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ARCHEOLOGY OF MOBILE BANKING IN AFRICA: THE IVORIAN MODEL IN FOCUS

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Abstract

The paper analyses how the initial form of mobile banking, which arose in the informal sector of the economy in Africa, triggered mobile phone transformation in the continent and contributed to the development of its mobile banking industry. Focussing on this specific marginal beginning of mobile banking in Côte d'Ivoire, the paper articulates how the principles it generated can inspire communication for development initiatives. However, there is also an attempt to suggest the concept of "proportional technologies" as a more productive theoretical framework to account for information and communication technology (ICT) practices in the developing world.

Keywords: Mobile banking, Côte d'Ivoire, Africa, Appropriation, Proportional technologies, ICT, Development

Introduction

The history of mobile telephony in Africa, although recent, is proving productive in understanding the innovation appropriation process in the developing world. Authentic local phone usages have inspired adjustment both to technology and to service providers' market strategies. Practices presenting some economic value and social potential have been incrementally introduced by developers and operators, and they have been systematized in society. These 'User-led innovations' (Donner, 2005) are occurring across every socially-active sector. The present paper discusses the trajectory of mobile banking in the Ivorian context with a focus on its unconventional beginning. In its report, *The Enabling Environment for Mobile Banking in Africa* (2006, p. 13), the Department for International Development (DFID) suggests 4 stages for market entrants:

- (i) *The pioneer phase* when a few early entrants launch and test out their products and start to find success;
- (ii) *The breakout phase* when the success of the pioneers is noticed, leading to the rapid entry of new firms and to the expansion of the market;

(iii) A *consolidation phase* when a shakeout of firms occurs due to increased competition or external factors such as regulation, although the number of customers continues to grow but at a diminishing rate;

(iv) A final *maturity phase* when the number of firms in the industry and its norms and rules have been settled, and the market grows at a steady, natural rate.

These steps can be observed in the Ivorian context where the mobile phone operator, Orange, which launched its mobile banking activities at the end of 2008, was alone on the market for a few years before being joined by others. Today, mobile banking in Côte d'Ivoire is considered the most dominant mobile banking market in the West African sub-region. However, the above report focuses on a formal market of mobile banking and, therefore, overlooks the basic initial practice which emerged in the informal sector of the economy in various African countries. My focus is on this specific marginal beginning of mobile banking in Côte d'Ivoire. From it can be drawn some basic principles that shed light on the technology adoption process. I will argue that, in the mobile industry's quest to expand its service offers, these principles have informed the transformation of the mobile phone itself.

This work uses the theoretical framework of "proportional technologies" (Kamga & Cishahayo, 2013) which is an attempt to articulate two theoretical frameworks in the research field of technology and society: appropriation and social-constructivism. The underlying assumption is that "*technological artefacts are to be understood as social constructs*" (Pinch & Bijker, 1984, p. 399), and appropriation is a contextual process with variable dynamics.

The objective here is to analyse how the initial form of mobile banking, which is money transfer through mobile networks, triggered mobile phone transformation in the continent and contributed to the development of its mobile banking industry. The paper first draws attention to some of the previous research on mobile phones in Africa, which discussion underlines the insufficiency of "appropriation" as a theoretical framework to analyse mobile phone practices in Africa. Then, I will discuss what I understand by mobile banking. Such understanding legitimates why the primitive forms of money transactions with mobile phone should be considered mobile banking. The later part of the paper will describe how this form of mobile banking worked, as well as how the principles they generated can inspire communication for development initiatives.

Previous Research on Mobile Phones in Africa

When I first started to research mobile phone practices in Africa early in 2000, there was hardly any substantial study on the topic, but there were a growing number of news reports regarding operators' market strategies as well as users' behaviours. My objective then was to understand these behaviours. As Jonathan Donner (2007) later indicated in his review of mobile phone studies in the developing world, the articulating concept in my research was that of 'tactics' (de Certeau, 1991), that is, users' abilities, thanks to their ingenuity and creativity, to find alternatives within the dominant structures framing their action. Such circumstances, Boulou de B'béri (2008: 200) refers to as 'marronage', a signifier designating the oxymoron reality of resistance to and seduction by structures of determination. In the Côte d'Ivoire where my field research was undertaken, I tried to analyse the innovative mobile uses stemming from the articulation of both a strong attraction toward mobile phones among the people and a strong resistance toward the norms and regulations accompanying these technologies.

In Africa, such tension appeared constitutive to the mobile adoption and adaptation process, where 'adjustment to the technical object' (Vidal, 2012) often leads to unpredictable practices. I looked at the ways in which Ivorian people were using their mobile phones within the context of a specific economic structure largely made of informal businesses, a legal framework often ignored by users, as well as specific forms of social ties and cultural practices, to respond to their economic and affective needs (Kamga, 2006). Two assumptions underlined my work then and, more generally, my research on ICT usages in Africa. The first: that Africans were mere consumers of western technologies, not participants in its development; and the second: that technological devices reach Africa already in their 'stabilized' (Pinch, Bijker, 1984) form. Such assumptions are clearly challenged today by mobile phone developments in the continent.

Increasing number of hi-tech companies are opening offices in Africa with the stated goal to understand the needs of African consumers better and to ease the development of local applications. In May 2014, Nokia Solutions and Networks, already present in Nairobi in Kenya since 2008, opened a new office in Lagos, Nigeria. In November 2014, Motorola Solutions, already present in Cairo since 2011, opened a new office in Nairobi, Kenya. As for Samsung, it now has its Electronics Engineering Academy in various African capitals. In 2002, the number of mobile phone subscribers was a little over a million in Côte d'Ivoire, with two main operators sharing the market. Some 12 years later, the fleet of mobile phone subscribers in the country had risen to about 21 millions and counting, with 5 operators competing for the market (ARTIC, 2014). For Africa as a whole, there were 778 million mobile phone

subscriptions at the end of June 2013 and the continent's mobile-subscription count was projected to reach one billion by 2015 (Informa Telecoms & Media 2013, p. 8). [It should be noted that the high cost of inter-connexion charged by operators forces many costumers to subscribe with two or even three operators to reduce their communication cost. Such phenomenon, which affects the mobile penetration rate in the continent, is not often underlined in reports.] The phenomenal mobile telephony growth has been accompanied by the creation of innovative services and applications affecting various sectors of socioeconomic life. And, as a result, an increasing body of scholarly work, especially in the field of ICT for development, has appeared, discussing either the impact of mobile phone in social activities and social ties or the "interrelationship between mobile technologies and users" (Donner, 2008).

Aggregating concepts as mobile banking, mobile agriculture, mobile learning, and even mobile health, have emerged and have being used to account for mobile phone practices in Africa. Some works have been devoted to understanding patterns of phone use, for example, the practice of beeping so prevalent in mobile users' communication strategies (Donner, 2005, 2007; Wamala, 2013). Many studies have concentrated on the impact of mobile phone in various sectors of socioeconomic life. Mehta, Maretzki and Semali (2011), for example, analysed the impact of mobile phones in social networking for economic and agro-entrepreneurial purposes. Education and youth, livelihoods (especially around the notion of empowerment) and poverty alleviation, healthcare and rural life are among the topics frequently investigated (see for instance Donner, 2005, 2008; Aker and Mbiti, 2010; Etzo, Collender, 2010; Porter, 2012; Wamala, 2012).

A growing number of studies have especially been looking into mobile banking practices, addressing money transfer (Fall, 2011; McGovern, 2011) or exploring "the main channels through which mobile phones can effect economic outcomes and appraise current evidence of its potential to improve economic development" (Mbiti, 2010, p. 207). These works focus on how mobile phones can be or have already been socially and culturally redefined, that is, used by Africans for purposes unanticipated by their developers and promoters. Most studies of mobile practices in Africa carry the uses and gratification perspective, which many consider as "one of the most appropriate perspectives for investigating why audiences choose to deal with different technologies" (North & Johnston & Ophoff, 2014, p. 116). Such works are undertaken within the broad framework of appropriation, where mobile usages are discussed in terms of "domestication" (Silverstone & Haddon, 1996) or the transformation that occurs in a given community as new usage patterns of a technology become prevalent.

Because most of these works are based on the underlying assumption that mobile phones reach African environment already mature, in other words, in their stabilized form, insufficient attention has been paid to the contextual changing nature of the device itself. As a result, new applications designed by and for Africans are overlooked. Such applications are never articulated as fundamentally transforming the technological device itself, or providing new functionalities to address specific local challenges. For a farmer, a mobile phone is not longer just a phone; with applications that help him watch the weather, the fluctuations of commodities prices on the market or the level of inventories in his clients' depots, etc. A mobile phone becomes an essential part of his agricultural toolbox. For a mobile bank user, a mobile phone is more than a bank account; it is also a means to receive or transfer money, to make payments, to manage a financial portfolio, as well as a window on the stock market. For some patients, a mobile phone has become a quick access to medical help, and for medical professionals a means to provide care at a distance. With the technological device itself being constantly reshaped by contextual realities and local practices, appropriation becomes insufficient as an articulating paradigm.

The Framework of Proportional Technologies

A mobile phone in Africa well illustrates the notion that technologies do not “evolve in a vacuum,” but that “they participate in the social world, being shaped by it and shaping it” (Law, 2004, p. 12). We have seen the development of scores of new mobile applications in the continent, dealing with every sector of socioeconomic life, from agriculture and finance to education, health-care, transportation, legislation, environmental conservation, business, to the pharmacy sector with an app like *Pharmacy & Poisons Board (PPB)* in Kenya. The socio-religious sector has developed *Halal Kenya*, for example, an app which provides a listing of Halal-certified establishments and their locations, allows users to review these, and enables them to report to the Kenya Halal Bureau establishments that infringe Halal rules.

Such mutual influences between technology and society have long been articulated by socio-constructivist theorists, especially since the works of Pinch and Bijker (1984). True, the limits of Pinch and Bijker's works have since been exposed. Klein and Kleinman (2002) devoted a paper to review criticisms the socio-constructivist approach to technology has faced since Pinch and Bijker. So, it is not my aim here to re-problematize socio-constructivism. What matters to me is the acknowledgement that 1) a technology developer is not a *deus ex machine*, one who emerges out of nowhere to solve social problems and 2) the recognition that a technological device is the result of negotiations between various relevant social actors.

Moreover, as exemplified by the mobile phone, a device can evolve as people's need evolves. Taking this view into account, we suggested the concept of 'proportional technologies'. Such a concept is close to that of 'appropriate technology' (Schumacher, 1973; Darrow & Saxenian, 1986; van Reijswoud, 2009), which suggests a people-centered and culture-conscious approach to technology. But it goes further by adding a diachronic dimension to appropriation, as it considers technologies themselves as subject to transformations over time. The concept of proportional technologies "entails the recognition that a technological practice may change trajectory in an evolving social system, as well as the suggestion that both (the practice and the system) have to remain in constant adequacy for tangible results to be sustainably produced" (Kamga & Cishahayo, 2013, p. 123).

Mobile Banking: An Open Signifier

The topic of mobile banking has aroused the interests of scholars since the early 2000s. Furthermore, there is a sustained effort to understand the diffusion and adoption process of mobile banking services (Suoranta & Mattila, 2004; Hernandez & Mazzon, 2007). What mobile banking entails, though, has evolved over time, and some services that were only anticipated in earlier studies, such as the systematization of mobile payment and investment (Herzberg, 2003) or custom messaging (Riivari, 2005), have since become trivial realities. On the one hand, as I discussed earlier, mobile technology is in constant transformation; on the other hand, banking services keep multiplying. These combined realities make mobile banking itself not a given but a process, a work in progress. Robert Siciliano (2013) observed that: "The earliest mobile banking services were offered over SMS, but with the introduction of smartphones and the Apple iOS and Google Android operating systems, mobile banking is now primarily offered through applications." He then predicted: "Eventually, mobile phones may even replace automated teller machines (ATMs) and credit cards" (Siciliano, 2013). Thus, if mobile banking today entails account security, reminders alerts, account balances, updates, history, customer service via mobile, branch or ATM location information, mobile payments, funds transfers, transaction verification, mortgage alerts, and mobile commerce (MMA, 2009), its future developments remain fairly open. The Global Head of Mobile Banking and Asia Pacific Head of eBusiness & Direct Banking, Rajesh Yohannan, was quoted as saying:

We are working to make Citi Mobile more than a tool for bills payments, transfers, locating ATMs and merchants and rewards redemptions. Our pipeline of mobile capabilities will make it possible for clients to trade stocks, apply for credit cards, purchase goods and services and even make person-to-person transfers anytime they choose (Citi, 2012).

Today, mobile banking has evolved in multiple directions in Africa. We have mobile money which allows users to deposit money into an account associated with their mobile number and then access a range of services, including domestic and international transfer of money, bill payment and phone credit purchase; mobile insurance which provides microinsurance services to those unbanked; and mobile credit or savings which provides credit and saving services to the unbanked. In December 2014, the Savings Bank of Côte d'Ivoire and the mobile operator MTN officially launched a service which allows the use of automatic teller machines (ATM) to withdraw cash from an MTN mobile money account. Therefore, the concept of mobile banking will keep broadening to encompass new services made available thanks to emerging applications. We thus understand mobile banking as a process by which banking operations and services are increasingly handled through mobile telephone services.

