Linear Socio-Cultural Strategies of Society Development Management: Conceptualisation Problems in the Context of Cross-Cultural Differences

Abstract: Introduction. In the process of a multipolar world forming, recognising its unity and cultural diversity, the problem of strategic management of social development is becoming more relevant. Purpose and methods. The purpose of the article is a theoretical analysis of linear strategies for managing the development of society in the context of cross-cultural differences. The methodological basis of the study is the dialectical principle of cognition, systemic, organisational, cultural, historical, and interdisciplinary approaches to the study of trends and patterns in society. Results. The socio-cultural essence of the linear strategy as an expression of the general pattern of social development is revealed. The content of modernisation – the main type of linear strategy is considered. The key determinants of the modernisation strategy in the context of the Western culture of modernity are identified. The author establishes the failure of westernisation, identifies analogues of modern culture and the reasons for their incompleteness in Eastern societies. The prospects of the synthetic concept of modernization are substantiated. Conclusions. The scientific novelty of the research results lies in deepening the theoretical foundations of linear strategic management of society's development in the context of cultural diversity, and their significance lies in the addition of new knowledge about linear strategies to science and the possibility of their use in the training of management personnel for public administration.

Keywords: society, development, management, linear socio-cultural strategies, cross-cultural differences.
1. Introduction

The problem formulation. Social development has always been one of the central problems of scientific theory, which reveals its factors, mechanisms, trends, patterns, and rhythms. However, in the context of cross-cultural differences, there are difficulties in conceptualising the processes of social development and building a single, general scientific theory that could serve as a basis for developing strategies for managing the life of society in different civilisations and cultures of the world. Given this, the subject of our research is the study of the factors and mechanisms of the development of social life, its stages, peculiarities, as well as the main historical socio-cultural strategies.

In general, we can distinguish two broad classes of social development scientific theories. First, there are the linear theories of progress, which view the historical development of society as a movement from primitive economic and socio-cultural forms to more complex ones. Theories of the progressive linear development of society usually include the idea of different stages or degrees of this development that all societies go through and that naturally replace each other. According to these theories, the whole of humanity is conceived as developing progressively, linearly, in one direction, based on universal laws. These theories include, first of all, the Marxist theory of socio-economic formations, the theory of growth stages, theories of modernisation, westernisation, Americanisation, Europeanisation, etc.

Secondly, these are theories of non-linear development that deny a single universal natural socio-historical progress and interpret human development as a change in historical cycles that do not have a general progressive direction (fluctuation theory) or development based on the socio-cultural identity, uniqueness of each society (theories of civilisation, socio-cultural identity, etc.).

In the presented study, the main focus will be on linear theories of society development and the corresponding linear socio-cultural strategies of public administration.


Theories and strategies of modernisation against the backdrop of Western society's culture of modernity are discussed in interesting works by Shmuel Eisenstadt (1966), Jessie Lutz (1982), Volodymyr Horbatenko (1999), John McGrath, Kathleen Martin (2017), Steve Chan, Kalyani Mehta and David Androff (2017).


The results of the search for direct analogues of Protestant ethics, other socio-cultural values and institutions of the West, which provide the possibility of introducing linear modernisation strategies in the cultural heritage of the East, as well as the limitations of analogies, are revealed in the scientific works of Max Weber (1921), Milton Singer (1972), Winston King (1986), Yoshiie Yoda (1997), Robert Bellah (2003), Gbingba Gbosoe (2006), Adluru Raghuramaraju (2011), Goma Aier (2011), Sunil Saxena (2013), Lionel Obadia (2016), Kim Kyong-Dong (2017), György Simon (2020).

Socio-cultural complexity as a reflection of the above contradictions, a conflictual type of interaction between traditions and modernity, has led to the emergence of synthetic theories proposed by Shyama Dube (1988), Andrew Feenberg (1995), Ronald Inglehart, Christian Welzel (2005), Ronald Inglehart (2020) and other researchers.

Unresolved issues. Despite the scale and significance of all previous studies, the conditions for applying linear theories and strategies for the progressive development of Western society in other cultures and civilisations of the world remain insufficiently studied. In view of this, there is an urgent need to systematise and generalise these theories and strategies, as well as to analyse the socio-cultural factors of their adaptation in non-Western societies and civilisations. The relevance of a comprehensive solution to this scientific problem determines the purpose and objectives of our study.
2. Purpose and methods

The purpose and research tasks. The purpose of the article is a theoretical analysis of linear socio-cultural strategies for managing the development of society in the context of cross-cultural differences.

Achieving this purpose involves solving the following tasks:
- reveal the socio-cultural essence of the linear strategy as an expression of the general pattern of social development;
- consider the content of the phenomenon of modernisation as the main type of linear strategy in Western society;
- identify the key determinants of the modernisation strategy in the context of Western culture of modernity;
- analyse Westernisation peculiarities, its social limitations, and failure in non-Western cultures;
- identify analogues of the modernity culture and Protestant ethics in non-Western societies and their role in modernisation processes;
- explain the reasons for the incompleteness of modernity analogies and Protestant ethics in Eastern cultures;
- justify the possibilities of synthetic concepts of linear modernisation strategies in the context of cross-cultural differences.

Methodology and methods. The methodological basis of the study is the dialectical principle of cognition, systemic, organisational, cultural, historical, and interdisciplinary approaches to the study of trends and patterns of society development and its management strategies in the context of cultural diversity. Based on the principles of dialectics and the systemic approach, any society is viewed as a complex, open, dynamic system that is in the process of continuous development, modification, transformation, mutual connection, and interaction with other social systems. The cultural approach indicates that there are cross-cultural differences (opposites) between social systems, between which there is a struggle or harmony that ensures the movement of the social system, transitions from one qualitative state to another. The historical approach allows the emergence and study of the development of social systems in chronological sequence to reveal historical patterns. The organisational approach makes it possible to analyse society as an organisational system that has appropriate governing bodies and a development strategy that is adequate or inadequate to internal and external socio-cultural conditions. The interdisciplinary approach allows us to study society and the strategy of managing its development from the point of view of various sciences as a complex, multifaceted, multicultural phenomenon.

