CHAPTER 6

GRONDONA'S TYPOLOGY

A Cultural Typology of Economic Development

Argentinean sociologist and historian Mariano Grondona has developed a cultural typology to analyse what he painfully calls his country's "disappointing history." He presents his Cultural Typology of Economic Development as a clarification of his conclusion: "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."

Grondona is mindful that his conclusions are controversial in the midst of the cultural relativism prevalent in the thinking of so many—the view that all cultures are essentially equal and all comparative value judgments are equally invalid. But as he points out, the fact remains that some cultures show themselves to be resiliently progress-prone
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while others are persistently progress-resistant.²

Harvard University's Lawrence E. Harrison says, "I believe that cultures that nurture human creative capacity and progress are better than those that don't. Some may be offended by this assertion, but it is, I believe, corroborated by the persistent flow of immigrants from cultures that suppress progress to those cultures that facilitate it."³ In other words, more people want to immigrate to Canada than to Cameroon, to Boston than to Bhopal.

Although Roman Catholic Argentina is Grondona's example of development resistance, his implication includes all Iberian/Catholic-based cultures that share the same operative characteristics, whether México or Macao, Spain or El Salvador, Portugal or Peru, Belgium or Brazil.⁴ And he is not alone. Carlos Montaner, Mala Htun, Elizabeth Brusco, and Octavio Paz have made similar arguments, documenting the same kinds of phenomena.⁵ Conversely, French Minister of Finance, Alain Peyrefitte, and Max Weber, one of the founders of sociology, among others, connect Protestant culture with progress/development-prone countries: Switzerland, Sweden, the United States, Canada, Denmark, Norway, West Germany, Australia, Finland, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, not to mention British-influenced Hong Kong and Singapore.⁶

Take for instance, just one factor: the cultural value of social distance. Social distance is a priority value in the cultures of Sojourners, Bolling, value in a way

Hierarchical, "gene climactic distanced" concepts with Latin America, Africa, and Africa. But that fact, weakened by the by the needs of the day.
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Hierarchical distance, Etounga-Manguelle explains, is "generally substantial in tropical and Mediterranean climates.... In countries with substantial hierarchical distances, the society tends to be static and politically centralized. What little national wealth exists is concentrated in the hands of an elite. The generations pass without significant change in mind-set." Examples are the Latin sisters of Southern Europe: Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and the nations of West, Central, and South Africa, including the Caribbean countries of the West African hegemony.

By contrast, different cultural values, making almost all the difference, create a different kind of social order. In fact, "it is the reverse in countries with short hierarchical distances. Technological changes happen because the group needs technical progress; the political system is decentralized and based on a representative system; the national wealth, which is substantial, is widely distributed; and children learn things that their parents never knew."

Grondona, then, is very close to the position maintained by Landes and Haq, working from the research approach
of the 'human development paradigm'. SDavid Landes, economic historian at Harvard, argues: “Culture makes almost all the difference.” Pakistani economist Mahub ul Haq concludes that the human development paradigm of research “embraces all of society—not just the economy. The political, cultural and social factors are given as much attention as the economic factors.” “In fact,” he emphasises, “study of the link between the economic and the non-economic environment is one of the most fascinating and rewarding aspects of this new analysis.” Landes' research also readily acknowledges the interface of many factors, all making varying contributions and differences. But the fact continually surfaces that, in the midst of the political, economic, social, and cultural dynamics, “culture makes almost all the difference.” That is the argument I advance here.13

Grondona uses twenty factors in his Cultural Typology of Economic Development. Here, I draw on only eight of Grondona’s comparisons, supplemented from a similar discussion by Lawrence Harrison. For, as Grondona indicates, the list is “not definitive. It could be amplified by additional contrasts or it could be reduced, seeking only the most important differences.”

“Practicality” is his criterion, and he sees the twenty factors as “sufficient to obtain some idea of the contrasting visions” from which the two value systems of progress-engendering and progress-hindering flow.14
Landes, making a paradigm of economy. As much as much emphasises, the non-ness and research factors, all the fact political, makes advance

Grondona's Typology of eight of a similar simplified Grondona makes the following only

1 Time focus
- Present and Future Oriented
  - activistic arrow-time
  - create the future
- Past or Present Oriented
  - fatalistic cycle-time
  - receive the future

2 Work
- Ascetic: Central to Good life
  - satisfying & self-respect
  - noble & indispensable
  - savings invested for subsequent consumption
- Festive: Necessary Evil
  - real satisfaction & pleasure
  - outside workplace
  - savings redistributed thru ceremonial consumptions

3 Merit
- Achievement-Oriented
  - meritorious rewarded
  - conduct counts
- Ascription-Oriented
  - relationships rewarded
  - connections count

4 Education
- Socially Central
  - literacy for all
  - endeavour of all
- Socially Peripheral
  - literacy for some
  - entitlement by elites

5 Women
- Gender Equality
  - formal status of parity
  - relationships of respect
- Gender Inequality
  - formal status of disadvantage
  - relationships of non-respect

6 Sense of community
- Universalistic
  - wider society beyond family trusting of others
  - public concerns
- Particularistic
  - individualistic & familistic non-trusting of others
  - non-public concerns

7 Ethics
- Rigorous Code
  - uniform application
  - of principles to all
- Flexible Code
  - preferential application
  - to persons known

8 Worldview and Civic Pluralism
- Public Worldview
  - Religious Pluralism
  - conversion in and out
  - low social violence
  - between groups
- Public Worldview
  - Religious Monopoly
  - conversion in, not out
  - high social violence
  - between groups

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1 Grondona’s Typology


3 Economic and also Robert Trivers that cause traditions and argument that needs and social issues: Challenging The Free Press


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For the Southern Europe Sisters, see the historical and cultural contrasts of Northern and Southern Italy, cf. Edward Chiara, Sicilia: Cambrì, Putna, Modern, 39; Geun University of Jes, 37; Ed. Con, 56-7 (eds.) New Mange, Some even in almost high...


Some nations are an odd fit: France, Italy, and Japan. But even in this odd-nations category, again, cultural makes almost all the difference. For example, France, Italy (particularly in the south), and Japan are also countries of high hierarchical distance, but manifest blended...
characteristics of progress-prone cultures. Many argue that it is by particular cultural values, chosen at particular points in their history, that these odd-category nations gain a fit with the progress-prone short hierarchical distant cultures.

On France's indecision to go with Northern Europe or remain attached to Southern Europe culture, see Peyrefitte 1985; and on Japan's 19th century Meiji Restoration and Japan as an Asian version of Weber's Protestant ethic thesis, see Landes 2000, 2-3, 7-10; and Loren Cunningham, The Book that Transforms Nations. Honolulu: YWAM Publishing 2007, 139-149.


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