Such an understanding makes it clear that mobile banking entails the articulation of services from two different sectors of activities, the financial sector and the mobile telephony sector. This also reflects the reality of mobile banking in Africa and elsewhere in the developing world, which pulls together institutions from those two different sectors. In South Africa, for example, where only financial institutions are allowed to receive deposits, the mobile operator *MTN* joined the *Standard Bank* to put in place *MTN Banking*, whereas *Vodacom* and *Netbank* teamed up to offer money transfer services via mobile phones. In Ghana, *Hollard Insurance* and *Mobile Financial Services Africa* joined *MTN* to launch *Mid-Life Service*, a "micro-insurance" run through mobile phones; whereas *Ecobank* established a national mobile money transfer network through a partnership with the four mobile operators in the country. Similar phenomena are observed in the Asia-Pacific region where mobile banking is flourishing. For example, as noted in the *Daily Times* (2014), "cellular mobile companies and financial institutions in Pakistan have introduced some of the best m-payment models as over last three years, cellular mobile companies have actively engaged in joint ventures with commercial banks for provision of such services." The significant growth of mobile banking in the developing world has moved some to predict "the end of banking as we know it" (Businesshi-Lite, 2012).

How Did Mobile Banking Begin in Côte d'Ivoire

As stated earlier, the focus in this paper is on the initial form of mobile banking in Côte d'Ivoire. In 2009, the French issue of the online paper *Balancing Act* (No 117 September) featured an article entitled: "Les cabines mobiles s'essaient aux transactions en Côte d'Ivoire" or as I translate it, "Mobile booths are trying out transactions in Côte d'Ivoire." Mobile booths are small informal structures set up on street corners here and there to

retail airtime (See Kamga, 2006 for more details). How were these informal structures, at the edge of legality, able to transfer money? The transaction was made between two mobile booth vendors, one at the sending end, and the other at the receiving end. The basic principle was the use of airtime bought from mobile operators as currency: the first mobile booth vendor uses the money to be sent to credit the mobile booth vendor's phone at the receiving end, who then gives the equivalent amount to the end money recipient. So, mobile operators, unwittingly through their networks, were facilitating a financial activity.

This activity predates 2009 in Côte d'Ivoire. Though there is no unanimity as to when exactly it started, 2005 seems to be a recurrent starting point in discussions we have had with a sample of mobile booth managers. Therefore, it is even before Mpesa, launched in 2007 in Kenya by the mobile operator Vodafone in partnership with Safaricom, an African commercial bank and Faula, a local microfinance organization. Just like the mobile booth itself in Côte d'Ivoire, mobile banking when it began operated outside of any legal framework. This is a typical user-led innovative practice. By 2009, the practice had reached all districts of Abidjan, the capital city of Côte d'Ivoire. The phenomenon then prompted **Euclide** Okolou (2009), an Ivorian blogger, to make the following comment: "mobile operators and the regulator need to review their business model, because facing them, customers are happy to transfer money without additional cost." Such a practice was not unique to the Côte d'Ivoire. It was observed in other West-African countries. For instance, Papa Oumar Fall (2011) discusses the Senegalese context where Seddo and Izi services, originally created by mobile telephone operators to retail telephone credit refill, eventually came to be used by vendors as money transfer services.

From the discussions I have had in the field with mobile booth vendors and their customers, the reason for the people's interest in this basic form of money transfer appeared to be multifold:

- 1) Costs. The transaction had no cost for the customer, contrary to Western Union, MoneyGram or other official financial structures whose services had fees.
- 2) Proximity. The ubiquity of mobile booths made access to money transfer easier for the population. No need to look for a financial institution office often situated downtown or in some remote business agglomeration.
- 3) Simplicity. No need to fill out a form with the potential to make mistakes in the name or to deal with a transfer confirmation number to be communicated to the recipient.
- 4) Flexibility. Not subjected to rigid hours of operation and therefore could accommodate customers in situations of emergency.

- 5) Universality. Reached more people, even in the remotest areas, provided the area is mobile phone serviced. And more importantly, no need to show identification. Therefore, even those without identification, a significant percentage of the population in some areas, could send or receive money.

Apps developed in the formal sector of mobile banking appear to be influenced by some of these principles. One example is the person to person (P2P) app developed to facilitate money transfers between two mobile bank customers. It lowers costs and reduces the role of the middle man in a technological operation. The same can be said with person to commerce (P2C) and commerce to commerce (C2C). Regulations are flexible enough to allow banks to use mobile agents as banking agents. These can then provide services currently available at bank branches, such as deposits and withdrawals or even account opening. Such flexibility favors an increased presence of banking structures in the community. In sum, it appears that mobile operators, banks, and the regulator are reviewing their business models to catch up with user-led innovations in the banking sector.

Concluding remarks

In her discussion of modes of appropriation of mobile phones in Africa, Annie Chéneau-Loquay (2010, p. 4) suggests that the goal in studying mobile phone practices should be to help design useful applications and services adapted both to meet African population needs and ensure the profitability of developers. Many works seem to echo such a functionalist approach to research. For example, Gerard Tchouassi (2012, p. 70) clearly states that his paper “aims to discuss how mobile phones can be used to extend banking services to the unbanked, poor and vulnerable population.” Likewise, Dina Porter (2012, p. 241) focuses on “the potential of widespread access to mobile phones for improving the lives of poor people: the opportunities that mobile phones have already provided, or may soon present, for enhancing their material well-being.” And van Reijswoud (2009, p. 5) suggests the need for a research approach to technology concerned with “effective community-embedded ICT that will be appreciated and used by the potential end-users.” As well, research reports identify mobile “best practices”, “emerging opportunities” and “challenges” and make recommendations (Rao, 2012).

The present paper has also adopted a functionalist stance towards research in looking for some principles that can be useful for Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) for development initiatives. What stands out here is that 1) the practice has to emerge from users; 2) its concrete usefulness should clearly be perceived over time; 3) it should present the potential to become universal, thanks to its affordability, its

availability, and its simplicity; 4) the industry and the regulator have to work together to set up a framework that takes into account these principles.

The importance of ICT for poverty alleviation is a given with international institutions concerned with development. The 2001 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) annual report focussed on the role of information and communication technologies in improving lives. Today, mobile banking is considered a key part of the equation, as countless reports by the World Bank and other development organizations indicate. One of the key issues mobile money is facing is that of interoperability. The solution will entail negotiations among Mobile network operators as well as with financial institutions and regulators, governments and other international partners. Mobile banking mobilizes the mobile communication industry, the banking sector, national and international regulators, as well as sovereign states. One interesting area of investigation will be to understand what factors influence, when and how each of these categories of actors gets involved in an emerging social practice. I call this the psychology of involvement: or what causes players in a given industry to determine that it is the time to jump on the bandwagon?

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TOWARDS MULTIPLE DISCIPLINARITY IN RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to describe the possibilities to strive for multiple disciplinarity in research and practice. First, multiple disciplinarity and its methods i.e. blending, borrowing and combining are examined. A new concept of multiple modelling is introduced in this connection. Some empirical studies that illustrate the idea and rationale of combining, borrowing and blending as methods of multiple disciplinarity and modelling in business administration are then depicted. The empirical results based on the author's four studies and three secondary studies show that there are some gaps between marketing practice and current theories. The results also confirm that there is a significant multidisciplinary (parallel) use of both approaches, often some kind of use of the combinations of the approaches and a strong need to find out how to combine the approaches properly. The possibilities of borrowing and blending as methods toward multiple disciplinarity and modelling are also discussed. Finally, there is a discussion about the nature and reasons of multiple disciplinarity and modelling. Some challenges to marketing researchers, educators and managers are presented. Also some generalizations and additional challenges concerning the total utilization possibilities of multiple disciplinarity are raised.

Keywords: Multiple disciplinarity, multiple modelling, utilizing multiple disciplinarity and modelling, challenges of multiple disciplinarity

Multiple disciplinarity and multiple modelling

For the artificiality of the boundaries of disciplines, the challenges of multidisciplinary, interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity have during the last few years developed at these boundaries quite fastly. Actually, these terms already are slogans in scientific discussion. They are largely accepted by scientists, educators, those who admit grants etc. But many users of these terms and even some researchers that utilize this phenomenon in their studies seem to understand the phenomenon quite superficially.

In fact, this phenomenon that can be called here "multiple disciplinarity" is complex and it has many levels. Multidisciplinarity draws on knowledge from different disciplines but stays within their boundaries. Interdisciplinarity is usually considered as the knowledge extensions that exist between or beyond academic disciplines. It analyses and synthesizes links between disciplines into a coordinated and harmonized whole. Transdisciplinarity is more holistic and relates disciplines into a coherent whole. It transcends the disciplinary boundaries to examine the dynamics of whole phenomenon in a holistic fashion. This represents meta-theoretical perspectives like structuralism and ecological economics. (cf. Besselaar and Heimeriks 2001, NSERC 2004, Choi and Pak 2006 and Lehtinen 2013 and 2014).

The concept multiple disciplinarity is here used to mean multidisciplinarity, interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity, when the level and nature of involvement of multiple disciplines is unspecified (cf. Choi and Pak 2006). Consequently, multiple disciplinarity can be considered a kind of the cover concept for multidisciplinarity, interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity which refers to the different levels of involvement on the multiple disciplinarity continuum.

By which methods or procedures can multiple disciplinary theories, models, frameworks and approaches be created? At least combining, borrowing and blending are possible methods. Also other terms like joining, uniting, integrating, pertaining and involving can be used in this connection.

Combining is mainly utilized as a method towards multidisciplinarity in this article. Combining means putting different parts together. The parts can be disciplines, constructs of different disciplines or constructs of one discipline or subdiscipline.

Borrowing and blending are related to combining and can be utilized also in connection with combining (see e.g. Oswick, Fleming and Hanlon 2011 and Whetten, Felin and King 2009). In any case, the utilization of combining, borrowing and blending presupposes the careful consideration of the nature of these concepts and the characteristics of theory formation in question (cf. Corley and Gioia 2011). Actually, combining, borrowing and blending may be performed within one discipline or as an interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary action across the boundaries of different disciplines.

Often a phenomenon of some discipline, subdiscipline or branch of subdiscipline is described by two or more models. Sometimes these models can be complementary so that the phenomenon can be better described by a model which is a combination of the original models. This kind of combining can be called multiple modelling.

Multiple modelling may be interpreted as subspecies of multiple disciplinarity. In any case, multiple modelling can be carried out in different

levels. These could be analogous with the different levels of multiple disciplinarity. Maybe it is possible to use at least terms multimodelling and intermodelling?

It is probable that the today's and future methods of multiple disciplinarity are analogously suitable for multiple modelling analyses. The required applications must be solved case by case as also in multiple disciplinary analyses generally.

Illustrative studies concerning the utilization of multiple disciplinarity and its methods

The four earlier empirical studies of marketing management (Lehtinen 2007 and 2011) are here used to illustrate the combining as a method towards multiple disciplinarity and multiple modelling in marketing. The main objectives of these studies were following:

First, bringing forward the underlying idea and rationale for combining the mix (or parameter) marketing and relationship marketing approaches as well as the arguments explaining why they should be combined. The marketing mix and relationship marketing approaches have really been the major marketing approaches during last twenty five years.

Second, outlining new frameworks in order to combine the essential and compatible elements of approaches.

Third, studying empirically how well the opinions and actions of marketing directors mesh with the combinatorial frameworks. (Lehtinen 2011).

In all empirical studies (see Lehtinen 2011), both approaches were simultaneously used in almost all companies of the respondents of the three surveys. Relationship marketing approach appeared to be used slightly more often than the mix approach. There was fairly often the use of some combination of both approaches. The results also indicated that a clear majority of the respondents supported further integration or combining of the approaches in their companies and even generally.

After completing the questionnaires all respondents got an opportunity to comment on marketing issues freely without any leading remarks. In all discussions several managers expressed their surprise that researchers could still debate the superiority of one approach over the other. The managers clearly thought that the researchers should concentrate on the analyses of combining the most used approaches, which they considered to be marketing mix and relationship marketing. Most managers hoped for the development of proper methods or models to combine approaches. The findings showed that most companies already applied both approaches at least in parallel. Many managers stated that their companies had used some kind of combination approach. Moreover, several managers emphasized that

the combining of approaches would match current practice or at least the combining aims of companies. Therefore, it can fill the gaps between the present theoretical approaches and practice. The managers also thought that the developed combining models would allow greater marketing efficiency and better results.

The main results and conclusions concerning the coexistence of different approaches in the three wide secondary studies (Brodie et.al. 1997, Pels et.al. 2000 and Coviello et.al. 2002) were rather compatible with the results of Lehtinen's survey studies described above.

The results of the case study (Lehtinen 2011) clearly supported the theoretical vision of the other studies. Therefore taken together all seven studies showed that some kind of combining was sought and already also used. The combinations varied from parallel coexistence to advanced combinations.

All in all, the empirical results of studies including the comments of discussions strongly emphasized the utilization of at least two different approaches concerning marketing management. Actually, this can be interpreted also as a clear evidence in favor of multiple modelling and in this case even interdisciplinarity. The same evidence can be in fact seen in the gaps between practice and current theories though the gaps are also influenced by the undevelopment of concepts.

The findings of the studies can be used in marketing management practice at least in a modified form. The applications naturally require a lot of time, attention and business competence of any company that wants to consider utilizing these new opportunities. First, the company should determine its attitude in regard to combining. If and only if it considers that combining is of practical importance, a plan of operations specifying objectives and a time-table should be made. Then the systematic combining work should be started and completed.

