terrify them if these norms are violated. Such societal norms have a great deal of momentum. The mere fact that the functions of a given cultural pattern has weakened or disappeared does not mean that the norms immediately disappear. But it opens the way for that norm to weaken gradually, especially if those norms conflict with strong impulses to the contrary.

Norms supporting the two-parent heterosexual family are weakening for a variety of reasons, ranging from the rise of the welfare state to the drastic decline of infant mortality rates, which means that a couple no longer needs to produce four or five children in order for the parents to reproduce itself. Experimentation and testing of the old rules takes place; gradually, new forms of behavior emerge that deviate from traditional norms, and the group most likely to accept these new forms of behavior are the young more than the old, and the relatively secure, more than the insecure.

The Postmodern shift involves an intergenerational change in a wide variety of basic social norms, from cultural norms linked with ensuring survival of the species, to norms linked with the pursuit of individual well-being. For example, Postmodernists and the young are markedly more tolerant of homosexuality than are Materialists and the old. This is partly because norm Postmodernists have been shaped by security in their formative years and are far more permissive than Materialists in their attitudes toward abortion, divorce, extramarital affairs, prostitution, and euthanasia. Materialists, conversely, are likely to adhere to the traditional societal norms that favored childbearing, but only within the traditional two-parent family—and that heavily stigmatized any sexual activity outside it.

Traditional gender role norms from East Asia to the Islamic world to Western society discouraged women from taking jobs outside the home. Virtually all preindustrial societies emphasized childbearing and childrearing as the central goal of any woman, her most important function in life, and her greatest source of satisfaction. In recent years, this perspective has been increasingly called into question, as growing numbers of women postpone having children or forego them completely in order to devote themselves to careers outside the home.
EXEMPLARY SECURITY AND THE RISE OF POSTMODERN VALUES

Throughout advanced industrial society, there is evidence of a long-term shift away from traditional religious and cultural norms. This decline of traditional norms is closely linked with the shift from Materialist to Postmaterialist values. In terms of face content, this is not obvious: most of the survey items used to measure Materialist/Postmaterialist values make any reference whatever to religion or to sexual or gender norms. Nevertheless, all of these values are components of a broad cultural change linked with the transition from in-
dustrial to postindustrial society. The shift to Postmaterialism and the decline of traditional religion and sexual norms go together because they share a common cause: the unprecedented levels of existential security attained in contemporary advanced industrial society that grows out of the economic miracles (both Western and Asian) of the past several decades. The rise of the welfare state.

In the highly uncertain world of subsistence societies, the need for absolute standards is a sense that an infallible higher power will ensure that things ultimately turn out well filled a major psychological need. One of the key functions of religion has been to provide a sense of certainty in an insecure environment. Not only economic insecurity gives rise to this need; the old saying that "there are no atheists in foxholes" reflects the fact that physical danger also leads to a need for beliefs in a higher power. But in the absence of war, prosperity and the welfare state have produced an unprecedented sense of secu-

rity concerning one's survival. This has diminished the need for the reassuring religion traditionally provided.

These social factors have weakened the functional basis of a pervasive set of norms linked with the fact that, throughout most of history, the traditional two-
parent family was crucial to the survival of children, and thus, of society. These norms were closely linked and its disapproval of divorce, abortion, and homosexuality, to negative attitudes toward careers outside the home for married women. As we will see, it is precisely in the most advanced welfare states that mass adher-
ce to traditional religious and family norms has declined most rapidly. This is to say that these factors are also changing another major aspect of peo-
ple's worldview: respect for authority is declining throughout advanced in-
dustrial society.

The difference between feeling secure or insecure about life is so basic that it has led to a wide-ranging but coherent syndrome of changes, from the "survival" values that characterized agrarian and early industrial society, to the "well-being" values that characterize advanced industrial society.

The difference between whether one views survival as uncertain, or assumes that it can be taken for granted, is central in shaping people's life strategies, giving rise to very distinct worldviews. Throughout most of history, in both agrarian and early industrial society, survival has been uncertain for the great majority of the population. Consequently, they have emphasized survival values. Postmodern values grow out of the unprecedented sense of prosperity of ad-

vanced industrial societies in which, for the first time in history, large segments of the public are survival granted. These contrasting value systems have ramifications that extend across politics, economics, sexual and family norms, and religion, as table 1.1 illustrates.

The shift from materialism to Postmaterialism is avoiding many of the key insti-
tutions of industrial society, through the following changes:

1. In the political realm, the rise of Postmodern values brings declining re-
spect for authority, and growing corpoura.tion and self-expression. These trends are conducive to democratization (in authoritarian societies) and to more participatory, issue-oriented democracy (in already democratic soci-
cies). But they are making the postmodern world a more difficult. Respect for authority is eroding. And the long-term trend toward increased mass participation is not only continuing, but has taken on a new character. In large-scale agrarian societies, political participation was limited to a narrow minority. In industrial society, the masses were mobilized by disciplined eli-

ted political parties. This was a major advance for democratization, and it re-
sulted in unprecedented numbers of people participating in politics by voting—
but mass participation rarely went much beyond this level. In Postmodern society the emphasis is shifting from voting, to more active and issue-specific forms of mass participation. Mass loyalties to long-established hierarchical poli-
c
cial parties are e
ding; no longer covert to be disciplined troops, the pub-

