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# CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION, AVOIDANT COPING, AND THE DECLINE OF FAMILY COHESION IN PAKISTAN: A GROUNDED THEORY PERSPECTIVE

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## ABSTRACT

*Culture is a dynamic force that changes gradually over the course time and while doing so it affects social institutions and individual minds which reciprocally affect culture. Pakistan is experiencing a rapid cultural shift particularly in recent years due to political, social, economic, and global influences. While these changes are noted, there is little research on psychological effects of these changes or how different generations view and respond to them. This study fills the gap by looking at cultural perceptions, psychological effects, and coping methods in Pakistan. Methodology included Grounded Theory approach to gather insights from participants. The data was collected in two parts. Firstly, it was collected using an online questionnaire, the results showed that 95% of participants recognized cultural change, and 92.75% viewed it negatively. Secondly, semi-structured interviews were conducted using convenience sampling technique. Participants were recruited from three age groups: older adults (60 years and above), middle-aged adults (40-60 years), and young adults (18-40 years). The grounded theory analysis used constant comparative methods, enabling open, selective, and theoretical coding to create a framework for understanding cultural change. The results indicated that amid cultural transformation, both intra- and intergenerational conflicts are increasing. These conflicts have led to poor coping strategies such as interaction avoidance and reduced communication among family members. Consequently, family structures are showing signs of disintegration, which is significant as the family is the primary source of cultural transmission. This points to a bidirectional impact where cultural change influences family dynamics, and weakened family structures, in turn, accelerate cultural disruption. Furthermore, the findings suggest that the younger population is experiencing an unstable sense of cultural identity.*

***Keywords:*** *Cultural transformation, Pakistan, generational conflict, grounded theory, cultural transmission, coping methods, cultural identity confusion*

## INTRODUCTION

Culture is a complex and deeply intricate phenomenon that provides a set of norms and values to guide people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors (Bruner, 1990). It has been argued that the human mind cannot exist or function properly outside of a sociocultural context, which highlights the importance of studying psychological processes within their cultural environments (Shweder, 1995). Another significant aspect of culture is its fluid and evolving nature; it continuously changes with time (Hofstede, 2003). Multiple factors such as cultural globalization, large-scale immigration, and the shifting political and economic landscape of the world contribute to cultural change (Hofstede, 2003). Studying cultural change is an inherently challenging task, but what makes the psychological study of cultural change in Pakistan

particularly complex is the profound impact of cultural globalization combined with the country's dense ethnic, political, and territorial history. Understanding how these factors interact and influence the psychological processes of Pakistanis adds another layer of difficulty to this area of inquiry.

**Literature Review and Research Gap**

It has been argued by psychologists that culture and mind are highly interrelated entities which perpetually shape one another. Culture shape behaviors and vice versa. This phenomenon is described as mutual constitution of self and culture by Markus and Kityama (2010) whereby individuals are psychologically developed by interacting with their social environment and through these daily interactions culture is formed and transformed. This reciprocal relationship highlights that psychological processes such as thinking, feeling and behaving are not universal and are culturally patterned (Heine, 2011; Kitayama & Uskul, 2011) For example, studies of self-concept (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), social orientation (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998), and attention (Masuda et al., 2008) highlight striking cultural differences. Even classic psychological findings once thought to be universal, such as the fundamental attribution error (Ross, 1977), vary across cultures (Heine & Hamamura, 2007). These studies collectively suggest that cultural context is not peripheral but central to psychological functioning

Culture itself is not static. It evolves in response to political, economic, and social shifts, as well as global influences such as migration and media exposure. Twenge and Campbell (2001) showed how cultural shifts in the United States were linked to changes in self-esteem across generations, while Flynn (1987) documented long-term increases in IQ scores associated with modernization and schooling. These examples illustrate how cultural transformation can reshape psychological processes, from self-evaluation to cognitive abilities.

