

# **TESTING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL ELEMENTS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

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by

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*For my beloved husband, ARDA*

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## **AUTHOR DECLARATIONS**

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.
2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:
  - i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
  - ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

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## **ABSTRACT**

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**June 2013**

### **TESTING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL ELEMENTS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

This research offers critical point of views on the relationship, if there is any, between culture and development. It should be emphasized that the research is not intended to examine certain definitions of both development and culture deeply. However, a brief summary of different meanings of two fundamental phenomena and the theoretical perspectives intended to explain the reason(s) of development or underdevelopment with regard to culture are provided. Moreover, the question whether there is a connection between culture and development is set forth in terms of economy. In order to answer questions addressed in the research, a Large-N study is applied. Moreover, the research consists two phases. In the former, cultural and development variables for the latest data of 79 countries which participated World Value Survey are analysed. In the latter, whether religion independently has an impact on development will be observed in order to test widely accepted theories of culture and religion

#### **Keywords**

Development, Culture, Economic Development, Religion

## **KISA ÖZET**

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**Haziran 2013**

### **KÜLTÜREL ÖĞELER VE EKONOMİK KALKINMA**

#### **ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİNİN TESTİ**

Söz konusu araştırma kültür ve kalkınma arasındaki ilişkiye, eğer varsa, eleştirel bir yaklaşım sunmaktadır. Araştırmanın amacının hem kalkınmanın hem de kültürün belirli tanımlarını derinlemesine incelemek olmadığı vurgulanmalıdır. Diğer taraftan, her iki temel olgunun farklı anlamlarının bir özeti ve kültür bakımından kalkınma ve az gelişmişliğin nedenlerini açıklayan teorik yaklaşımlara yer verilecektir. Ayrıca ekonomi açısından kültür ve kalkınma arasında bir ilişki olup olmadığı sorusu ortaya koyulacaktır. Araştırmada ele alınan soruları cevaplayabilmek için, Large-N araştırma uygulanacaktır. Araştırma iki aşamadan oluşmaktadır. İlkinde, Dünya Değerler Araştırmasına katılan 79 ülkenin en son yıllara ait verileri 2000’li yıllara ait kültürel ve kalkınma değişkenleri incelenecektir. Diğerinde ise, din ve kalkınma üzerine genel kabul görmüş teorilerinde ışığında dinin tek başına kalkınmayı etkileyip etkilemediği test edilecektir.

#### **Anahtar Kelimeler**

Kalkınma, Kültür, Ekonomik Kalkınma, Din

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

CPEs	Centrally Planned Economies
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GNI	Gross National Income
GNP	Gross National Product
HD	Human Development
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HPI – 1/2	Human Poverty Index – ½
IMF	International Monetary Fund
n-Ach	Need for Achievement
NCT	New Culture Theory
n-Pow	Need for Power
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WB	World Bank
WVS	World Value Survey
WWII	World War II

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## **CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

In the aftermath of gradual disappearance of colonialism from the world scene, serious debates have emerged regarding varying development levels of the colonised states. Because it has become evident that current theoretical explanations fell short in stating the reasons as to why some states are counted as developed whereas the others as underdeveloped even if they had similar level of economic development once. In this context, the main question to be born is what makes the difference in these states. As a result of these disputes, certain significant questions have arisen specifically about the relationship between economic development and cultural elements. As guessed, there are not mutually agreed responses to them. Among all the questions tempting to search development and culture, below-stated questions constitute the focus of current research:

Why do societies display varying level of development?

What are the factors of development?

How significant is culture for development among other factors of development?

Can culture affect/change the level of development per se?

In order to see whether culture makes any change in the level of development, a cross-country regression analysis for all the countries in the world where data is available will be conducted. In that regard, the values that are argued to prepare a cultural ground for economic development – such as hardwork and thriftiness- will be taken into account in addition to religiosity, which is argued to produce or hinder such pro-development values.

### **1.2. Scope, Significance and Limitations of the Study**

The general aim of the study is to explain the extent of the relationship between economic development and certain cultural elements. Therefore, the study carries multifaceted goals. The first goal is to identify the general relationship between

certain cultural values such as thriftiness, hardwork and responsibility and economic development - if there is any. The second one is to test whether religion is a confounding variable independently affecting both pro-development cultural values and development.

First of all, a cross-sectional research design, which will include various countries from different parts of the world wherever data is available, will be constructed. These countries will display various levels of development and belong to diverse cultural systems, so that we can obtain variation both on the dependent and the main independent variables. Therefore, a large-N study will be conducted with the aim of testing the relationship between the level of development and culture. With this aim, descriptive and parametric statistics will be applied. Specifically, correlation and regression techniques will be used.

Since the second aim of the study is to test whether religion affects independently development, dummy variables of religion are constructed. At this point, it is worth mentioning that the most significant deficiency of previous studies is the attempt to produce evidence that leads societies to change their culture so as to increase their level of development. In other words, societies with low level of development are supposed to follow a certain development path which is Protestant ethics leads to development. Nevertheless, another possibility in the research concerns the societies with the same religion domination but different or same level of development over time. In this context, societies may adopt a development approach appropriate to their religious or cultural environment but different from the mainstream development pattern. If this is the situation, we can claim that there are as much development patterns as religion and/or culture since they may produce its own development patterns according to its cultural elements.

The main limitation of the study is the difficulty of measuring culture basically because of its changing nature. This limitation has two dimensions. The first one is related with changing nature across societies. Even if cultural variables are determined before the research is conducted, it is possible not to observe these variables in certain societies. This situation indicates that culture is also a cultural term. Finally, culture can only be measured by considering individuals' behaviours



or understandings in a society and ignoring other aspects of culture, which is an inherited shortcoming of social sciences.

The concerned study focuses on the relationship between development and culture. Therefore, it is necessary, initially, to determine how to measure these two main variables. The former will be measured by considering economic conditions of development (GDP per capita, GDP per capita growth (annual %)) and distribution of wealth social (Hospital beds (per 1000 people), Prevalence of HIV (% of total population ages 15-49), Primary completion rate (% of relevant age group), Literacy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above), Life expectancy at birth, Mortality rate under-5 (per 1000 live births), Fertility Rate total (births per woman), Health expenditure, total (% of GDP), Improved sanitation facilities (% of population with access), Improved water source (% of population with access)). The latter will be measured by the help of the cultural division in World Values Survey – specifically (Perception of Life (Important child qualities: hardwork, Important child qualities: Feeling of responsibility, Important child qualities: thrift saving money, Important child qualities: religious faith)). Only one label of culture among these divisions will be used in the research.

In the first phase of the research where a cross-country research design will be adopted, data from 79 countries will be analysed. Moreover, whether religion independently affects development will be tested by the help of dummy variables created by the domination of certain religions in these 79 countries. Therefore, whether other religions apart from Protestant ethics can produce development will be observed.

## CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. The Concept of Culture

Culture is one of the widely-used terms which nearly each and every person can make a definition without a second thought when asked. Therefore, it is nearly impossible to find a mostly-agreed definition of culture since it touches all aspects of life in some way. This subjectivity brings about a terminology chaos which leads a selective use of the term according to intentions being aimed to carry out. Patterson explains this situation by Swindler's "conception of culture as a "tool kit" from which people selectively draw their strategies of action as it suits their purposes is too open-ended and voluntaristic to offer real explanatory power."<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it is highly difficult to find a consensus and unanimity for a well-known term. Consequently, a researcher who carries out researches on the grounds of culture should put limits to culture's unlimited connotations by considering the purpose of the research. 'This debate surrounding the usage of the term "culture" suggests that the term is a sign, an empty vessel waiting for people- both academicians and everyday communicators – to fill it with meaning.'<sup>2</sup>

Apart from everyday usage of the term, culture embraces different definitions across disciplines and even within the same discipline. In such a case, summary or stock definitions of culture become life jacket for academicians or researchers. On the other hand, these definitions may become problematic rather than helpful and any one of these definitions may create difficulties which put burdens on the researchers' shoulders since they encircle fundamentally varying definitions. In *Redefining Culture Perspectives Across the Disciplines*, John R. Baldwin, Sandra L. Faulkner and Michael L. Hecht note that the 'definition of culture is a moving target, and those who choose to define it should ground their definitions in a fuller, multidisciplinary

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<sup>1</sup> Orlando Patterson, "Taking Culture Seriously: A Framework and an Afro-American Illustration," in *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* eds. Harison, Lawrence E., and Hungtington, Samuel P., (Newyork: Basic Books, 2000), 203

<sup>2</sup> John R. Baldwin et al., "A Moving Target: The Illusive Definition of Culture," in *Redefining Culture Perspectives Across the Disciplines*, ed. John R. Baldwin et al. (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2006), 4.

and historicized accounting of the word'<sup>3</sup> by avoiding the temptation of summary or stock definitions.

Besides this terminology chaos, the term is made seem unimportant by suggesting it is only music, dance or any other art; so that it is revealed that the only aim of culture is entertainment. On the contrary of this reductionist view, it is observed culture is more than just entertainment when definitions of culture (approximately more than 200) are put into consideration. Baldwin, Faulkner, Hecht and Lindsley classify culture under 6 types or themes of definition for culture; Structure / Patterns, Functions, Process, Product, Refinement / Cultivation, Group Membership and Power / Ideology. Furthermore, each theme contains definitions which reveal different meanings according to how these themes are perceived.

### **2.1.1. Classical Definitions of Culture**

The term culture derives from 'colere' which means to till the ground in Latin. By 17<sup>th</sup> century, 'culture' was used in the same meaning in French and it is started to be used in metaphorical sense through the same century in the meaning of the growth of individuals or of human society. In this vein, Voltaire used, for the first time, the term as formation, development and raise of human mind. Also, culture in English generally acquires its recent meanings in Cicero's *Tuscolan Disputations* where he used 'cultura animi' - cultivation of the soul. In the nineteenth century, the term penetrated social sciences, especially sociology and anthropology. By the early years of twentieth century, culture turned into a term with different meanings across various disciplines.

Apart from early usage of culture, E.B. Tylor made the first widely-adopted definition of culture in *Primitive Culture* in 1871. He defined culture as 'complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'<sup>4</sup>. In the same way, Boas defined culture

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>4</sup> E.B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, (London: Murroy, 1871), 1.

as the totality of the mental and physical reactions and activities that characterize the behavior of the individuals composing a social group collectively and individually in relation to their natural environment, to other groups, to members of the group itself, and of each individual to himself. It also includes the products of these activities and their role in the life of groups. The mere enumeration of these various aspects of life, however, does not constitute culture. It is more, for the elements are independent, they have a structure... It has been customary to describe culture in order as material culture, social relations, art and religion.<sup>5</sup>

Moore summarized this complex definition by noting that ‘culture could only be explained in reference to specific social pattern.’<sup>6</sup> For Kluckhohn, culture is related to ‘the total way of life of a people’<sup>7</sup>, ‘a way of thinking, feeling and believing’<sup>8</sup>, ‘a theory on the part of the anthropologist about the way in which a group of people in fact behave’<sup>9</sup>, ‘store house of pooled learning’<sup>10</sup> and lastly ‘a precipitate of history’<sup>11</sup>. Moreover, he stressed that the term culture ‘refers to the distinctive way of life of a group of people, their complete ‘design for living.’’<sup>12</sup>

William Goodenough approached culture in a different way, namely in a mental structure. He stated that ‘culture consists of standards for deciding what is, ... for deciding what to do about it, and... for deciding how to go about doing it.’<sup>13</sup> He, further, claimed ‘a society’s culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in a manner acceptable to its members. Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them.’<sup>14</sup> As Goodenough, Benedict considered culture mentally. He noted that ‘what really binds

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<sup>5</sup> F.Boas, *The Mind of the Primitive Man* (New York: Macmillan,1938), 159.

<sup>6</sup> J.D. Moore, *Visions of culture: An introduction to anthropological theories and and theorists*, (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2004), 73.

<sup>7</sup> C.Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*, (New york: McGraw-Hill, 1949), 17.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> C. Kluckhohn, “The study of culture,” in *The policy science*, ed. D. Lerner et al., (Standford: Standford University, 1951), 86-101.

<sup>13</sup> William H. Goodenough, “Comment on cultural evolution,” in *Daedalus* 90, (1961), 522.

<sup>14</sup> William H. Goodenough, “Cultural anthropology and linguistics,” in *Language in Culture and Society*, ed. D. Hymes, (New york: Harper and Row, 1964), 36.

men together is their culture – the ideas and the standards they have in common<sup>15</sup> and continues to say ‘a culture, like an individual, is a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action.’<sup>16</sup>

Hofstede saw culture as ‘the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes one human group from another... Culture could be defined as the interactive aggregate of common characteristics that influence a human group’s response to its environment.’<sup>17</sup> In the same direction, Roger Keesing wrote that ‘cultures are systems (of socially transmitted behavior patterns) that serve to relate human communities to their ecological settings. These ways-of-life of communities include technologies and modes of economic organization, settlement patterns, modes of social grouping and political organization, religious beliefs and practices, and so on.’<sup>18</sup>

As stated earlier, summary definitions<sup>19</sup> have been in vogue as a result of difficulty in handling culture’s innumerable connotations. Yet, few of them have been accepted by scholars and the widely-adopted one is Kroeber and Kluckhohn’s definition which includes six groups of definition; enumeratively descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, structural and genetic. By putting all these groups into consideration, they put forward that;

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action.<sup>20</sup>

Baldwin et al. suggested the success of their definition depends on three respects. First one is ‘historical analysis of the term’s evolution as well as

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<sup>15</sup> R. Bendict, *Patterns of culture*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934/1959), 16.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>17</sup> G. Hofstede, *Culture’s consequences: International differences in work-related values* (Abridged ed.) (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1984), 21.

<sup>18</sup> Roger M. Keesing, “Theories of culture,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 3 (1974): 75.

<sup>19</sup> A list of culture definitions in anthropology textbooks in the 1990s can be found in *Redefining Culture* by Baldwin et al., 14.

<sup>20</sup> A. L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn, *Culture: A critical view of concepts and definitions*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 181.

compilation of more than 150 definitions from a variety of disciplines.’<sup>21</sup> Secondly, ‘it was inclusive’<sup>22</sup>. Furthermore, ‘its acceptance by scholarly community’<sup>23</sup> stands out as the third reason to make Kroeber and Kluckhohn’s definition distinctive.

### 2.1.2. Contemporary Perspectives on Culture

The term culture gains meaning according to which field scholars or scientists would like to study. Therefore, their area of interest related to culture shapes the periodisation of culture which gives idea about the division between classical and contemporary perspectives on culture. For example, the term culture was principally used by anthropologist in order to make inquires mainly on oriental societies. However, the term has made a quick start in the occidental studies after the Second World War when the world witnessed a completely different international system subsequently. Moreover, modernist writers make a division according to industrialisation. Gronato, Inglehart and Leblang describe ‘culture as a system of basic common values that help shape the behavior of the people in a given society.’<sup>24</sup> In this vein, they note that ‘in most pre-industrial societies, this value system takes the form of a religion and changes very slowly; but with industrialization and accompanying processes of modernization, these world views tend to become more secular, rational, and open to change’<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, John Clammer claims that culture’s ‘definition is always contingent upon its historical location , contemporary understanding of the relationships between culture and nature, the politics of the moment, the uses within social theory to which it is being put...and its own inherently grounded nature’<sup>26</sup> since it ‘is a reflexive concept.’<sup>27</sup> He further stresses that culture ‘is itself a cultural

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<sup>21</sup> Renato I. Rosaldo, Foreword to *Redefining Culture Perspectives Across the Disciplines* by John R. Baldwin et al., (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006), XV.

<sup>22</sup> Rosaldo, Foreword, XV.