The following methods were used to solve certain research tasks: terminological – to clarify the content and scope of the concepts: “society”,

“development”, “linear strategy”, “cross-cultural differences”; observation – in collecting factual data on linear progressive development; phenomenological – to reveal the essence of modernisation and westernisation as socio-cultural phenomena; structural-functional – in the analysis of linear strategies for managing the development of society; modelling – to predict possible scenarios of society development as a result of the application of a linear strategy; comparative – when comparing the factors and results of the implementation of linear strategies in different cultures; abstraction – in order to highlight the essential properties of linear development of society and strategic management of this development; analysis and synthesis – for an in-depth study of the features of the linear strategic development of social systems; theoretical generalisation – to summarise the results of the study.

**Research information base.** The research is based on the linear theories of strategic management of society's development developed by reputable scholars. As an empirical substantiation of the main conceptual provisions of the phenomenon of the linear strategic progressive development of society in the context of cross-cultural differences, the results of the authors' research, obtained based on observations of contradictory dynamic processes of society, were used. The chronological boundaries of the study include mainly the modern period and the territorial boundaries – the whole world.

### 3. Results and discussion

#### 3.1. The linear strategy as an expression of the universal regularity of social development

Linear strategies for managing the society development are based on the objectivity and regularity of human progress notion. French positivist philosopher *Auguste Comte* (1842) explains progress on the basis of the law he invented, which consists in considering the history of thought and the history of society as a change of theological, metaphysical, and positive stages. According to this law, the first stage, which includes periods of fetishism, polytheism, and monotheism, is dominated by a religious worldview that lasts until the thirteenth century; the second stage is philosophical, at which point the transition from religion to science takes place; and the last stage, the positive stage, which begins in the eighteenth century, is based on science, and social life is governed by scientists, sociocrats, and industrialists.

The most striking expression of linear ideas about social strategy is the theory of *Karl Marx* (1858), which treats it as a natural-historical process, emphasising the universal and natural character of human progress. This progress includes socio-economic formations whose economic, social, and cultural characteristics are determined by the mode of production, i.e. the prevailing
relations of ownership, forms of participation in social production, and how a share of material wealth is appropriated. The first, most primitive of the identified formations was primal communal, with primitive tools and an underdeveloped division of labour, no division of society into classes, and almost equal access to the product produced by all society members. The most technologically advanced was the capitalist formation, which was based on industrial (machine) production, which became massive, with a developed division of labour and a class-antagonistic structure of society. The contradiction between the mass nature of the productive forces and the private nature of the appropriation of the social product, according to K. Marx, the change of the capitalist formation to the advanced, communist one, which eliminated all social contradictions and marked the entry of humanity into the era of “true history”.

The processes of economic development in different societies are explained in K. Marx not through a simple reduction to materialistic determination but through a deep analysis of social relations concerning economic interests, where materialistic determination only eventually makes its way through the complex interaction of economic and social, political and other factors. However, the processes of change in the socio-economic sphere are interpreted in terms of linear historical progress: the destruction of the traditional social foundations of Indian society under the influence of British colonial rule is seen as an accelerated path to the capitalist mode of production, which, according to K. Marx, will create direct preconditions for the transition to the next, communist, stage. Those forms of socio-economic life that did not fit into the scheme – first of all, the phenomenon of the “Asian mode of production”, which differed from both ancient slavery and European feudalism, created difficulties in applying this theory.

In the mid-twentieth century, linear strategies for managing the development of society became widespread, based on the universality of technological progress and related forms of economic and social life. These strategies assumed that the development of technology and the corresponding forms of production would also give rise to adequate types of culture and that developed Western societies were a model for all other technologically and economically backward countries. The socio-cultural peculiarities of different regions of the world were perceived within these strategies as secondary to the universality of technological and economic progress.

A typical strategy for universal social progress, taking into account technical and economic progress, is the strategy based on the theory of “stages of economic growth” by American economist Walt Rostow (1960). It describes five stages of economic growth and corresponding social progress, which, like Marx's socio-economic formations, all societies go through, although each has its own specifics. The first stage of growth is the traditional society
and its inherent primitive technology, based mainly on muscle power. This is followed by the stages of transit, growth and maturity, and then by the fifth stage of mass consumer society, where the level of production and welfare of the population is so high that the economy structure changes in favour of technically sophisticated durable goods and services. At the time when W. Rostow's work was published, he argued that this stage had been reached only in the United States, while for other countries, it was a more or less distant prospect. At the same time, supporters of the strategy of progress based on technological and economic development believed that backward countries could borrow models of socio-economic structure – not only technologies and technical innovations but also institutions, norms, and values from the most developed countries, to accelerate their development and consistently achieve higher stages of growth. This is how the idea of the need to extend Western (advanced) forms of sociality to all of humanity to accelerate its progressive development arose and was established.

The most general basis of the strategy of linear progressive development is the paradigm of transition from traditional to modern society, which is presented in the work of the American sociologist Talcott Parsons (1965). He and several other researchers of Max Weber's work believed that by exploring the spiritual preconditions of the genesis of Western capitalism and the underlying rationalisation of the way of life in “The Protestant Ethic” (1905), the German sociologist revealed the universal significance of the phenomena of Western culture. Based on this, T. Parsons (1965) states: “there can be little doubt that modern Western society has become the primary model for the world as a whole” (p. 372). The formal rationality of a mature Western capitalist society is seen by some scholars as the highest, most developed type of rationality, to which other cultures should gradually come.