Pakistan provides a unique case for studying these dynamics. Scholars have described the country as undergoing rapid cultural change, shaped by urbanization, political shifts, globalization, and the spread of digital media (Paracha, 2005; Qadeer, 2006). Such changes have altered family roles, gender expectations, and social norms. Because family is the primary institution for transmitting cultural values, its transformation carries wider implications for cultural continuity. When families experience breakdown or weakened communication, the flow of cultural knowledge across generations becomes disrupted, creating a feedback loop where cultural change and family disintegration reinforce each other.

A growing body of research documents how these cultural shifts are playing out within Pakistani families. Studies note increasing intergenerational tensions, particularly between parents and young adults, as traditional expectations clash with globalized ideals of independence and self-expression (Qadeer, 2006; Paracha, 2015). These tensions often lead to poor coping strategies, including avoidance of interaction and reduced communication within households. Such patterns have psychological costs. Young people in Pakistan who experience strained family communication report greater emotional distress, difficulties in self-regulation, and in some cases, identity confusion (see also Heine & Buchtel, 2009).

Other studies focusing on adolescents and young adults describe an emerging instability in cultural identity. Exposure to diverse value systems through media and education creates ambivalence: many youths selectively adopt global cultural symbols while still negotiating family and community expectations. This instability is associated with stress and a fragmented sense of self, making it difficult for young people to develop a coherent identity.While existing research points to intergenerational conflict, family disintegration, and cultural identity struggles, it rarely examines how these elements are connected in a single explanatory framework. In particular, few studies trace the *bidirectional relationship* between cultural transformation and family processes

**Rationale**

Culture is an important psychological construct that continually evolves over time. Cultural changes not only transform social institutions but also influence psychological processes such as self-esteem (Twenge & Campbell, 2001), narcissism (Roberts & Helson, 1997), and intelligence (Flynn, 1987). Pakistan is currently undergoing a massive cultural shift (Paracha, 2005) due to both internal factors (political, social, and economic)

and external factors (globalization and immigration). Although cultural and social changes in Pakistan have been extensively studied (Qadeer, 2006; Paracha, 2015), there remains a lack of comprehensive research addressing the relationship between cultural transformation and its psychological impacts on citizens.The present study seeks to fill this gap by focusing on cross-temporal changes in Pakistani culture. Specifically, it aims to explore the nature of cultural change, its psychological consequences, and the ways in which individuals adapt to and cope with these transformations.

**Research Questions**

What are the changes in the culture of Pakistan?
What are the social and psychological impacts of cultural changes?
How people of Pakistan are adapting and coping with cultural changes?

**Aims of the study:**

To understand the perceptions of people related to the ongoing cultural change in Pakistan
To examine how personal beliefs and attitudes contribute to people's interpretations of cultural change as negative.
To analyze the manifestations of specific perceptions that are regarded as reinforcing or sustaining negative cultural transformations.
To understand how people are adapting and coping to the cultural change

**Method**

For this research, qualitative research method was employed which is one of the most suitable research methodologies particularly in areas of study where previous research is lacking and new concepts and theories are emerging. In essence, qualitative method of inquiry encourages the emergence and development of knowledge which is supported by and embedded in the data (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Grounded Theory is one such method which is specifically designed to serve the purpose of theory emergence. By definition, Grounded Theory is "an inductive, theory driven methodology that allows the researcher to develop theoretical accounts of the general features of a topic while simultaneously grounding the account in the empirical observations or data" (Martin & Turner, 1986, p. 141). The topic of cultural change and psychological processes is a wide and an unexplored area in Pakistan, therefore grounded theory was most relevant qualitative analysis because it provided the freedom and flexibility to explore data and give direction to the data by means of theoretical sampling. It also encourages the natural emergence of theory withdrawn from the data.