<sup>23</sup> Rosaldo, Foreword, XVI.

<sup>24</sup> Jim Gronato, Ronald Inglehart and David Leblang, “The Effect of Cultural Values on Economic Development,” *American Journal of Political Science* 40 (1996): 608.

<sup>25</sup> Gronato, Inglehart, Leblang “The Effect of Cultural Values on Economic Development”, 608.

<sup>26</sup> John Clammer, *Culture, Development, and Social Theory*, (Zed Books, 2012), 104.

<sup>27</sup> Clammer, *Culture, Development, and Social Theory* 104.

concept'<sup>28</sup> and lists the contemporary approaches of culture as 'the idea of culture a process', 'the rediscovery or recovery of "indigenous knowledge"', and 'culture and political economy... not only is the economy embedded in culture, but it is itself culture'<sup>29</sup>

'George Barnett and Meihua Lee made a collage definition of culture by putting Geertz, Durkheim, Kluckhohn and Kelly, and Goodenough's perspectives into consideration in 2002 and they conclude that culture is;

A property of a group. It is a group's shared collective meaning system through which the group's collective values, attitudes, beliefs, customs, and thoughts are understood. It is an emergent property of the member's social interaction and a determinant of how group members communicate...Culture may be taken to be a consensus about the meanings of symbols, verbal and nonverbal, held by members of a community.<sup>30</sup>

It is safe to say that they follow the earlier footprints of functional-structural definition of culture. Therefore, they reflect the classical understanding rather than contemporary as they do not keep the latest improvements in the area – as Baldwin et al put 'three major turns in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century – changes beginning in anthropology itself- that make a Kroeber-and-Kluckhohnesque version of culture inadequate for describing the current academic and philosophical landscape of the word'<sup>31</sup>; 'Culture as Creation: The "interpretivist" turn, The intergroup perspective and Culture as power: the critical turn'<sup>32</sup>

The current critics on the definition of culture popularise the postmodern perspectives in the field. Rosenau explains postmodern idea gives worth to;

Alternative discourses and meanings rather than...goals, choices, behavior, attitudes, and personality. Postmodern social scientists support a refocusing on what has been taken for granted, what has been neglected, regions of resistance, the forgotten, the irrational, the insignificant, the repressed, the borderline, the classical, the sacred, the traditional, the eccentric, the sublimated, the subjugated, the rejected, the nonessential,

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Barnett G. A. and Lee M., "Issues in intercultural communication research," in *Handbook of international and intercultural communication*, eds. W. B. Gudykunst and B. Mody, (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2002), 277.

<sup>31</sup> Baldwin et al., *Redefining*, 16.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 16-20.

the marginal, the peripheral, the excluded, the tenuous, the silenced, the accidental, the dispersal, the disqualified, the deferred, the disjointed.<sup>33</sup>

To state briefly, postmodern approach does not analyse culture as a whole and it desires scholars think about the alternative treatments of culture.

Even if the recent studies in culture develop taxonomies in order to ease perception of the term, it would not be wrong to say that contemporary and classical perspectives on culture are still the same in terms of their understanding culture as values, beliefs, creation, way of life, and so on – shortly nearly everything. Moreover, both perspectives evaluate culture in terms of sole subcategory and they ignore the interconnection among these subcategories. On the other hand, Thompson et al. argue that ‘cultural biases, social relations, and ways of life’<sup>34</sup> are linked together even if they are not alike. Strengthening their argument, they further claim ‘when we wish to designate a viable combination of social relations and cultural bias we speak of a way of life.’<sup>35</sup> Therefore, they develop a New Culture Theory (NCT) which sees fatalism, individualism, hierarchy and egalitarianism as the four basic types of culture. This new understanding has gained a momentum in recent years because of its applicability to a great number of societies. In spite of its applicability to a great number of societies, NCT does not give possibility to examine the details of cultures which belong to the same category in details so as to understand what makes them distinct. Whereas its applicability to various societies provide an advantage to the theory, its inapplicability to different time intervals induces the emergence of the understanding which the theory is not more than a toy busying scholars merely with today’s problems.

Jan-Erik Lane and Svante Ersson note that scientists make reference to ‘social structure, preferences and institutions’ while they are trying to understand certain phenomena. Moreover, they add preferences play the most important role in explaining culture. Yet, they make a clarification not to lead a confusion; ‘in a

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<sup>33</sup> P.M. Rosenau, *Postmodernism and the social sciences: Insights, inroads, and intrusions*, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1992), 8.

<sup>34</sup> Thompson M. , Ellis R. and A. Wildavsky, *Cultural Theory* , (CO:Westview Press, 1990), 1.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.



cultural explanation the preferences are not the standard individual preferences of the rational choice approach – that is, self-interest – but rather group preferences or social preferences comprising elements of ethnicity or religion or universal values as well as the accompanying belief systems.’<sup>36</sup> They assert that the analysis of citizen attitudes is ‘far from eclectic’ since it grounds on the idea that ‘culture is a vital intrinsic ingredient of societies’, ‘culture matters extrinsically for outcomes’, ‘culture involves ethnicity, religion and legacy’ and ‘culture covers universal values.’<sup>37</sup> For them, these statements ‘may be considered as the common assumption of all approaches in the cultural approach framework’<sup>38</sup> since the other cultural approaches are quite puzzling because of their collage of perspectives on culture.

Contemporary scholars, also, make predictions on the future of development of cultural diversity. Some claims that cultural variety will cease to exist as a result of the eradicated power of modernisation as cultures are conflicting with modern understanding. What is more, this has two divergent views. While Samuel Huntington argues that this dissolution of cultures will lay the ground for ‘clash of civilisations’, Francis Fukuyama affirms current disappearance of cultures will lead the acceptance of liberal understanding by all societies. On the other side of the coin, some asserts cultural differences will play an important role in helping people decide what to do and in creating stronger bonds among the members of a certain society as a result of rising significance of local cultures under the effect of modernisation.

### **2.1.3. Elements of Culture**

In order to classify culture, it is of importance to know the features of culture. In this line, Murdock lists 8 features; (1) Culture can be learned, (2) Culture is historical and continual, (3) Culture is social, (4) Culture is a system of ideal or

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<sup>36</sup> Jan-Erik Lane and Svante Ersson, *Culture and Politics A Comparative Approach*, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 40.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

idealised rules, (5) Culture meets the needs and provides satisfaction, (6) Culture changes, (7) Culture is supplementary, and (8) Culture is abstraction.<sup>39</sup>

Even if how to define culture is hotly-debated, writers agree on some fundamentals primarily such as systematic, learned, and patterned nature of culture. Moreover, Roxing Guo supports similar understanding by stating;

(i) culture is a total pattern of behaviour that is consistent and compatible in its components. It's not a collection of random behaviours but behaviours that are internally related and integrated.

(ii) culture is learned behaviour. It is not biologically transmitted. It depends on environment, not heredity. Thus, it can be called the man-made part of our environment.

(iii) culture is behaviour that is shared by a group of people, a society. It can be considered as the distinctive way of life of a people.<sup>40</sup>

Furthermore, Oyeneye and Shoremi highlight also;

- Culture is not genetically transmitted;
- It is historically derived and ... transmitted from one generation to another;
- Culture is created... through the process of adjustment to the social setting;
- Culture is universal-found in every human society;
- Culture is dynamic<sup>41</sup>

When all these elements of culture are pondered, the two features - namely, culture is learned and dynamic - take attention since they suggest culture is bound to change either in a fast or in a slow way.

Even if Baldwin and et al. assert that they do not examine all features of culture while they are collecting definitions of culture after Kroeber and Kluckhohn's study in 1952, it is obvious that all seven themes reflect at least one characteristics of culture. Hence, their themes will be scrutinised with the knowledge of elements of culture mentioned in previous paragraphs.

Baldwin and his colleagues' first theme is 'Structure'. They explain this theme as 'a system or framework of elements (e.g. ideas, behavior, symbols, or any combination of these or other elements).'<sup>42</sup> They summarise this theme under 7 sub-

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<sup>39</sup> See for details G.P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1949).

<sup>40</sup> Cited from Rongxing Guo Cultural Influences on Economic Analysis Theory and Empirical Evidence 8

<sup>41</sup> O. Oyeneye and M. Shoremi, "The concept of culture and Nigerian society," in *Nigerian Life and Culture: A book of Readings*, eds. O. Oyeneye and M. Shoremi, (Ago-Iwoyi:Ogun State University, 1985), 3.

<sup>42</sup> Baldwin et al., *Redifining Culture*, 29.

themes; (1) Whole way of life, (2) Cognitive structure, (3) Structure of behaviour, (4) Structures of signification, (5) Relational structure, (6) Social organization, and (7) Abstraction. As it is understood from these sub-themes, the most prominent characteristic of culture as structure is that the theme concentrates on observable model of culture. Thus, researchers carrying out qualitative researches attach utmost importance to this theme of culture. On the other hand, far most disputatious one among sub-themes is culture as abstraction since it is made up by researchers in order to handle with certain groups or societies.

The second theme is culture as function defined ‘as a tool for achieving some end.’<sup>43</sup> Additionally, Baldwin and et al. provide sub-themes for culture as function; (1) Guidance, (2) Sense of identity/belonging, (3) Value expression, (4) Stereotyping function, and (5) Means of control. As it can be interpreted from sub-themes, culture as function emphasises what culture does or how it operates. ‘Culture, by functional definition, provides a “design for living” (Lewis, 1966). It helps people adjust and cope with their environment (Binford, 1968; Harris & Moran, 1987; Valencia Barco, 1983). It helps them organize collective life (Markarian, 1973), and it helps them solve the problems and answer the questions of everyday life (Padden & Humphries. 1988; Thompson, 1969).’<sup>44</sup> This statement implies that culture is formed simply as a response to environment which surrounds a certain group or society, so that the question whether Europeans or Americans would have the same culture if they lived in Asia springs out. In addition to all these, the sense of belonging/identity of culture as function can serve ‘as a tool for differentiating people.’<sup>45</sup> Namely, culture can be used as an instrument to segregate societies rather than to unite in a similar way to means of control ‘which cultural members define and work against their enemies by symbols and violence.’<sup>46</sup> According to the value expression of culture, culture ‘allows us to live in a certain way to experience the tastes, customs, or way of life we

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<sup>43</sup> Baldwin et al., *Redifining Culture*, 29.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 40.

refer.’<sup>47</sup> Culture is defined as a preference contrary to understanding of guidance function as a mere reaction to environment.

Third theme of culture is process which focuses ‘on the ongoing social construction of culture.’<sup>48</sup> Moreover, this theme also contains differentiating, sense making, handling “raw materials of life”, relating to others, dominating others or maintaining structural power, and transmitting of a way of life sub-themes. With this theme, the transmission element of culture is emphasised, which express culture is learned and it is not genetically transmitted. The structural and process definitions seem similar in terms of transmission understanding of culture. Yet, they differ ‘in their treatment of it. Structural definitions are interested in the structures that constitute the inherent quality of culture, but processes refer to the creation of meanings, social relations, products, structures, and functions.’<sup>49</sup>

Another theme is product of which meaningful activity and representation/signification ‘in terms of artifacts (with or without deliberate symbolic intent).’<sup>50</sup> This theme basically refers to the connotation of art, music or literature.

The fifth theme is refinement which ‘frame culture as a sense of individual or group cultivation to higher intellect or morality.’<sup>51</sup> What is more, it includes 3 sub-themes such as moral progress, instruction and uniquely human efforts. Within the framework of this theme, ‘some definitions treat culture as the products or processes that make humans distinct from other species. Others treat culture in terms of moral or intellectual refinement, that is, as suggesting what makes some people more human than others.’<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, the latter argument is widely criticised since certain cultures are considered as the ones which the rest have to resemble. That is, The West and the rest ideology stems from such a perception.

An additional theme is group membership which speaks ‘of culture in terms of a place or a group of people, or that focus on belonging to such a place or

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 47.

group.’<sup>53</sup> There are two sub-themes of group membership; country and social variations.

The final theme is power/ideology which emphasises ‘group-based power (including postmodern and postcolonial definitions.’<sup>54</sup> Power/ideology theme embraces 2 sub-themes which explain two different perspectives. The first one is related with the political and ideological dominance reflecting critical definitions of culture. Those who adopted such an understanding think more about ‘how a group describes or creates its culture.’<sup>55</sup> The second one is based on postmodern definitions which give ideas about the fragmentation of elements. It suggests that ‘no whole picture that can be “filled in” since the perception and filling of a gap leads to the awareness of other gaps.’<sup>56</sup>

#### **2.1.4. Drawbacks in Defining Culture**

To begin with, it would be beneficial to think about how a scientific use of a term is formed in order to grasp systematically the drawbacks in defining culture. Baldwin and his colleagues state that ‘there are at least three requirements’<sup>57</sup> to form a scientific use of a notion:

1. To have a univocal definition, that is, to situate this word in a determined theoretical system and to define it in a way that escapes the play of equivocal or ambiguous connotations of ordinary language.
2. To construct a protocol of rigorous observation, which refers to the whole of facts of social processes, that we can observe in a systematic manner.
3. To achieve its range to a given field of application.<sup>58</sup>

As it is seen in the previous parts which explain classical and contemporary perspectives on culture, there has not been a consensus on how to define culture so far. Moreover, it does not seem possible there will be a general agreement among

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 118.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

scholars even in the future when irresistible impact of postmodernism on the perception of culture is born in mind. On the other hand, a selective usage of the term culture is the mostly observed way. Moreover, the most principally applied way to learn the meaning of a term is to look up it in a dictionary. Culture is, likely, defined under different categories in a dictionary such as in a society, in a group, art/music/literature, society, medicine/science, and crops. This indicates that the term carries varying connotations and that ‘different concepts may be true of the same phenomenon.’<sup>59</sup> Jan-Erik Lane and Svante Ersson note that ‘there is a strong sense that many of the different definitions of culture really aim at the very same phenomenon – that is, society in general.’<sup>60</sup> In this vein, they examine 6 different connotations of culture namely; ‘Comprehensiveness: “total”, “sum total”, “complex whole”’(1), ‘Legacy: “tradition”, “social heritage”’(2), ‘Norms: “folkways”, “accepted ways of thinking and acting”, “way of life”’(3), ‘Psychological Characteristics: “learning”, “habit”, “sublimations”’(4), ‘Structural: “system”, “integrated”, “patterned”’(5), and ‘Genesis: “creation” “man-made” “transmissible”’(6)<sup>61</sup>. After providing definitions of each connotation and examples for each, they state that;

it is difficult not to arrive at the disturbing conclusion that all these different connotations of “culture” mean little in reality, as the references under them is too wide. Basically, from the classical semantic investigation by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1963) we learn that “culture” denotes more or less the same set off phenomena under all the various connotations – that is, human interactions in all its aspects.<sup>62</sup>

When the first requirement of Baldwin et al.’s scientific use of a notion is revisited, it is understood all the way that culture cannot escape the ‘equivocal or ambiguous connotations of ordinary language’ with the burdening existence of its numerous connotations.

Apart from the multiplicity of connotations, the term culture suffers from varying definitions in large numbers. This situation leads to inconsistency within disciplines. Furthermore, a single author may define culture in a

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<sup>59</sup> Lane and Ersson, *Culture and Politics*, 21.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid..

