

A Contemporary Re-evaluation of Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions Framework- A Bibliometric Study from Year 2000 to 2025

Prahalad Rai Agiwal* & Dr. Bipasha Maity**

*Research Scholar, School of Management, Presidency University, Bangalore

**Professor, School of Management, Presidency University, Bangalore

Abstract:

Ever since Gert Hofstede published his Cultural Dimensions Theory, based on survey data of IBM employees of more than 50 countries during 1960s and 1970s, the focus social behaviour studies shifted from anthropology to social sciences, esp. management studies. The theory, a framework for comparing national culture along such dimensions as Power Distance, Individualism-Collectivism, Masculinity-Femininity, Uncertainty Avoidance, Longterm Orientation and Indulge-Restrain, is subject of prolific research in international management, organizational behaviour, cross-cultural psychology, marketing, public policy etc. over last 4 decades. However, the framework has increasingly been criticized for its reliance on a single corporate dataset, its assumption of cultural homogeneity within politically decided national boundaries and the stability of national culture scores in a globally interconnected societies over time. Subsequently published Inglehart's Evolutionary Modernization Theory emphasizes systemic shifts in value priorities as societies modernize. Guided by these concerns, research direction, through field level global surveys and otherwise, has moved towards fine tuning the dimensions nomenclature as well in establishing relative stability of cultural distance amongst nations. This study conducts a systematic bibliometric analysis of 1074 Scopus-indexed publications on Hofstede's framework between Year 2000 to 2025. The analysis maps year-wise publication trends, identifies most cited research papers, most productive authors and examines the thematic structure through author keywords, co-occurrence patterns and period wise keyword distributions. The result shows sustained growth in Hofstede-related research that has moved from foundational debate to more context applied research.

Keywords: Hofstede value dimensions; Inglehart; national culture; bibliometric study; cultural change

1. Introduction

Systemic Study of culture as differentiator between two sets of communities, first began in the field of anthropology, which relied primarily on descriptive qualitative methods such as ethnographic research.

However, as Lord Kelvin put it in 1883, *"When you can measure what you are speaking about, and express it in numbers, you know something about it; but when you cannot measure it, when you cannot express it in numbers, your knowledge is of a meager and unsatisfactory kind"* (Thomson, 1908). Without the ability to measure culture quantitatively, business researchers showed little interest in culture

Ever since Hofstede (Hofstede, 1980) published his seminal paper on national cultural dimensions a framework for their measurement and ranking of various countries on these dimensions, there has been an avalanche of research work particularly since year 2000. Indeed, according to Google Scholar, the different editions of Hofstede's book "Culture's Consequences" have been cited over 100,000 times, and "Culture and Organization: Software of the Mind" has gathered tens of thousands of citations (Hofstede, 1980, 2001; Hofstede et al., 2005, 2010), making Hofstede by far the most cited scholar in international business research and cross-cultural studies. (Taras, Steel & Stackhouse, 2023).

Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions Theory is among the most influential frameworks for comparing national cultures, offering a set of six dimensions i.e., Power Distance, Individualism-Collectivism, Masculinity-Femininity, Uncertainty Avoidance, Long-Term Orientation, and Indulgence-Restraint—that capture systematic cross-national differences in values and behavioral tendencies. Based on survey data collected from IBM employees of over 50 countries during 1960s and 1970s, the framework has brought in significant change in

scholarship thinking and research in international management, organization behaviour cross-cultural psychology, marketing and public policy.

Despite its impact, the framework has faced significant theoretical and empirical critique. It has been questioned on its reliance on a single multinational corporation who is unlikely to be a representative of the specific culture, the assumption that politically formed nation-states homogeneous culture units and the ecological risk of applying national mean scores to individual or subgroup. Serious doubts have also been raised about the relative stability of national value dimension indices over time, esp. in rapidly changing economic, political, technological and demographical changes (Baskerville, 2003; Beugelsdijk et al, 2015; McSweeney, 2002; Tarabar, 2019)

This criticism resonates with subsequent work of Inglehart's Evolutionary Modernization Theory, (Inglehart, 2017, 2020) which emphasizes that cultural values shift in a systematic way as societies move from agrarian to industrial to post-industrial stages. As a perspective, cultural values cannot be treated as timeless constants; instead, they are trajectories shaped by economic development, generational replacement, and shifts in existential security (Inglehart, 2017).