**Sample**

The intent of participant recruitment in Grounded theory is to collect information-rich data, and sample sizes are often small in comparison to quantitative research. This is not considered problematic because data collection and preliminary analysis occur simultaneously, guiding the final recruitment and data collection until the study aims are met (Charmaz, 2006). For the present study sampling was carried out in two steps. First by means of an online survey using convenience sampling methodology perceptions of the general population were taken by asking a close ended question that whether they perceive culture change or not. Age range of the participants was between 18-70 years. From the results of survey, further sampling was done by using purposive sampling methodology. Sample was recruited in three stages as per the requirements of the emerging theory. The process of data collection was not stopped until the addition of new data did not add anything new to the emerging theoretical model in order to trace the changes in Pakistani culture, the first round of sample recruitment comprised of selecting older sample (Age 60). After the preliminary analysis of the data the other two age (middle adults 40-60, young adults 18-40) groups were simultaneously recruited to get the in-depth perceptions related to the generational differences in perception of culture of Pakistan. The details of the participants are presented in the table below:

**Table 1**

Demographic Characteristics of Participants (Study One, N = 234)

| Variable | n | % |
|---|---|---|
| Gender | | |
| Male | 117 | 50 |
| Female | 117 | 50 |
| Age Group | | |
| Old Adults | 47 | 20 |
| Middle Adults | 47 | 20 |
| Young Adults | 94 | 40 |
| Education | | |
| Matric | 70 | 30 |
| Undergraduate | 129 | 55 |
| Postgraduate | 35 | 15 |

**Table 2**

Demographic Characteristics of Participants (Study Two, N = 24)

| Variable | n | % |
|---|---|---|
| Gender | | |
| Male | 12 | 50 |
| Female | 12 | 50 |
| Age Group | | |
| Old Adults | 6 | 20 |
| Middle Adults | 6 | 20 |
| Young Adults | 12 | 40 |
| Education | | |
| Matric | 7 | 30 |
| Undergraduate | 14 | 55 |
| Postgraduate | 3 | 15 |

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**Inclusion criteria**

All participants recruited in this study were educated Pakistani nationals who could communicate in both English and Urdu language. All participants belonging to the urban areas of Pakistan were eligible for the study. Both male and female gender were included in sample.

**Qualitative Method of Analysis**

One of the major distinguishing characteristic of grounded theory methodology is that it does not use pre-written questions which seek to either test or validate a theory, instead, grounded theory seeks to generate participant-led data from which a theory can be drawn (Bryant & Charmaz, 2010; Charmaz, 2010). A range of data collection methods can be used within grounded theory methodology, but face-to-face interview methods are particularly useful because meaning is constructed through participant-researcher interactions in order to generate new knowledge (Charmaz, 2006). Data collection used a semi-structured interview format as this is a well-established method of collecting data within qualitative research methods to enable meaningful interactions with participants, allowing them to share their experiences, thoughts, attitudes and beliefs (Richards and Morse, 2007). This enabled exploration of a range of issues, whilst emphasizing aspects of the phenomenon participants perceive as important. For the present study, an open ended semi-structured interview was designed (Appendix) was the initial phase of data collection. As the data collection proceeded, the questions were repeatedly reframed to better understand the phenomenon understudy.

**Procedure**

The process of data collection started by conducting single question based online survey using convenience sampling technique. The survey yielded the perceptions of participants related to cultural change in percentage. 95% Pakistani perceived that culture of Pakistan has

changed and 92.75% among perceived that the change is negative in nature.

Before the initiation of every interview, participants were briefed about the research and its purpose. Participants were guided about their right to leave the research at any time and that their information will remain confidential. Their names will be replaced by pseudonyms and their data will not be misused.

As the basic understanding related to the perceptions of cultural change emerged during interviews, more participants were contacted to gather answers and fill the gaps of the emerging model. Following the Glaserian (1967) dictum that "all is data", various sources were also consulted to understand and refine the emerging model. Tape recording is not encouraged in Glaserian grounded theory as it is considered to be a time consuming activity. GGT emphasize that full coding of all parts of descriptive talk is unnecessary rather one should focus on the emergence of the relevant abstract concepts related to the phenomenon under study. Field notes and memo writing was done all along the data collection process which facilitated in keeping the written record of the cognitive and psychosocial processes reflected in the interviews. The relevant parts of the talk which helped the formation of the themes are presented in the sample coding charts. The data collection for each age cohort did not stop until thematic saturation was achieved and no new code or category emerged as a result of constant comparative analysis.