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Table 1.1 Security and Insecurity: Two Contrasting Value Systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survival</th>
<th>Insecure</th>
<th>Secure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Politics</td>
<td>Need for strong leaders</td>
<td>De-emphasis on political authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>Self-expression, participation</td>
<td>Autocratic, stifling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Respect for economic growth</td>
<td>Quality of life top priority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement motivation</td>
<td>Subjective well-being</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual vs. state ownership</td>
<td>Diminishing authority of both private and state ownership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sexual/Family Values</td>
<td>Maximization of reproduction</td>
<td>Individual sexual gratification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>Intimacy in one's family</td>
<td>Individual self-expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Religion</td>
<td>Emphasis on higher power</td>
<td>Disfinishing religious authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute rules</td>
<td>Pluralistic, modern ethics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis on morality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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lic has become increasingly autonomous and elite-challenging. Consequently, though voter turnout is stagnant or declining, people are participating in politics in increasingly active and more issue-specific ways. Moreover, a growing number of young people, particularly those who are educated, are becoming more politically engaged.

But these changes have had a traumatic impact on the old-line political machines of industrial society, which are in disarray almost everywhere. Throughout the history of industrial society, the scope of state activities has been growing, as has the struggle against them, as a means to maintain economic security.

The trend has now reached a level of national and societal collapse. The trend has been for functional reasons and because of growing public distrust in the need for limits—both economic and political. The trend has been for functional reasons and because of growing public distrust in the need for limits—both economic and political. The trend has been for functional reasons and because of growing public distrust in the need for limits—both economic and political. The trend has been for functional reasons and because of growing public distrust in the need for limits—both economic and political.
among the more secure strata: the wealthier and better educated will be most likely to hold a whole range of security values, including Postmaterialism; the less secure strata will emphasize survival priorities.

3. Short-term fluctuations will follow the implications of the scarcity hypothesis: prosperity will enhance the tendency to emphasize well-being values; economic downturn, civil disorder, or war will lead people to emphasize survival values.

4. Long-term changes will also reflect the scarcity hypothesis. In societies that have experienced high levels of security for several decades, we should find a long-term shift from survival values toward well-being values. This is not a universal trend that characterizes the entire world, like the popularization of pop culture fostered by the global mass media. Instead, the shift toward well-being values is occurring mainly in those societies that have attained such a high level of prosperity and safety that a substantial share of the population takes survival for granted. It is not found in societies that have not experienced rising prosperity. On the other hand, it is not a uniquely Western phenomenon: it should appear in any society that has experienced the transition to high mass security.

The socialization hypothesis postulates that neither an individual's values nor those of a society as a whole will change overnight. In connection with the scarcity hypothesis, this generates three additional predictions:

5. In societies that have experienced a long period of rising economic and physical security, we will find substantial differences between the values priorities of older and younger groups: the young will be much more likely to emphasize well-being values than the old. This reflects the fact that the young experienced greater security during their formative years than did the old. Fundamental value change takes place mainly as younger birth cohorts replace older ones in a given society.

6. These intergenerational value differences should be reasonably stable over time: though immediate conditions of security or insecurity will produce short-run fluctuations, the underlying differences between younger and older birth cohorts should persist over long periods of time. The young will not take on the values of the old as they age, as would happen if the intergenerational differences reflected life-cycle effects; instead, after two or three decades have passed, the younger cohorts should still show the distinctive values that characterized them at the start of the period.

7. In cross-national perspective, large amounts of intergenerational change will be found in those countries that have experienced relatively high rates of economic growth: if differences between the values of young and old were a normal feature of the human life cycle, they would be found everywhere. But if, as our theory implies, this process of value change is driven by historical changes in the degree of security experienced during one's preschool years, then the age differences found in a given society will reflect that society's economic history: the difference between the values of young and old will be largest in countries like Western Germany or South Korea that experienced the greatest increases in prosperity during the past 40 years; and conversely, the difference between the values of young and old will be small or nonexistent in such countries as Nigeria and India, which experienced relatively little increase in per capita income from 1950 to 1990.

Thus, high levels of prosperity should be conducive to high levels of Postmaterialism and of other Postmodern values; high rates of economic growth should produce relatively rapid rates of value change and relatively large intergenerational differences.

8. Finally, the theory of intergenerational value change not only yields predictions about what kinds of values should be emerging and where, but even predicts how much value change should be observed in a given period of time. Since the change is based on intergenerational population replacement, if one knows the distribution of values across birth cohorts in a given nation and the sizes of the cohorts, one can estimate how much change will be produced in a given time span, as a result of intergenerational population replacement. With the four-item Materialist/Postmaterialist values battery, for example, population replacement should produce a shift toward Postmaterialism of approximately one point per year on the Materialist-Postmaterialist percentage difference index (Abramson and Inglehart, 1992).