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 21-23.

conflictive manner or postmodern writers sometimes offer rather traditional definitions, which is a source of puzzles. Rightfully, summary or stock definitions strengthen their place in literature in such a case however problematic they are. Baldwin et al. indicate that ‘any summary definition, especially one that seeks to encompass complex and often competing definitions, is at best problematic’<sup>63</sup>

The second requirement is also problematic in terms of culture since it is highly impossible to observe culture in a systematic way because of its changing nature as Tracey Skelton and Tim Allen put it; the notion of culture is ‘dynamically changing over time and space – the product of ongoing human interaction. This means that we accept the term as ambiguous and suggestive rather than as analytically. It reflects or encapsulates the muddles of life.’<sup>64</sup> Hence, scholars who show interest in studying culture have to face perplexity of the term beforehand.

Considering the fact that culture can be applied in a range of field, culture meets the third and last requirement in some respects. Nevertheless, it should not be neglected that the term culture cannot be considered as a scientific notion even if it complies with the last requirement since the first two ones cannot be applied to culture according to Skelton and Allen.

After all, the complex and overlapping meanings of culture express that culture is not solely production, ideology, religion, practice, representation and many more, but all of these in some way or other since culture is itself a cultural term. ‘In principle, the study of culture is not more prone to relativism than other approaches to human behaviour. It is true that there is in this field of study more contention among scholars and less of established results than in rational choice for instance. However, also the cultural approach with experience some cumulative findings.’<sup>65</sup> Therefore, culture is ‘an empty sign

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>63</sup> Baldwin et al., *Redefining*, 24.

<sup>64</sup> Tracey Skelton and Tim Allen, Introduction to *Culture and Global Change*, by Skelton and Allen (London and New York:Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 1999), 4.

<sup>65</sup> Lane and Ersson, *Culture and Politics*, 35.

that people fill with meaning from their own academic backgrounds or personal experiences. The definition of culture is a moving target, and those who choose to define it should ground their definitions in a fuller, multidisciplinary and historicized accounting of the word.’<sup>66</sup> Thus, it is natural to encounter quite a huge number of definitions of culture, but this does not mean that one is better than others or vice versa.

It is clear that understanding and defining culture is not rosary. Even if it is so, starting from somewhere is of importance. By keeping Baldwin et al.’s argument noted just in the previous paragraph, culture is defined in this research as follows; culture is mental and physical reaction of people in a certain society to varying dimensions of life such as religion, art, social relations, politics, work, ethics and etc. On the other hand, it should be born in mind that reactions to these dimensions may differ from person to person even in a certain society. Therefore, culture may not have a uniformed view. Yet, the majority of reactions gives an idea about culture most of the time.

### **2.1.5. How to Measure Culture**

In addition to difficulty of defining culture, an extra obstacle welcomes researchers when they would like to carry out quantitative research on the grounds of culture. Arnel Onesimo O. Uy states that ‘culture, by definition, is a very qualitative concept. While we could use different operational constructs to measure each dimension of culture, the issue remains how do we measure culture as a whole or should we even have only one measure for culture.’<sup>67</sup> This problem occurs due to changing nature of culture. While some claims that ‘since culture itself changing only slowly over time, it can only have an impact in the long term’<sup>68</sup> or ‘it is susceptible to change’<sup>69</sup>, others affirm that ‘the culture of a people is not static but

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<sup>66</sup> Baldwin et al, *Redefining*, 24.

<sup>67</sup> Arnel Onesimo O. Uy. “Can culture explain economic growth? A note on the issues regarding culture-growth studies,” *Journal of Economics and Economic Education Research* 10 (2009): 34.

<sup>68</sup> Lane and Ersson, *Culture and Politics*, 41.

<sup>69</sup> Lawrence E. Harrison, Introduction to *The Central Liberal Truth: How Politics Can Change a Cultural and Save it from Itself* by Harrison, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 7.



constantly evolving under the influence of both internal and external elements.’<sup>70</sup> In a parallel manner, Nelson believes the roots of culture are resistant to change and some of core beliefs can be described as ‘black holes which light can enter but never escape’<sup>71</sup> on the contrary Rongxing Guo notes;

We know from the records of prehistory and history that the patterns of culture of every human society change constantly...the factors influencing culture change are diversified – both internal and external. Internal factors, such as socioeconomic evolution and technical inventions, may lead to changes in people’s lifestyle; external factors, such as conquest by another culture, may bring about culture change. The roles of internal and external factors in culture change may be different, depending on different space and time conditions.<sup>72</sup>

As a result of this changing nature, it is not so easy to measure culture. Therefore, researchers rarely use the same variables in different time periods. Mostly, they prefer to use only one variable in a certain time period. Moreover, some of them may use a set of variables with the same scope such as Asian values- kinship. As a last point, ‘comparable data across countries and time is not available or does not even exist’<sup>73</sup> For example, Rongxing Guo uses three elements of culture in order to analyse the impact of culture on economy: ‘ethnicity, language and religion.’<sup>74</sup>

When all these put into consideration, it is clearly understood that the culture should be conceptualised as something observable in order to test the hypothesis of a quantitative research. In this vein, it is also necessary to recall how culture is defined in the research; culture is mental and physical reaction of people in a certain society to varying dimensions of life such as religion, art, social relations, politics, work, ethics and etc. Since the main aim of the research is to explore the relationship between culture and development, the study is based on Weberian theory which explains the interaction between

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<sup>70</sup> Carranza Valdes, “Culture and Development: Some Considerations for Debate,” *Latin American Perspectives* 29 (2002): 35.

<sup>71</sup> Harvey Nelson, “A Cultural Change Model,” essay written for Culture Matters Research Project, p. 5

<sup>72</sup> Rongxing Guo, *Cultural Influences on Economic Analysis Theory and Empirical Evidence*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 179.

<sup>73</sup> Onesimo, “Can Culture Explain Economic Growth?” 34.

<sup>74</sup> Guo, *Cultural Influences*, 8.

certain cultural-religious elements and economic behaviour as a part of rationalisation of the economic system. In this vein, culture will be measured by using World Values Survey (WVS) which examines culture under six major dimension in different time periods; perception of life, environment, work, family, politics and society, religion and morale. Specifically, following variables belonging to these sets of dimension will be used;

Table 1: Variables which will be used to evaluate culture

VARIABLE	LABEL
A	PERCEPTION OF LIFE
A030	Important Child Qualities: Hard Work
A032	Important Child Qualities: Feeling Of Responsibility
A038	Important Child Qualities: Thrift Saving Money and Things
A040	Important Child Qualities: Religious Faith <sup>75</sup>

Source: Author's own elaboration based on WVS

## 2.2. Development

Aftermath the gradual disappearance of colonialism from the world scene, serious debates have emerged in terms of the varying development level of colonized states simply because it starts to be declared that current theoretical explanations fell short in stating the reasons why some states are counted as developed whereas the others as underdeveloped. As a result of these disputes, certain significant questions arise. Whether it is possible for a region to preserve its history and integrity and to honour its local cultures and still be globally competitive, whether democratic institutions cause certain values to emerge, how one can help foster the changes

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<sup>75</sup> This variable will be used separately from other variables in order to see whether religion can effect development per se. Even if religion is a part of culture, there are many researches on religion and development as if religion were the most important effect on development. In this vein, the concerned

necessary to create steadily rising standards of living in the developing world are some of these questions. As guessed, there are not mutually agreed responses to them because they show variation primarily according to time periods. ‘Development thinking if considered carefully is a series of improvisations and borrowings, zigzagging over time [...] The transformations denoted as ‘development’ change along with the tides and currents of conventional wisdom.’<sup>76</sup> Therefore, what development used to stand for is exposed to serious questions leading crisis. Jan Nederveen Pieterse states that

there are various views of what this crisis means’. One of them is ‘associated with post-development thinking. A different response is to qualify the crisis, acknowledging the failures of the development record but also its achievements, avoiding simplistic, one-sided assessments [...] Another reaction is to acknowledge crisis and to argue that crisis is intrinsic to development...From its nineteenth-century beginnings, development thinking was a reaction to the crises of progress [...] Hence, questioning, rethinking and crisis are part of development and not external to it. A related view is not merely to acknowledge questioning as part of development but to consider it as its spearhead – viewing development thinking as ongoing questioning critique and probing alternative options. Development then is field in flux, with a rapid change and turnover of alternatives. Precisely because of its crisis predicament, development is a high-energy field.’<sup>77</sup>

Similarly, development thinking -used to mean only economic growth- has changed ‘as the supplementary knowledge of social structures facilitating or hindering economic growth, as insights into the psychological factors motivating or discouraging economic growth, as information about the political factors, influencing economic decisions.’<sup>78</sup> For instance, if 35-year-old position of development is considered, ‘its genealogy basically follows Robert Michel’s iron law of the oligarchy, Max Weber’s iron law of the bureaucracy and Foucault’s notion of governmentality’<sup>79</sup> when development is examined from the perspective of political science. As a result of the infusion of other disciplines into development thinking, development has turned out to be ‘a battleground where contention rages among bureaucratic economists, Marxist revolutionaries, environmental activists, feminist

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study will be able to test whether religion make a significant change on development different than culture and whether religion affects development as a part of culture.

<sup>76</sup> Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory*, (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore and Washington DC: Sage Publications, 2010), 77.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>79</sup> Frans J. Schuurman, *Critical Development Theory: moving out of the Twilight Zone*, p. 834

critics, postmodern skeptics, and radical democrats.<sup>80</sup> On the other hand, all these positions in development studies ‘operate on the basis of simplistic dichotomies - such as modernity versus ‘tradition’, science versus indigenous knowledge, the impersonal versus the local.’<sup>81</sup> Therefore, development has zigzagged between two extreme understanding -developed and underdeveloped- even if third option ‘developing’ has been introduced in recent years. However, ‘actual development thinking and action are about finding a balance or accommodation between different actors, perspectives, interests and dimensions within specific historical, political and ecological settings, and thus requires a holistic approach.’<sup>82</sup>

Another crucial topic in development studies is whether development is treated as a subject of science or a tool for politics. It is out of question that there are two extremes in this question. While some suggests that development is only a part of science so it should not be used to fulfil political aims, others treat it merely as a tool for political use. Therefore, it is doubtful how autonomous development studies are. However, development thinking should not be expressed with either-or propositions, since it ‘refers both to a process (as in, a society develops) and an intervention (as in, developing a society)’<sup>83</sup>, so that it can be named as ‘a hybrid project intellectually and politically.’<sup>84</sup>

Throughout history, development has been used interchangeably with economic growth, improvement, better life opportunities, modernization nation building, industrialization, sustainability, enlarging people’s choices, enhancement of capacities, rolling back the state, poverty alleviation, state effectiveness, good governance, poverty eradication, social inclusion, and so forth. Furthermore, it has been thought that development is equal to economic growth. Yet, it has been recognised that they have a complementary relation rather than interchangeability. Thus, to understand the difference between development and economic growth is

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<sup>80</sup> Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick, *Theories of Development Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives*, (New York: The Guilford Press, 2009), 4.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>84</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 77.

vital, both development and economic growth will be examined thoroughly in the following part.

### **2.2.1. Economic Growth vs. Development**

Likewise culture, it is nearly impossible to find a definition of development on which everyone agrees and Pieterse affirms that ‘defining them is as difficult as, to use a Spanish proverb, putting pants on an octopus.’<sup>85</sup> By bearing this situation in mind, Alexander and Kumaran argue that even if there are various ideas on development, “for all theorists, development is moving from point A to point B along a single trajectory, but the force for this movement is diverse.”<sup>86</sup> When this argument is put into limelight, the common point of all theorist agree is to progress only in one area of development. Yet, it is misleading for a certain number of reasons. First of all, development cannot be suggested as simply a movement from a certain point to another because the distance between two points may not be as much as desired, but this change in position can be called as development even if you cannot reach the goal when the definition is considered. Secondly, the change between positions may not be forward, so there can be a tendency to perceive the backward movements as development. What is more, even if the aimed point is reached, it cannot be uttered as development once again since there might be a possibility to jeopardize all the improvements and to turn back to the starting point. Therefore, the movement can solely be defined as development if it is sustainable. In other words, ‘since development is concerned with the measurement of desirable change over time, it is chronometric.’<sup>87</sup>

Finally, the definition suggests that development occurs merely in one orbit. In addition to all these interpretations of development stemming from Alexander and Kumaran’s definition of development, it is mostly observed that the development studies include only economy. Thus, it spreads the widely accepted idea that

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> K. C. Alexander and K. P. Kumaran, *Culture and Development Cultural Patterns in Areas of Uneven Development* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1992), 19.

development is measured by economical power. On the other hand, the term cannot gain its real meaning as far as development occurs in every aspect of life such as environment, technology, economy and so on. Simon brings all these points in his definition of development and he puts forward “human development is the process of enhancing individual and collective quality of life in a manner that satisfies basic needs (as a minimum), is environmentally, socially and economically sustainable and is empowering in the sense that people concerned have a substantial degree of control (because total control may be unrealistic) over the process through access to the means of accumulative social power.” All in all, the movement between two points must be regarded as development provided that it is progressive, multidimensional and sustainable.

Simon criticizes the widely adopted comprehensions of development which is determined only in economy and reveals ‘human development [...] is empowering in the sense that people concerned have a substantial degree of control’<sup>88</sup>. In this definition, he stresses ‘control of people’ in addition to progressiveness, multidimensionality and sustainability. Therefore, he adds the fourth element of development – people’s ‘control over the process’.

Straussfogel puts two elements of development in Simon, Alexander and Kumaran’s definitions. She stresses multidimensionality of Simon’s definition and notes that ‘economic development cannot be isolated from human development more generally; only together we gain a complete picture of development.’<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, she calls attention to differences between cultures in Alexander and Kumaran’s argument in terms of common points of development for all theorists by emphasizing ‘individual states express differing priorities for specific development projects that reflect their individual values and development needs. Measures of development should accommodate these differences.’<sup>90</sup> In these statements, she would like to take attention to plural ways to achieve development, so development does not embrace

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<sup>87</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 162.

<sup>88</sup> David Simon, “Current Development Thinking.” *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 79 (1997): 183-201.

<sup>89</sup> Debra Straussfogel, “Redefining Development as Humane and Sustainable,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87(1997): 280-305.

only one way. Consequently, it is unwise to suggest that every state will pave the same development way since their needs are diverse. To review briefly, development includes progressiveness, multidimensionality, sustainability, people's 'control over the process' and lastly pluralism to accomplish.

Even if what is included in development is stated, all these elements do not provide a satisfactory response to what development is. Thus, it is necessary to think about how development is defined by other authors. On the other hand, all possible definitions but some of the widely accepted ones will be discussed in this part. Julio Carranza Valdes states that 'one of the best-known historical definitions of economic development is a succession of stages through which all countries and regions must inevitably pass. Seen from this point of view, the difference between developed and underdeveloped countries is simply that the former have already travelled a historical path that others will eventually follow.'<sup>91</sup> On the other hand, this definition reminds Rostow's stages of economic growth, so this statement proves that development and growth is used interchangeably. Moreover, the concerned definition makes also reference to modernisation thinking which 'development is a founding belief of.'<sup>92</sup> Further analysis of modernisation thinking in relation to development will be made in the following parts of the research, so that to uncover the relation between modernisation and development is enough for now.

Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick define development as 'making a better life for everyone.'<sup>93</sup> Yet, they are well aware that it is nearly impossible to provide better life for all people in the world. In this vein, they clarify by noting that 'a better life for most people means, essentially, meeting basic needs: sufficient food to maintain good health; a safe, healthy place in which to live; affordable services available to everyone; and being treated with dignity and respect.'<sup>94</sup> One of the problem with this definition is ambiguity of what 'a better life' is and how it can be reached in a harmonious manner since 'basic needs' understanding may change according to

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<sup>90</sup> Alexander and Kumaran, *Culture and Development*, 10.

<sup>91</sup> Valdes, *Culture and Development Some Considerations for Debate*, 31.