**Analysis**

The coding was carried out in three steps: open, selective and theoretical coding. In open coding data was first divided and fractured into discrete sets using constant comparative analysis. Because there were three age cohorts in the study, open codes were generated by first intra-cohort comparative analysis and then inter-cohort comparative analysis. The categories emerged from the constant comparative analysis, were then compared with the open codes of the other age cohorts until no new codes emerged and categories of similar phenomenon were formed. These codes were then condensed into selective codes based on the meaning and relationship. At this stage, new data was also taken to add more meaning and depth to the emerging model. These selective codes were further analyzed using abstract concepts until the theoretical codes were emerged. To facilitate the emergence of abstract yet meaningful theoretical codes related to the cultural change and underlying psychological processes of the participants, new questions were continuously added to consolidate, refine and confirm these categories. The theoretical codes thus emerged encapsulated all the selective and open codes and completely supported the model of cultural change.

**Theoretical Concepts**

The theoretical concepts which emerged after the rigorous and iterative process of data collection and data analysis reflects the psychological processes of individuals which are contributing and maintaining the negative cultural change. The categories that emerged after the constant comparative analysis of the theoretical sampling of older adults revealed that there has been a drastic change in the culture of Pakistan in the past six decades. They reported that during their childhood and adulthood, the culture of Pakistan was more collectivist in nature. The bonds between individuals and families were very strong. There was love and respect for parents, siblings, and extended family members such as cousins, aunts, and uncles. They further noticed that society at that time was more caring and empathetic as compared to now. People used to live together with harmony and solidarity as one community despite having personal opinions and differences. Festivals, seasons, and wedding ceremonies were thoroughly enjoyed. People were always readily available to help each other, but now everything has changed.It has further been observed that people of this age group have a strong and stable sense of social, moral, and cultural identities as compared to the younger generations. This is because their social roles and responsibilities were clearly defined and followed. There was no friction or disagreement regarding the gender roles ascribed to them by society.

This age group possessed a very strong and fixed set of values, and they perceived the world around them through the lens of those values. For example, the value of respect and obedience toward elders is extremely important to them, and not receiving that from the younger generation makes them upset. This age group also has a clear sense of right and wrong, indicating a rigid sense

of moral values. People belonging to this age group were also clear about their cultural norms and traditions and followed them enthusiastically.

Older adults have a very positive view of their own generation. They feel that they were much better in all aspects of life compared to the younger generations, and they share bitter and aggressive feelings toward younger generations to the extent that they have isolated themselves. Participants reported that they no longer feel included in the lives of their young family members, as they are intolerant, impatient, and lack respect for elders. This has created a communication void, which is creating and maintaining intergenerational tension. The data also highlighted that older adults share feelings of hopelessness and sadness as they miss the good old times. This is further intensifying the generation gap because they are dwelling on the past so much that they are unable to realize the needs of the present.

Perceptions of middle adults regarding cultural change are similar to those of older adults; however, some subtle differences were also observed. Participants shared that love, care, and belongingness for family and society have greatly reduced in present-day society. They recalled their childhood experiences, explaining that society at that time was more empathetic. Parents, teachers, and elders were respected and obeyed. A majority of the population used to live together in a joint family system. Although there were many challenges in that system, love, respect, patience, and tolerance kept them tied together. They also noticed that society has grown more materialistic. People of previous generations used to help each other out of care, but today it is often done merely to display wealth and to show off. They further perceived that marital as well as parental bonds were very strong compared to now. The generation of their parents used to nonverbally communicate with their spouses. There was understanding and commitment in marital relationships, which has reduced to a smaller degree in their own generation and to a larger degree in the younger generation.