This divergence between Hofstede's relatively static national value scores and Inglehart's dynamic view of value change is particularly important in a high-diversity, emerging economies such as India. Pronounced regional, linguistic, religious, and socio-economic differences within regions are bound to complicate any attempt to represent "national culture" with a single set of scores (Stackhouse et al, 2023).

Yet, despite growing attention to their limitations, there is extensive use of Hofstede's dimensions but, there is limited systematic evidence on how the body of Hofstede-related research has evolved over time, who are its most influential contributors, and what thematic directions it has taken in the last four decades, esp. since Year 2000.

This study attempts to fill this gap through a bibliometric analysis of Scopus-indexed publications between 2000 and 2025 that engage with Hofstede's cultural dimensions.

The objectives are to (a) map trends in research productivity and their impact, (b) identify the most productive authors and most cited articles, (c) explore the thematic structure of the literature through keyword clustering and co-occurrence, and (d) examine the evolution of themes over time. In doing so, the study attempts to provide a contemporary, evidence-based re-evaluation of Hofstede's framework and highlights emerging directions for future research.

2. Literature Review

Early applications of Hofstede's model focused on demonstrating systematic cross-national differences in values and linking these differences to managerial practices, consumer behavior, work attitudes, and organizational outcomes (Schwartz, 2006; Castellani, 2019). Over time, the framework became a reference point in international business and cross-cultural management studies with many treating Hofstede's national scores as taken-for-granted contextual variables. However, as literature matured, a critical strand has emerged, which questions the methodological and conceptual foundations of the Hofstede dimensions and the validity of equating nation-states with homogeneous cultures (Javidan et al, 2006).

One of the most cited critical contributions argue that Hofstede's model is more a "triumph of faith" than a robust representation of cultural reality because of research procedural issues such as corporate sampling, historical specificity and ecological fallacies in evolving country level scores from individual data (Baskerville, 2003; McSweeney, 2002). Even meta-analytic work has shown that Hofstede's dimensions do explain variance in important outcomes but with heterogeneity across contexts and levels of analysis. This suggests that its explanatory power is context dependent and uneven (Taras, Rowney & Steel, 2009). Another criticism is on the nomenclature assigned to various dimensions, and their overlap, (based on field survey response from World Value Survey (WVS) and European Value Studies (EVS). This dual picture—a widely used framework that is both informative and problematic—has fueled ongoing debates about its continued use and possible alternatives.

In 2010, based on Global Value survey conducted across 100 countries, Inglehart through his Evolutionary Modernization Theory (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart, 2017, Inglehart, 2020) advanced the argument that as societies modernize, their value priorities shift from survival linked to self-expression based and from traditional to secular-rational orientations. These shifts are linked to rising levels of education, economic security, and exposure to mass communication. These values are imbibed by individual society members in their formative years and expected to unfold across generations rather than remain fixed over time. From this perspective, national culture scores based on data collected several decades ago may underrepresent both change and intra-societal variation in values.

While Inglehart's approach emphasizes economic development and communication exposure of different generation as drivers of value change, in contrast to Hofstede's model, which suggests a more static, cross-sectional snapshot of cultural differences between different nations.

Combining these two perspectives suggests that culture should be viewed not only as a set of relatively stable dimensions but also as an evolving configuration shaped by economic development, political change, and intergenerational turnover (Tarabar, 2019). For high-growth, high-diversity countries such as India, this combination raises a critical question: To what extent do legacy national scores still capture contemporary cultural value realities considering its modernization in recent years and internal heterogeneity?

Existing studies (Richter, Schlaegel et al, 2023; Taras, 2023) in related domains have documented that research using Hofstede's framework is prolific and highly cited, with identifiable clusters around entrepreneurship, marketing, and organizational behavior. However, such studies have been focusing on either specific subfields or shorter time windows and do not integrate value-change perspectives arising from Inglehart's observations.

A systematic mapping of Hofstede dimension related the literature between Year 2000 to 2025 can uncover how research productivity and impact have evolved, which authors and articles have shaped the debate, how thematic emphasis have shifted, and how far the field has moved from simple application of national culture scores toward more critical, context-specific re-evaluations of Hofstede's dimensions.