The paradigm of linear, universal development based on Western models formed the basis of modernisation strategies that became particularly widespread in the second half of the 20th century. At the same time, theories of post-industrial society and postmodernity were being developed, and, at the end of the twentieth century, theories of globalisation were being developed that describe the social realities of the early twenty-first century in the paradigm of linear progressive development. The well-known American futurist Alvin Toffler (1980) defined the stages that humanity goes through in its development as successive waves: the traditional civilisation based on land ownership is replaced by industrial civilisation, and it is followed by the third wave – a civilisation in which economic, social and cultural processes are determined by information. At this newest stage, information is the main capital and wealth of society, and the specifics of its production, distribution, and exchange determine the nature of all socio-cultural processes.
3.2. Modernisation as the main type of linear strategy

The modernisation strategy refers to a society's transition process from a traditional state to a capitalist economy and entrepreneurship, civil society, the rule of law, democratic freedoms, secularisation, etc. The West implemented a linear strategy through organic modernisation, which began at the beginning of modern times based on its own endogenous socio-economic, political, and spiritual prerequisites, which met the internal needs of social development and effectively addressed the pressing problems and contradictions without disrupting the sequence of development. Then modernisation spread to other regions, and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was the most important content of world-historical development.

A leading expert in the field of modernisation, the American-Israeli scholar Shmuel Eisenstadt, in his famous work “Modernisation: Protest and Change” (1966), gave it the following general definition: “Modernisation is the process of change towards the types of sociality, economic and political systems that developed in Western Europe and North America from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries and then spread to other European countries, and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the South American, Asian and African continents” (p. 7).

In Eastern Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa, modernisation is not based on internal needs and readiness for it, nor mature endogenous social, economic, and spiritual preconditions, but on externally dictated needs. This is a secondary, inorganic modernisation that disrupts the unity of these societies and the sequence of their development. It was stimulated by the expansion of the influence and direct expansion of Western countries in America, Asia, and Africa, as well as the challenge posed by the West to them with its claims in the economic, geopolitical, information, and cultural spheres. This catch-up modernisation is based on the desire to assert itself and raise its prestige in the eyes of rich countries.

An important factor in the strategy of catch-up modernisation is the so-called demonstration effect, the desire to imitate the image, style, and most importantly, the standard of living and quality of life of developed countries. This aspiration is inherent in all segments of society, but, in our opinion, only the wealthy can fulfil it. On the other hand, the demonstration effect, focusing on the adoption of lifestyles and standards of living, on hedonistic values, does not create sustainable production and entrepreneurial orientations, which are replaced by an adventurous desire for maximum profit with minimal rationality and primitivism of economic attitudes.

Modernisation is a complex process of change that covers all spheres of public life. In politics, modernisation involves the gradual formation of a
modern Western-style political system: centralisation and separation of powers, the establishment of political democracy, and the inclusion of more and more people in political processes. In the economic sphere, modernisation involves the introduction of knowledge-intensive technologies, deepening the division of labour, the formation of markets for goods, capital, and labour, and increasing the economy's independence from politics. In the socio-cultural sphere, modernisation involves the development of individualism and impersonal forms of social interaction; secularisation and the growth of various forms of spiritual life; rationalisation of consciousness based on the widespread use of scientific and technological progress and specific forms of market regulation of the economy. However, the main goal of socio-cultural modernisation is to create spiritual and moral prerequisites for new forms of activity, primarily incentives for entrepreneurial activity. The development of socio-cultural prerequisites for modernisation can facilitate and accelerate it—similar to Protestant ethics and the development of individualism in the West, while the absence of such prerequisites, the rejection of new forms of behaviour and activity by public morality and culture lead to disruptions in modernisation and catch-up with the trends of society.

3.3. Modernisation strategy and culture of modernity

Modernisation strategies concepts often require a concept that encompasses the whole range of cultural values and institutions inherent in the capitalist Western world. The term “modern” is used for this purpose. Modernity is a complex characteristic of the culture of a developed Western bourgeois society, a commitment to European rationalism and scientism, a desire for growth in material wealth and technological progress, and an attitude to nature as an object of application of one's strength and knowledge. It is also the idea of equality and freedom of the individual, individualism, a person's readiness for constant changes in production, consumption, lifestyle, political institutions, legal norms, moral values, as well as the desire to initiate such changes and the desire to be modern. In general, modernisation strategy is associated with the spread of modernity culture.

French scholar Alain Touraine (1995) notes that modernisation is “modernity” in action. At the same time, he distinguishes between “modernisation” and “modernity”, emphasising that Japanese society, which is distinctive in its socio-cultural characteristics, is more modernised in some aspects, in particular in management, than American society, which is a recognised example of modernity culture (p. 69).

The idea of modernity and modernisation is based not only on the values of individualism and economic freedom but also on the ideals of the Enligh-
tenment, which affirm the equality of people in their desire to join the cultural heritage, scientific achievements, develop personality and intellect and be actively involved in the mankind progress (Ibid., p. 35). In this sense, modernisation means breaking with traditional class restrictions, ethnic and religious isolation, and any form of socio-cultural inequality. Two of the most important symbols of modern culture are the free market, where everyone can implement their initiative in a competitive environment, and the university, where everyone can access knowledge and culture.