The parent–child relationship is also suffering because of the changed lifestyles. They also perceived that their social and emotional expectations are not met by their children and vice versa, which is creating a communication gap leading to intergenerational conflict. One reason for this is that the environment has changed and is changing so rapidly due to information technology that it is becoming extremely difficult to keep pace with it. Another reason is increased inflation, which is propelling more and more women into the workforce, thereby challenging traditional gender roles and responsibilities to some extent, though not greatly enough to cause conflict with the older generations. The social, moral, and cultural identities of this age group are stable and positive. They perceive their generation to be better than the younger generations.

The age group of young adults was further divided into two sub-age cohorts: Cohort A and Cohort B, based on the data findings. Cohort A included participants ranging in age from 25 to 40 years, and Cohort B included participants aged 18 to 25 years. This division of cohorts was not preplanned but was directed and guided by the data. Within the age range of 18–40 years, thematic saturation occurred in two separate clusters, and further data collection did not merge the two together. Cluster A represented the data of young adults between 25 and 40 years of age. These individuals do have a generational gap and differences with their parents' and grandparents' generations, but their differences are not as sharp as those reported by Cluster B. This indicates the rapidity with which the culture of Pakistan is changing after the advent of communication technology, and how within the same generation, there are two dominant and distinct views about the culture of Pakistan.

Cluster A perceived culture as shifting more toward individualism. They realized that society is different, and so are its demands. However, their parents did not understand this, which was creating an emotional distance between them. They reported having differences with their parents, but these differences were not severe enough to turn into conflicts. Their social, moral, and cultural identities are less stable compared to older generations, but relatively more stable than those of the younger individuals within the same generation. The social roles and responsibilities of gender are ambiguous, and this is creating conflicts within and between generations. They feel less understood by their parents and other social relationships, leading them to avoid much interaction with them, which results in the creation of a communication gap.

This age cohort has flexible social and moral values; however, their flexibility is moderate. This

age group is also the last to have witnessed the traditional culture of Pakistan before the advancement of communication technology was introduced into Pakistani society; hence their cultural identity is relatively more stable than that of younger individuals. Cluster B had the most different and conflicting approach toward culture. Their perceptions of Pakistani culture are that it is confusing and ambiguous. They neither follow Pakistani culture nor Western culture; therefore, their social, moral, and cultural identities are volatile, meaning they are easily molded. They further argued that there is a vast generation gap between their parents and their age group. This gap is created by the perception that their parents do not understand them or their needs, and that they are not accepted by them. They also highlighted that they feel helpless and on their own without any guidance. According to them, parents feel that they are fulfilling their duties, but that is not true. This generation also feels alone, even in the social media era. They feel that they cannot trust anyone and that everyone is selfish, which has led to both intergenerational and intergenerational conflict.