3. Method

3.1 Data Source and Search Strategy

For a bibliometric analysis of Hofstede's cultural dimensions framework-based research between 2000 and 2025, Scopus was selected as the data source primarily due to its availability within the institution and its broad coverage of international management, organizational behavior, cross cultural psychology fields where Hofstede's framework has been commonly applied. The search was executed on 17 May 2026 and limited to publications from 2000 to 2025 (inclusive) restricted to English language only.

The search string consisted of terms related to Hofstede dimensions and national culture ("Hofstede dimensions", "Hofstede", "national culture") and was applied to titles, abstracts, and both index as well as author keywords. Only final, citable documents (research articles, review articles and conference papers) were retained. This procedure produced an initial dataset of 1,074 records.

3.2 Data Extraction and Cleaning

The Scopus export was obtained in CSV format, including fields for authors, author full names, paper titles, source titles, publication year, citation counts ("Cited by"), DOIs, links, abstracts, author keywords, index keywords, document type, and publication stage. Duplicates were checked and removed where necessary. Column names were harmonized (for example, "Cited by" was renamed "Cited_by"; "Author Keywords" was renamed "Author_Keywords") and list-type fields such as authors and keywords were normalized using semicolon delimiters.

Thereafter, citation counts were converted to numeric values while setting missing values to zero to allow aggregation. Author names were parsed from the "Author full names" field, and multi-author records were split into individual occurrences so that productivity could be measured as the number of publications per author.

Author keywords and index keywords were converted to lowercase, and variants separated by semicolons or commas were harmonized as individual terms.

3.3 Indicators and Analytical Procedures

Following bibliometric indicators were planned to be generated and the procedures applied are listed below (using Microsoft Excel functionalities if not indicated otherwise)

- **Year-wise distribution of publications:** Annual publication counts were obtained by grouping records by publication year and the number of documents per year between 2000 and 2025 were obtained.
- **Author productivity:** Author productivity was measured by counting how many times each unique full name appeared across the dataset. The top 15 most productive authors were identified based on their number of publications.
- **Most cited articles:** Articles were ranked in descending order by their total citation counts (Cited by), and the 15 most cited papers were identified, recording their titles, authors, years, source titles, and DOIs.
- **Keyword frequency and top 10 keywords:** Author keywords were parsed. For each document, unique keywords were identified, and their frequencies (number of distinct documents using each keyword) were calculated. The 10 most frequent keywords were identified, and the average number of author keywords per paper was computed across the dataset.
- **Keyword co-occurrence and thematic structure:** To construct a keyword co-occurrence network, all unique keyword pairs within each document were aggregated into a list, with each pair given a weight equal to the number of documents in which the keywords pair -appeared. This list became the input data into network analysis software (e.g., VOS viewer) to generate visual maps and identify clusters representing thematic areas.
- **Period-wise occurrence of top keywords:** To understand thematic evolution over time, the span of year 2000–2025 was divided into three approximately equal periods. Occurrences of the top 10 keywords was calculated for each period, thus giving a matrix of keyword–period frequencies.
As the Scopus export generated and downloaded for this study did not include institution affiliation field or country fields, it prevented computation of country-wise and institution-wise rankings

4. Results

• Year-Wise Distribution of Publications

The year-wise distribution of Hofstede-related publications shows substantial growth over the 25-year period, with less than 10 in 2000 to 30 by 2008 and peaking to 76 in 2025. This indicates a steady expansion of research activity and suggests that Hofstede’s framework has remained an important area in Cross-Cultural research throughout the period of study.

Table 1. Annual number of Hofstede-related publications (2000–2025)

Year	Number of publications
2000	8
2001	18
2002	16
2003	19
2004	14
2005	20
2006	25
2007	23

2008	30
2009	35
2010	31
2011	40
2012	22
2013	35
2014	42
2015	43
2016	48
2017	50
2018	57
2019	50
2020	70
2021	64
2022	70
2023	69
2024	68
2025	76

- **Most Productive Authors and Citation statistics**

Author productivity data analysis reveals that there is a relatively concentrated core of contributors. In the 1,074 records, Michael Minkov is the most productive author, with 17 publications, confirming his central role in revising and extending Hofstede's cultural indices and dimensions. Geert Hofstede, the originator of the framework, at # 2, is the most cited author, along with Paul Brewer, Sunil Venaik. Beyond this core, productivity declines gradually, indicating a long tail of scholars contributing a small number of papers.