<sup>92</sup> Peet and Hartwick, *Theories of Development*, 1.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

societies and available materials to provide it. All these make development ‘a contentious issue around which swirl bitter arguments and fierce debates.’<sup>95</sup>

Korten offers another definition of development as follows: ‘Development is a process by which the members of a society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of consistent with their own aspirations.’<sup>96</sup> This definition reminds Amartya Sen’s widely-known definition of development as ‘the enlargement of people’s choices’ which is also adopted as the definition of development in the Human Development Reports of UNDP.

Putting last two definitions together, it becomes obvious that development thinking puts a special emphasis on human factor in one way or another. Therefore, development can come into existence if human factor is embedded in social, economic, and environmental dimension of policies. On the other hand, economic growth which is mostly used in place of development only cares about economic dimension of policies and does not even make a comment on other dimensions. Therefore, development is multidimensional whereas economic growth is one-dimensional. At this point, it is necessary to examine economic growth deeply in order to comprehend its difference from development clearly.

Likewise development, there are some disputes how to determine the level of economic growth of a society. While some claim that Gross National Income (GNI) should be used, others state that Gross National Product (GNP) forms the basis of economic growth. In this research, the difference between two approaches will not be discussed; rather their relation with development thinking will be examined since they are perceived as more or less the same. In this regard, ‘the higher the per capita production or income, the more “developed” a country’s people are conventionally said to be, and the higher the annual growth rate per capita, the more rapidly a country is said to be developing.’<sup>97</sup> For both measurements, the size of population

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Korten D.C., *Getting to the 21<sup>st</sup> century: voluntary action and the global agenda*, (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1990), 67.

<sup>97</sup> Peet and Hartwick, *Theories of Development*, 6.



takes a significant place, so they must outnumber the size of population so as to talk about development on the grounds of these two approaches. Volker Bornschieer points out that ‘growth is solely dependent on the rate of savings, the rate of population growth and on the rate of technological progress.’<sup>98</sup> Therefore, economic growth is simply the increase in the capacity of a nation, so it is only a quantitative term. On the other hand, development is a qualitative term which refers to improvements in living standards, the quality of produced goods, the organisation of production, and so forth. Julio Carranza Valdes states that ‘economic growth is assumed to be the object and expression of development, and the short-term maximization of profit is criterion for any “development” measure.’<sup>99</sup> However, these statesmen see development as end of the product or service aggregation process. It is true that development contains economic growth, but not only growth. In order to label a process as development it is necessary to observe progress in cultural, social and environmental structure of a society. In a way, ‘growth potential must be curvilinear function of the level of development.’<sup>100</sup>

Scherman Robinson sets three conditions for growth by stating ‘these conditions do not represent a theory of growth but instead are generally definitional – they are necessary but not sufficient.’<sup>101</sup> The first one is ‘profitable opportunities must exist.’<sup>102</sup> In this line, he makes reference to Schumpeter’s classification believed to originate: ‘(1) the introduction of a new good, (2) the introduction of a new method of production, (3) the opening of a new market, (4) the conquest of a new source of supply of raw materials, and (5) the carrying out of the new organization of any industry.’<sup>103</sup> Another condition is ‘individuals or groups who

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<sup>98</sup> Volker Bornschieer, *Culture and Politics in Economic Development*, (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2005), 15.

<sup>99</sup> Valdes, “Culture and Development, 32.

<sup>100</sup> Bornschieer, *Culture and Politics*, 36.

<sup>101</sup> Scherman Robinson, “Theories of Economic Growth and Development,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 21 (1972): 56-57.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

wish to exploit the profitable opportunities must exist.’<sup>104</sup> Final condition ‘capital that can be used to exploit the profitable opportunities must exist.’<sup>105</sup>

As it is seen from above mentioned conditions of growth, ‘economic growth can occur without touching problems like inequality or poverty when all the increase goes to a few people’ and ‘growth is justified only when it produces development – when it satisfies essential needs.’<sup>106</sup> Jan Nederveen Pieterse finds a similarity between growth and development and peaks and valleys by noting that ‘the pursuit of peaks (of excellence, competitiveness) is crucial to growth, but maintaining a balance between peaks and valleys is crucial to development.’<sup>107</sup>

Furthermore, Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick develop an approach not only by stating what development is, but also what development is not;

If growth merely produces more Wal-Mart junk rather than schools or clinics, it is not development. Development attends to the social consequences of production. If growth merely concentrates wealth in hands of a few, it is not development. Most contentiously, development analyses is controlled by a few powerful people rather than the many people who make it possible, it is not development. If growth means subjecting the world’s people to an incessant barrage of consumption inducement that invade every corner of life, it is not development. If growth is the outcome of market processes that no one controls – although a few people benefit – it is not development. Development is optimistic and utopian. Development means changing the world for the better. Development means starting change at the bottom rather than the top.<sup>108</sup>

### **2.2.2. Shifts in the Meanings of Development**

Prolonged displeasure with the thinking of development simply as economic growth leads scholars to think far more deeply what development is (not). Especially after the World War II (WWII) when development thinking resurged, different terms for development mushroom. Alternative development, post-development, post-modern development, social development, endogenous development, top-down development, bottom-up development, economic development, sustainable development, redistribution with growth, dependent development, interdependent

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Peet and Hartwick, *Theories of Development*, 2.

<sup>107</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 212.

<sup>108</sup> Peet and Hartwick, *Theories of Development*, 2.

development, meeting basic needs, and another development are only some of these terms. ‘There has been no single way in which development as worlds of meaning has been explicated.’<sup>109</sup> All these terms show us that development thinking and the term which we prefer change because of the contextual nature of development. ‘Some have taken the high road of development modernism and the legibility and visibility required by the state [...]; some have traced the lineages of the notion of the economy (its “intervention”) and the discursive construction of economic theory.’<sup>110</sup> In other words, it would not be wrong to say that multiplicity of development terms originates ideologically, epistemologically or methodologically, so development is defined according to which colour of glass put on. Pieterse explains ‘the selection and representation of [development thinking] trends are tricky issues. If it is true that development is mirror of the times, then a development trend report is to look in the collective mirror- and there are many angles to take and arguments to fit the occasion.’<sup>111</sup> Namely, development thinking has gone under strongly felt changes related to the nature and unit of development. While development concentrated on growth or technology in the context of state in the past, it has improved a special interest to human factor, education, culture, institutions in the context of international arena.

Moreover, Pieterse suggests that ‘the different meanings of development relate to changing relations of power and hegemony, which is part of the view in the collective mirror’<sup>112</sup> whatever the reason of varying meanings of development over time. Therefore, ‘development thinking and policy, then, is a terrain of hegemony and counter-hegemony. In this contestation of interests there are many stakeholders and multiple centres of power and influence.’<sup>113</sup> As a result, ‘diverse approaches to development are being papered over in the hegemonic language of development’<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Michael Watts, “Culture, development, and global neo-liberalism,” in *Culture and Development in a Globalizing World Geographies, actors, and paradigms* by ed. Sarah A. Radcliffe, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 50.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 11.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 9-10.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 197.

rather than humanitarian language. All in all, it is nearly impossible to find a common ground in development thinking.

Nevertheless, Tracey Skelton and Tim Allen claim that writers in postdevelopment school share a common ground. For them, ‘this group of scholars have suggested that development is a dangerous, or even pernicious, concept in that it implies something positive but offers nothing more than a kind of mirage of progress, based on rigorous homogenization of ways of being human.’<sup>115</sup>

Cowen and Shenton defined development as ‘remedies for the shortcomings and maladies of progress.’<sup>116</sup> Actually, they compare progress and development with this definition. Probably the most important part in their definition is the implication that progress has some deficiencies which can be completed by development. Therefore, development is the stage where all deficiencies of progress are eliminated.

Another term which is used for development is social transformation. On the other hand, it raises questions such as what type of change it should be and what its final destination is. Korten defined development ‘as a transformation towards justice, inclusiveness and sustainability’, and adds ‘a process by which the members of a society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations.’<sup>117</sup> Parallel to this definition, Björn Hettne suggested that ‘development in modern sense implies intentional social change in accordance with societal objectives.’<sup>118</sup> What takes attention in both definitions is the end point of development defined in accordance to society itself. Therefore, the development model of a certain society can be different from others as development thinking is ‘problem driven rather than theory-driven.’<sup>119</sup>

Other additional terms used in place of development are alternative development and human development. Even if they seem to be similar, they differ in

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<sup>115</sup> Skelton and Allen, *Culture and Global Change*, 2.

<sup>116</sup> M. P. Cowen and R. W. Shenton, *Doctrines of Development* (London: Routledge, 1996), 130.

<sup>117</sup> Korten, *Getting to the 21<sup>st</sup> century*, 67.

<sup>118</sup> Björn Hettne, ‘Development Discourses in history,’ in Hettne, 6.

<sup>119</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 3-4.

the unit of development. The first pays a special interest to locality of development whereas the latter thinks development in the global level. Pieterse affirms that 'alternative development envisages alternative globalization and human development seeks global reform, while anti-development converges on anti-globalization. The global horizon is a compelling rendezvous, a prism in which all angles on development are refracted.'<sup>120</sup>

The last widely used term for development is social development. Midgley defined social development as 'a process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole in conjunction with a dynamic process of economic development.'<sup>121</sup> According to this definition, social development occurs in cooperation of growth, so they complement each other.

### **2.2.3. Limitations in Determining Level Of Development**

In previous part, it is stated that how the meaning of development has changed. In this vein, it is observed that development terms are so varying that it is nearly impossible to measure the level of development in a country. Therefore, some factors especially related to measuring level of development will be dealt with in this part. In other words, how to measure the level of development will be answered. However, determining the level of development by using a certain measure is not possible since a huge number of measures are used according to type of research. These measures can be listed as economic indicators, social indices and lastly multiple component indices.

Before noting the difference among above stated measures, it is of significance to affirm the core limitation in determining the level of development; unit of development. As Pieterse notes the 'development statistics and measures used by international institutions are still country statistics.'<sup>122</sup> This situation raises the

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<sup>120</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 201.

<sup>121</sup> Midgley J., *Social development: the developmental perspective in social welfare*, (London: Sage,1995), 25.

<sup>122</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 16.

question how reliable provided data are. Moreover, characteristics used to measure level of development such as production, income, export, import, fertility rate and so on are value laden rather than universally accepted. In sum, both the process and end of data collection differ according to where countries stand.

The measures are divided into three categories according to parameters they select. The first one is economic indicators. GDP (Gross Domestic Product), GNP (Gross National Product), PPP (Purchase Power Parity), and GDP/GNP per capita can be listed under this category. Even if these measures are widely used, it is necessary to think that they basically measure the value of what is produced and paid for in an organised, taxed market sector of an economy rather than in the informal sector. Hence, they do not account what is produced, how the wealth is distributed, what the environmental and social costs are, who spends it and what it is spent on. Moreover, neither products produced and consumed within the family nor services exchanged informally are included. Peet and Hartwick state that ‘a major portion of the economic activity in many the “official” economy, whose measurements serve as the main indicators of growth, may be only a minor part of the real economy, whose true measurements are unknown.’<sup>123</sup> As a last remark, these measures are used to determine the level of economic growth not development even if contrary is claimed.

When it comes to second category, it is safe to say that these measures can give us some idea about people’s quality of life besides economic growth. Infant mortality, life expectancy, fertility rate, number of fridges per head, number of cars per head, crime level, obesity and so forth are some of the social indices. Even if these indices touch people aspect of development in one way or other, they are not enough still to measure the level of development since they focus only on one aspect of development not in a supplemental way. Average figures, namely single component measures, cannot reveal the differences among groups within countries, between classes or genders. Briefly, available data only provide a poor vision of the level of development.

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<sup>123</sup> Peet and Hartwick, *Theories of Development*, 10.

Previous two categories include only one single component, but the last category include multiple component indices which combine a number of single component indices to give a combined score. Human Development Index (HDI), Human Poverty Index 1 and 2 (HPI-1/2), Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) can be counted under this category. Among them, HDI is mostly applied one since it is a socio-economic indicator which combine three dimensions of human welfare; longevity, knowledge and standard of living. However widely used, HDI still has some limitation in measuring development. For example; knowledge is measured only by the help of what children learn at school. In other words, what they learn in the family is ignored. Moreover, longevity can be distorted as the life expectancy of a person does not consider how healthy the life was pursued. Also, HDI may not indicate regional disparities between urban and rural, ethnic and gender groups. Finally, HDI shows relative development since a society may be developing but the level of development in the concerned society may remain low compared to other societies.

As it is understood from, how development is measured depends on how it is defined. Therefore, the definition which will be adopted throughout the research should be provided before indicating how development is measured. In this vein, development is defined in the concerned research as a sustainable and progressive process whose aim is to enable people in a certain society to pursue a better life in terms of economic, demographic, social and environmental conditions. According to provided definition, development will be measured on the grounds of 2 major indicators – economic and distribution of wealth. Moreover, sub-indicators are summarised in the following table;

Table 2: Indicators of Development

Economic	Distribution of Wealth
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• GDP per capita</li> <li>• GDP annual Growth</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Hospital beds, per 100 people</li> <li>•Prevalence of HIV (ages 14-49), % of population</li> <li>•Primary completion rate, % of relevant age</li> <li>•Literacy Rate, % of people ages 15 and above</li> <li>•Mortality rate, under 5 per 100 live births</li> <li>•Fertility Rate, births per woman</li> <li>•Improved water source, % of population with access</li> <li>•Improved sanitation facilities, % of population with access</li> </ul>

Source: Created by the author

### 2.2.4. What Affects Level of Development?

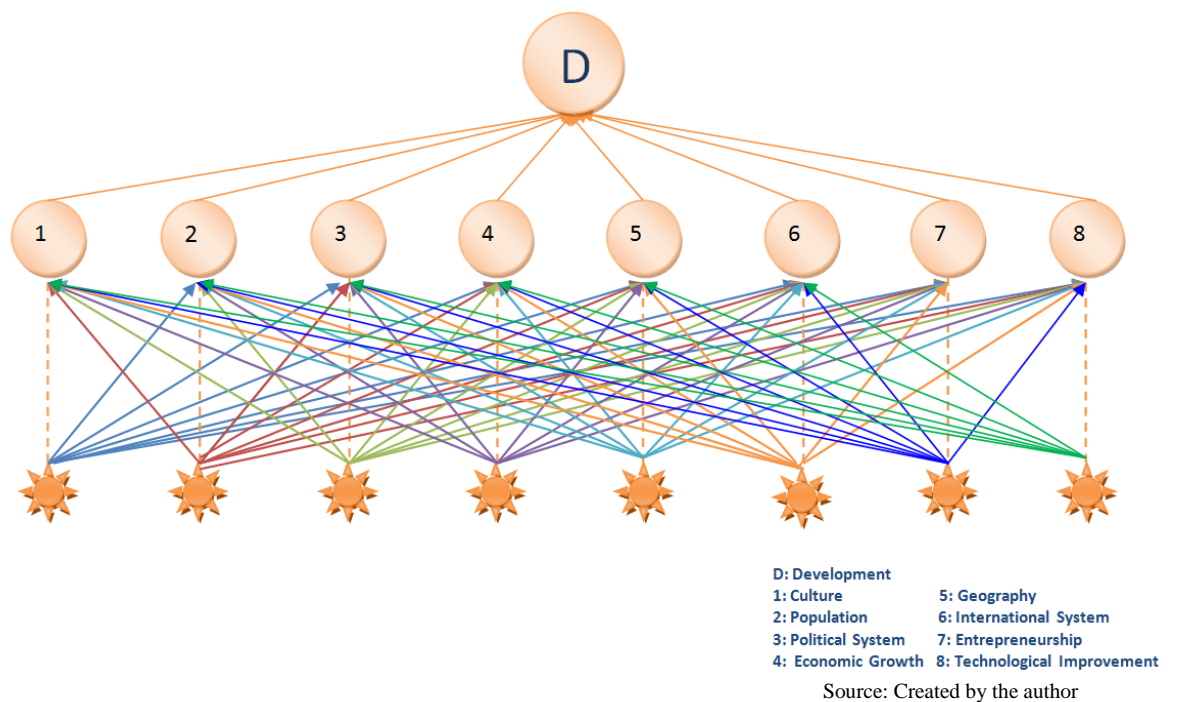
The difference in the level of development among countries has been one of the hotly-debated topics since the decolonialisation period simply because newly-founded countries has accused colonial states for their lack of development while colonial ones put the blame on colonised countries' culture. Therefore, debates about development have gone around two major theories; Dependency, on which colonised states put their argument, and Modernisation, on which colonial states put their arguments. However, development understanding is such an integrated whole that it is impossible to claim that the reason why some states cannot develop is either colonisation or culture per se. Politically, socially, culturally or economically oriented factors are jointly the sources of differences.