Borrowing and blending are sometimes used methods or procedures towards multiple disciplinarity in marketing theory and empirical research of marketing. For example, many sociopsychological, mathematically formulated models have been utilized in consumer behavior research which is quite independent and behavioral area within marketing research. In fact, there was even a period of several years when these multidimensional choice models were in the central focus of marketing (see Lehtinen 1973 and *Journal of Marketing Research* 1974-1980). Anyway, these kinds of borrowings in marketing have been rather fruitful. Sometimes borrowing and blending (only one or both) can be integrated with the use of combining.

Challenges in XXI century

Multiple disciplinarity provides very important possibilities throughout research and practice and because this phenomenon is not yet conceptually clear. There are several basic reasons why multiple disciplinarity and multiple modelling are extraordinarily important and why they should be pursued:

First, universum, world and human life in their different forms are multiple disciplinary by nature. Consequently, a lot of comprehensive problems, especially the most important and interesting ones are multiple disciplinary. These real problems are seldom restricted to the boundaries of disciplines, which are actually based on the fairly artificial fragmentations of knowledge. This, like many other reasons, here concerns even more demandingly multiple modelling.

Second, many smaller problems also require several perspectives and visions before solving.

Third, the development of society, economy and technology continuously produces more difficult, more comprehensive and more multidimensional problems. Resolving these perpetually renewable problems demand many-sided views and visions that for its sake calls for multiple disciplinarity.

Fourth, extraordinarily important tasks in research and practice are asking the “right” questions and formulating the comprehensive hypotheses. Often these questions and hypotheses are complex enough to require a multiple disciplinary approach.

Fifth, many kinds of practical operations, for example planning a new business, achieving consensus of multidisciplinary and argumentative parties as well as compiling an educational program, can be so complex that multiple disciplinary skills are needed.

Particularly experts with different disciplinary background observe, read and react differently. Therefore, all basic reasons mentioned before advocate the building of a teams of experts from different disciplines. Each expert can only contribute to a limited part of the complex problem in question.

On the basis of the results of the illustrative studies and their marketing emphasis it is easy to believe that the roles of combining as well as multiple disciplinarity and modelling are probably increasing in the future research and practice in marketing. This concerns researchers, educators and managers. On the other hand, marketing as a general phenomenon is connected very comprehensively with human life. For these reasons already the marketing applications of multiple disciplinarity and modelling will be extensive and remarkable.

It is also understandable that the basic ideas, rationales and methods of multiple disciplinarity and modelling are probably valid in other sub-disciplines of business administration. For example, in accounting, in finance as well as in management and organization there are e.g. both rationalistic research and behavioral research. Thus some combinations of approaches in these main areas of business administration can be possible and reasonable. On the other hand, e.g. organizational research has largely borrowed concepts and constructs and also researchers from neighboring behavioral disciplines such as psychology and sociology. For example, Oswick, Fleming and Hanlon (2011) listed fourteen remarkable contributions of organization and management theory and only one of the proponents of these contributions was primarily a researcher of business administration.

There are some studies utilizing multiple disciplinarity and modelling also in the other areas of business administration. For example, Gabriellsson, Eronen and Pietala (2007) combined theory of international business and economic geography when they studied internationalization and globalization as a spatial process. They developed a graphical model that depicts both the attractiveness of target regions and the spatial patterns of target countries which are borrowed from economic geography.

There are logical reasons to believe that combining as well as multiple disciplinarity and modelling could and should be generalized to and utilized in very many disciplines in addition to business administration. It is easy to understand that they could be extended to the neighboring sciences such as economics, social sciences and political sciences in addition to business administration (Lehtinen 2011). But probably the scientists in most research fields should experience multiple disciplinarity and modelling as a fundamental challenge and possibility when developing theory and practice.

This discussion can be boldly summarized also as a following practical double challenge to researchers of any discipline: Every researcher should clear up the possibilities of multiple disciplinarity and its methods from the viewpoint of his/her study. Therefore, every researcher should attain good knowledge about multiple disciplinarity.

Naturally, the most basic challenge concerns the researchers of multiple disciplinarity. This phenomenon still requires careful and creative research work in order to achieve its full maturity and usability.

Finally, it is important to notice that it is not necessary to involve several disciplines or models and multiple disciplinary team for every problem or project of marketing or the other areas of study. Some problems are so simple and one-sided that they are best solved by one person who has a suitable background.

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CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF ELECTRONIC BANKING IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

The recent evolution in technology in the banking industry is enormous. Electronic banking has improved banking in the areas of customer service delivery and quicker and effective data capturing. At least it has reduced some hardship in accessing information. Banking has left manual operation of the past but its innovations and service operatives have recorded enormous failures in quality services and security of products. Government should improve her economy as this system of banking will not survive in a weak economy. The researcher intends to assess the relevance of information technology in the banking industry to assess the quality of services delivery in the recent past.

Keywords: Electronic banking, government, data and information

Introduction

The Nigeria banking scene has witnessed phenomenal changes, especially since the mid-1980's, and these have manifested in the enormous volume and complexity of operation increased innovation and variety in product/service delivery, financial liberalization, growing competition, customer sophistication and business, process re-engineering. These technologies have been driven by technological advancement and spawned by technological developments. It is therefore true to assert that technology has always been the hub of banking development, more so in the 21st century.

The banks in Nigeria are increasingly deploying and updating their information technology infrastructure as a competitive tool, the need to provide quality banking services to their customers has been the main driver of significant information technology in banks today. The effect of globalization in Nigeria banking system, increasing liberalization, keener competition in Nigeria financial system and of course the opportunities and

challenges of internet bankings, has driven some banks in advancing fast technologically. These exposures creates both benefits and problems, banks in Nigeria could learn new ways of doing banking business and become more efficient and profitable. While on the other hand, it could pose as a treat because of the disparities in the level of development and the competitiveness disabilities of Nigerian banks.

Unfortunately, however, inspite of these innovations, the level of bankings technology remains relatively low in terms of both international standard and local needs. For instance the linking of branches of individual banks by computer networks has been y achieved by only a few banks while inter-bank linkage by computer is absent. Besides only a few banks have embraced technology based products such as automated teller machine and other form of electronic banking such as smart cards and electronic wallets (the Nigerian Banker, 1988 P.12).

Concepts of Electronic Banking

Electronic Banking is defined by Pasle Committee on Banking supervision (1995) refers to the provision of retail and small value banking products and services through electronic channels. Such products and services can include deposit laking and the provision of other payment products and services such as electronic money. The committee further explains electronic money in reference to “stored value” or prepaid payment mechanism for executive payment via point of sales terminals, direct transfer between two devices or even open computer network such as the internet (note however that recent report of group of ten-points that a precise definition of electronic money is difficult to provide in part because technological innovations continue to blur distributions between forms of prepaid electronic Mechanism).

The Director General of the Technical committee on privatization Dr. Sham Sudden Usman has seen electronic banking as product of the financial sector to the competitive environment of banks due to the deregulation of the banking system beginning from (1987). He stated that the system of electronic banking involving online and real time electronic transfer of money foe a client is a device employed by banks to remain in business in this new era of financial globalization.

The managing Director and Chief Executive of commercial Bank limited, Chief Femi .A. Adekanye supports this statement when he stated that electronic Banking is a product of competitive pressure under which third world financial institution have to operate. The expected rise in the pace of technological innovations which has been blown into the territorial and cyberspace shore of their world economics by globalization.

Ovia (1998) asserts that for a bank to offer products and services it must first and foremost, register its domain name and develop a rich or scanty web pages. A web page allows the bank to advertise its various products and services to the entire world for a cost or price.

The web page (website) also offers visitors the opportunity of best fully informed of various services of the bank. He also affirm that virtually all international banks in developed nations offer some forms of banking services on the internet. These services include but limited to ones listed below:

- ✓ Payment facilities by credit cards
- ✓ Online access to bank balances
- ✓ Accounts verification
- ✓ Enlargement of a bank's market without building new offices
- ✓ Potentials for fail fledged distributions channels for banking services.

Electronic Banking Strategy in the new Generation Banks in Nigeria

The evolving technology in the banking industry to benefit its customers and improve level of services and also improve data transmission facilities in reducing some hardship of accessing vital information in the face of global and tougher competition can no longer be undermined. The above assertion therefore draws attention to the information technology of the banks and other financial institution likewise that one operating in the economy or industry, (Okunnu 1998). For many years now, banks have pumped huge amounts into information technology and other related ventures in an attempt to improve technology and implement computerization within the system. They have taken decisions and raised and implemented policies that have not been very affective at achieving the desired level of advancement. Deducible from the postulate above is that technology is the bedrock of any strategy banks in the economy could spring to achieve the competitive edge over their competitors in the industry, that despite the huge investment in that, this wise poor implementation of policies has not made this sector made good progress or advancement. He further assert that “unfortunately, managers responsible for some of these decisions have not entirely embrace the line thinking sufficiently to take ample advantage of this budding and new technology. Today, some banks are not fully computerized in their operations talk less of using up-to-date data transfer facilities, or the internet for that matter.

Suffice to say, that the conservative and cynical approach or attitude of some participants in the banking sector in respect to wait and see attitude in the guest towards acquiring new and emerging technology leaves much to be desired. However, unfortunately, this attitude sometimes backfires and

ends up leaving such a big gap between the real situation on the ground and what is achievable using new technology”.

Aggressive marketing: The frontier of banking operations has greatly been expanded beyond the traditional practice of accepting and payment of details of replaced transactions. The introduction of technology in the banking sector has made the industry even more competitors and marketers style very aggressive. Banks no longer set back and wait for customers, instead/rather they go and scout for customers and discuss the benefit of doing business with them. This underscores why most banks if not all banks in the economy today have a marketing department which is perhaps not to the information technology department. (Udeagha, June 1999) assert to that it is equally important to stress that bank customers in the year 2000 will have not time for long queues, long hours in banks and that rude bank officials and must be treated as such always. In the face of keener and stiffer competition, banks have derived a further marketing strategy of analyzing the market and introducing new products that would attract customers to do business with them.

It has been asserted that the best form competition is bench-making, hence so many banking products has flooded the market in response to do business to their rivals products. The diamond Integrated savings account (DISA) product of Diamond bank limited has drawn a sharp response from united bank for Africa (UBA) newly introduced product in the market (premium saving account) while the introduction of Western Union Money Transfer of first bank Nigeria plc, attracted UBA response of “Money Gram” Union Bank Plc also reacted with “vigo money transfer”. Also, the cultural traditional festivals is also worthy of mentioning First bank Nigeria plc through Western union money transfer have a major traditional festival in Benin-city, Edo State, knowing fully well that it is one of the city where she makes her highest sales of the “western union money transfer” product.

Impact of electronic banking

Today, banking has left the manual banking operation of the past and the use of its predominantly manual labour that was in the vogue since the days of John Law. The 1979 banking act of England categorized banks according to services they offer a bank is law in operation if it runs current accounts, accepts deposit and offers short-term, this fits the status of commercial banks. However, the skill in the technology of information has made this sector transcend beyond the manual banking of operation. The term technology could be defined as involving “not merely the systematic application of scientific or other organized knowledge of practical tasks but also the social and economic atmosphere within which such application has to take place” (UNCTAD, 1977: 27). This definition posits that banking as a

service industry finds information technology most existing technology has the strategic potential to information technology to change the overall structures of the banking industry.

Today, the link between money and territory has greatly loosened. Electronic banking has brought about major delinkage of money and financial instruments from territory and has created major new sphere of accumulation. Telecommunication, business efficiency, online banking, internet banking etc. most money has left wallets and safes to be stored and moved in the distanceless, borderless, cyberspace of banking computers.

With the electronic flows, a national currency can circulate as easily outside as inside its ostensible “home” country; in the early 1990s almost many US Dollars were held outside as the inside the limited states. Several hundred million credit cards and bank passes in circulation today are valid in scores of countries worldwide.

Information technology affects the competitive advantage by enhancing the activities in which it is involved and can have a decisive effect in determining or influencing cost. Banking at the global level has appreciated the immense benefit derivable from information technology and has warmly embraced it, the impact are the numerous facilities that is enjoyed in the world and banking industry such as electronic fund transfer (ETF), Automated Teller machine (ATU), Smart cards, automated cheque clearing facilities, online banking, internet banking which are all common features in banking system of most developed economics.

Education of electronic banking system in Nigeria

Perhaps the best way to evaluate electronic banking in Nigeria is to assess the quality and security of products, this type of banking system has produced with respect to the quality of services and the security of deposits entrusted in the hands of these banks against the extent of attainment of the objective to the system.

Banking is one profession which elicits varying responses from the people depending on their perception and expectations. This is the unique dissimilarity between banks and performance of one bank over the other. However, the chartered institute of bankers of Nigeria and many other financial institution including banks are helping to affect awareness of and attitude to products and services, motivating sales which in turn boast advancement in the economic growth and flow within and outside the industry.

To the clients judging by their patronage, it should be noted that in the last decade by the last century, the industry experienced a staggering wave of distress which promoted the Nigeria Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC) to liquidate many banks thus trapping depositors funds which largely

went down the drain. This led to the consciousness and awareness campaign carried out by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) to wake and keep active the saving culture in the country.