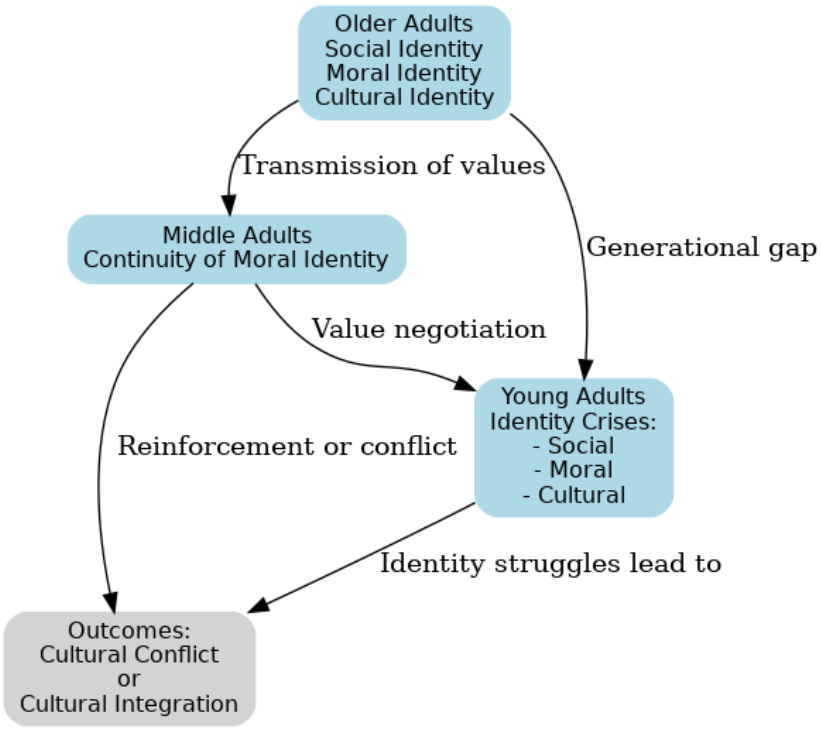



**Figure 1 Conceptual Model of Cultural Change**

**Across Generations**

The model illustrates intergenerational dynamics of cultural change in Pakistan. Older adults preserve established social, moral, and cultural identities. Middle adults maintain continuity of moral identity, creating partial alignment with older adults. Young adults, however, experience identity crises across social, moral, and cultural domains. These intergenerational tensions generate two possible outcomes: cultural conflict or cultural integration. The arrows represent

processes of value transmission, negotiation, and conflict emerging from generational gaps.

The model that emerged from the grounded theory process explains the reasons behind negative cultural changes in Pakistan. It holds that increasing conflict **between** generations (older vs younger adults; middle vs young adults) and **within** generations (among young adults) is driving these changes.

### General View of the Model

The model suggests that older adults were able to transmit traditional values, beliefs, and practices of Pakistani culture to middle adults without resistance. According to the data, society then was stable, and cultural ideas were still applicable. Another reason is that middle adults had limited exposure to the wider world. Middle adults did make modifications to cultural ideas, but in ways that preserved their essence. Thus, intergenerational differences existed, but not intergenerational conflict.

When middle adults tried to pass those cultural ideas to young adults, they met strong resistance. Young adults had greater exposure to a rapidly changing world, and many traditional ideas were no longer relevant. This created conflict between middle and young adults, and also between older and young adults. The model also highlights that, as cultural support declined and modern world demands increased, young adults began to experience intra-generational conflict.

### Step by Step Explanation of the Model

#### Intergenerational Differences between Older and Middle Adults

Every generation differs from the one before it. In cultural transmission theory, this reflects how cultural content is adapted to societal needs, creating diversity between and within generations. The data shows that culture was largely successfully transmitted from parents to middle adults during upbringing. They shared similar social, moral, and cultural identities, although there were some differences.

#### Intergenerational Conflict between Older and Young Adults

Older generations hold more traditional values, norms, beliefs, and practices. They tend to view cultural change from a more egocentric perspective, lacking awareness that lifestyles and times have changed. They expect respect and care as they once gave, discourage questioning, and are often emotionally inexpressive traits common in their socialization. Younger generations do not always meet these expectations. Older adults often fail to understand that rigid moral values and egocentrism can create hostility. Because of these conflicts, communication between older and younger adults often breaks down. The absence of channels to transmit the positive aspects of culture leads to moral decline.

#### Intergenerational Conflict between Middle and Young Adults

Normally, cultural transmission would create differences similar to those between older and middle adults. But the rapid pace of change has turned differences into conflict. Middle-aged adults feel the younger generation lacks respect, tolerance, and patience. They believe young adults demand autonomy and independence. Middle adults are also confused. They have social burdens and economic pressures. Because their own socialization framed them in certain ideas, they struggle to understand their children. Young adults feel misunderstood, creating a communication void. This void contributes to family disintegration.

Young adults, in turn, perceive their parents as materialistic. Parents also view young adults as egocentric. Both are emotionally expressive to different degrees: middle adults tend to be emotionally restrained, while young adults want verbal validation. This mismatch deepens emotional distance.

#### Intra-generational Conflict within Young Adults

Young adults lack a solid cultural framework and are exposed to a rapidly changing world. Their social, moral, and cultural identities become unstable, which leads to conflicts among themselves.