Table 2. Top 15 most productive authors (2000–2025)

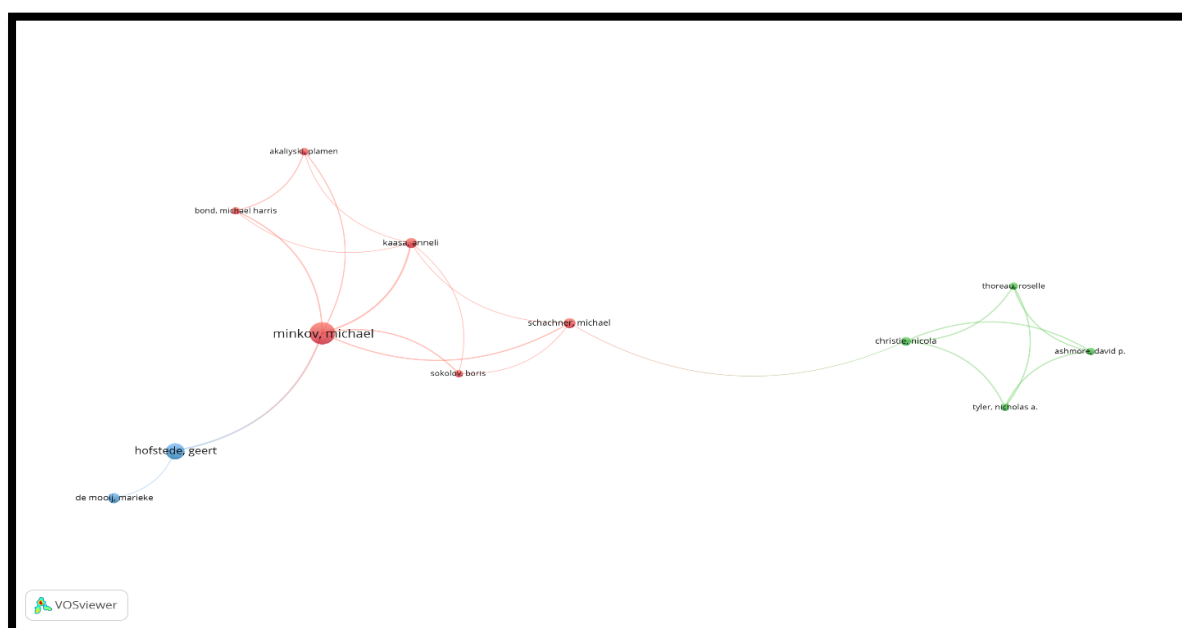
Author	Number of publications	Citation
Minkov, Michael	17	1977
Hofstede, Geert	10	2328
Brewer, Paul	7	907
Venaik, Sunil	7	907
Crotts, John C.	5	454
Schachner, Michael	5	160
Kaasa, Anneli	5	179

Yeganeh, Hamid	5	113
Gong, Wen	5	211
Marieke Demooij	5	789
Ashraf, Badar Nadeem	4	257
Christie, Nicola	4	145
Majoor, Gerard D.	4	103
Stump, Rodney L.	4	140
Gupta, Gaurav	4	58

- **Co-authorship**

There appears to be three sets of co-authorship group (min 3) , first one consisting of Michael Minkov with minor linkages with Michael Harris Bond, Anneli Kasasa, Michael Schachner, Boris Sokolov and Akaliski Plamen; second one consisting of Roselle Thoreau, Nichola Christie, Nicholas A Tyler and David P Ashmore and the third one of Gert Hofstede with De Mooij Marieke. However, each link is weak signifying just one or two co-authored publications.

Figure 1



Network map – Co-authorship- Top Co Authors

- **Most Cited Articles**

Citation analysis reveals a small group of highly influential articles which constitute the intellectual backbone of Hofstede-related research. The 15 most cited articles include Brendan McSweeney’s critique of Hofstede’s model; Mueller and Thomas’s nine-country study of entrepreneurial potential; Taras, Kirkman, and Steel’s multilevel meta-analytic review of Hofstede’s cultural value dimensions; Yoo, Donthu, and Lenartowicz’s CVSCALE measurement instrument, among others. These articles cover critical review of theory and synthesis of large-

sample dataset. They signify measurement development indicating that the field's most influential contributions in terms of both challenging the framework and refining of the original framework.