In spite of the awareness exercise carried out by both the CBN and actors in the industry, the level of awareness of electronic banking is still very low, it is no exaggeration that many people cannot boot a computer set let alone operate it, not let alone use to talk of website development and web hosting designed specifically to help community financial institutions deliver complete internet banking capabilities. Also SIB have designed a feature-rich internet banking products to provide the functionality customers are for; moreover, internet banking has created exciting opportunities for customers to do more and more on-line banking. But the technology of consumption has a profound impact on the structure of the economy, even the attitudes and values of our people are in a sense, part of technology as they affect the capabilities of the nation. Suffice it to say that it is not all tales of 1000s as a Nigerian has manufacture Zanex PC that could acclimatized to the nation and also the only PC in the world with the naira sign; thus is one of the technologies is needed for electronic banking operations. The literacy level of the Nigerian banking public is still very low, today its a common sight to find only queue in bank because of their inability to use the electronic facilities, thus is sometimes true of some of the staff of the bank through credit should be given to almost bank for the training and re-training of their staff, Adimorah 1998 assert that he regard ourself as the most important asset of the bank.

The issue of security is one of the problems this banking system still adequately need to contend with, it should be noted however, that security is one of the most fundamental concerns that customers have about internet banking. Customers want to know that their account numbers cannot be stolen and used, that personal information is kept private and that their accounts cannot be accessed by unauthorized persons. Bank management must recognize that there are basically two types of computer crime – those that are discovered and those that are not discovered, the point here is that many banks have introduced high tech equipment for banking operation and the implication of this is that banks are now susceptible to computer crimes never before experienced in our system as geographical constituents are no barriers to this type of crime.

Accordingly, bank management have taken preventive measures to maintaining the security of computer and electronic transaction system, these include;

- 1) Adequate physical security to prevent accidental or intentional damage to the computer system and related equipments.

- 2) Software and data files security to ensure that computers programmes and data are not altered accidentally or deliberately.
- 3) Techniques for maintaining transaction data controls and for analyzing the reasonableness of the transactions to detect and report possible crime attempts.
- 4) The use of customer identification methods of precluding unauthorized individuals from initiating transactions to prevent unauthorized interception or alteration of electronic data.
- 5) An adequate internal control to prevent detects and corrects computer crime and other concerns. Having acquired this new technology, bank management made adequate provision for their work force to be well trained and master the use of these equipment and keep their security intact because various are more pre-occupied both their sales also as part of the security device physical access to the network of customers is limited to selected employees with card key access, all administration functions are password protected and depending on the product, may have additional layers of access control.

With the introduction of universal bankings in the banking sub-sector, the industry has become more competitive than ever before with most bank hither to having insurances houses, merchant banks and other financial related subunits, and in similar vein woken up to the fact that there is the need for management to adequately motivate their staff in order to avoid poaching from other banks since professionalism has become the watchword of the industry.

Despite of all the above, suffice it to say, that electronic banking is not a bed of roses in the nations banking industry. The acquisition of high technology in the information technology department in most bank leaves much to be desired. It is true that long awes still exist in some of the old generation banks and a few new ones because they are not fully computerized and in cases where they are, computers there are grossly under-utilized. Also, for the system to survive there should be a deliberate but sound policy to put the country's economy on a strong footing as a weak economy cannot sustain the standard of electronic banking system. More important however, it is necessary for adequate physical and direct security to be taken in view of computer frauds. This is very necessary to avoid another round of bank liquidation as no bank big or small is immuned from this.

Conclusion

Like good wine, good hardworking banks based on qualitative ideas and solid vision can only get better with time. In the process, new hands, techniques and innovations will join, all working to keep the industry's

dream alive and kicking. But then, conscious effort should be made to use good wine bottle, the problems facing this type of banking system in Nigeria are not in surmountable, new problems cropping just as old ones are being solved but successful banks is not just that which has the most accounts or turnover but also that which keeps the most problems at bay and giving credence to suggestions offered.

Recommendation

There is the urgent need for the government to seriously look into the issue of electricity power generation and, supply and that of telecommunication since they are the hub on which the will of this system spins through thus government has started implementing action along this line, more attention and seriousness should be paid to it, to avoid turning public monopoly into a private monopoly.

Secondly, there is the need for the government to trade a hard look at the technological base of the country. Banks are no longer compete locally alone because of the reduction of the world to a global village via the use of sophisticate communication and because of the capital intensive nature of this equipment the cost of doing business will increase thereby defeating one of the aims of this type of banking system.

Also, the Apex bank should not take the security of this banking system with a child glove. The regulatory should ensure that computer fraud is guided against and the encourage players in the industry to report any fraud however little for proper prosecution to serve as a deterrent to others.

Government should improve on her economy as this system of banking will obviously find it difficult to survive on a weak economy.

Finally, the government should introduce computer training into school curriculum at the primary level and make it a compulsory lesson for all students.

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THE EFFECT OF MARKET ORIENTATION AND INNOVATION ABILITY ON ENTERPRISE PERFORMANCE: A PRACTICE OF STRUCTURAL EQUATION MODELLING ANALYSIS: A RESEARCH ON SMES

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Abstract

Enterprises can be successful in global competition by creating the useful information, which provides competitive superiority, and spreading this information to the whole enterprise, implementing it in a short time, developing new products, processes, markets and organizations. It is expected to make an effect which increases the performance of the enterprise by successfully implementing this information in the innovation process. For this, enterprises should listen their customers and make their products according to their demands and offer them to the market. Strategic orientations of the enterprises have an important effect on their performances. In order to meet the expectations of customers, the ideas to improve new product is dependent on developing a systematic novelty culture which is technology and innovation-oriented. Customer and market-oriented practices have important effects on enterprises' intellectual elements and profitability.

In this work, the effect of market orientation and innovativeness ability on the performance of the enterprise is studied. Market orientation is studied under three sub-dimensions: Competitor-oriented, customer-oriented and coordination among the functions. Market orientation, innovativeness ability and performance of the enterprise is analyzed with constitutional equality modelling. As a result, secret variables like competitor-oriented and coordination among the functions haven't a meaningful effect on enterprise performance, however innovativeness ability and competitor orientation

variables have a positive meaningful effect on enterprise performance. Innovativeness ability has more direct effect on enterprise performance than market orientation dimensions.

Keywords: Market orientation, Innovativeness ability, Enterprise performance, Structural equation modeling.

Introduction

For an enterprise, to be successful in an environment where market elements change constantly, new technologies improves frequently, products become outmoded quickly, competitors increase continuously, depends on creating the useful knowledge which will provide competitive superiority. It has an important effect on the enterprise success to spread this knowledge to the whole enterprise, to improve new products, processes, markets and organizations by implementing it in a short time. This knowledge is expected to make an effect to increase the performance of the enterprise in the innovation processes. In this process, enterprises should listen to their customers and make products according to their needs and demands and put them on the market.

Customers should be served with superior values in order to increase long term enterprise performance and profitability. Short term marketing, commercial and selling attempts may increase sales in a short time but it is more important to make the customers choose the enterprise again in long term. To provide long term superior values to the customers is related to innovative structure of the enterprise. Innovation process includes acquiring new knowledge, spreading this knowledge to relevant departments and usage of it. To acquire this knowledge is only possible by determining the customers' needs and demands with a market-oriented approach. Consequently, innovative orientation and market orientation have an direct effect on the enterprise performance.

One of the significant approaches which underlies the market orientation has been improved by Slater and Narver. According to this, market orientation was analyzed in cultural aspects and the term defined as high performance, developing and protecting a enterprise culture which creates high values via efficient and effective behaviors within the enterprise (Webb et al, 2000; Naktiyok, 2003: 97).

Slater and Narver (1990) studied the marker orientation with three behavioral and two decision criteria component. While behavioral components are customer-oriented, competitor-oriented and coordination among the functions, decision criteria components are defined as long term goals and profitability. Researchers studied market orientation as an enterprise culture by meeting 113 strategic department directors of an

enterprise. Slater and Narver studied market-oriented enterprises as not only customer-oriented but also competitor-oriented. Besides, they emphasized the inner coordination among departments (functions) as it is an organizational culture (Gudlaugsson and Schalk, 2009: 5).

In Figure 1, the market-oriented approach in the cultural aspect is shown which was mentioned. In cultural aspect, market-oriented components are customer-oriented, competitor-oriented and coordination among the departments.

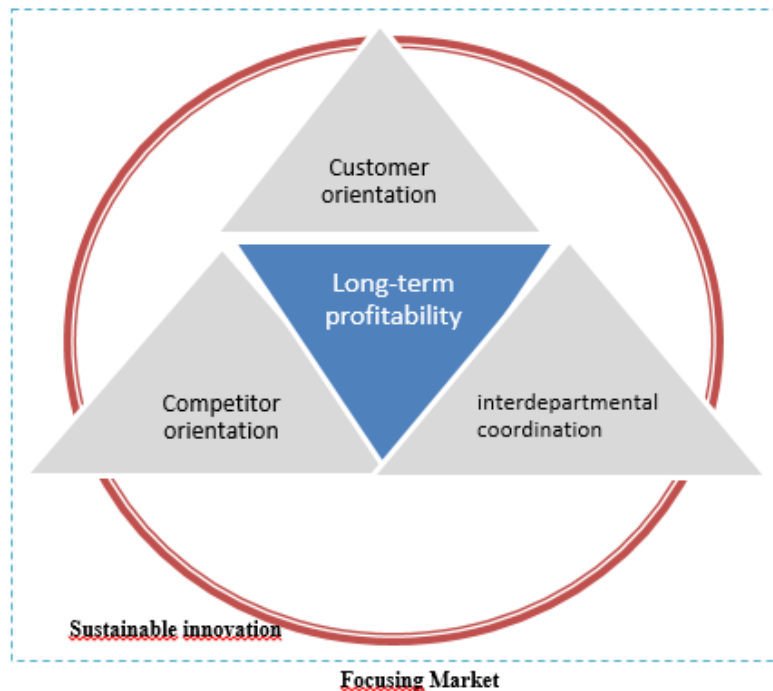


Figure 1: Market Orientation Perspective of Slater and Narver

Resource: Slater and Narver (1990); was adapted from Gudlaugsson and Schalk, 2009: 4.

According to Slater and Narver, constant innovation is an implicit connective of the components in Figure 1. Accordingly, if there is no innovation and constant knowledge collection, there will be no extra service to the customers. Customers should be served superior values in order to increase long term enterprise performance and profitability. Short term marketing, commercial and sale attempts may increase sales but it is more important to make the customers choose the enterprise again and have the reputation spread from ear to ear (Gudlaugsson and Schalk, 2006: 6).

In this study, the effect of competitor-oriented, customer-oriented, coordination among the functions and innovativeness ability based on market

orientation model, which was suggested by Slater and Nayer, on the enterprise performance was analyzed.

Literature and Hypothesis Development Process

Market Orientation and Enterprise Performance

In literature, there are many definitions about market orientation. Although every definition approach to market orientation from a different perspective, three perspectives have been accepted more than the others. These are behavioral (Kohli&Jaworski, 1990), cultural (Slater&Narver, 1990), and integrative (Homburg&Pfleger, 2000) perspectives. Most of the researchers agree on collecting the market data, spreading this data and consequently implementing it in the enterprises which will respond to market. As Van Raaji and Stoelhorst summarized (2008), market-oriented enterprises have the information on the market and they have the advantage to use it to create superior values for their customers (Zabal and Goodwin, 2011: 1).

Market orientation is important in terms of responding rapidly and correctly to the customers' changing demands and needs. This causes the enterprise to be ahead in the competition. There are many studies which relate the market orientation dimensions and performance of the enterprise (Narver and Slater, 1990; Ruekert, 1992; Desphande et al 1993; Jaworski and Kohli, 1993; Greenley, 1995; Pelhan and Wilson, 1996; Pelham, 1997; Appiah-Adu, 1997; Van Egeren and O'Connor, 1998; Kumar, Subramanian and Yauger, 1998; Matsuno and Mentzer, 2000; Han, Namwoon and Srivastava, 1998; Danişman and Erkocaoğlan, 2008: 201). Some of these studies show that market orientation has increased the enterprise performance (Chang ve Chen, 1998; Narver ve Slater, 1990; Slater ve Narver, 1994; 2000; Haugland, Myrtveit ve Nygaard, 2007: 1192). In addition to this, some researchers have stated that there is no direct relation between market orientation and enterprise performance (Han et aş, 1998; Siguaw et al, 1998; Haugland, Myrtveit and Nygaard, 2007: 1192).

H1: Market orientation has a positive and important effect on enterprise performance.

H1a: Competitive orientation has a positive and important effect on enterprise performance.

H1b: Customer orientation has a positive and important effect on enterprise performance.

H1c: Coordination among the functions within the enterprise has a positive and important effect on enterprise performance.

Innovativeness Ability and Enterprise Performance

Innovation concept is described as creating new idea, process, products and services, being accepted and implemented. Innovation process also includes acquiring the new knowledge, spreading this knowledge to relevant units and usage of it (Calantone, Çavuşgil and Zhao, 2002: 515) and at the same time, implementing the creative ideas successfully (Amabile et al, 1996; Erdil, O. Erdil and Keskin, 2003: 4).

Innovation capacity concept, which was first used in 1961 by Burns and Stalker, is described as the ability of the organizations to implement the new ideas, products and processes and carrying out the adaptation. Enterprise should gather characteristics and resources which create innovation in order to evaluate innovation concept as an enterprise culture (Hurley and Hult, 1998: 44).

Innovation is accepted as a key for corporation success process. In marketing, innovation concept is acquired if only it is market-oriented (Frambach and Schillewaer, 2002: 163). Slater and Narver (1994); Han, Kim and Srivastava (1998) are the writers who suggested the relation of innovation concept with market orientation for the first time. These writers emphasizes that innovation capacity has an critical role in enterprise performance and market orientation because thanks to market orientation, enterprise may adapt the market conditions more healthily and it makes the enterprise to have sustainable superior performance (Huhtala et al, 2011: 2).
H2: Market orientation has an positive and important effect on enterprise performance.