Transferred to international relations, the paradigm of linear progressive development and the strategy of modernisation has been transformed into the East-West model, which includes not only the idea of the economic, scientific, and technological superiority of the West, its advanced development but also the need to develop the “lagging” East, to help it move towards progress, to overcome poverty and at least to achieve hypothetical equality with the leading West.

This understanding of the modernisation strategy is based on the culture of modernity understanding as the central meaning and goal of non-Western societies' development. Their traditional socio-cultural systems are analysed to identify positive, dynamic principles similar to the values of modernity. The general development model is presented as a universal way of modernisation, taking into account local peculiarities.

Another model of development is formed through the concepts of “countermodernisation” and “anti-modernisation” (Touraine, 1995). Countermodernisation means an alternative development option focused on the same goals as modernisation – economic development, industrialisation, and scientific and technological progress, with norms and values that are fundamentally different from those of the West. For example, industrialisation in the Soviet Union and China. Anti-modernism is considered to be the opposition to modernisation, the desire to break not only with the culture of modernity but also with the economic indicators of modernity, to find one's own, original way of development based not only on endogenous cultural values but also on forms of economic life. These include Buddhist economics, Islamic economics, etc.

At the end of the twentieth century, a strategy of modernisation bypassing the culture of modernity was formulated, justifying it by the fact that the success of modernisation is not related to copying the culture of modernity (Billet, 1993; Eisenstadt, 1997; Lutz, 1982; Touraine, 1995). They assign a limited role to Western economic rationalism in the image of industrial and technological “modernity”, and the researchers propose to replace the concept of “modernisation” with “industrialisation”. It is emphasised that the spiritual prerequisites necessary for the movement of traditional society towards industrialisation do not cover the entire scope of Western culture as an ideal type.
and do not include such inherent features as, for example, individualism, which was fully manifested, for example, in the development of Japan, China, and other Eastern countries.

3.4. Modernisation strategy and westernisation

As already mentioned, the formation of the theory of modernisation strategy was based on the idea of the linear progressive development of humanity, which passes through universal stages, stages, and formations. At the same time, it was believed that the countries of the East, Africa, and Latin America should follow the same path of progress and repeat the same stages of growth as the countries of the Western world. The initial theories of modernisation strategy formulated in the mid-twentieth century were based on the idea of overcoming backwardness in the pursuit of leadership in economic and social development and, accordingly, in the intensive borrowing of Western values, norms, and behavioural patterns (Laue, 1989). The inevitable consequence of this vision of the historical process was the initial westernisation of modernisation theories focused on identifying specific mechanisms of economic growth.

Theoretical concepts of radical westernisation were few and far between and related mainly to the colonial and early postcolonial periods, but at the level of practical modernisation policy, westernisation trends became widespread as independent socio-cultural development strategies and in combination with other strategies. The main principles of the westernisation strategy are: firstly, a hasty massive, unrestricted introduction of Western culture, intensive introduction of Western values and stereotypes of behaviour, lifestyles, and management, usually within the framework of a demonstration effect; secondly, the discrediting of traditional values and norms, worldviews, etc., as a reform course.

In general, the westernisation approach recognises that traditional values and institutions have only a very low capacity for dynamics and adaptation, and their positive content – ensuring socio-cultural integration is almost completely disregarded. Particular emphasis is placed on the incompatibility of traditional spiritual heritage with the needs for economic renewal, overcoming backwardness, and joining the civilised world community (Latouche, 1996, pp. 43-44).

Westernisation proponents rely on borrowing, up to and including copying Western values, norms, and institutions. However, the unreasonableness of these expectations becomes apparent quite quickly. Researchers note that although the external manifestations of the “spirit of capitalism” can be “imported”, the potentialities of this way are very limited, as such “culture-trigger” encounters resistance from the deep foundations of mentality and
behavioural motivation systems (Davidann, 2018, p. 295). The most striking example of radical socio-cultural westernisation and the severe socio-political upheavals that followed is the “White Revolution” in Iran in the 1970s. It was notable for the fact that it was accompanied by a very intensive development of the capitalist sector of the economy and, therefore, demonstrated a strong resistance to the cultural and spiritual aspects of society. The enormous inflow of funds and goods into the country, the development of modern sectors of the economy, and the rapid growth of the “New Persians” layer, as a success of Westernisation, did not compensate for the sharply negative impact on the public consciousness of the aggressive invasion of an alien culture.

In practice, in traditional societies, Westernisation is accompanied by the destruction of traditional structures, norms, values, socio-cultural roles, and worldviews. The experience of modernisation failures, the most striking but not the only example of which is Iran, shows that unbalanced westernisation leads to disorganisation and chaos and threatens the implementation of modernisation. At the same time, the main problem of the modernisation strategy and the main reason for its failure in traditional societies is not the lack of renewal and preservation of traditions but the lack of new relations and institutions, values, and norms to replace the old ones that are being destroyed. Conflicts and contradictions are caused not by the existence of different types of public institutions and value systems – traditional and modernised, endogenous and borrowed from the West but by the lack of their interaction and a universal system into which they could organically fit.

Already at the end of the twentieth century, critics of westernisation defended the positive role of traditional heritage in the process of modernisation and divided traditional culture into “useful” and “harmful” elements (Latouche, 1996). Various manifestations of traditional corporatism were considered harmful, especially patronage-client relations that hinder the development of individual initiative and responsibility, while analogues of Western values and institutions, especially Protestant ethics, were considered useful, motivating entrepreneurial activity of the Western capitalist type, the spread of impersonal relations, and the ethics of success. As a result of this criticism, westernisation retained the status of a local development tactic, and the paradigm of linear universal progress was gradually replaced by theories of structural and synthetic modernisation that emphasise local specificity, differences in forms, pace, and methods of development in different regions of the world.