In this vein, geography, entrepreneurship, population (human capital), political system, technological improvement, international system, economic growth and culture will be put under the spotlight in this research as the sources of development dissimilarities. Yet, this does not mean that other factors do not affect the level of development. The reason why these eight factors are counted as responsible for the difference in the level of development is that it is believed they encompass other factors somehow. In addition, it is worth considering that these factors do not affect only development, but also they have an effect on each other. Hence, it is quite difficult to investigate their weight in the level of development



separately. In Figure 1, development is considered as the dependent variable and other elements (culture, technological improvement, entrepreneurship, population, international system, economic growth, geography and political system) are the independent variables of the concerned research. In this vein, how culture affects development is the starting point of the research, but it is of significance to understand other causes as well in order not to come to a misleading judgement on the effect of culture on development. Thus, these factors will be discussed in detail in connection specifically with development in the following part.

Figure 1: The Causes of Development



Much theorising explains development in the short term. That is why economic terms such as investment, employment and export gain a huge importance in development thinking. On the other hand, other causes of development can only be observed if development is examined in the long run. At this moment, there are varying arguments on why countries differ in long-run development. One of the arguments focuses on the claim that specific geographical features such as land, water, climate, and energy enhance or worsen development. For some authors, there

is a positive correlation between geography and development, so geography directly affects development. Furthermore, some authors suggest that geography has an indirect impact on development through its influence on culture. Jared Diamond in his popular book *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* argues that Eurasian societies are dominant in political and economic terms not because of cultural or racial differences but because of environmental differences. Even if he notes that cultural variations can be greatly the reasons behind the variations of development patterns, he claims some of these cultural variations are the results of environmental factors. ‘Prominent among these factors are climate, including temperature variations and rainfall / snowfall patterns; natural resource endowment, including the extent of arable land, the availability of domesticable animals, mineral deposits, and waterways that facilitate trade; and number of mountain ranges that impede communication.’<sup>124</sup> What is more, He believes that societies adopt different paths of development because of environmental factors. Put it in his words;

Among other factors [explaining why some societies have advanced more rapidly than others] cultural factors [...] loom large [...] Human cultural traits vary greatly around the world. Some of that cultural variation is no doubt a product of environmental variation... But an important question concerns the possible significance of local cultural factors unrelated to the environment. A minor cultural feature may arise for trivial, temporary local reason, become fixed, and then predispose a society toward more important cultural choice.<sup>125</sup>

Another scholar who has similar arguments is Jeffrey Sachs. He affirms that ‘two basic [geographic] patterns stand out. First, the temperature regions of the world are vastly more developed than the tropics...Second, geographically remote regions – either those far from the coasts and navigable rivers or mountainous states with high internal and international transport costs – are considerably less developed than societies on coastal plains or navigable rivers. Landlocked states in general face the worst problems.’<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Harrison, *Central Liberal Truth*, 27.

<sup>125</sup> Jared M. Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*, (New York: W. W. Norton , 1997), 417-18 .

<sup>126</sup> Jeffrey Sachs, “Notes on a New Sociology of Economic Development,” in eds. Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington, *Culture Matters* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 31.

Ellen Churchill Semple has highly controversial theories on the subject since she follows environmental deterministic viewpoint which suggests the physical environment rather than social conditions determines culture. She places all her arguments on the assumption that climate and geographical position are the basis of people's qualities and actions and these qualities and actions are the source of development. According to her, 'the natural environment determined people's racial qualities, especially their levels of consciousness, productivity, and level of economic development [...] In brief, environments make innovative people, and these innovators lead development: ergo, environment is the basis of development.'<sup>127</sup> Peet and Hartwick give the example of countries with cold or mild climate. They claim that countries with colder climate are more developed than with mild ones since coldness forces people to overcome the harsh conditions of winter. However, mild climate provides people all kinds of comfort, so they do not feel obliged to do something about conditions. They support their arguments by stating climate 'must surely be relevant in explaining why most poor countries are found in the tropical zones; and it may also be relevant in explaining why the warmer portions of some countries – for example, the south of Italy, the south of Spain, the south of the United States – are poorer than the colder portions.'<sup>128</sup>

Another thinker who explains development with natural features on the grounds of culture is Herbert Spencer. He believes that evolution phenomena can be applied to all fields of study, especially to human society. Hence, he improves an evolutionist perspective also for development. He expresses social organisation with the term 'super-organic' in *Principles of Sociology*. For Spencer, the super-organic is a developing feature of interacting organisms, that is, human beings. Accordingly, this interaction process brings innovation and progress with it in the end. On the other hand, interaction bringing innovation and progress should be among naturally well-endowed areas, since societies with different natural environments demonstrate different struggle to fit their environment.

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<sup>127</sup> Peet and Hartwick, *Theories of Development*, 106-107.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

Another argument on why countries differ in long-run development emphasises the role of entrepreneurship. Joseph Schumpeter's theory of long waves represents the role of entrepreneurship as the driving force of economic growth. To Schumpeter, "Everyone is an entrepreneur only when he actually carries out new combinations".<sup>129</sup> Therefore, economic development is molded as a result of process of entrepreneurial discovery which requires finding new combinations of factors of production. An entrepreneur plays a fundamental role not only in the development of industrial or financial sector of a country but also in the development of service sector. An Entrepreneur creates a domino effect when s/he establishes an enterprise. Therefore, the demand for various production or services will increase. In turn, this will lead to all-embracing development since it will help to improve living standards.

David McClelland expresses that entrepreneurs feel high necessity of achievement which is one of the three urgent needs of human motivation. These needs are for achievement (n-Ach), for power (n-Pow), and for affiliation with others (n-Aff). Moreover, the economic development is a direct result of n-Ach since this need makes people entrepreneurs.<sup>130</sup>

Third factor affecting the level of development in the long-run is political system of a certain country. This cause, actually, requires deeper analysis since it has many dimensions. For example, it is not an easy task to determine whether the political system of a country affects that country's economic development or if the economic development affects the political system of a country. Similar political systems in different countries can affect their level of development in different ways. Furthermore, different political systems in different countries can lead their countries to similar level of development. In this context, Joan Robinson claims that 'the questions economists ask, as well as, the answers they provide, are determined more by political outlook and ideology than anything else.'<sup>131</sup> Therefore, she believes that political system of a country affects development, not vice versa. On the other hand,

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<sup>129</sup> Joseph Alois Schumpeter, *The Theory of Economic Development: An Inquiry Into Profits, Capital, Credit, Interest, and the Business Cycle* (Transaction Publishers, 1934), 78.

<sup>130</sup> See for more details David. C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society*, (Princeton, NJ: D. Van Nostrand, 1961).

<sup>131</sup> Joan Robinson, "What Are the Questions?," *Journal of Economic Literature* 15 (1977), 1318.

it would be wrong to claim that the relationship between two variables is one dimensional. The effect of a political system on economic development and vice versa has a circular flow effect; that is, the political system and economic development affect one another. Yet, it is certain that the way they are affected changes according to each political system.

As Roxing Guo notes ‘during the twentieth century the failure of the centrally planned economies (CPEs) to keep pace with their market-oriented counterparts demonstrated clearly enough that planning entire economies at the central government level is not a productive path to long-term development.’<sup>132</sup> However, economic boom in East Asian countries, especially in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and China, gives rise to debates on the efficacy of government interventions. Scholars have started to think that countries may have a good level of development even if government interventions are observed. Nevertheless, it is still a question mark whether East Asian development story is specific to time and place.

Opposed to general understanding, the physical accumulation of capital cannot create development by itself. Another example which proves that is the effect of human capital in development understanding. For human capital, education and skills play a crucial role since they include the requirements necessary to increase the productivity of people in a society. Therefore, manpower planning based on formal education forms one of the legs of development since it balances inputs of skill and development. Volker Bornschieer affirms that education affects development ‘by improving the qualifications of the workforce, providing better training and, thus, easier absorption of the knowledge relevant for improving production and distribution.’<sup>133</sup> On the other hand, ‘data on education stock should be readjusted before an international comparison is conducted, because educational systems usually differ from country to country.’<sup>134</sup>

Another point related to the relationship between human capital and development is population growth rate. Even if it is hard to make generalisations

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<sup>132</sup> Guo, *Cultural Influences*, 69.

<sup>133</sup> Bornschieer, *Culture and Politics*, xvi.

about sustainable population rates all over societies, World Bank reveals that population growth over 2% brakes development. As Roxing Guo states;

a huge labour force does not sufficiently represent an advantage in human resources for economic development, particularly when a country is undergoing transformation from an agricultural society, mainly using traditional methods of production to an industrial society, which requires not only new and advanced technologies but also well-trained personnel. A well-educated and law-abiding population that processes a strong work ethic is the sine qua non of modern economic growth.<sup>135</sup>

Fifth factor having an effect on the level of development in the long-run is technological improvements because of two reasons. The first one is related to its direct effect on economic growth as a result of easiness in adaptation of technological improvements. In other words, a society's felicity in adaptation of technological devices and appliances may increase its production capacity or lead the society to discover breakthroughs. 'In Schumpeter's analysis of capitalism new technologies and inventions are the motor of capital accumulation. This also looms large in the longwave approach to capitalism.'<sup>136</sup> Volker Bornschier states that 'common sense [...] tells us that growth can be improved by technological progress.'<sup>137</sup> Moreover, he affirms that 'in the absence of technological progress, economic growth per capita of employed labour unit should, theoretically, eventually disappear due to diminishing returns on physical capital investment.'<sup>138</sup> The second reason why technological improvements affect the level of development is related to its effect on the quality of life. It is highly possible to see indexes using figures such as number of fridges per head, number of cars per head and newspaper per head. Above stated figures can be taken into account only if the related society adopts the required technological improvements in order to pursue their life. Moreover, other measures such as fertility rate and clean drinking water are again determined according to their adaptation of technological improvements. In short, the development, design, and availability of communication, information and industrial technologies have a profound effect

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<sup>134</sup> Guo, *Cultural Influences*, 63.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 173.

<sup>137</sup> Bornschier, *Culture and Politics*, 13.

on the conduct of social and economic life. For Pieterse, ‘suddenly technology becomes a development shortcut.’<sup>139</sup>

Sixth argument on why countries differ in long-run development emphasises the role of culture, which shapes the main argument of concerned research as well. In this part, the relation between culture and development will be stated in general terms since a detailed analysis between two variables will be done in the third part.

The critical question – whether culture matters for development – has been one of the hotly debated topics the decolonisation period onwards. The answers gather in different poles just like as international arena at that time. Therefore, societies have been divided into 3 basic groups according to whether they carry some certain features or not. These features have started to include cultural elements in time. Furthermore, it has been believed that all underdeveloped societies have the same cultural elements which are mostly negatively attributed and developed societies have the same positively attributed cultural elements. This understanding leads to argument that certain cultural elements hinder development whereas others ease it. ‘As we explore the ways that cultural elements and economic development interact, we must be mindful that the interaction can be constructive or destructive.’<sup>140</sup> Contrary to this argument, neither underdeveloped nor developed societies have the same cultural elements. Even sometimes, an underdeveloped society may have the same cultural elements with a developed one. Yet, it does not mean that culture is ineffective in development. Cultural factors alone do not explain all of the cross-national variation in development. Culture is only one of the factors that affect development. Granato, Inglehart and Leblang ‘believe that it is not an either/or proposition: cultural and economic factors play

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>139</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 168.

<sup>140</sup> William Ascher and John M. Heffron, Conclusions “Intertwining Cultural Adaptation and Economic Development” to *Cultural Change and Persistence New Perspective on Development* by eds. Ascher and Heffron, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 234-235.

complementary roles.’<sup>141</sup> Roxing Guo explains the relationship between development and culture with the words that ‘development divorced from its human or cultural context is growth without a soul.’<sup>142</sup>

The last argument on why countries differ in long-run development is about international system. Because of so-called new age in international system just after the 9/11, the impacts of even small events can be quickly felt in other regions. Therefore, financial instability, technological improvements, unemployment, conditions of economic and social progress in any society may immediately affect other societies’ approach, policies or understanding of development. Moreover, global problems that transcend national boundaries may require common action, so societies may change their attitudes to development in general.

### **2.3. Culture and Economic Development**

It should be known that there has been much sociology and socio-anthropology literature discussing noneconomic factors that change in a society undergoing economic development. The problem is that very little has been done to integrate economic and sociological theories of development. Sociologists, reasonably enough, tend to assume the economic system as given or exogenous and study its effects on the social and cultural value system, while economists do the reverse. For some time, economists have been aware that a nation’s rate of gross domestic investment is a major influence on its long-term growth rate. Investment, in turn, depends on savings. Thus, a society that emphasizes thrift produces savings, which leads to investment, and later to economic growth.

On the other hand, some economists have tried to use noneconomic factors to explain differences in economic performance, but there has been very little

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<sup>141</sup> Granato, Inglehart, Leblang, “The Effect of Cultural Values”, 607.

<sup>142</sup> Guo, *Cultural Influences*, 1.



theorizing about interrelationships. I believe that one of the major reasons economists find it so difficult to bring noneconomic factors into their development theories is that economic theories are almost always implicitly based on a general equilibrium model that assumes social, cultural, and even institutional factors to be fixed. Guo buttresses this view by making an example with ex-communist states. For example, he argues that ‘according to current growth theories [...] an economy will tend to grow [...] as soon as all of its necessary production factors are properly arranged. This should have been true for many Eastern Orthodox economies, given their rich natural resources and the well-educated manpower that they inherited from the Soviet Union. However, many Eastern Orthodox economies have been critically entangled in problems in geopolitics, ethnicity and religion during the process of economic transition.’<sup>143</sup> It would be impossible, equally, to explain major social changes in modern Western society simply in terms of political economy.

It is noteworthy that the academician who has attached utmost importance to culture while assessing development is Harrison. He argued that;

culture and values are the soul of development. They provide its impetus, facilitate the means needed to further it, and substantially define people’s vision of its purposes and ends. Culture and values are instrumental in the sense that they help to shape people’s hopes, fears, ambitions, attitudes and actions, but they are also formative because they mould people’s ideals and inspire their dreams for a fulfilling life for themselves and future generations. There is some debate in Arab countries about whether culture and values promote or retard development. Ultimately, however, values are not the servants of development; they are its wellspring.<sup>144</sup>

In another recent study, which tries to explain the relationship between economic development and culture, Granato, Inglehart and Leblang concluded as such: ‘we believe that it is not an either/or proposition; cultural and economic factors play complementary roles’<sup>145</sup>. It can be argued that culture, due to its very nature, finds itself a central role especially in macro-level outcomes. These outcomes are political development, affluence and poverty, social development in the fields of equality, gender equality, corruption.