Market Orientation and Innovativeness Ability

Innovation processes should be realized in a way that competitive advantage with market orientation. These two facts are analyzed as a motive force in sustainable competitive advantage in the previous studies on market orientation and innovation. Kohli and Jaworski (1990) define organizational responsiveness to customers' changing demands and needs, which shape with market conditions, as a comprehensive action plan. With the innovative perspective writers, likewise, emphasize that market orientation contains all the things which is done in order to offer new and different options to the changing market conditions. In other words, writers define market orientation as a premise to innovation (Hurley and Hult, 1998: 43). It has critical effects to improve new knowledge (gathering and using them) on market orientation and enterprise performance. Innovativeness orientation again affects market orientation positively by helping the enterprises in terms of responding to customers' changing needs and demands quickly.

H3: Market orientation has a positive and important effect on innovativeness ability.

Subject, Model of the Research and Hypothesis

In this study, the effects of market orientation and innovation ability on enterprise performance in the enterprises which are SME kind and operates in Istanbul. Main objective of this study is to determine the effects of market orientation and innovation ability on the enterprise performance.

In the light of these concepts and explanations, research model and hypothesis are below:

Basic hypothesis:

H1: Market orientation dimensions (competitor-oriented, customer-oriented and coordination among the functions) have a positive effect on enterprise performance.

H2: Innovation ability has a positive effect on enterprise performance.

H3: Market orientation has a positive effect on innovation ability.

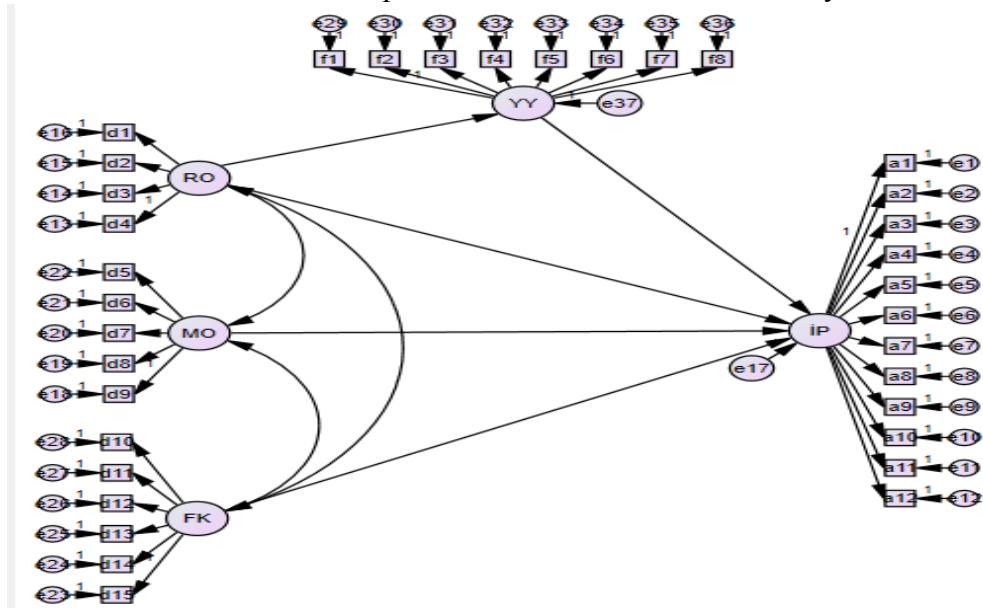


Figure 2: Research Model

Methodology

In the scope of research, enterprises which are SME kind and operate in Konya OSB was chosen. Face to face survey is used as data collecting technique. 10 different enterprises (300 participants) have been reached in total, in the scope of the research.

The survey subject to the research consists of 4 main dimensions;

1.Section: Consists of 5 nominal scaled questions in order to determine demographic features.

2.Section: Consists of 17 Likert scaled questions about market orientation (competitor- oriented, customer-oriented and coordination among the functions).

3. Section: Consists of 8 Likert scaled questions about innovation ability (Daniel I. Prajogo and Amrik S. Sohal, 2003; 1: Very low; 5: Very high).

4. Sections: Consists of 12 Likert scaled questions about financial and growing performance of the enterprise (Zahra et al 2002; 1: Very low; 5: Very high).

In the scope of this research, constitutional equality modelling analysis was followed up. Constitutional equality model is a statistic technique which is used to test the models in which casual and correlation relations are together between observed variables and latent variables. It is a multivariate technique which forms by combining analysis like variant, covariant, factor and multi regression in order to guess the dependence relations among the variables. The main feature of the technique is it completely depends on theory and it accepts that there is a causality constitution between the set of latent variables. The most critical point in implementing the constitutional equality modelling is the created model has a quite tough substructure (Dursun and Kocagöz, 2010).

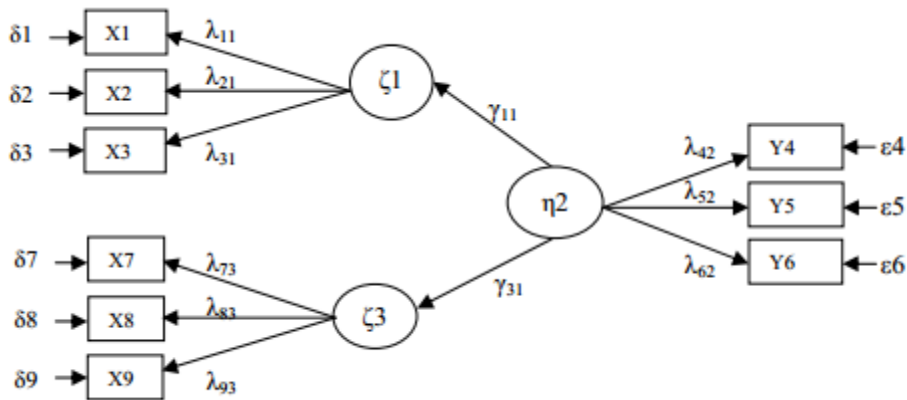


Figure 3: Scale model and Symbols

Meanings of the symbols on this scale model are on the table below.

Table 1: Symbols and Meanings

Symbol	Meaning
Y	observed variables (expression)
ε	errors in the observed variables
η	Implicit variable η (internal)
ζ	Implicit variable ζ (external)
γ	the path coefficient between extrinsic and intrinsic variables (dependent and independent variables)

Analysis and Findings

Data was analyzed by SPSS and SPSS AMOS program. As analysis techniques, constitutional equality modelling analysis was used in multiple choice questions in order to identify the relation among frequency analysis, market orientation dimension, innovation ability and enterprise performance dimension.

Demographic Variables

The number of the employees in the enterprises which participants operate are here: 5 enterprises have 11-50 employees; 4 enterprises have 51-66 and 250 employees; 1 enterprises have 251-500 employees.

Overall, companies has been established since 2000.

When we look into the enterprises of which supervisors participated in the research, we see that they mostly operate in machine/metal goods, automotive spare parts and petrochemistry/plastic sector.

Results of Structural Equation Model

Modification indexes was analyzed since the models of which constitutional equality analysis doesn't contain acceptable values. According to the modification index results, model was analyzed again by adding covariance. Tested model and results are shown in Figure 4.

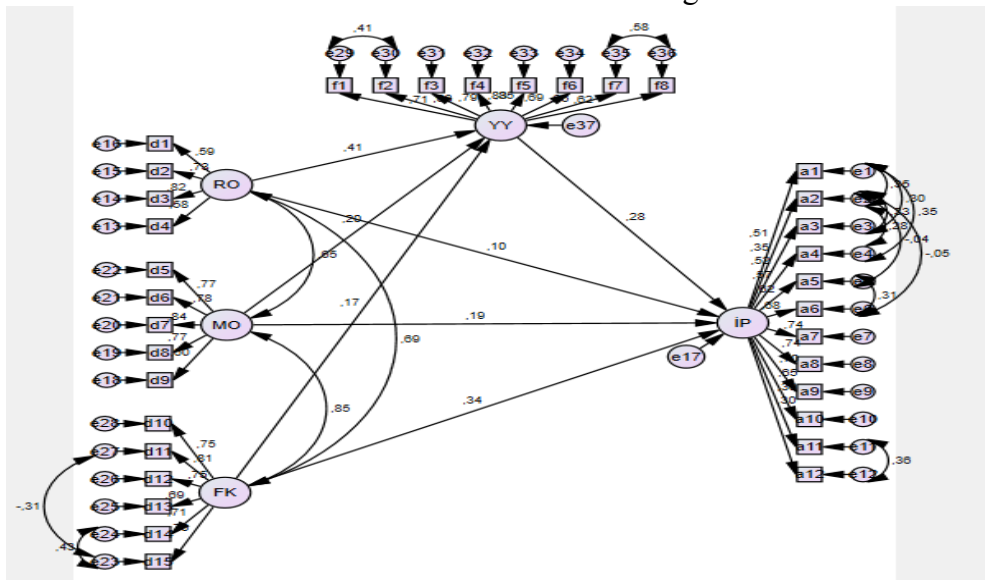


Figure 4: Results of Constitutional Equality Model

In the light of the literature, modification adjustments were made based on the recommendation of the results of the research model. In the estimated results of the model, all parameters have been found statistically meaningful (Figure 4).

Factor loads change between 0,59-0,82 for competitor-oriented latent variable; between 0,60-0,84 for customer-oriented latent variable; between 0,69-0,81 for coordination variable among the functions; between 0,62-0,88 for innovation ability latent variable and between 0,35-0,74 for enterprise performance latent variable.

For the enterprise performance, %46 of total explained variance was calculated with direct effect innovation ability and market orientation dimensions.

When the standardized regression coefficients (β : Beta) are analyzed, innovation ability has more effect on enterprise performance than market orientation dimensions;

- **Competitor orientation has a positive effect on Innovation ability ($\beta= 0,535$; $p<0,05$).**
- Customer orientation hasn't a positive effect on Innovation ability ($\beta=0,268$; $p>0,05$).
- Coordination among the functions hasn't a positive effect on Innovation ability ($\beta=0,166$; $p>0,05$).
- **Competitor orientation has a positive effect on enterprise performance ($\beta=0,071$; $p>0,05$).**
- Customer orientation hasn't a positive effect on enterprise performance ($\beta=0,188$; $p>0,05$).
- Coordination among the functions has a positive effect on enterprise performance ($\beta=0,238$; $p<0,05$).
- **Innovation ability has a positive effect on enterprise performance ($\beta= 0,179$; $p<0,05$).**

Table 2: Regression Coefficients

			Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P
Innovation ability	<---	Competitor orientation	0,535	0,120	4,475	***
Innovation ability	<---	Customer orientation	0,268	0,163	1,642	0,101
Innovation ability	<---	Coordination among the functions	0,166	0,128	1,295	0,195
Enterprise performance	<---	Competitor orientation	0,071	0,076	,930	0,352
Enterprise performance	<---	Customer orientation	0,188	0,108	1,734	0,083
Enterprise performance	<---	Coordination among the functions	0,238	0,089	2,690	0,007
Enterprise performance	<---	Innovation ability	0,179	0,054	3,295	***

Table 3: Standardized Regression Coefficients

			Estimate
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			Estimate
Innovation ability	<---	Competitor orientation	,413
Innovation ability	<---	Competitor orientation	,204
Innovation ability	<---	Coordination among the functions	,169
Enterprise performance	<---	Competitor orientation	,079
Enterprise performance	<---	Competitor orientation	,206
Enterprise performance	<---	Coordination among the functions	,351
Enterprise performance	<---	Innovation ability	,259

When the model fit indexes are analyzed, Chi-Square value is 1160,793. Besides, the other fit index results are shown on Table 5.

Table 4: Model Results

Fit indexes	Acceptable values	Model results	
RMSEA	0,00<RMSEA<0,10	0,062	√
GFI	0,85<GFI<1,00	0,852	√
AGFI	0,80<AGFI<1,00	0,831	√
NFI	0,90≤NFI≤0,95	0,824	X
CFI	0,90≤CFI≤0,97	0,906	√
CMIN/DF	<4	2,158	√

Normally GFI and AGFI values are expected higher than 0.90 for the good model fit, while the RMSEA is expected to be smaller than 0.05. In contrast, an acceptable level of model fit is indicated by a GFI value of 0,85; by a AGFI value of 0,80 and by a RMSA value of 0,10(Gülbahar and Büyüköztürk, 2008; Çağlıyan, 2009).

According to these results, data set is enough to show the effects of market orientation and innovation variables on enterprise performance.

Conclusion and Discussion

In this study, enterprise performance variable was analyzed with innovation ability and market orientation (competitor-oriented, customer-oriented and coordination among the functions) for the enterprises. Main purpose of the study is to present the effect of innovation ability and market orientation on the enterprise performance.

Hypothesis which were made in this context have been tested and following results have been reached;

- Competitor orientation has a positive effect on Innovation ability ($\beta=0,535$; $p<0,05$; **accepted**).
- Customer orientation hasn't a positive effect on Innovation ability ($\beta=0,268$; $p>0,05$; **not accepted**).
- Coordination among the functions hasn't a positive effect on Innovation ability ($\beta=0,166$; $p>0,05$; **not accepted**).