3.5. Failure of Westernisation in non-Western cultures and the modern understanding of the modernisation strategy

The failure of westernisation theories has forced researchers to recognise the great institutional diversity of various modern and emerging societies and the importance of the existing socio-cultural types as the basis for the
sustainability and independence of society, as well as the important role of value and meaning factors in the regulation of political, economic and socio-cultural life. In the new paradigm, the global development process no longer appears to be determined solely by technological and economic processes, and modernisation no longer appears to be unilinear and monocentric but polymorphic and allows for significant variability in the structure and pace of its dynamics. The result of modernisation's critical rethinking was its interpretation no longer as a linear and universal movement towards an externally set goal but as an internally contradictory and multifaceted process.

In the modern sense, modernisation is the resolution of contradictions between first, endogenous values, norms, institutions, and the world Western civilisation, which is one of the main goals of all transformations; second, the Western values and norms introduced, borrowed institutions and own socio-cultural heritage, concerning which Westernisation acts as a destroyer; thirdly, the imperative of change, which is a condition for full entry into the established world relations, and the need to maintain the stability and integrity of society (Attir, 2020, p. 171). Given this, the resolution of these contradictions is possible only through an understanding of modernisation as a movement towards different goals in different spheres of life and recognition of the role of original culture in society.

The conceptual and terminological apparatus of the theory is being updated: instead of “modernisation” and “development”, scholars propose to use the terms “transformation” and “industrialisation”, and instead of the concept of “traditionalism”, which has acquired a negative connotation, – “endogeneity” (a term that emphasises the linkage of development to the culture's own values and institutions), and “identity” (a term that emphasises the preservation of the original essence of society, its identity with itself in all changes). To refer to the process of non-Western cultures' perception of Western values and institutions, instead of “borrowing” (which implies copying), the concepts of “orientation”, “de westernisation”, and “adaptation” are introduced, which mean the transformation of borrowed values in a new cultural environment, filling them with new, fundamentally different content (Inglehart, 2020). In the Ukrainian scientific literature (see, for example, Horbatenko, 1999), the concept of “identity” has become widely used, which includes the entire spectrum of the unique originality of each non-Western society.

**3.6. Analogues of modern culture and Protestant ethics in non-Western societies and their role in the modernisation processes**

Criticism of radical Westernisation has led to a refusal to accept its absolutisation. There was an awareness of the fact that “...the destruction of the old does not necessarily contribute to the emergence of the new and is
accompanied by it. Often, the severance of traditional ties and the loss of
traditional values leads to disintegration, disorientation, and chaos rather than
the establishment of new values and institutions” (Eisenstadt, 1997, p. 104). The
researchers admitted that traditional values, norms, and institutions do
not always hinder modernisation processes but often play a positive role. For
example, in England and Japan, monarchical symbols and the public service
ethics played a mobilising role. Ultimately, the crisis of the universal concept
of modernisation strategy convinced scholars that Western values are not
always suitable for non-Western societies, for which solidarity and justice are
more organic than rationality and free competition.

The updated concept of the modernisation strategy is based on the follo-
wing provisions: the importance of established traditional socio-cultural types
as the basis for the sustainability and independence of society; the stability of
value and meaning factors in the regulation of political, economic and socio-
cultural life; a wide variety of institutional, symbolic and ideological inter-
pretations that different societies and civilisations give to real processes of
modernisation.

The updated model of the global development process no longer looks
unilinear and monocentric, as in the Westernisation model, but polycentric,
allowing for significant variability in the forms and directions of its dynamics.
The actual form of response to the challenge of modernisation is determined
by a whole set of specific characteristics of each individual society, including
its civilisational foundations: basic ideas about the cosmic and social order
and their correlation, social and cultural system, basic ideas about the main
socio-cultural values (Eisenstadt, 1997, pp. 138-139).

The rejection of the Westernisation paradigm and the recognition of the
importance of endogenous socio-cultural factors in the process of moving
towards modernity has led to increasing attention to possible analogues of
Western individualistic, active, achievable values that would form the spiri-
tual basis of modernisation. In the middle of the second half of the twentieth
century, studies devoted to the search for direct analogues of modernity in the
endogenous cultures of the East, especially Protestant ethics, i.e. spiritual and
religious values that orient an individual towards active secular activity,
primarily production, and trade, towards the active transformation of the world
instead of passive compliance with the laws of nature and traditions, towards
the rational calculation of benefits instead of interpersonal regulation of eco-
nomic activity, became widespread.

According to Indian scholars, Max Weber’s conclusions about the pure-
ly otherworldly orientation of the Hindu worldview are not true, as it actually
generates not only the desire to avoid reality, passivity, and fatalism but also
mainly active activities to accumulate merit and improve karma (Raghuramaraju,
According to the doctrine of karma, a person creates his or her own destiny by performing good and evil deeds, and this attitude should give believers a sense of responsibility and an active attitude to life. Therefore, it is argued that the consciousness of the Hindu believer turns out to be fertile material for capitalist society and its economic rationalism.

Most scholars working in this area point to the importance of instructions for the Vaisya Varnas to work, engage in trade and crafts, lead a moderate lifestyle, accumulate wealth, etc. At a superficial glance, these guidelines resemble the norms that Protestantism asserts for its followers, especially since pre-colonial India flourished in trade and crafts, successfully developed mathematics, and developed rational formal logic and grammar. Scholars remind us that not only the Vaisya varnas, but also the Brahmans, whose orientation was purely otherworldly, far from being interested in material goods, were characterised by the desire to acquire and accumulate wealth, as they took remuneration for their ritual, scientific and legal services.