Authoritarianism and the Postmodern Shift

We have just described a syndrome of cultural changes through which people are shifting from one belief system to another. Under conditions of insecurity people seek strong authority; this is part of a worldview that also embraces ethnocentrism, traditional gender roles, and traditional religious norms. This is not the first time that such a configuration of orientations has been observed. Several decades ago, Adorno et al. (1950) demonstrated that orientations toward authority, aggression toward outgroups, and a high degree of adherence to social conventions go together to form a syndrome that they called the Authoritarian Personality. This work was controversial, evoking numerous critiques on both theoretical and methodological grounds. Despite massive criticism, this thesis generated an immense body of research that has survived and evolved over the years, with particularly significant recent contributions being made by Altemeyer (1981, 1988).

From the outset of our research, the Authoritarian Personality thesis seemed potentially relevant to the rise of Materialist/Postmaterialist values that are at the core of Postmodern values. A standardized set of authoritarianism items was used in a cross-national exploration of nationalism and individualism. The results were disappointing: dimensional analysis showed that the authoritarian items did not cluster together as they theoretically should (Inglehart, 1970).

Subsequent pilot tests gave similar results. Authoritarianism items showed relatively weak relationships with each other; some were closely related to the Materialist/Postmaterialist dimension, but others tapped quite different di-
percent of the world's population. For 21 of these societies, we have time
series data from the World Values surveys carried out in 1981 and 1990. For sev-
eral societies, we also have detailed time series data on value shifts from
1976 to 1994. The evidence from these surveys indicates that advanced in-
dustrial societies are moving on a common trajectory. To a striking degree, so-
cieties in Western Europe, North America, Latin America, Eastern Europe, and
East Asia are undergoing similar cultural changes in politics, economics, sex
and gender norms, and religion. Although they have widely varying cultural
traditions and start from very different levels, they are generally moving in the
same direction.

A formal analysis of these transitions has involved the use of the formal di-
nometric model described in Chapter 4. As the basic analytic model, we have
studied the effect of time on the values in the following latent variables:

1. Economic development (income and education).
2. Urbanization.
3. Industrialization.
4. Political democratization.
5. Mass media.
6. Personality characteristics (collectivism vs. individualism).

These variables are measured at each of the five time points (1976, 1981, 1986, 1990).

The following chapters examine survey data from societies containing 70

**Changes in Mass Values: Testing Our Predictions**

We now have a large body of empirical evidence on cultural change, from sur-
veys carried out in more than 40 societies over the past 25 years. Using these
data, this book will test these predictions. Chapter 5 focuses on the relatively
detailed and abundant body of data concerning the Materialists/Postmaterialists
value shift; chapters 8 and 9 examine the evidence of a much broader process
of cultural change involving religious, civic, sexual, and economic norms as
well as Materialists/Postmaterialists.

The following chapters examine survey data from societies containing 70

**CULTURE, POLITICS, AND ECONOMICS**

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**dimensions. Authoritarianism, as originally operationalized, has a poor empiri-
cal fit with Materialists/Postmaterialism.**

The theoretical basis of authoritarianism is not necessarily incompatible
with that of Materialists/Postmaterialism, but there are important differences
in focus. The initial concept of authoritarianism emphasizes the psychology
of the authoritarian personality, the psychodynamic structure of early child-
hood, rather than influences from the broader economic and political environ-
ment. On the other hand, Human and Mead (1954), in their critique of the original
study, argue a cognitive explana-
tion; certain responses, especially those from a lower socioeconomic
level, may show an authoritarian-type response because this is a more or less
 acceptable reference of the conditions governing their adult lives. Altemeyer
also endorses this interpretation. Our own interpretation of the generaliz-
eability of Materialism/Postmaterialism values concerns the elements of both
topics. It emphasizes the importance of early experiences, but links them with
formative experiences as a whole, and not just parental discipline.

The original authoritarian hypothesis predicts that values are not predicted either the age-
group differences or the social class differences that are strikingly evident in
our data. Quite the contrary, studies of authoritarianism have found that chil-
dren tend to be more authoritarian than adults. It would be impossible to
reinterpret the authoritarian hypothesis in such a way as to ex-
plain the age and class differences. One might argue that childraising practices
vary according to social class and have changed over time. But if one did so,
one would then need to seek an explanation of why they vary and why they
have changed. Quite probably, one would eventually trace this explanation to
the economic and political changes on which we rest our own interpretation.

Another important distinction between authoritarianism and Materialism/
Postmaterialism values lies in the way they are measured: authoritarianism re-
fl ects levels of support for given positions; Materialism/Postmaterialism values
deal with priorities—that is, the relative rank of various goals. This distinction
is critical, and will be discussed at some length in Chapter 3. Our theory im-
plies that an intergenerational change in priorities is taking place—and not
that people no longer value economic security. Nevertheless, the two streams of
research agree on one major point: orientations toward authority are related to a
broad range of other orientations, forming the core of a coherent worldview.
linkages seem to reflect neither a simple Marxian causality (with economics driving culture and politics) nor a simple Weberian causality (with culture driving economics and politics), but reciprocal causal relationships. Cultural, economic, and political systems tend to be mutually supportive in any society that survives for long. They help shape each other, and they are changing the world in ways that are to some extent predictable.