All three generations commonly cope by avoiding communication. This avoidance worsens the communication gap. Because values are not effectively transmitted between or within generations, there is moral decline, family disintegration, and increased materialism—leading to social detachment.

## Discussion

This study aimed to capture perceptions of cultural change in Pakistan, and how people are adapting. It also explored psychological processes behind what is perceived as negative change. The findings point to increasing intergenerational conflict with communication gaps being central. These gaps block the smooth transmission of culture from one generation to the next. Culture is transmitted from one generation to another in the form of values, beliefs, practices and knowledge (Morin, 2013; Campbell, 1975). The field of cultural transmission is well established in anthropology, sociology and bio-genetics, because it explains both cultural stability and cultural change (Schönpflug, 2009b). Lately, cultural transmission has gained more attention in psychology, described as the passing on of cultural information through social or observational learning, verbal and non-verbal communication (Tam, 2015).

Recent normative approaches in cultural psychology (Chiu et al., 2010; Fischer et al., 2009; Shteynberg et al., 2009) suggest that cultural members do not always passively internalize cultural ideas. Rather, they actively construct and share cultural knowledge, which may differ from internalized orientations (e.g., Fischer et al., 2009). The study shows a widening communication gap between parents and children, especially between middle and young adults. Parents are traditionally the main agents of cultural transmission (Schönpflug, 2009a). They attempt to transmit their endorsed cultural ideals. This aligns with culture and self-perspectives, which argue that culture resides in people's internalized values and beliefs, and cultural behavior is driven by these internalized characteristics (Triandis, 1989). Many studies assume parents hope to reproduce their own values in their children (see Kuczynski, Marshall, & Schell, 1997; Strauss, 1992). Past research has often focused on similarities, or on explaining when parent-child value orientations diverge (Roest, Dubas, Gerris, & Engels, 2009; Schönpflug, 2001).

Another common parental goal is cultural preservation in the next generation (Berry, 2008). This goal features strongly when parents identify strongly with their culture (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, Tam and Chan (2015) found that ethnic minority parents' preferences for what culture to transmit depended heavily on what they perceived as norms in both the settlement society and their ethnic society. Even if external adaptation is needed, parents with strong cultural identity prioritized those values. In the context of Pakistan, parents have tried to transmit values learned in a different, more stable cultural world. Because those values are less applicable now, transmission strains can harm both parents and children.

Earlier research (Haeger & Lingham, 2013; Finkelstein, Ryan, & King, 2013; Smola & Sutton, 2002; Becton, Walker, & Jones-Farmer, 2014) has noted that perceived generational differences can lead to stereotypes, tensions, or conflicts in workplaces and families. Mannheim's (1952) idea, that individuals born in the same historical context share collective experiences which shape their attitudes, supports understanding generational phenomena (Pilcher, 1994; Schuman & Scott, 1989; Foster, 2013).

## Conclusion

The findings of this study suggest that Pakistan is in the midst of a cultural shift, and for many people, the direction of this change feels troubling. At the family level, rising intergenerational conflict and weak communication appear to be central problems. Each generation seems to approach these issues from its own perspective, often with little willingness to compromise. This erodes family relationships and, by extension, weakens the transfer of cultural values across generations.

These insights carry a few important implications. For one, they can help policymakers and educators design programs that directly target intergenerational understanding for example, workshops on communication within families or initiatives that encourage dialogue between youth and elders. Mental health practitioners can also draw on these findings to recognize identity struggles and maladaptive coping strategies among young people who feel caught between traditional expectations and modern influences. More broadly, the study underscores the importance of preserving constructive cultural values, not in a rigid way, but in a form that can adapt to contemporary realities without losing their essence.

**Limitations**

- Because of time constraints, the participants came largely from urban areas, leaving out rural populations whose experiences may differ from urban populations
- The sample was also relatively narrow in terms of diversity. Socioeconomic status, regional variation, and education level were not evenly represented
- It was a cross-sectional study. Cultural change a process that unfolds over time, a single cross sectional research cannot capture the entire cultural transformation and its resultant psychological consequences

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