- Competitor orientation hasn't a positive effect on enterprise performance ($\beta=0,071$; $p>0,05$; **not accepted**).
- Customer orientation hasn't a positive effect on enterprise performance ($\beta=0,188$; $p>0,05$; **not accepted**).
- Coordination among the functions has a positive effect on enterprise performance ($\beta=0,238$; $p<0,05$; **accepted**).
- Innovation ability has a positive effect on enterprise performance ($\beta=0,179$; $p<0,05$; **accepted**).

Hypothesis improved and tested on enterprise performance in this study have features to be implemented on larger enterprises. It may conclude more meaningfully and effectively to provide the coordination among the functions, to analyze larger enterprises which will meet the costs about innovation and market orientation. Additionally, it may provide more effective advantages for larger scaled enterprises to develop market-oriented innovations in practice.

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DETERMINATION OF PROFITABILITY PERFORMANCES OF INDUSTRIAL SECTORS BY MEANS OF TOPSIS METHOD: APPLICATION OF TURKEY

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Abstract

Stock exchanges are accepted the most important instruments for the regional economies. The main reason for this is that stock exchanges provide capital to spread to the base and, also, enable the resource need of the investment platforms, whose functionality is registered, to be able to be satisfied. Stock exchanges are formed due to forming supply-demand balance on a certain asset and to managing the commercial activities. In this study the profitability performance exhibited by 39 industrial sectors that are being processed in Stock Exchange Istanbul (BİST), in Turkey, in respect with the first half of the year 2014, was examined on the sectorial basis in the framework of the criteria determined, compared to the same period of the last year. Handling the Variation of Net Sale Incomes, compared to the same period of the previous year; FAVÖK (profit, before the interest, tax, depreciation) Variation; Variation of the Essential Activity Profit; Variation of Net Profit, compared to the same period of the previous year; 2004/06 Equity Profitability, Variation Value of Equity Profitability in the periods of 2013/06-and 2014//06 as the criteria used in the study, they were analyzed by the method of TOPSIS, among the methods of multi criteria decision making. As a result, it was seen that the main metal industry showed the best performance in terms of profitability

Keywords: Sectorial Performance, TOPSIS

Introduction

Along with globalization, with the increase of competition between business enterprises, the careful use of the existing resources and that the business enterprises can efficiently and effectively sustain their activities have gained importance in this process. On this point, there is a need for the analysis of efficiency and effectiveness that is a managerial instrument in the use of resource (Oruç, 2008:1). Today, the final aim of business enterprises in terms of the scholarship finance is to raise the market value of firm to the top level. At the same way, the desire of investor and shareholder is to increase their gains. The most important elements in reaching this final aim are to make profit and to be able to manage the risk that will be endured in reaching the profitability aimed, The level of profitability and risk determine the market value of firm. Balancing between risk and profitability, providing an optimal change is important. In this context, examining the effect of the managerial decisions related to business enterprises on the profitability has importance (Karadeniz and İskenderoğlu, 2011:65-66).

On condition that the markets are fully effective, for all real markets and financial markets, if the investment elements are considered, the aim of an investor is to obtain a “profit” that is a positive difference between the return that will be obtained after investment and market return. The element enabling the opinion of investment to realize is evaluated as profit. As a result the first aim of investor is to obtain profit (Demirel and Hepkorucu, 2014:3). Between the sectors that are processed in stock exchange markets, in performance analysis the method of multi criteria making demission can be applied and an evaluation about the general situation of stock exchanges can be made.

Methods of Multi Criteria Making Decision (MMCMD), with evaluating the decision criterion more than one, is the method providing to make a selection between alternatives mad to put in order these alternatives (Timor, 2010:16). In the problem of multi criteria making decision, the methods such as Analytical Hierarchical Process (AHP), Analytical Network Process (ANP), ELECTRE, TOPSIS, VIKOR, and SAW take place in the literature as solution methods (Erginel, et al., 2010:82). In this study, of the methods of multi criteria TOPSIS method is used and this method is frequently used one in determining, putting in order, or in the studies of performance evaluation: Some of these studies are presented in the following Table 1.

Tablo1. Some studies, where TOPSIS method is used.

Some studies, where TOPSIS method is used	Project Evaluation	Mahmoodzadeh et al.,(2007:135-140).
	Location Selection for Foreign Capital Investment	Karimi et al. (2010:196-207).
	Evaluation of Service Quality	Pal and Choudhury (2009:115-133).
	Evaluation of Financial Performance	Wang and Lee, (2010:38-52), Akyüz et al, (2011:73-92), Türkmen and Çağıl, (2012:59-78), Uygurtürk and Korkmaz, (2012:95-115), Şamiloğlu et al., (2013: 263-280), Aytekin and Sakarya, (2013:30-47), Ömürbek and Kınay, (2013:343-363), Wu, Lin and Tsai, (2008:255-263).
	Selection of Digital Camera	Pawar and Verma, (2013:51-53).
	Selection of Supplier	Önder and Dağ, (2013:56-74).
	Selection of Scholar	Abalı et al, (2012:259-272).
	Selection of Personnel	Shih, Shyur and Lee, (2007:801-8013), Supçiller and Çarpaz, (2011:1-22).

Topsis Method

TOPSIS (Technique for Order Preference by Similarity to Ideal Solution) is one of multi criteria making decision. In the method, the problem of multi aimed making decision that has alternatives in the number of “m” and criteria in number of “n” can be shown with the points m in the space of n-dimensions Hwang and Yoon (1981) formed TOPSIS Method according to the thought of the shortest distance of the solution alternative to the positive ideal and the furthest distance to the negative ideal solution (Öktür, 2008:55). The application of TOPSIS method includes a solution process consisting of 6 phases and its phases are as follows (Yoon and Hwang, 1995:40-41; Ünal, 2008:65; Demireli, 2010:105) .

1st Step: Forming the Decision Matrix (A)

In the lines of decision matrix, the decision points, whose advantages are wanted to be put in order, take place, while in its columns, the evaluation criteria that will be used in making decision. Decision matrix is as follows:

$$A_{ij} = \begin{bmatrix} a_{11} & a_{12} & \dots & a_{1n} \\ a_{21} & a_{22} & \dots & a_{2n} \\ \cdot & & & \cdot \\ \cdot & & & \cdot \\ \cdot & & & \cdot \\ a_{m1} & a_{m2} & \dots & a_{mn} \end{bmatrix}$$

2nd Step: Normalizing (R) the Decision Matrix

Normalized decision matrix, utilizing the elements of matrix A and using the following formula, is calculated.

$$r_{ij} = \frac{a_{ij}}{\sqrt{\sum_{k=1}^m a_{kj}^2}} \quad i=1, \dots, m; \quad j=1, \dots, n$$

$$R_{ij} = \begin{bmatrix} r_{11} & r_{12} & \dots & r_{1n} \\ r_{21} & r_{22} & \dots & r_{2n} \\ \cdot & & & \cdot \\ \cdot & & & \cdot \\ \cdot & & & \cdot \\ r_{m1} & r_{m2} & \dots & r_{mn} \end{bmatrix}$$

3rd Step: Forming the Weighted Decision Matrix (W)

In this step, the elements of normalized decision matrix are weighted in the direction of importance to the criteria.

In the direction of importance given to the criteria, the value of weight (w_i)

are determined ($\sum_{i=1}^n w_i = 1$).

After determining the weights, the elements in each column of matrix

R are multiplied by the relevant value w_i and matrix V is formed. Matrix V is shown as follows.

$$v_{ij} = w_j \cdot r_{ij}, \quad i=1, \dots, m; \quad j=1, \dots, n$$

$$V_{ij} = \begin{bmatrix} w_1 r_{11} & w_2 r_{12} & \dots & w_n r_{1n} \\ w_1 r_{21} & w_2 r_{22} & \dots & w_n r_{2n} \\ \cdot & & & \cdot \\ \cdot & & & \cdot \\ \cdot & & & \cdot \\ w_1 r_{m1} & w_2 r_{m2} & \dots & w_n r_{mn} \end{bmatrix}$$

4th Step: Forming the idea (A*) l and negative ideal (A-) solutions

While ideal solution consists of the best performance values of the weighted normalized decision matrix, negative ideal solution consists of the worst values.

Finding the ideal solution set is shown in the following equation.

Set that will be calculated from the equation

$$A^* = \left\{ (\max_i v_{ij} | j \in J), (\min_i v_{ij} | j \in J') \right\} \quad \text{can be shown}$$

as $A^* = \{v_1^*, v_2^*, \dots, v_n^*\}$.

Finding the negative ideal solution set is shown in the following equation.

Set that will be calculate from the equation

$$A^- = \left\{ (\min_i v_{ij} | j \in J), (\max_i v_{ij} | j \in J') \right\} \quad \text{can be shown as}$$

$$A^- = \{v_1^-, v_2^-, \dots, v_n^-\}$$

5th Step: A Calculation of Distinction Criteria

For calculating the distinction criteria, Euclidian Distance Approach is utilized. The distance of each alternative to the ideal solution is:

$$S_i^* = \sqrt{\sum_{j=1}^n (v_{ij} - v_j^*)^2} \quad i=1, \dots, m.$$

In similar way, each alternative to the negative ideal solution is:

$$S_i^- = \sqrt{\sum_{j=1}^n (v_{ij} - v_j^-)^2} \quad i=1, \dots, m.$$

6th Step: Calculation of the relative closeness to the ideal solution

Calculation of the closeness (C_i^*) of decision points to the ideal solution is shown in the following formula:

$$C_i^* = \frac{S_i^-}{S_i^- + S_i^*} \quad i=1, \dots, m.$$

The criterion used is the share of negative distinction criterion in the overall distinction criterion. Here, that the value C_i^* takes place in the range of $0 \leq C_i^* \leq 1$ and $C_i^* = 1$ indicates that the relevant alternative is present on the positive ideal solution point of the alternative related to $C_i^* = 0$.

Evaluation Of Profitability Performance Of The Industrial Sectors That Are Processed In Stock Exchange Istanbul (BIST) By Means Of Topsis Method

In this section of the study examining the performance exhibited by 39 industrial sectors that are being in the Stock Exchange Istanbul, Turkey, in respect with the first half of the year 2014 in the framework of the criteria determined according to the same period of the last period on the sectorial basis, the analysis of profitability performances will be carried out by TOPSIS method.

In the study 2014/6 Sectorial Performance Report of Gedik Yatırım Menkul Değerler A.Ş (Erdoğan and Gürçan, 2014:1) was used as resource and data were drawn from the report. The data related to the sectors were calculated in the computer media by using Microsoft Office Excel 2007. The alternatives(sectors) to be evaluated are Metal Main Industry, Investment Partnership, Automotive Side Industry, Furniture, Cement, Building-Material, Textile, Paper, Chemistry, Informatics, Durable Consumption, Food, Enterprise Capital, Glass, Stationery, Transportation – Logistics, Electrician Material, Dye, Marketing, Technology, Oil, Fertilizer, Immovable Investment Partnership (GMYO), Retail Trade, Packing, Intermediary Firms, Mining, Telecom, Public Works – Building, Energy, Aeronautical, Drinks, Automotive, Medicine – Health, Holding, Service, Leather, Tourism, Hotel, and Journalism.

While a future oriented evaluation is made, the most important criterion is that how many profits the country will obtain in the future. The criteria considered in this study are direct turnover or profitability -oriented. Except for these criteria, the ratios such as activity ratios, cost ratios, and turnover rate could be used as criterion. But, ultimately, it is important whether these ratios increase the profitability of company or not. Because receivables turnover rate (ADH) of a firm, whose stock turnover rate (SDH) rises, falls most, if its profitability decreases, using SDH and ADH will not be meaningful. Indeed, while a future oriented evaluation is made, the most important criterion is that how many profits the company will create in the future (Erdoğan and Gürçan, 2014:1). In view of this, in the study the criteria determined in performance evaluation of industrial sectors have focused on profitability ratio. The criteria used in practice are Variation of Net Sale Incomes compared to the same period of the previous period, FAVÖK (Profit before interest and depreciation)Variation, Variation of Main Activity Profit, Variation of Net Profit compared to the same period of the previous period, 2014/06 Equity Profitability, and variation between equity profitability in the periods of 2013/06 and 2014/06. In the 2014/6 sectorial performance report of Gedik Yatırım Menkul Değerler A.Ş., since ordering of each sector is made in the direction of profitability criteria determined, criterion weights were equally taken.

Using the matrix obtained in the report in TOPSIS method, the industrial sector showing the best profitability performance that is processed in BIST was attempted to be determined. Decision matrix was formed in terms of the values made by Gedik Yatırım Menkul Değerler A.Ş. and 39 sectors had in terms of each criterion (Table 2).