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>144</sup> Harrison, *The Central Liberal Truth*, 7.

<sup>145</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 67.

These outcomes, in my opinion, are decisive factors in development. They can be used in reply to questions that have been constantly debated while trying to explain the relationship between culture and economic development. One writer has uttered these questions as follows: ‘Why have the Confusion societies of East Asia experienced transforming rates of economic growth? Why are East Asian immigrants so successful wherever they migrate? Why are Jews so successful wherever they migrate? Why do the Nordic countries lead the rest of the world in most indicators of progress?’<sup>146</sup>

In the following sections, the relationship between culture and economic development will be analysed through three different views. Firstly, the Weberian thesis, that certain cultural factors influence economic growth, will be reviewed. Secondly, Amarty Sen, who is one of the leading authors in cultural studies, will be carefully assessed. He has made numerous contributions to the debate, especially with his work regarding Human Development Index. Thirdly, Grondona’s typology will be critically evaluated. The Argentinean sociologist has developed a cultural typology of economic development to analyse Argentina’s development history. The other two chapters will deal with issues such as cultural turn in development and culture as a means or end. These two chapters will be crucial to be able to grasp the wider picture.

### **2.3.1 Weberian Thesis**

German sociologist and also economist Marx Weber who profoundly influenced social theory and research put always emphasis on rationalism in sociological theory. Weber explained a rationalised development which Western culture, specifically Protestant culture, achieved by the help of a historical theory of stages. In his worldly-famous study *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, he explains the importance of cultural influences penetrated into religion in order to understand the source of capitalism. In other words, he studies the

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<sup>146</sup> Harrison, *The Central Liberal Truth*, 2.

interaction between religion and economic behaviour as a part of rationalisation of the economic system.

Weber asserts that development of capitalism has been influenced by certain types of Protestantism, specifically by Calvinism since Protestantism emphasises rational pursuit of economic gain and worldly activities to reach it. Namely, Protestantism encourages the believers to work hard and make investments in order to be more successful. As Peet and Hartwick put, ‘Calvinists considered themselves ethically bound to sustain profitability through relentless, steady and systematic activity in business. They strove for maximal returns on invested assets and yet abstained from immediate enjoyment of the fruits of their activity.’<sup>147</sup>

According to Weber, two religious principles, transcendence and predestination, have an important impact on the believers’ attitudes in general. These principles lead Calvinists to worry much more to assure their place in heaven. Weber called this understanding as “inner-worldly asceticism.” Volker Bornschier affirms that ‘Max Weber argued that the cultural-religious pattern of “inner asceticism” especially present in certain protestant denominations combined achievement motivation with economizing, which was historically important for economic development and the spread of modern capitalism, since it lead to more savings and demand for their use in productive investment.’<sup>148</sup>

However powerful Weber’s theory on spontaneous development of capitalism and Protestantism is, it has started to take some criticisms in recent years especially after the economical rise of Asian Tigers. Yet, Lane and Ersson believe that Weber ‘never claims that Protestantism will continue to produce economic development in this part of world or in any other part, when transplanted into it. Perhaps Protestantism did once have this developmental impact but now, in the early 21 century, this connection no longer holds. Either Protestantism may have lost its edge to secularization or other factors which also stimulate development are at

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<sup>147</sup> Peet and Hartwick, *Theories of Development*, 110.

<sup>148</sup> Bornschier, *Culture and Politics*, 20.

work.’<sup>149</sup> The unexpected emergence of Asian Tigers has led to a reinterpretation of impact of religion on development process. Moreover, whether Buddhism or Confucianism can bring forward economic development is being discussed widely by scholars as opposed to Weber’s belief that neither of them could give birth to development in the form of modern capitalism. On the other hand, these arguments may cause an unending debate since it requires grasping whether there is a difference between modern capitalism and other forms of capitalism.

Morishima has asserted that ‘countries may share a capitalist economy, but their historical experience and cultural traditions differ, and the lives, belief and modes of behaviour of their people are certainly not the same... [Thus] countries can... react in a different manner to the same stimulus where the difference in reaction is not more than a matter of degree it is possible to handle these economies with models of the same type using different numerical values for the coefficients (parameters) constituting the framework, but where the reactions are qualitatively different they have to be analysed using quite separate models.’<sup>150</sup> Addition to different reactions to the same stimulus, Lane and Ersson suggest that ‘one may very well argue that Weber’s thesis is exclusively a historical argument about the unique rise of modern capitalism in Western Europe. Nothing prevents people in other civilizations to imitate what evolved in Western Europe. And imitation may become more economically dynamic than the model countries themselves.’<sup>151</sup>

### **2.3.2. Amartya Sen & Human Development Index**

For a long time, development theories were shaped by economics. Therefore, other factors affecting development were simply ignored. On the other hand, a new approach to development emerged in 1980s. This approach is based on the idea that ‘economic development is a necessary condition for a high level of human

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<sup>149</sup> Lane and Ersson, *Culture and Politics*, 140.

<sup>150</sup> Michio Morishima, *The Economics of Industrial Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 2-3.

<sup>151</sup> Lane and Ersson, *Culture and Politics*, 164.

development. Yet, human development is not only economics.’<sup>152</sup> Moreover, it combined equity and growth; namely, it brought social and economic dimensions of development together. According to Keith Griffin, ‘under some circumstances, the greater is the degree of equality, the faster is likely to be the rate of growth.’<sup>153</sup>

This breakthrough approach whose focus is what individuals can do was developed by Amartye Sen with Pakistani economist Ul Haq’s contributions who ‘proposes an HD paradigm of equity, sustainability, productivity, and empowerment [...] it is the element of productivity that sets this paradigm apart from the alternative development paradigm.’<sup>154</sup> The approach was so influential that United Nations has started to use Human Development Index to evaluate development performances of states since 1990s.

After all, how Human Development (HD) is defined should be noted. David Simon defines HD as ‘the process of enhancing individual and collective quality of life in a manner that satisfies basic needs (as a minimum), is environmentally, socially and economically sustainable and is empowering in the sense that the people concerned have a substantial degree of control (because total control may be unrealistic) over the process through access to the means of accumulating social power.’<sup>155</sup> David Simon suggests that ‘HD owes its definition to the emphasis on the investment in human resources, human capital, which is prominent in the East Asian model and Japanese perspectives on development and is now a mainstream development position.’<sup>156</sup>

According to definition of HD, Sen formulates development as freedom. Therefore, it is necessary to expand ‘the real freedoms that people enjoy’ and to remove ‘major sources of unfreedom.’ For Sen, ‘freedoms are not only the primary end of development, they are also among its principal means.’<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>153</sup> Keith Griffin, ‘Culture, human development and economic growth’, University of California, Riverside: Working Paper in Economics 96-17, 15-17.

<sup>154</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 134.

<sup>155</sup> Simon, *Development Reconsidered*, 185.

<sup>156</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 134.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 215.

Even if this brand-new approach to development has had many praises, it has been critically analysed by many scholars as well. Pieterse summarised these critics as;

An obvious question is, if capacitation is the objective and measure of development, then who defines capacity ability or human resources? What about the disabled, unwed mothers, the aged? What about human traits that cannot be translated into economic inputs, resources? Besides, if capacitation and the enlargement of people's choices are the yardstick of development, as HD would have it, should we also consider, say, the Medellin Cartel as a form of capacitation and enlargement of people's choices? As Des Gasper argues, to Sen's capabilities approach there is no moral dimension. To the extent, then that HD does not challenge neoliberalism and the principle of competitiveness but endorses it, HD may enable development business-as-usual to carry on more competitively under a general "humane" aura. Then, social development, sharpened and redefined in a wider framework, is a more inclusive and enabling perspective than human development.

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### **2.3.3. Grondona's Typology**

The last theory which will be analysed in the current research related to development and culture is the Argentine scholar and journalist Mariano Grondona's theory of development which he explains the affects of certain cultural elements on development. In Grondona's theory, cultural elements are classified according to whether they are Progress-Prone or Progress-Resistant. In other words, he believes that certain cultures resist to development while others are favourable to it. Grondona asserts that "it is possible to construct two ideal value systems: one including only values that resist it [...] Neither of these value systems exists in reality, and no nation falls completely within either of those two value systems. However, some countries approach the extreme favorable to economic development, whereas others approach

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 135.

the opposite extreme.<sup>159</sup> Namely, the real value systems are situated somewhere between these two parts. Yet, developed ones are close to progress-prone, the rest is close to progress-resistant end. Moreover, he states that ‘the paradox of economic development is that economic values are not enough to ensure it [...] The values accepted or neglected by a nation fall within the cultural field. We may thus say that economic development is a cultural process.’<sup>160</sup>

Grondona provides 25 cultural factors under different topics such as worldview, values, economic behaviour and social behaviour. It is right to claim that his typology is controversial in cultural relativism. On the other hand, he reveals that all cultures are not monolithic, but his typology is only a simplification of a complex system. All in all, Grondona believes that societies with progress-resistant factors may find it difficult to develop, so they may need to change these progress-resistant factors into progress-prone ones as much as possible.

One of the serious critics addressed to Grondona’s thesis is that he develops the typology according to his experience in Latin America. On the other hand, he states that he is not alone since other scholars share similar understanding. For example, Harrison identified ten values, attitudes or mind-sets that distinguish progressive cultures from static ones. Furthermore, Stace Lindsay notes that development differences occur because of mental models which are cultural products. In conclusion, all three scholars claim that progress oriented values are obligatory in the process of development.

#### **2.3.4. Cultural Turn In Development**

The ever-increasing globalisation has placed culture among top factors in development policies as well as studies. Subsequently, major international organisations such as UNESCO and UNDP have begun to talk about the need for

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<sup>159</sup> Mariano Grondona, “A Cultural Typology of Economic Development,” in Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington, eds., *Culture Matters* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 46-47.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

‘culturally appropriate development’<sup>161</sup>. Thus, it would not be a mistake to call it a cultural turn in development has been given start. It can also easily be seen in language and paradigms used for development studies. These studies are now engaged in understanding the cultural field within development to a profound degree. Yet, what is cultural turn, and how has culture arrived in development?

Redcliffe draws a general picture of cultural turn. She defines that cultural turn ‘marks something more than a sort of latent recognition of symbolism, meaning, and ideas (which is to say culture showed up in development theory as modernity’s other: tradition).’<sup>162</sup> I am of the opinion that development itself operates as a cultural process, but, in reply to second question in the first paragraph, it would be right to see how culture has arrived in development by taking a chronological point of view. For example, in the mid-twentieth century, development was equated with poor countries’ economic growth and modernization that were expected to replicate Western experience. In comparison, present understanding perceives development including the relations of production and reproduction, and of socio-cultural meanings, resulting from planned interventions and from uneven political economies. Why culture has been seriously considered in development studies recently is a result of long and hotly debated issues and processes. Nowadays, almost all development practitioners feel the obligation to take culture into consideration. Radcliffe explains the reasons of cultural turn in development studies as follows;

One of the key prompts for a rethinking of development’s relationship with its cultural field was the widespread disillusionment with development among practitioners, thinkers, and grassroots actors from the 1980s. While the impasse in development thinking was argued by sociologists, anthropologists, and geographers to be due to the inability of development thinking to overcome its economical and technological frameworks, the practical failure of projects on the ground to deliver satisfactorily was a key component. During the 1980s in many parts of the majority

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<sup>161</sup> Shelton H. Davis, “Bringing Culture into the Development Paradigm: the View from the World Bank,” *Development Anthropologist* 16 (1999): 28.

<sup>162</sup> Radcliffe, *Culture and Development*, 39.



world, development indicators were reversed due to combined effects of debt burden, falling productivity and job availability, and loss of development directions.<sup>163</sup>

So, it can be stated that the year 1988 (UNESCO declaring it a decade of culture from onwards) marks the beginning of the era of cultural turn in development. It was paved way by increasing neo-liberal policies in the beginning of the 80s in the western world, and it came at a time when academic and policy circles were retreating from macro approaches in favour of micro approaches.

‘Another agenda behind development’s cultural turn is the objective of overcoming tensions and potential conflicts between human groups.’<sup>164</sup> In other words, culture draw the attention of policy makers in development field as soon as conflicts around the world increased to a large extend because the policy makers considered that culture could be a remedy for post-conflict development cooperation among societies.

As for explaining development’s cultural turn, 5 main reasons for the recent prominence of culture as a key concept in development thinking are identified in literature. These reasons are: ‘(a) Failure of previous development paradigms, (b) Perceptions of globalisation’s threat to cultural diversity, (c) Activism around social difference, (d) Development success stories in East Asia and (e) The need for social cohesion’<sup>165</sup>

Let us now take an economist look into cultural turn in development. It can be argued that most of the economists today ‘view the two dimensions of culture and economics as equally important. Just as economic transactions and dynamics increasingly came into focus, so too the ways in which culture and economy were to be brought together conceptually gained attention.’<sup>166</sup> For examples, famous authors such as Granato, Inglehart and Leblang asserted in their co-writing of ‘The Effect of Cultural Values on Economic Development’ that on the one hand, cultural factors lead to economic development, and economic growth can lead to cultural change on

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<sup>163</sup> Radcliffe, *Culture and Development*, 3-4.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

the other. Another author, Karl Polanyi, who famously pointed out ‘markets cannot create social order, indeed they colonise and ultimately destroy it,’<sup>167</sup> also paved the way for economists to take a positive view of culture in development studies. In this context, the author Radcliffe argues that ‘to overcome the limitations of the notion of cultural embeddedness, culture and economy can be conceptualized as coequal and conterminous elements as they ‘exist in dialectical relation, based upon their perpetual and simultaneous (re)construction by human agents whose economic motives and logics derive from their own socio-cultural identities.’<sup>168</sup> The economists favouring the role of culture also believe that treating ‘culture and development as co-producing as well as recognising the cultural imperatives to livelihood improvements offers a constructive way forward for theory and practice in development.’<sup>169</sup> They add that ignoring culture and relying on economic indicators only risk the possibility that ratings and rankings might turn development into a number game.

It is noteworthy that there is also the opposition side among the economists. On the opposite side, there are those who raise eyebrows for the role of culture in development. Their main argument is that if cultural values determine economic growth, then the outlook for economic development seems hopeless. They reason it for culture cannot be changed. Another reason for opposition is that economic theories are already sufficient for explaining international differences in savings and growth rates. Hence, there would be no need for cultural theories as well. They also conclude that ‘while cultural differences matter, they are not rigid boundaries.’<sup>170</sup>

Despite this cultural turn in development, yet there is still a gulf among policy makers and academicians. Particularly, how to conceptualise and implement culture in development are still debated. Rao and Walton acknowledge that cultural notions are now routinely incorporated into practice. Nevertheless, they state as well that academicians mostly criticise development instead of dealing with it practically.

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>167</sup> Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, (Boston, Ma: Beacon Press, 2001), 147.

<sup>168</sup> Radcliffe, *Culture and Development*, 15.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 237.

On the other hand, policy economists ignore culture completely in development process since they simply believe it is a hindrance to development.<sup>171</sup> It is questionable whether these statements are exaggerated or not, but it is clear that there is gap between theory and practice of development and culture.

In the end, what can be said about aftermath of the coming of cultural turn in development? In my view, it could be stated that in the wake of the cultural turn in development, culture now represents another dimension of development, which is no longer ignored or viewed. For the fact that culture is now taken into account in several ways. The first is regard for cultural-diversity, which is highly popular theme in developed as well as developing countries. The second is concern for cultural capital, which is seen as an asset in economic relations. Last but not least, culture is identified one of the engines of economic growth. For the fact that development requires good governance policies to encourage organised civil society.