Table 3. Top 15 most cited Hofstede-related articles (2000–2025)

Title	Authors	Year	Citation	DOI
Hofstede's model of national cultural differences and their consequences: A triumph of faith - A failure of analysis	McSweeney, Brendan	2002	1843	10.1177/0018726702551004
Culture and entrepreneurial potential: A nine-country study of locus of control and innovativeness	Mueller, Stephen L.; Thomas, Anisya S.	2001	1219	10.1016/S0883-9026(99)00039-7
Examining the Impact of Culture's Consequences: A Three-Decade, Multilevel, Meta-Analytic Review of Hofstede's Cultural Value Dimensions	Taras, Vas; Kirkman, Bradley L. Steel, Piers	2010	926	10.1037/a0018938
Measuring Hofstede's five dimensions of cultural values at the individual level: Development and validation of CVSCALE	Yoo, Boonghee; Donthu, Naveen; Lenartowicz, Tomasz	2011	782	10.1080/08961530.2011.578059
Hofstede never studied culture	Baskerville, Rachel F.	2003	596	10.1016/S0361-3682(01)00048-4
The role of national culture in international marketing research	Steenkamp, Jan-Benedict E. M.	2001	587	10.1108/02651330110381970
Hofstede's dimensions of culture in international marketing studies	Soares, Ana Maria; Farhangmehr, Minoo; Shoham, Aviv	2007	569	10.1016/j.jbusres.2006.10.018
Long- versus short-term orientation: New perspectives	Hofstede, Geert; Minkov, Michael	2010	567	10.1080/13602381003637609
Convergence and divergence in consumer behavior: Implications for international retailing	De Mooij, Marieke; Hofstede, Geert	2002	501	10.1016/S0022-4359(01)00067-7
A meta-analysis of the relationship between market orientation and business performance: Evidence from five continents	Cano Rodriguez Cynthia; Carrillat, Francois A.; Jaramillo, Fernando	2004	483	10.1016/j.ijresmar.2003.07.001

Cultural values, sources of guidance, and their relevance to managerial behavior: A 47-nation study	Smith, Peter B. ; Peterson, Mark F. ; Schwartz, Shalom H.	2002	452	10.1177/0022022102033002005
Research on leadership in a cross-cultural context: Making progress, and raising new questions	Dickson, Marcus; W.; Den Hartog Deanne N.; Mitchelson; Jacqueline K.	2003	391	10.1016/j.leaqua.2003.09.002
Are Scores on Hofstede's Dimensions of National Culture Stable over Time? A Cohort Analysis	Beugelsdijk, Sjoerd ; Maseland, Robbert ; van Hoorn, André	2015	385	10.1002/gsj.1098
The effects of national culture values on consumer acceptance of e-commerce: Online shoppers in China	Yoon, Cheolho	2009	378	10.1016/j.im.2009.06.001
Dimensions and Dynamics of National Culture: Synthesizing Hofstede With Inglehart	Beugelsdijk, Sjoerd ; Welzel, Chris	2018	376	10.1177/0022022118798505

• **Keyword Structure and Evolution**

An analysis of keywords using Vos viewer software was carried out to determine top keywords occurrence and their link strength. As expected, national culture(s), culture and Hofstede emerge as top keywords with major link strength. Cultural dimensions, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and individualism emerge as relatively weak keywords.

Table 4.- Top keywords: occurrences and their link strength

Keyword	Occurrences (number of documents)	Link Strength
national culture & national cultures	481	1287
culture	246	813
Hofstede	193	669
cultural dimensions	70	225
power distance	49	175
uncertainty avoidance	66	298
individualism	46	200

- **Thematic Evolution over time**

Table 5. Period-wise occurrence of top 10 author keywords

Keyword	2000-2008	2009-2017	2018-2026
Cultural dimensions	3	12	39
Cultural distance	1	15	13
Cultural values	3	8	19
Culture	31	80	90
Hofstede	32	57	88
Individualism	3	15	17
National culture	38	85	219
National cultures	38	43	8
Power distance	8	18	23
Uncertainty avoidance	6	18	23

- **Text Data Analysis**

To further understand the focus of research during this period, an analysis of text data in the title and abstract field was carried out, wherein co-occurrence of a particular word more than 20 times was selected. 352 such words met the threshold level. The top 10 words and their co-occurrence was as follows-

Table 6- Text Data Co-occurrence

S. No	Text- Word	Co-occurrence
1	Firm	366
2	Performance	272
3	Masculinity	257
4	Company	210
5	Long Term Orientation	205
6	Adoption	184
7	Use	181
8	Student	180
9	Organization	178
10	Attitude	176

The above analysis does not give any further insight in to the line of research being carried out .