Table 2. Ordering Values of Industrial Sectors in Terms of Each Criteria

	Order of Net Sale Variati on	Order of FAVÖ K variati on	Order of EFK Variati on	Order of Net Profit Variati on	Equity Profitabili ty (2014/06)	Order of Equity Profitabili ty Variati on
MAIN METAL INDUSTRY	6	4	5	1	22	7
INVESTMENT PARTNERSHIP	17	1	4	3	20	11
AUTOMOTIVE SIDE INDUSTRY	15	8	8	13	8	9
FURNITURE	3	5	3	16	35	2
CEMENT	10	6	7	20	5	17
BUILDING MATERIAL	26	17	16	6	2	1
TEXTILE	13	3	2	5	30	16
PAPER	29	2	1	9	29	3
CHEMISTRY	11	12	12	18	6	18
INFORMATICS	12	16	18	12	10	12
DURABLE CONSUMPTION	16	11	10	14	16	15
FOOD	21	18	19	4	17	5
ENTERPRISE CAPITAL	23	20	20	2	18	4
GLASS	5	10	6	19	26	23
STATIONERY	1	7	11	34	1	37
TRANSPORTATION – LOGISTIC	31	23	14	15	3	6
ELECTRICAL MATERIAL	4	9	9	22	33	28
PAINT	20	27	29	7	12	10
MARKETING	7	14	17	26	23	25
TECHNOLOGY	19	22	24	17	11	19
OIL	18	35	33	11	9	8
FERTILIZER	28	26	25	8	14	13
GMYO	27	30	26	10	13	14
RETAIL TRADE	14	21	23	24	25	22
PACKING	9	25	13	28	27	27
INTERMEDIARY FIRMS	38	13	15	25	21	24
MINING	33	15	22	30	15	32
TELECOM	34	24	27	29	7	31
PUBLIC WORKS – BUILDING	32	28	28	23	19	26
ENERGY	8	34	35	27	39	21
AERONAUTICAL	2	32	36	32	32	30
DRINKS	22	19	21	36	28	39
AUTOMOTIVE	36	31	31	31	4	36
MEDICINE ,HEALTH	25	29	30	33	31	29
HOLDING	24	33	32	35	24	35
SERVICE	39	39	39	21	37	20

LEATHER	30	37	37	37	34	34
TOURISM –HOTEL	35	38	34	38	36	38
JOURNALISM	37	36	38	39	38	33

With the decision matrix obtained, first of all, normalization process was carried out and, following it, since criterion weights are equally taken, because it will not change the matrix value, the next step of TOPSIS method, with forming the solutions of Ideal (A^*) and Negative Ideal (A^-), the Closeness Value (C_i^*) according to the Ideal Solution given below was obtained.

Table 3. The closeness values (C_i^*) according to the ideal solution and their ordering

INDUSTRIAL SECTORS	(C_i^*)	ORDERING	INDUSTRIAL SECTORS	(C_i^*)	ORDERING
MAIN METAL INDUSTRY	0,77464	1	FERTILIZER	0,52267	21
AUTOMOTIVE SIDE INDUSTRY	0,75142	2	OIL	0,51962	22
INVESTMENT PARTNERSHIP	0,73462	3	GYMO	0,50000	23
CEMENT	0,71660	4	PACKING	0,46595	24
BUILDING MATERIAL	0,67941	5	RETAIL TRADE	0,46190	25
CHEMISTRY	0,67861	6	INTERMEDIARY FIRMS	0,44086	26
INFORMATICS	0,67136	7	MINING	0,39857	27
TEXTILE	0,67071	8	TELECOM	0,38567	28
FURNITURE	0,66741	9	AERONAUTICS	0,36290	29
DURABLE CONSUMPTION	0,66384	10	ENERGY	0,35592	30
PAPER	0,64078	11	PUBLIC WORKS-BUILDING	0,34991	31
FOOD	0,63830	12	AUTOMOTIVE	0,34529	32
ENTERPRISE CAPITAL	0,62019	13	DRINKS	0,33355	33
GLASS	0,61329	14	MEDICINE-HEALTH	0,25531	34
TRANSPORTATION L-LOGISTICS	0,59713	15	SERVICE	0,24721	35
STATIONERY	0,57789	16	HOLDING	0,24551	36
DYE	0,55486	17	LEATHER	0,12579	37
ELECTRICAL MATERIAL	0,54960	18	TOURISM-HOTEL	0,07718	38
TECHNOLOGY	0,53351	19	JOURNALISM	0,07514	39
PAZARLAMA	0,53114	20			

When regarding to the ordering made by Gedik Yatırım Menkul Değerler A.Ş according to each criterion, the sectors attracting attention with their positive performances are summarized as follows (Erdoğan and Gürçan, 2014:4)

- When the table is examined it is generally seen that the building and building related sectors (Cement, Building Materials, Main Metal Industry, and Glass) exhibited better performance
- Paper sector is in the position of the best sector according to ordering of the variation of Main Activity Profit

- Investment Partnership Sector is in the position of the best sector according to FAVÖK Variation.
- Stationery sector is in the position of the best sector according to ordering of Net Sale Value, and in the position of sector having the highest equity profitability in respect with the period of 2014/06

The sectors attracting attention with their negative performances are summarized as follows (Erdoğan and Gürçan, 2014:5)

- It is seen that holdings, in which a number of companies take place and which are active in many areas, could not exhibit a good performance in the first half of the year compared to the same period of the last year.
- In the medicine- health sector, the negative effect of arrangements related to the prices is continuing to be seen.
- It is seen that the slowing observed in automotive sector and reflected on the financial results.
- The weak performance Energy Sector, one of the most determinative sectors, showed attracts attention.

When the application results of TOPSIS method are regarded to, it is seen that Main Metal Industry takes place in the first order with the index value of 0.77464 it had and, journalism sector in the last order with index value of 0,07514

Conclusion

When regarding to the results of TOPSIS method, Main Metal Industry took place in the first order with the index, whose profitability performance is the highest. When it is generally examined, it is seen that building and building related sectors (cement, building) exhibited good performance. Again, in the same way, Investment Partnership and Automotive Side Industry are also among the sectors exhibiting high profitability performance. On the other hand, it is seen that holdings, holdings, in which a number of companies take place and which are in active in many area could not a good performance in the first half of the year compared to the same period of the last year. In the same way, automotive sector and energy sector, one of the most determinative sectors, showed a weak performance in the period considered.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP, OPPORTUNITY, AND GOVERNANCE FOR LATIN AMERICA: PROSPERITY INDEX TRENDS BETWEEN 2009 AND 2014

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Abstract

The Latin American and Caribbean region has witnessed noticeable economic growth over the last decade. How some countries in the region have resisted the financial crisis by continuing to grow has also not gone unnoticed by the international community. Whether said development and growth can keep its pace or not, however, remains the big question. This paper addresses this issue using a multidimensional approach that provides a broader picture of the current situation in Latin America. Using the rich data included in the Legatum Prosperity Index, an index that measures prosperity as a combination of wealth and wellbeing across 142 countries, this paper analyses how entrepreneurship, opportunity, and good governance are key elements to promote prosperity. In particular, this paper discusses how the enhancement of entrepreneurial activities, backed up by improvement in technological infrastructure, can only produce lasting, positive results in Latin America if inequality of opportunity is reduced, and good governance – an area showing acute problems in the region – is promoted.

Keywords: Latin America, Growth, Entrepreneurship, Opportunity, Governance

Introduction

Progress in Latin America has mostly been measured as economic progress, and economic development has traditionally been the main focus in the region not only in organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, but also in the media and in international policy-making strategy. Yet one question remains unanswered: can economic growth remain high and produce the expected development outcomes for the region as a whole? This issue is one of the most important at the moment for Latin America, especially at a time when economic

growth forecasts are low for Latin America and Caribbean in the upcoming year, a situation that has not been helped by current drops in commodity prices (Wharton, 2015). Using the Prosperity Index, which offers a multidimensional view of prosperity, this paper will attempt to explore the importance of entrepreneurship, opportunity, and governance for the Latin American region,¹ and its current and potential impact on development and prosperity. These issues are singled out for analysis not simply because they present interesting trends between 2009 and 2014, but also due to their importance for growth, development, and prosperity in the region.

The connection between high entrepreneurship levels and economic growth is quite consensual in the literature as discussed below, and has been widely acknowledged by the international community. In the 2013 World Economic Forum in Lima, Peru, for example, the whole agenda revolved around how to make the Latin American economy more dynamic through entrepreneurship and innovation (WEF, 2013). Recognising that link, this paper observes regional trends between 2009 and 2014 in order to identify areas of improvement and potential problems with entrepreneurial activity. What will become apparent are the disparities between countries in the region and how inequality of opportunity is still a problem with the potential to curb prosperity in the whole region.

Inequality, in its many dimensions, has been the quintessential problem of Latin America with the region usually being referred to as the most unequal in the world. It is clear that a lot still needs to be done to address inequality in Latin America despite some authors pointing towards the progress the region has seen in recent years.² Using the Index, this paper will demonstrate that increases in equality of opportunity specifically have been very low – with decreases occurring in some countries – and how this has the potential to pervert the desired outcome of economic growth.

Lastly, this paper will focus on how good governance and institutions are lacking in the region as a whole and show how full democracies tend to perform better than other countries still climbing up the democracy ladder. Sound institutions are extremely important for growth, development, and wellbeing as it will be argued. The present analysis will demonstrate that governance has been a persistent issue for Latin America over the analysed

¹ In this paper, the analysis of the Latin American and the Caribbean region will look at the following countries: Argentina, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela. This refers to the countries the Index measures in the region. Any country not included is due to a lack of available data.

² Inter alia see Calva-Lopez & Lustig (2010).

period, with the potential to seriously affect the region's development and prosperity.

In order to proceed with the proposed, this paper will briefly explain the Index's methodology – since the Index will be the main source for analysing outcomes –, followed by a general trend analysis for Latin America and the Caribbean. It will then take an in-depth look at entrepreneurship, opportunity, and governance measures.

I.

The Prosperity Index – Methodology

The Prosperity Index ranks 142 countries around the world, covering 96% of the world's population and 99% of global GDP.³ The objective of the Index is to provide a multidimensional view of prosperity – one that includes both wealth and wellbeing – in the context of 'GDP and beyond' literature.⁴

The Index ranks countries in eight different sub-indices: Economy, Entrepreneurship & Opportunity, Governance, Education, Health, Safety & Security, Personal Freedom, and Social Capital. The Index's scores and ranks are the result of equally weighting the eight sub-indices, which calculated together create a broad image of a region or country. Each sub-index is made up of several variables – 89 in total – that look into different issues relevant for each sub-index, relevance which is assessed through regression analyses (Legatum Institute, 2012 pp. 35-36). As explained in the Index's methodology:

'The 89 variables across the eight sub-indices are categorised according to whether they impact wellbeing or income or both. A country is then given a score in each-sub-index, one for wellbeing and another for income. This score is based on that country's performance regarding each of the variables and on the level of importance assigned to each variable. The level of importance, or 'weight', attributed to a given variable is determined through rigorous regression analyses; it is not, therefore, based on subjective judgement or discretionary choices. Finally, the sub-index scores are averaged to obtain an overall prosperity score, which determines each country's rank. For each sub-index (...) [the Index] provide[s] individual country scores and rankings.'

Legatum Institute (2012) p.5

The Index includes both objective variables – where 'a comparable standard of objectivity has been applied across observations' (Legatum Institute, 2012 p.9) – and subjective variables, which measure people's

³ For more information on the Index, please refer to its website www.prosperity.com (Legatum Institute2, 2014).

⁴ A discussion triggered by Stiglitz, Sen, & Fitoussi (2009) report on moving beyond GDP, where the authors assess GDP's performance as a measure of social progress.

perceptions of several issues relating to their wellbeing. These variables were selected from several sources such as World Bank Indicators, Freedom House, or Gallup World Poll, and the source is consistent for the 142 countries observed between the years of 2009 and 2014, thus allowing for cross-country and time-series comparison.⁵

Other indices based on the ‘GDP and Beyond’ literature and debate, such as the well-known Human Development Index (HDI), point towards country rankings that use more than just GDP in their country-level analysis. As shown, the Prosperity Index includes innovative factors such as measures of subjective wellbeing, resulting in a different perspective of countries’ performance and current states. Briefly comparing the Index’s results with the HDI’s, for example, reveals some differences in the rankings, especially in the positions of Venezuela and Peru (HDI, 2014). On a top-level analysis, Venezuela’s position in the HDI seems much closer to its GDP than in the Prosperity Index, as it will be seen below in several instances. This happens, it is argued, because of the inclusion of several measures of subjective wellbeing in the Prosperity Index, something the UN – the creator of the HDI – is currently considering as well (Yang, 2014).

General Prosperity trends in Latin America and the Caribbean between 2009 and 2014.

Latin American and Caribbean countries have seen strong improvements in overall Prosperity since 2009. Compared with other regions, South and Central America were among the most improved regions between 2009 and 2014, after sub-Saharan Africa and Asia (Legatum Institute, 2014 pp. 11-12). The increase in the whole of Latin America is due to improvements in every sub-index over this period, except for Safety & Security and Education, which have declined slightly – see Figure 1. This overall movement (with the exception of Education) very much reflects a worldwide trend of improvement in all sub-indices, with Safety & Security being the least improved globally (Legatum Institute, 2014 pp. 39-40). Latin America has helped influence certain global trends such as an increase in Entrepreneurship & Opportunity (seen also in the Asia-Pacific, MENA, and Sub-Saharan Africa regions);⁶ an increase in the Economy (seen also in the Asia-Pacific and Sub-Saharan Africa regions); an increase in Health (seen across all regions including Europe); an increase in Personal Freedom, (seen

⁵ The Index uses the most recent available data for its analysis, which means that the data points may correspond to 2008 as the earliest data used or 2013 as the most recent – this will be properly signalled in the analysis. This technique is used in virtually every index available, as a way to contravene any lack of data. See, for example, the HDI (2014).