Indian scholars Goma Aier (2011) and Sunil Saxena (2013) see confirmation of the ability of endogenous Indian values to rationalise secular activity in the spiritual heritage of Mahatma Gandhi. They believe that, despite Gandhi's purely negative attitude to capitalism and industrial development, it was with him that the behavioural stereotype of a worldly ascetic, a professional politician who bases his activities on strict calculation, systematic accounting of resources, and appeal to the specific interests of the people, entered the Indian mass consciousness. For all the differences in basic values, the style of M. Gandhi's daily activities coincides with the style of such a recognised model and ideologist of bourgeois entrepreneurial ethics as Benjamin Franklin. And while Max Weber saw Protestantism as the source of Franklin's ideology, G. Aier, and S. Saxena derive Gandhi's asceticism from the religious ethics of the Indian trading castes, whose lifestyle, like that of Protestants, is strict self-control, subordination of physical and intellectual efforts to the realisation of the highest spiritual values.

Scholars of modernisation have been searching for direct analogues of Protestant ethics in Japan. The purpose of this search was to identify the spiritual foundations of the “Japanese miracle” – the rapid and effective modernisation of Japanese society. Despite all the similarities with the religious and cultural situation in China, the structure of the basic values of Japanese society, according to the well-known researcher of Far Eastern cultures Robert Bellah (2003), was fundamentally different: While China was dominated by orientations towards maintaining the stability of the system, paternalism, and filial respect, i.e. the integrative principle in culture, Japan, despite the importance of socio-cultural integration, was dominated by orientations towards mobilising the whole society to achieve the set goals,
loyalty from the bottom up and achieving high results, including economic ones. With such a structure of value orientations, Japanese society perceived the attitudes towards modernisation during the Meiji Revolution as a common goal, the achievement of which required joint efforts. This was facilitated by the high mobilisation potential of the spiritual system of Japanese Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shintoism.

In the Japanese version of Confucianism and Buddhism, researchers Gbingba Gbosoe (2006) and Yoshiie Yoda (1997) find many analogues of Protestant ethics, i.e., attitudes to active worldly activities, including economic activity, hard work, frugality, and calculation. The Japanese borrowed economic concepts from Confucianism, especially the orientation of production while limiting consumption, but these concepts were interpreted differently here than in China. First of all, Confucian economic theories were used in the practice of centralised governance, rather than remaining abstract teachings. But most importantly, they acquired a dynamism that was fundamentally different from the Chinese integrative system. This dynamism, which is the essence of the analogy between Japanese values and Protestant values, was reinforced by Buddhist and Shinto values.

An important factor reinforcing achievable rational orientations in Japanese culture is the moral and ethical code of the Bushido samurai, which has spread to all areas of activity, including the economy, the attitude of selfless service, and achievement of the goal with unconditional subordination of the inferior to the superior. In the course of the Meiji transformations in Japan, Shintoism, as a sacralisation of nationalism and loyalty to the state, became of great mobilising importance. Shinto values contributed not only to uniting society around the ideas of industrialisation during the Meiji period but also to intensifying practical efforts aimed at achieving national goals.

Researchers consider collective, group orientations to be one of the most significant socio-cultural factors in Japan's modernisation. Japanese solidarity and corporatism contributed to economic success, in contrast to another Buddhist culture, Thai, where these values are much weaker. In Thai culture, the Buddhist worldview is focused on individual salvation through the accumulation of merit and good karma, which leads to the autonomy of the individual even within a traditional solidarity community and does not contribute to its mobilisation to achieve common goals (Simon, 2020, p. 163). In Japanese culture, corporatism is based on the religious values of respect for elders and the actual “sancification” of parents and political leaders, and this sanctification goes beyond mere loyalty and orientates the individual to active, selfless, and purposeful activity for the prosperity of their corporation (Gbosoe, 2006, p. 59).

The most important of the analogues of Protestant ethics in all cultures are the values of hard work, frugality, accuracy, and the desire to accumulate
wealth. Religious motives in justifying these orientations stand out, especially the higher spiritual sanction of active production and commercial activity. Kim Kyong-Dong (2017), Lionel Obadia (2016), and other scholars find the spiritual origins of economic rationality and worldly asceticism in some Confucian and Buddhist teachings, which proclaim diligence in work and moderation in consumption as a religious duty, and justify the desire to accumulate wealth, which is considered an unworthy pursuit in classical Buddhism and Confucianism. Among them, the teachings of the monk Suzuki Shsan stand out, emphasising that every profession and job is a test of faith. Therefore, there is no other way of self-realisation for a Buddhist than devotion to earthly duty and selfless work, whether it is the work of a peasant or a trader. According to the doctrine, the amount of prosperity and life expectancy depends on karma, and every Buddhist should work simply for the good of others, eliminating their own interests and concern for personal material prosperity (King, 1986, pp. 279-281). This is akin to the Calvinist doctrine. In our opinion, this concept has played a significant role in shaping economic ethics at various stages of the modernisation of Japanese society.

3.7. Incomplete analogies of modernity and Protestant ethics in non-Western cultures

In the search for analogues of modern culture and Protestant ethics, one should rely on the polymorphism of culture, norms, and values that testify to the importance of practical attitudes in real life. These attitudes, according to many scholars, should be sufficient to legitimise endogenous capitalist development. However, the question remains unanswered as to why endogenous capitalism has not developed independently in the East until the challenge from the West. The use of historical, political, and other factors to explain the problem is not enough: a theoretical model of the correlation between different types of economic orientations is needed.