In light of understanding of cultural turn in development, a significant question now arises: Is culture a means or an end to development? The next section will try to answer this concern.

### **2.3.5. Is Culture A Means or An End?**

It is true that as a sector of activity, culture is a powerful contributor to development through heritage, creative industries and artistic expressions. In this sense, it can be argued that culture acts as a bridge through which individuals express their ability and which therefore makes culture an integral part of development. Then, one might wonder where we should see culture in the process of development? In the literature, the answer is pretty much difficult to find out.

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<sup>170</sup> Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 189.

<sup>171</sup> See for details Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton, "Culture and Public Action: Relationality, Equality of Agency and Development," in *Culture and Public Action: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on Development Policy*, eds. Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 3-36.

Hence, in this section, I would like to compare views considering culture as a means and those considering as an end to the contrary. Let us start with the view which answers the question in favour of former.

In the brochure that bears the title ‘The Power of Culture for Development’, UNESCO promotes culture as a vehicle for development. The explanation is that culture, as a vehicle, contributes development through five areas. These areas are: ‘(a) Culture Industries: generating income through cinema, theatre etc., (b) Cultural Tourism: revenues from visits, employment for local people in cultural areas, (c) Traditional Livelihoods: employment thanks to building crafts to agriculture and natural resource management, (d) Opportunities for Economic Growth through Micro Enterprises: production of cultural goods by enterprises, (e) Cultural Infrastructure and Institutions: Museums, universities also generate revenue and employment.’<sup>172</sup> Therefore, one can argue that UNESCO as an authority on culture tends to take culture as a means more than as an end.

Those who are on the latter side (culture as an end) for the answer ground their ideas on the findings of anthropologists. Isamah reported that ‘numerous studies of anthropologists had shown that the traditional values of a people were closely related to the pace with which such people accepted or rejected the demands of modern industrial or commercial operations.’<sup>173</sup> Another ground for culture as an end lies in the fact that culture requires long-term investments into the physical and technical infrastructure training and capacity building in order to realise economic and social potential. This argument is uttered by a poet interestingly. Leopold Sedar Senghor, a Senegalese Poet, once said that ‘culture is at the beginning and end of development.’<sup>174</sup> His saying found a place in the preface of the report published by the European Commission on the promotion of cultural projects financed by the European Union. It led me to think that the European Union also tends to take the

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<sup>172</sup> The Power of Culture for Development (Brochure), accessed 13 July, 2012, available at [http://portal.unesco.org/culture/fr/ev.php-URL\\_ID=41281&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/culture/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=41281&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html).

<sup>173</sup> Austin N. Isamah, “Culture, Work and the Development Process”, *Voices from Africa* (1996), 31.

<sup>174</sup> Dr. P. I Gomes, “Culture, Cultural Services & Development: Finding a Niche on the Global Stage?,” *Business Journal*, accessed 2 October, 2012 from <http://bizjournalonline.com/?p=3277>.

view that culture is not a means to development, but comes before development in priorities of the EU.

All in all, I would like to point out that it is nearly impossible to decide culture as a means or an end only. Because, it can be recognised that it plays both an instrumental and constitutive role in development. It will surely play an instrumental role (as a means) for communities who are in the process of development, and play a constitutive role (as an end) for communities that count among 'developed countries'.

### CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

This chapter presents the research methodology adopted. The accepted research methods will be discussed and a justification for the selected methodology will be given including comments on the validity and reliability of the data.

To tackle social, political or economic problems social research can be conducted in one of the three possible ways: exploratory, descriptive and causal. The exploratory research approach is used when the researcher seeks insights into the general nature of a problem, typically addressing ‘why’ questions. The descriptive research is selected when the researcher aims to provide an accurate picture of some aspect of the environment usually addressing ‘what’ questions. Finally, the causal research is used when the relationship between different variables needs to be assessed. This is most frequently linked to asking ‘how’ questions.

General consensus in social research literature is that the purpose of the study and central research question are the major determinants for choosing an appropriate approach. As stated in chapter 1, the present study aims to investigate the relationship between development and culture. Based on the related research questions: *Is there a relationship between culture and development; What kind of a relationship is available between culture and development; Does religion independently affect development* this dissertation has a causal nature.

Prior to conducting the research it needs to be decided whether the research will be primarily qualitative, quantitative or mixed. Qualitative research is usually related to case studies collecting, analyzing and interpreting detailed data on ideas, feelings and attitudes. Quantitative research is characterized by formalized and well structured information. Mixed research, as understandable from the title, is the combination of both previous methods. It involves ‘collecting and analyzing both forms of data in a single study.’<sup>175</sup> Since the research questions of this dissertation can be answered in a quantifiable way, the research has a quantitative nature.

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<sup>175</sup> John W. Creswell, *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods and Approaches*, (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003), 15.

Subscribing a quantitative approach usually leads to experimental research (Table 3). However, a quasi-experimental research is adopted in the present study since a real experimental research is not possible when the set research questions are considered. Quasi-experimental researches use ‘nonrandomized designs’<sup>176</sup>. Namely, they follow the logic of traditional experiments but basing the examination on secondary data (official and publicly available information) and naturally occurring groups (the sample) or as Stapsford and Jupp put it ‘capitalizing on changes happening ‘in the real world’’<sup>177</sup>.

On these general grounds the following sub-sections outline and justify 1) which strategy is chosen, 2) how the sample group is determined, 3) which indicators, measures and time frame are selected, and 4) how theory and analysis are linked.

### **3.1. Research Strategy**

According to John Creswell ‘researcher brings to the choice of a research design assumptions about knowledge claims. In addition operating at a more applied level are strategies of inquiry that provide specific direction for procedures in research design.’<sup>178</sup> It is obvious that more strategies have emerged over the years. Creswell compiled and explains mostly used strategies in association with quantitative, qualitative and mixed research methods. The following table (Table 3) presents an overview of research strategies:

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<sup>176</sup> Creswell, *Research Design*, 14.

<sup>177</sup> Stapsford R., Jupp V., *Data Collection and Analysis*, (London: Saga Publications, 2006) 13. ???

<sup>178</sup> Creswell, *Research Design*, 13.

Table 3: Overview of Research Strategies

Quantitative	Qualitative	Mixed Methods
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Experimental Designs</li> <li>• Non-experimental designs, such as surveys</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Narratives</li> <li>• Phenomenologies</li> <li>• Ethnographies</li> <li>• Grounded Theory</li> <li>• Case Studies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sequential</li> <li>• Concurrent</li> <li>• Transformative</li> </ul>

Source: Creswell, *Research Design*, 13.

Since the purpose of the present study focuses on the investigation of the relationship between culture and development, strategies associated with qualitative method are excluded. Thus, strategies associated with mixed method are excluded as well. Therefore, strategies associated with quantitative methods are the most appropriate research strategies for this dissertation since the research aims to test a theory.

### 3.2. Samples

In contrast to previous studies based on limited number of samples, this research focuses on a large number of samples. In the first phase of the research, 79 countries which participated in WVS form the sample group. It should be noted that time periods of samples vary since the time they applied WVS differs. Therefore, economic variables are adjusted according to the time periods when countries applied WVS. What is more, the development variables belonging to 2 years later than their cultural correspondence to assure an important principle of causality—that cause should precede the effect in time. The samples are selected according to whether they give answers to 4 selected culture items that are selected from the WVS. This choice is substantiated by the fact that 1) investigation here fills a gap in currently available culture and development research, 2) key objections against limited sample and



variables in the related subject matter are considered, and 3) dummy variables are put into consideration in order to see whether religion has an independent effect on cultural elements and development.

As it is suggested that regional differences make a contribution to contradicting findings, a cross-sectional research is adapted in the present study. This choice is justified by the facts that 1) countries display various levels of development and cultural systems, 2) variation both on development and independent variables is provided, and 3) having more data points is generally a desirable feature in regression analysis in terms of accuracy. For a full outline of the countries constituting sample group see Table 4;

Table 4: List of Countries in the Sample

Countries
Albania (2002), Andorra (2005), Argentina (2006), Armenia (1997), Australia (2005), Azerbaijan (1997), Bangladesh (2002), Belarus (1996), Bosnia and Herzegovina (2001), Brazil (2006), Bulgaria (2006), Burkina Faso (2007), Canada (2006), Chile (2006), China (2007), Colombia (2005), Croatia (1996), Czech Republic (1998), Dominican Republic (1996), Egypt (2008), El Salvador (1999), Estonia (1996), Ethiopia (2007), Finland (2005), Georgia (2009), Germany (2009), Ghana (2007), Great Britain (2005), India (2006), Indonesia (2006), Iran (2007), Iraq (2006), Israel (2001), Italy (2005), Japan (2005), Jordan (2007), Republic of Korea (2005), Republic of Macedonia (2001), Malaysia (2006), Mali (2007), Mexico (2005), Republic of Moldova (2006), Morocco (2001), Netherlands (2006), New Zealand (2004), Nigeria (2000), Norway (2007), Pakistan (2001), Peru (2006), Philippines (2001), Poland (2005), Puerto Rico (2001), Romania (2005), Russian Federation (2006), Rwanda (2007), Saudi Arabia (2003), Serbia (2006), Slovenia (2005), South Africa (2006), Spain (2007), Sweden (2006), Switzerland (2007), Tanzania (2001), Thailand (2007), Trinidad and Tobago (2007), Turkey (2007), Uganda (2001), Ukraine (2006), United States (2006), Uruguay (2006), Venezuela (2000), Vietnam (2006), Zambia (2007), Zimbabwe (2001).

Source: Created by the author

### 3.3. Indicators, Measures and Timeframe

It is necessary to remember how culture and development are defined before noting details on how to measure these concepts. In the concerned research, development constituting the dependent variable of the analysis is defined as a sustainable and progressive process whose aim is to enable people in a certain society to pursue a better life in terms of economic, demographic, social and environmental conditions. By keeping this definition in mind, development is measured in three different ways. These are respectively 1) GDP per capita, 2) GDP annual growth and 3) Distribution of wealth with 8 sub-variables (Hospital beds,

Prevalence of HIV (ages 14-49) ,Primary completion rate ,Literacy Rate, Mortality rate, under 5, Fertility Rate, Improved water source, Improved sanitation facilities).

Furthermore, culture, independent variable of the research, is defined as mental and physical reaction of people in a certain society to varying dimensions of life such as religion, art, social relations, politics, work, ethics and etc. In this vein, culture is analyzed by three independent variables: 1) important child qualities: hard work, 2) important child qualities: feeling of responsibility, 3) important child qualities: thrift saving money and things. Also, another variable – important child qualities: religious faith- is added as a confounding variable to the research model as shown in the following table which interlinks development and culture domains, indicators, measures and data sources;

Table 5: Linking Domains, Indicators, Measurements & Data Sources

Domain	Indicator		Measures & Sources
Development	Economic	GDP	Per capita, WB
		GDP growth	%, WB
	Distribution of Wealth	Hospital beds	Per 100 people, WB
		Prevalence of HIV (ages 14-49)	% of population, WB
		Primary completion rate	% of relevant age, WB
		Literacy Rate	% of people ages 15 and above, WB
		Mortality rate, under 5	Per 100 live births, WB
		Fertility Rate	Births per woman; WB
Improved water source	% of population with access, WB		
Improved sanitation facilities	% of population with access, WB		
Culture	Important child qualities: hardwork		WVS, 1996-2009
	Important child qualities: feeling of responsibility		WVS, 1996-2009
	Important child qualities: thrift saving money and things		WVS, 1996-2009
	Important child qualities: religious faith		WVS, 1996-2009

Source: Created by the author

An extensive collection of development indicator formed by WB ‘from internationally recognised international sources presents the most current and accurate global data available, and includes national, regional and global estimates.’<sup>179</sup> Furthermore, culture indicators formed by WVS are mainly designed to better understand changes in values, beliefs and other cultural elements. On the other hand, these indicators can be used to analyse the impact of culture on development since all indicators are stated separately. The indicators used in the survey are categorised in table 5.

Although the range of development indicators today available is impressive, most measures do reflect only a certain aspect of development (e.g. social development, economic development, etc.), and/or do only concern certain countries (The USA, European Union members, China, Japan , etc.), and/or do cover only a very limited period (often one-offs). As the present research intends to provide a broad cross-country analysis of the effects of culture on development two essential demands emerge in terms of an appropriate indicator:

1. A comprehensive coverage of development and culture,
2. A sufficient coverage of the chosen samples.

Both WB and WVS provide the most comprehensive and most widely quoted data, so they are the best options for the context of survey. WB collection of development indicators included 214 economies, and it has a history for more than 50 years. Besides, WVS carried out surveys ‘in 97 societies containing almost 90 percent of the world’s population’<sup>180</sup> from 1981 onwards. These properties underpin the accuracy and reliability of the analysed data and hence underpin the validity of the analysis and the research as a whole.

Measurement: The file including cultural variables (see Table 1) is downloaded directly from WVS official website. The file is in format compatible with Stata12 statistical programme which is used to make the analyses throughout

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<sup>179</sup> WB, ipad application

<sup>180</sup> WVS Brochure accessed 22 December, 2012, available at [http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs/articles/folder\\_published/article\\_base\\_110/files/WVSbrochure6-2008\\_11.pdf](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs/articles/folder_published/article_base_110/files/WVSbrochure6-2008_11.pdf).

the survey. The required culture labels of selected countries are kept and others are dropped from the file. As the provided data are in individual level, it is necessary to create country level data. The economic variables (see Table 2) are adopted from WB databank. The adopted data are measured according to their nature. Therefore, while one of the variables may be measured on 0-100 percentage, the other one may be measured per person. Adjustments are undertaken to enhance ‘illustratability’ and facilitate intuitive comprehension of data. Following the dynamic approach of the research during the regression nominal change for the period 1996-2009 is applied. As a last remark, development is measured by the help of three independent indicators; GDP per capita, GDP annual growth and distribution of wealth formed by using different social, demographic and environmental domains of development.

Development variables are formed by using factor analysis. Moreover, pairwise correlation is carried out in order to find out whether the items used in the measurement of dependent variable stand for the same concept. One of the most important interpretations made from the analysis is that the correlation among fertility, health expenditure, sanitation, water, literacy and primary is negative even if the degrees of correlation are different. This means that as the value of one variable goes down, the value of the others tends to behave in a reverse way. Moreover, the correlation between fertility and mortality is highly strong. What is more, mortality and sanitation is strongly correlated even if the correlation is negative. Even though beds and water are negatively correlated, the correlation among beds, water and HIV is statistically important. As a last remark, the correlation between water and literacy is highly strong.

Timeframe: The analysis is confined to the medium-term of approximately 16 years from 1996 to 2012. On the other hand, this time period cannot be applied to all countries due to the fact that WVS application time varies from country to country and required development indicators may not be available in certain years. In this case previous and/or following year’s data are used. Thus, timeframe for one country might be 12 years while 7 years for the other. Moreover, the analysis begins with the year 1996 because the effect of Cold War period on the countries individually and international system is desired to decrease. Also, the survey ends with 2009 because

it is the last time when WVS is applied. Finally, it is of importance to state that the time period of dependent and independent variables are not the same simply to see the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable. Hence, development variables are two years ahead of cultural ones. Two years time difference may not seem enough to create a difference in the level of development, but missing data increase as time difference increase. Therefore, time difference is fixed in two years.