5. Discussion

The productivity concentration in a core group led by Hofstede and Minkov underscores the theme of revisions of the original dimensions with a relatively small number of scholars with sustained engagement in the topic. At the same time, the long list of less frequent contributors suggests that Hofstede's framework continues to draw interest from diverse disciplines and contexts, particularly as researchers explore usage in organizations, high-growth economies, and nationally diverse societies.

Citation patterns confirm a field that is both anchored and contested. The prominence of McSweeney's critique along with meta-analytic and measurement work exhibit that the most influential works are in areas of challenging, synthesizing, and refining Hofstede's values propositions. These, instead of signaling the obsolescence of the framework, indicate an ongoing process of theoretical revaluation or negotiation in which Hofstede's dimensions function as a central reference point against which alternatives are conceptualized and empirical findings being evaluated.

Keyword and their recurrence over time support that Hofstede's framework is being reinterpreted in view of contemporary organizational and societal changes. The continual presence of general cultural terms, along with the growing prominence of specific thematic keywords in later periods, indicates a broadening of research agendas from foundational examination of national indices to its application to topics such as entrepreneurship, digitalization, and emerging markets.

With introduction of Inglehart's Evolutionary Modernization Theory along with Hofstede's framework helps to explain the fact that, if value priorities shift with economic development, rising education, and generational replacement, then national culture indices based on data from the mid-twentieth century cannot represent contemporary societies accurately.

The bibliometric analysis also confirms that critical, measurement-focused, and context-specific papers occupy a prominent place in the citation landscape. Together with the prominence of new thematic keywords, it suggests that scholars are increasingly aware of above anomaly and are seeking ways to update, complement, or replace static national scores with more dynamic conceptualizations.

This issue is particularly important in emerging economies such as India, where rapid economic growth, urbanization, and digitalization coexist with deep regional, linguistic, religious, and socio-economic diversity. In such contexts, a single national score on each of Hofstede's dimensions is unlikely to capture the coexistence of traditional and modern value patterns across regions and generations. Evolutionary Modernization Theory thus provides a theoretical rationale for moving beyond country averages to multi-level and intra-national analyses that are more sensitive to internal value diversity and change.

6. Conclusion

This bibliometric study attempts a comprehensive examination of Hofstede's cultural dimensions framework by mapping Scopus indexed research output during last 25 years i.e., from 2000 to 2025. The year-wise distribution pattern shows sustained growth in Hofstede-related publications, thus confirming that the framework has remained a central reference point in cross-cultural management, organizational behavior, and related fields, despite its continuing methodological and conceptual critiques.

Author productivity and citation patterns reveal that a small group of prolific and highly cited scholars are driving it. Extant literature is dominated by a handful of articles of sharp critiques, large-scale quantitative synthesis and measurement advancement. This indicates that the framework is being continually evaluated, refined, and adapted rather than just passively replicated.

Keyword frequency, co-occurrence, and period-wise analyses show that foundational concepts such as "culture," "national culture," and "Hofstede" remain central, while more specific themes—like entrepreneurship, organizational outcomes, markets, and emerging economies—have gained prominence in recent periods.

When viewed through Inglehart's Evolutionary Modernization Theory, these bibliometric patterns support the idea that cultural values, though historically internalized, do change gradually and meaningfully with economic development, globalization, and mass communication.

Finally, it can be concluded that with a growing body of critical, meta-analytic, and context-specific research, the field is shifting from Hofstede's static view toward a more dynamic understanding of culture. Future research that incorporates value change amongst generational cohorts, and intra-national diversity will be better equipped to assess the contemporary relevance and limitations of Hofstede's dimensions across societies at different stages of modernization.

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