The analysis of the endogenous cultural heritage shows that the manifestations of pragmatism and rationality that are manifested on the Indian soil are fundamentally different from the rational secular asceticism of Protestants, which M. Weber took as the basis of the “spirit of capitalism”. In general, today Hinduism appears as a coordinated system of life positions that combines otherworldly mystical attitudes and active activity in the mundane world. However, this latter is not an independent means of salvation, like secular asceticism in Protestantism, but only an element or stage subordinated to the ultimate otherworldly orientation. Therefore, although asceticism and rationality elements are included in the Hindu system of behavioural norms, the dominant, defining principle remains mystical contemplation and withdrawal from the earthly world. This means that the rational economic activity that underlies European capitalism is not inherent in Indian culture.
Attempts to explain Japan's successful modernisation by using modernisation analogues are also subject to reasonable criticism. First of all, institutional, social, and political factors, as well as historical circumstances, play a greater role here than in the West. The coincidence of certain values with Western values is accidental and local and has no explanatory significance for the origins of Japanese modernisation. According to some scholars (see: Gbosoe, 2006; Yoda, 1997; Kyong-Dong, 2017; Obadia, 2016; and others), Japan's modernisation problems should be approached from a broader historical perspective that takes into account various historical circumstances and events, institutional and structural factors.

Thus, in the countries of the East, the analogues of Western values of modernity and Protestant ethics found there have a different socio-cultural nature and, in our opinion, are correlated with pre-bourgeois European values and universal pragmatic attitudes. This conclusion confirms the importance of the endogenous socio-cultural heritage in modernisation and the need for a more attentive attitude to the traditional potential of non-Western societies. And the inadequacy of analogues suggests that Eastern cultures are not similar to Western ones, their specificity has deeper roots than simple traditional exoticism, which is overcome in the course of moving along the “universal” path of development. The inability to liken the endogenous socio-cultural values of the East to those of the West forces modernisation theorists to move on by recognising socio-cultural specificity and traditions as an independent factor of modernisation.

### 3.8. Synthetic concepts of the modernisation strategy

The current stage of global development is reflected in synthetic modernisation concepts (see: Kyong-Dong, 2017; Feenberg, 1995; Dube, 1988; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). They are called synthetic because they believe that the success of modernisation is possible only with an organic synthesis of modern rational and technological values and institutions with the traditional, original foundations of non-Western societies and consider the consideration of socio-cultural specifics to be the most important initial prerequisite for modern transformations. At the same time, modernisation is conceived as a complex process that involves the structural differentiation of the socio-cultural system and the formation of new institutions, norms, forms of communication, symbols, and values not on the basis of denying the traditional but its organic inclusion in the processes of modernisation, involving its mobilisation and integration potential. In this regard, there is a rediscovery of traditional cultures, which acquire new meaning and become a legitimate basis for transformation. Because of this, “the essence of modernisation of non-Western societies is that it is carried out based on political, social, cul-
tural, religious pluralism, the simultaneous action of various factors and trends, the clash of processes of rejection of the new, adaptation to it, its unconditional acceptance while abandoning one's own heritage, or, conversely, the absolutisation of the latter, etc.” (Eisenstadt, 1997, p. 288).

The modernisation strategy structural paradigm reflects the fact that modern activities and value orientations occupy only certain areas of social life: modern sectors in the economy and finance, some sectors of the political system, science and technology. Traditional areas of regulation include interpersonal relations, informal communication, family, ensuring the integrity and spiritual unity of society, and solving worldview and existential problems. Robert Bellah (2003) notes that the transition to modernity does not mean the dominance of economic values and economic rationality in society – only the United States has actually gone through this development path. In other societies and cultures, economic rationality is given the freedom to develop in a particular social niche.

The study of ways and forms of synthesis and structuring of traditional and modern values should include the identification of those elements in the endogenous spiritual heritage that can most successfully contribute to the organic transition to modernity: define the goals, needs, and strategic directions of development of distinctive societies, ensure the legitimacy of new institutions and forms of activity, and facilitate the adaptation of traditional individuals to them. The opposition between traditional and modern industrial-capitalist societies should not be seen as a rigid antithesis but as a fluid relationship, due to the dynamism of the traditional principle and its ability to change and adapt to modern conditions.

Utilitarian and practical orientations, in the context of this approach, should be viewed not as direct analogues of modernity but as prerequisites for the formation of the culture and ethos of modern industrial society, which can be used in the implementation of the modernisation strategy. Leading American anthropologist Milton Singer (1972), one of the most consistent exponents of this position, based on sociological research on the value orientations of Madras entrepreneurs, argues that traditional Indian religion and social institutions are compatible with modern economic development and successfully adapt to ensure its further progress (p. 358). He concluded that Hinduism could be used as a good spiritual basis for industrial development if its philosophical and ethical teachings are taken into account. Hindu traditional institutions also successfully adapted to the new conditions and turned into distinctive forms of functioning of bourgeois institutions and norms. The caste system successfully combines with modern forms of hierarchy based on qualifications, education, etc., while ensuring solidarity and identification of individuals at the personal level of communication. The same applies to the
traditional large family, which, while adapting to modern socio-cultural relations and functioning in the context of industrial production, is not destroyed and does not constitute an obstacle to economic and social development.

Local traditions, which combine the values of traditional asceticism with attitudes to economic and entrepreneurial activity, are of great importance as factors that activate entrepreneurial activity. Reformist movements and religious sects often act in this capacity. It is known that the Jains have achieved very significant success in the commercial and financial spheres of the Indian economy. *Max Weber* (1921) foresaw this and wrote about them as possible carriers of commercial and financial capital in India. This is because the Jains' propensity for rationality and a strictly ordered lifestyle is combined with an extremely strict prohibition on violence and the killing of living beings, which severely limits the possible areas of application of their activity. Commerce and finance remain among the few professions that satisfy the religious and moral imperatives of Jains.