## CHAPTER 4 - FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

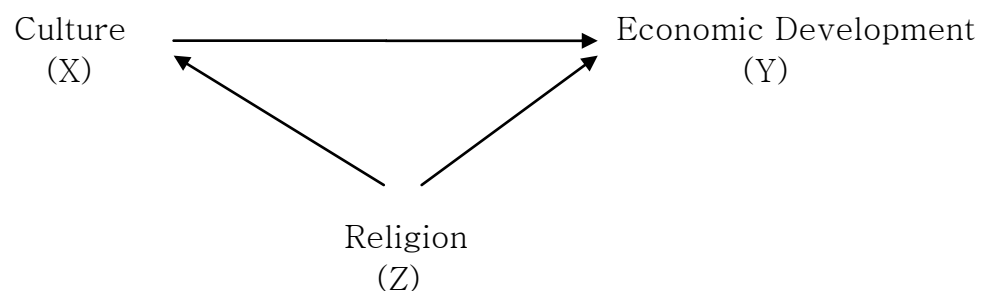
Obtained data and analytical techniques applied in the research are stated in this chapter as to provide an answer to the central question of the study. In the analysis, a set of independent and dependent variables and their linkages in 79 sample countries to reach an overall evaluation. A medium-term of approximately 16 years from 1996 to 2012 is focused.

To keep up with scientific requirements of transparency, validity and comprehensiveness the accurate data and calculations to all graphs and tables are provided in appendices. In this vein, the analysis has three-steps:

1. Descriptive statistics introduce the properties and features of data collected and variables chosen and provide correlation correlations among the variables,

2. Part 4.2 presents the results of multiple regression analysis. Namely, the relationship among independent variable (X), dependent variable (Y) and confounding variable (Z) is analysed. By keeping all these into consideration, the causal relationship among variables is as follows;

Figure 2: Causal Relationship among Variables



3. In a final sub-section results are summarised.

### 4.1. Correlation Analysis

Following tables and graphs are used in order to present the descriptive statistics and correlation coefficient for dependent variables in 79 sample countries. The main aim is to test how reliable, valid and correlated variables are. It is

important to see the correlations among the variables while doing regression analysis in order to see the strength and direction of the linear relationship between variables.

The Cronbach's Alpha scale plays a crucial role in the analysis since it gives an idea about the inter-item reliability. In this analysis, Alpha score for fertility rate, mortality rate, health expenditure, number of hospital beds, improved sanitation facilities, improved water facilities, literacy rate, number of people with HIV and primary completion rate items is 0.70, which is seen that the items of the scale hang together pretty well. On the other hand, there are not enough theoretical reasons to believe that these individual items measure a single concept – the concept of development in the concerned research. Finally, it is should be reminded that the items here are unstandardised.

In understanding the correlation pattern among the variables and presenting the correlated variables with a smaller set of derived variables, factor analysis is a great tool. Therefore, factor analysis of 9 items is conducted subsequent to correlation and reliability analyses. As a result of the analysis, 3 factors appear. In this vein, Factor 1 is defined by fertility, mortality, sanitation, and water. This measures demographic, environmental and social aspect of development. Factor 2 is defined by beds, literacy and HIV, which explains the social aspect of development. Finally, Factor 3 is defined by health expenditure and primary completion rate. In the analysis, it is obvious that total variance is accounted by first 3 factors. Factor 1 explains 31.50% of the total variance. Factor 2 and 3 explains respectively 31.13% and 15.81% of total variance, as presented in Table 6;

Table 6: Factor Analysis/Correlation

Factor	Variance	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor1	2.83494	0.03306	0.3150	0.3150
Factor2	2.80188	1.37931	0.3113	0.6263
Factor3	1.42256	.	0.1581	0.7844

In order to identify development, factors are rotated. As a result, it is seen that 3 factors explain 78.44 % of total variance observed. In the following tables representing the pattern matrix, relevance of each variable in the factor is stated in a much clearer way;

Table 7: Factor Loadings and Unique Variances

Variable	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Uniqueness
Fertility	-0.8457	0.2508	0.0627	0.2179
Mortality	-0.8924	-0.1905	-0.1365	0.1487
HealthExp	0.0954	-0.0998	0.9081	0.1563
Beds	0.2659	0.8984	-0.0246	0.1215
Sanitation	0.8554	0.0576	0.2465	0.2043
Water	0.2488	-0.7826	0.3125	0.2281
Literacy	0.2893	-0.8123	-0.1827	0.2231
HIV	0.2051	0.7810	-0.1518	0.3250
Primary	0.5693	-0.0139	0.5999	0.3158

Factor3 includes only primary completion rate and health expenditure. Therefore, Factor3 is not added to the model since development cannot be measured only by only by these two variables. Furthermore, Factor2 variables (Literacy rate and hospital beds) cover Factor3 variables (health expenditure and primary completion rate) to some extent.

## 4.2. Multiple Regression Analysis

This sub-section investigates the link between culture and development analysed through the variables explained above. In literature, it is assumed that culture retards development since development follows a certain path. In turn, it is suggested that each culture adapt their culture according to “development-friendly” culture. However, the concerned research assumes a completely different causality. In this vein, following an analytical linear logic, the analysis assumes that culture positively affect the level of development in a society. As a result, causal relationship



between culture and development could be expressed by a hypothesis which culture (see 2.1) takes the role of independent variable and development (see 2.2) that of the dependent variable. Moreover, development is measured by three different variables independently in order to understand the relationship better. In the following parts the models are presented;

### **GDP Growth as the Dependent Variable**

In this analysis, the link between GDP growth and culture is explored. The number of observation is 79. The first model includes only variables indicating pro-development values. The second model includes the variables relating to religiosity and religious denominations. The results indicate that in the first model as the percentage of the population believing that “thrift” is a quality to be taught to children increase, the level of development (measured as GDP growth rate) also increases. However, when religiosity is included in the model, the correlation between thrift and GDP growth rate disappears. This shows that religion has an effect on GDP growth rate contrary to Weberian thesis which claims that people tend to save money or things when they are religious.

When religious fractions in societies are put into consideration, it is seen that none of these fractions is statistically important for GDP growth rate. According to Weberian thesis, this is an unexpected result since Protestantism emphasises rational pursuit of economic gain and encourages the believers to work hard and make investments in order to be more successful.

### **GDP Per Capita as Dependent Variable**

In this analysis, the link between GDP per capita and culture is explored. The number of observation is 79. Similar to previous analysis, the third model includes only variables indicating pro-development cultural values. The fourth model includes variables relating to religiosity and religious denomination in addition to pro-development cultural values. The results show that there is no correlation between the level of development (measured as GDP per capita) and cultural elements even if religiosity is included in the model. What is more, religious denominations have no effect on GDP per capita.

### **Development1 (Fertility Rate, Mortality Rate, Improved Sanitation Facilities) as Dependent Variable**

The concerned analysis explores the link between culture and D1 which includes fertility rate, mortality rate and improved sanitation facilities variables. D1 is formed by the help of factor loadings. Since the above mentioned variables explain Factor1, D1 includes them. The number of observation is 77. The fifth model solely includes pro-development variables such as hardwork, responsibility, thrift. The sixth model includes variables concerning religiosity and religious denomination in addition to pro-development cultural values. The results demonstrate that in the fifth model as the percentage of the population believing that “responsibility” is a quality to be taught to children increases, fertility and mortality rate decrease while improved sanitation facilities increases. This result is in the line with expectations. Even if the correlation between responsibility and improved sanitation facilities seems negative, the result should be read in a positive way simply because two items of the D1 variable -responsibility and improved sanitation facilities– are coded inverse. To put it more clearly, data for fertility rate, mortality rate and improved sanitation facilities are obtained directly from WB and these are in the form of percentage.

When religiosity is included in the model, it is observed that the relation between the percentage of the population believing that “responsibility” is a quality to be taught to the children and the level of development remains the same even though the correlation decreases a bit. Another important result drawn from the analysis is the effect of religiosity on fertility rate, mortality rate and improved sanitation facilities. As the percentage of the population believing that “religious faith” is a quality to be taught to children increases, fertility and mortality rate decrease while improved sanitation facilities increases. Finally, two religious denominations are important for the concerned aspect of development. Namely, as the percentage of people describing themselves as Christian and Hindu in a society increases, the level of development decreases.

### **Development2 (Beds, Water, Literacy, HIV) as Dependent Variable**

In this analysis, the link between culture and D2 which includes beds, water, literacy and HIV is explored. D2 is formed by the help of factor loadings as well. The number of observation is 59. The first model includes only variables indicating pro-development values. The second model includes the variables relating to religiosity and religious denominations. The results for the seventh model show that there is no relationship between pro-development cultural elements and the level of development (which is measured by number of hospital beds, improved water facilities, literacy rate and number of people with HIV) even when religiosity is included in the model. However, it is observed that the level of development increases interestingly as the percentage of people describing themselves as Christian in a society increases.

Table 8: Summary of Regression Results (standard errors in parentheses. \*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001)

Variable	GDP Growth		GDP per capita		D1		D2	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
hardwork	.036 (.022)	.020 (.026)	-160 (503)	-208 (608)	.004 (.004)	.005 (.004)	.002 (.006)	-.000 (.008)
responsibility	.037 (.037)	.024 (.046)	-1.58 (846)	-1.74 (1.06)	***-.043 (.007)	***-.029 (.007)	-.000 (.011)	.004 (.013)
thrift	*.080 (.033)	.082 (.046)	456 (754)	-328 (1.07)	-.009 (.006)	-.003 (.007)	-.002 (.009)	.005 (.013)
religiousfaith		.003 (.026)		-776 (609)		** .013 (.004)		-.001 (.007)
Muslim F.		-.136 (.176)		2.92 (4.06)		-.000 (.029)		-.015 (.045)
Protestant F.		-.155 (.166)		1.60 (3.83)		.009 (.027)		.001 (.042)
Roman Catholic F.		-.133 (.173)		2.08 (4.00)		-.003 (.029)		-.020 (.044)
Orthodox F.		-.111 (.173)		1.94 (4.00)		-.004 (.029)		-.020 (.044)
Christian F.		.191 (.606)		-6.35 (1.40)		* -.220 (.101)		*.430 (.193)
Jewish F.		-.143 (.177)		1.64 (4.08)		-.006 (.029)		-.022 (.045)
Buddist F.		-.163 (.175)		1.83 (4.04)		-.003 (.029)		-.020 (.045)
Hindu F.		-.168 (.180)		2.03 (4.16)		* -.076 (.037)		-.054 (.057)
Confucianism F.		-.463 (8.59)		9.66 (1.98)		-.490 (1.44)		0
No Answer F.		-.111 (.175)		1.68 (4.05)		-.008 (.029)		-.020 (.046)
Other F.		-.159 (.179)		2.08 (4.12)		-.003 (.029)		-.020 (.046)
N	79	79	79	79	77	77	59	59
R-squared	0.120	0.210	0.051	0.123	0.440	0.619	0.004	0.235

### 4.3. Summarising the Results

The Analysis has through careful measurement of empirical evidence examined the culture and economic development relationship in terms of 79 countries where data available. Thereabout, it has drawn on a quantitative, quasi-experimental design and single linear regression techniques. Table 8 provides a brief summary of the results. As stated earlier, development concept is measured in four different ways in line with the general analyses (GDP growth rate, GDP per capita, D1 including fertility rate, mortality rate and improved sanitation facilities, and D2 including number of hospital beds, literacy rate, number of people with HIV and improved water facilities). Contrary to widespread perception, responsibility, hard work and religion do not play a significant role in GDP growth rate. On the other hand, it is seen that there is a positive relation between thrift saving money and things and GDP growth rate. Furthermore, none religious denominations affect GDP growth. This result is unexpected since it is widely argued that certain religions, especially Protestant ethics, make contribution to GDP growth.

According to Model 3, none of the pro-development cultural elements affect GDP per capita. This result is not in line with expectations since in those countries which saving value, hard work and responsibility are emphasised; GDP per capita should be higher. Another unexpected part in the results is related to religiosity. Analysis indicates that there is no correlation with the percentage of people believing “religious faith” to be taught to children and the level of development (measured as GDP per capita).

Some scholars argue that sanitation facilities will be higher and fertility/mortality rate will be lower in societies which responsibility is important. In line with these arguments, the results in Model 5 indicate that there is a positive relationship between cultural elements and the level of development. Correspondingly, religiosity has a positive relation with the level of development. On the other hand, the level of development decreases as Christian and Hindu denominations in the society increases in the Model 6.

Finally, none of the variables has a correlation with improved water facilities, literacy rate, number of beds and number of people with HIV (D2). Yet, Christian

denomination deserves attention in the model since it is positively related to D2 on the contrary to previous model. These findings lead us to survey the reason behind the change between these two models.

Contrary to widespread perception, culture and religion tend to have little or no impact on GDP per capita and improved water facilities, literacy rate, number of beds and number of people with HIV (D2), but on GDP growth rate and fertility rate, mortality rate and improved sanitation facilities (D1). These results lead us to think more about concept of development because if culture affects GDP growth, it should affect the distribution of wealth in the same way. Moreover, it is expected that hard work and responsibility have a positive relation with GDP per capita since these two features lead people to earn save more money. Nevertheless, hard work and responsibility are not related to GDP per capita. All these results direct us to make further searches. How the various findings finally relate to the purpose of the study, the central research question and the overall international development framework is discussed in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 5 - CONCLUSION

In face of contradicting theories this research aims to analyse the relationship between culture and economic development. Specifically, it pursued the question if there a relationship between culture and development and if religion independently affects development. If there is a relation between these variables, it is aimed to search what kind of a relation is available. The study carried out a comprehensive cross-country analysis of the effects of pro-development cultural values -such as responsibility, hard work, thrift saving money and things, and religious faith- on economic development which is measured in 4 different ways (GDP growth, GDP per capita, D1 (Fertility Rate, Mortality Rate, Improved Sanitation Rate) and D2 (Number of Hospital Beds, Improved Water Source Rate, Literacy Rate, Number of People with HIV) in 79 countries for the period 1996-2012.

The analysis found that there is indeed a causal relationship between GDP growth rate and cultural elements, namely thrift saving money and things. Moreover, it was found that religion affects neither the level of development nor pro-development cultural values. Yet, widespread perception challenges this result. These results do not consent with the theories which support culture hinders development per se.

Hence, principally the research does not confirm current international economic development theory and practice and underpin the hypothesis that culture and religion are key to development because pro-development cultural values and religiosity can only explain a certain part of level of development. As a result of analyses, it is observed that thrift and responsibility are important for GDP growth rate and D1 (fertility rate, mortality rate and improved sanitation facilities), respectively. Furthermore, religiosity plays a crucial role in both analyses in one way or another. This indicates that religion may affect the level of development and cultural elements at the same time.

In this regard the finding that culture and religion do not have a direct relation with the GDP per capita and D2 (Number of Hospital Beds, Improved Water Source

Rate, Literacy Rate, Number of People with HIV) in the end is remarkable in terms of further searches in development studies. In this vein, it would not be wrong to say that development should be examined as the combination of factors even if how challenging it is.

When religious denominations are put into limelight, strong oppositions to Weberian thesis emerge since Protestantism does not have a correlation with the level of development in any models. Moreover, it is observed that only Christian and Hindu denominations in societies have negative correlation with the level of development (measured as mortality rate, fertility rate and improved sanitation facilities. More interestingly, Christian denomination seems to have a positive relation with the level of development (measured as number of hospital beds, improved water source rate, literacy rate, and number of people with HIV). What causes this change is a topic of further research.

All in all, it is hardly possible to judge societies underdeveloped or developing just because of their cultural context. At this point, the concerned research finds out societies are not obliged to follow a certain development path, which especially Protestant ethics is believed to lead development since it is observed that societies with high Protestant denomination are not necessarily developed. According to this result, societies can adopt a development approach appropriate to their religious or cultural environment. All in all, the reasons of underdevelopment should be questioned in other factors since culture and religion are neither help nor obstacle for development per se.



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