It is known that the Sikhs became the carriers of the Green Revolution, which consisted of the use of new intensive methods of agriculture in India in the middle of the second half of the twentieth century. Scientists believe that the Green Revolution was the result of a long “green evolution” for Sikhs, i.e. the cultivation of attitudes towards productive, commercially oriented agriculture, respect for the values of hard work, and rational farming.

Religious reformism also contributes to the intensification of entrepreneurial activity. In the East, it is an attempt to give secular professional activity a higher spiritual approval. The most famous reformer of Hinduism, philosopher of Vedanta and Yoga *Swami Vivekananda*, in his works *Karma Yoga* (1896) and *Practical Vedanta* (1902), proclaimed work as one of the ways to achieve freedom and salvation. Reformist tendencies contributed to greater social integration by legitimising the principle of variation, and the diversity of professional and private life. It is noteworthy that, unlike the Western Reformation, which led to a split in Christianity and was accompanied by long religious wars, reformist trends in the East were organically integrated into a great tradition. Affirming the values and norms of secular activity, Eastern reformers perceive it as their own (Indian, Buddhist, Islamic), do not abolish or criticize it, but adapt it to the modern reality.

4. Conclusions

The article provides a theoretical analysis of linear socio-cultural strategies for managing the development of society in the context of cross-cultural differences. The results of the study allow us to draw the following conclusions:

1. Linear socio-cultural strategies for managing the development of society are based on the ideas of objectivity, regularity, and universality of human
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progress. This progress includes socio-economic formations whose economic, social, and cultural characteristics are determined by the mode of production, i.e., the prevailing relations of ownership, forms of participation in social production, and ways of appropriating a share of material wealth.

2. The paradigm of linear universal development with the reproduction of Western models formed the basis of modernisation strategies, which is understood as the process of transition of a society from a traditional state to a capitalist economy and entrepreneurship, civil society, the rule of law, democratic freedoms and secularisation.

3. The West implemented a linear strategy through organic modernisation, which began at the beginning of modern times based on its own endogenous socio-economic, political, and spiritual prerequisites, which met the internal needs of social development and effectively solved the pressing problems and contradictions without disrupting the sequence of development. Later, modernisation spread to other regions, and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it became the content of world-historical development.

4. In Eastern Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa, modernisation is not based on internal needs and readiness for it, nor mature endogenous social, economic, and spiritual preconditions, but on externally dictated needs. This is a secondary, inorganic modernisation that disrupts the unity of these societies and the sequence of their development. It was stimulated by the expansion of the influence and direct expansion of Western countries, as well as the challenge posed by the West to them with its claims in the economic, geopolitical, information, and cultural spheres.

5. The modernisation strategy is based on the culture of modernity. Modernity is the culture of a developed Western bourgeois society, a commitment to European rationalism and scientism, a desire for growth in material wealth and technical progress, and an attitude to nature as an object of application of one's strength and knowledge. It is also the idea of equality and freedom of the individual, individualism, a person's readiness for constant changes in production, consumption, lifestyle, political institutions, legal norms, moral values, as well as the desire to initiate such changes, and the desire to be modern.

6. Alternative strategies for society development are formed through countermodernisation and anti-modernisation concepts. The former means a development option focused on the same goals as modernisation – economic development, industrialisation, and scientific and technological progress, with norms and values that are fundamentally different from those of the West (the USSR, China). The second is the opposition to modernisation, the desire to break not only with the culture of modernity but also with the economic indicators of modernity, to find their own, original way of development based not only on endogenous cultural values but also on forms of economic life (Buddhist and Islamic economies).
7. The principles of the westernisation strategy in traditional societies are the hasty and unrestricted introduction of Western values, behavioural patterns, lifestyles and the discrediting of traditional values, norms and world-views. The emphasis is placed on the incompatibility of traditional spiritual heritage with the needs for economic renewal and accession to the civilised world community. Proponents of Westernisation pin their hopes on Western values, norms, and institutions adoption. However, the failure of these expectations becomes apparent quite quickly.

8. Criticism of radical Westernisation has led to a refusal to accept its absolutisation. There has been a realisation that the destruction of the old does not necessarily contribute to the emergence of the new. The severance of traditional ties and the loss of traditional values leads to disintegration, disorientation and chaos, rather than the establishment of new values and institutions. It has been established that traditional values, norms and institutions do not always slow down the modernisation process but often play a positive role.

9. The updated modernisation strategy no longer looks unilinear and monocentric, as in the Westernisation model, but polycentric, allowing for considerable variability in the forms and directions of its dynamics. The answer to the challenge of modernisation is determined by the set of characteristics of each individual society, including its civilisational foundations: basic ideas about the cosmic and social order, social and cultural system, and ideas about basic socio-cultural values.

10. The current stage of society's development is reflected in the synthetic theories of modernisation strategy, which believe that the success of modernisation is possible only through the organic synthesis of modern rational and technological values and institutions with the traditional, original foundations of non-Western societies and consider the consideration of socio-cultural specifics to be the most important initial prerequisite for modern transformations.

**The scientific novelty.** To deepen the theoretical foundations of linear strategies for managing the development of society in the context of cultural diversity.

**The significance of the study.** The significance of the research results lies in the addition to science of new theoretical provisions on linear strategies of society management, as well as in the possibility of using them in the process of training personnel for public administration.

**Prospects for further research.** The prospect of further research in this area may be to study the peculiarities of applying non-linear strategies of society development.

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**Information about the Author:**

**Yelena Kovalenko**, Associate Professor, National Academy of Managerial Staff of Culture and Arts, 9, Lavrska St., Kyiv 01015, Ukraine; e-mail: elena.kovalenko.ya@gmail.com; orcid id: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2253-5762