⁶ Europe has also improved in the Entrepreneurship & Opportunity sub-index, but improvements in the region are much lower than in any other region (Legatum Institute, 2014 p. 35).

also in the Asia-Pacific and Sub-Saharan Africa regions); and, finally, the poor performance of Safety & Security (seen in all regions of the world, except for Europe) (Legatum Institute, 2014 pp. 33-37).⁷ Entrepreneurship & Opportunity, Economy, and Personal Freedom are the three most improved sub-indices for Latin America since 2009 – see Figure 1 –, while Health, Governance, and Social Capital have improved slightly over this period of time. In the same period Governance has remained the lowest scoring sub-index for the region as it will be analysed *infra*, while Personal Freedom has remained the highest scoring – see Figure 1.

This trend in Personal Freedom has been led by an increase on average in all of the indicators that make up the sub-index. Worthy of highlight is the increase in every country⁸ of satisfaction with freedom of choice.⁹ Satisfaction with freedom of choice mostly reflects satisfaction with economic freedom according to the literature.¹⁰ It is unsurprising that all countries are more satisfied with freedom of choice, given the economic developments that the region has seen.¹¹ Other Personal Freedom indicators that reflect tolerance and civil liberties have all increased on average as well, although there are disparities within countries and the increase is not as marked as in satisfaction with freedom of choice – see Figure 2 for Personal Freedom ranks.

The performance in the Economy sub-index also deserves a brief analysis, since it shows a clear upwards trajectory for the region and it is very closely related with the overall argument of this paper. The Economy sub-index shows great improvement, being the second highest scoring sub-index for the region in 2014 and presenting the second highest increase compared with 2009. The distinctive feature of the Index's Economy sub-index is that it does not rely solely on GDP as a measure of economic performance and growth, but also on other objective and subjective indicators to assess economic multidimensionality (Legatum Institute, 2012 pp. 12-13, 55-56). Disparities within the region are most apparent within the

⁷ The analysis on Legatum Institute (2014) on page 33 refers to the Americas region as whole, which includes the United States of America and Canada. However, the trends as presented are mainly influenced by Latin American and Caribbean countries, given the higher number of countries in analysis and the different trends that the United States and Canada present for the same period comparing with Latin American countries.

⁸ It excludes Belize due to data only available for 2007; and Haiti, since the country has only been added to the Index in 2012.

⁹ Survey question: In (country of respondent), are you satisfied with your freedom to choose what you do with your life?' (yes %) Source: Gallup World Poll®

¹⁰ Inter alia see Veenhoven (2000).

¹¹ In spite of this, there is not clear association of rising or high satisfaction with freedom of choice with rising or high ranks and scores in the Economy sub-index that can be drawn in this instance.

Economy sub-index, with improvements led by Central & North America and South America,¹² where the Economy has been its highest scoring sub-index since 2011 and 2013, respectively. In Central & North America, Panama (33rd), and Mexico (34th) have been particularly strong, and in South America the highlight goes to Chile (30th), Brazil (37th), Paraguay (38th), and Colombia (39th). On the other hand, in the Caribbean the Economy is the second lowest scoring sub-index after Governance in 2014, due to the overall poor performance of Trinidad and Tobago (71st), Dominican Republic (81st), and Jamaica (128th) – see Figure 2. Plus, the Economy sub-index shows a slight decline in 2014 compared with 2009 for the Caribbean.

This result for the Caribbean is in part the result of extremely low satisfaction with standards of living.¹³ Haiti (21%), Jamaica (44%), Trinidad and Tobago (57%), and Honduras (60%) are four of the five countries most dissatisfied with standards of living in the Latin American and Caribbean region in 2013,¹⁴ accurately reflecting the current situation in these countries in the Caribbean.¹⁵

Entrepreneurship & Opportunity

As it has been argued *supra*, the link between both entrepreneurship and opportunity, and continued economic growth and development is quite established in the literature. There have been studies looking at the specific case of Latin America, with authors such as Larroulet & Couyoumdjian (2009) describing a paradox where there seems to be a thriving entrepreneurial environment, which does not, on the other hand, seem to translate necessarily into faster economic growth. This has been especially true since 2014, when growth has declined and predictions of growth in the future for the region are not particularly favourable¹⁶ – even though the Economy sub-index for the region has presented some improvements as observed above. As the analysis will show, the potential pernicious effects of

¹² The sub-regions are divided here as: the Caribbean (the Dominican Republic, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago), Central & North America (Belize, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama and Mexico) and South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela). The inclusion or exclusion of countries is dictated by the data available.

¹³ Survey question: ‘Are you satisfied with your standard of living, all the things you can buy and do?’ (%yes) Source: Gallup World Poll®.

¹⁴ The other one is Venezuela where only 56.1% of Venezuelans declared to be satisfied with their standards of living.

¹⁵ See inter alia UN (2013).

¹⁶ See inter alia Wharton (2015).

inequality might have something to do with curbing the positive effects of increases in entrepreneurship.¹⁷

Looking at the trends the Index is capturing, Entrepreneurship & Opportunity is the most improved sub-index for Latin America between 2009 and 2014 – see Figure 1. This improvement on the sub-index reflects two interconnected global trends: (i) a worldwide improvement on Entrepreneurship & Opportunity indicators, where the sub-index has been the most improved sub-index on average between 2009 and 2014 for all the regions of the world (Legatum Institute, 2014 p. 37); and (ii) the global increase in technological infrastructure by means of increasing mobile and internet communications around the world. These are interconnected because the increase of technological infrastructure around the world has been the main reason for why the Entrepreneurship & Opportunity sub-index has increased so much compared with the other sub-indices in this time-period. This is especially true for sub-Saharan Africa, the biggest improver in this sub-index since 2009 (ibid.) where the increase in mobile internet communications has been presented as the most auspicious advance for the region in terms of entrepreneurship, opportunity, and more even development.¹⁸

The improvement in technological infrastructure that the sub-index reflects in Latin America is, therefore, due to increases in mobile phones¹⁹ – where in average there are 115 mobile phones per 100 people –, mobile phones per household,²⁰ secure internet servers,²¹ and internet bandwidth.²² In mobile phones per 100 people there is variation between countries in terms of increase, but all countries have improved in this measure. Argentina, Belize, Bolivia, and Brazil show the highest improvements, while Panama, Argentina, and Paraguay are the countries with the highest numbers. Panama registered 163 mobile phones per 100 people in 2013, just behind Finland on this measure. On the contrary, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay are the least improved.

¹⁷Larroulet & Couyoumdjian (2009 p. 96) conclude that ‘the combination of high levels of entrepreneurship and mediocre rates of economic growth in Latin America is thus not as paradoxical as it may seem because Latin American nations have a lower proportion of productive entrepreneurship than developed countries have’. This paper does not dispute this conclusion; rather it intends to add to this debate.

¹⁸ Inter alia see Madon (2000).

¹⁹ Cellular devices per 100 people. Source: Int. Telecommunication Union.

²⁰ Survey question: ‘Does your home have a cellular phone?’ (yes%) Source: Gallup World Poll®.

²¹ Servers using encryption technology in internet transactions, per one million people. Source: World Development Indicators.

²² The contracted capacity of international connections between countries for transmitting internet traffic, mega bites per second. Source: Int. Telecommunication Union.

Adding to the overall trend of increased technological infrastructure, business opportunities have also increased in Latin America, with business start-up costs²³ declining overall. Countries such as Colombia and Chile have shown particularly large falls in start-up costs. On the other hand, there are still countries that present extremely high start-up costs in 2013: Nicaragua at 77% of GNI per capita; Bolivia at 72%; and Guatemala at 46.4%, for example. This contrasts highly with Trinidad and Tobago (0.8%) and Chile (0.7%) in the same year, showing the big disparities in this measure within the region. This and other increases on average – such as in royalty receipts²⁴ – have the potential to bare good fruit in terms of the future economic advancement of the region.

If there are encouraging signs coming from the region in some measures of entrepreneurship, measures of opportunity such as uneven economic development²⁵ indicate cause for concern. This is where the problem may lie when examining why an entrepreneurial environment does not seem to produce the expected results. Whilst it is true that uneven economic development levels have declined on average, the declines are very small, and the values are still extremely high for most countries in the region. Plus, there are countries that now have more uneven economic development than in 2009, with Chile, Paraguay, and Panama showing the highest increases. Haiti, Bolivia, and Paraguay present the highest levels of uneven economic development in the region, with Haiti at 9.1, Bolivia at 8.9 and Paraguay at 8.6 in 2013. Haiti is the third most uneven country in the world²⁶ – after Angola, Central African Republic, and Nigeria –, Bolivia is the fifth, and Paraguay the ninth.

In the 2014 Prosperity Index, the connection between this measure of opportunity with inequality of opportunity and social mobility is quite strong (Legatum Institute, 2014 pp. 19-20). The Index in this instance cites the work of Brunoni, Ferreira, & Peragni (2013), where the authors ‘show a strong correlation between unequal access to opportunity and higher social stagnation’ (Legatum Institute, 2014 p.20). The Index uses the uneven economic development variable to replicate their exercise and ‘show that countries with low mobility are characterised by a more uneven economic

²³ Start-up business costs measured as a share of GNI per capita. Source: World Development Indicators.

²⁴ Royalty and license fees are payments and receipts between residents and non-residents for the authorised use of intangible, non-produced, non-financial assets and proprietary rights. Source: World Development Indicators.

²⁵ It measures group-based inequality, or perceived inequality, in education, in jobs, and economic status. It also measures by group-based poverty levels, infant mortality rates, and education levels. Ordinal rating: 1 to 10, in which 10 represents the worst possible outcome. Source: Failed States Index.

²⁶ In the 142 countries the Index includes.

environment' (ibid.). Two of the least mobile countries as presented are Brazil and Peru, together with India and South Africa (ibid.).

Although the relationship between inequality and entrepreneurship is somewhat controversial in the literature – with authors such as Lecuna (2014) arguing that certain levels of income inequality may generate an entrepreneurial impetus in certain models – the impact of inequality of opportunity on social mobility as generated by entrepreneurship has been defended by many.²⁷ As it has been demonstrated by the study based on the 2014 Prosperity Index, highly unequal access to opportunity can prevent mobility. It is argued in this paper that this is true even in an environment where internet and mobile communications make access to information more widely available, given what has been said above.

Governance

The importance of institutions and good governance should not be underestimated. The connection between income and wellbeing, and good governance and institutions has been widely and continually debated, with present debate arguing for their importance for development and prosperity.²⁸ Problematic for Latin America and the Caribbean is the fact that the Governance sub-index has consistently been the lowest scoring sub-index for the region. Whilst there has been a very small improvement between 2009 and 2014, the comparative finding holds across this time period – see Figure 1. Improvement is due to very slight increases on average in some measures, such as government effectiveness,²⁹ or rule of law,³⁰ but Governance remains low due to the overall poor performance of most variables in the sub-index throughout the years analysed. Governments' poor performance has been met consistently with widespread mistrust towards governmental policies and enforcement bodies.

There is a clear distinction, however, in terms of performance between countries that are full democracies according to government type

²⁷ See Solimano (2014) for an overview of the literature on entrepreneurship, opportunity and inequality, with a special focus on Latin America.

²⁸ On the relationship between governance and income see inter alia Kaufman, Kraay, & Mastruzzi (2008) and Kaufman & Kraay (2002).

²⁹ It captures the efficiency and quality of bureaucracy, level of government stability and effectiveness with respect to the implementation of policies. Ordinal rating, where 2.5 represent the best possible outcome, and -2.5 the worst. Source: World Bank Governance Indicators.

³⁰ The extent to which individuals within a society respect property rights, the police and the judiciary system, as well the quality of police and legal safeguards. Ordinal rating, where 2.5 represent the best possible outcome, and -2.5 the worst. Source: World Bank Governance Indicators.

data³¹ and countries that score lower or are not actually democracies – as is the case of Haiti and Venezuela. The connection between democracy and growth is quite well established,³² and it proves to be an interesting point when looking at Latin America, since the Index shows that full democracies tend to also present the best results in other variables of the Governance sub-index in the region. All countries score quite highly in government type data in Latin America, except for Ecuador (although still a democracy, it scores lower than any other democracy in the region at 5), Haiti (at 0, meaning effectively an autocratic regime as defined by the government type data), and Venezuela (at -3, another autocratic region, scoring even lower than Haiti). Out of the five countries to score the highest in government type at 10, four are also the highest ranked countries in the Governance sub-index:³³ Chile (23rd), Costa Rica (29th), Uruguay (31st), and Trinidad and Tobago (47th).³⁴ These four countries stand out from others in the region mainly due to positive scores in objective measures such as government effectiveness, regulation quality,³⁵ and separation of powers.³⁶ In this last variable, these four are the only countries in the region to obtain the maximum score of 32. On the contrary, Venezuela and Haiti are the region's poorest performers in the Governance sub-index at 134th and 139th respectively, whilst presenting the lowest scores for government type. In fact, Venezuela and Haiti are amongst the ten lowest ranked countries in the world for Governance, with

³¹ The extent to which a society is autocratic or democratic; this measure depends on the competitiveness of executive recruitment, constraints on chief executives, regulation of political participation and competitiveness of political participation. Ordinal rating: 10 represents the best possible outcome (full democracy) and -10 the worst possible outcome (full autocracy). Source: Polity IV project 2010 – Central for Global Policy, Centre for Systemic Peace.

³² On the links between types of governance and growth, see inter alia Acemoglu, Johnson, Robison, & Yared (2008), Avellaneda (2006) and (Barro, 1997).

³³ This not happen due to the weight the government type variable is given in the sub-index. In fact, out of the eight objective variables in the sub-index, government type's weight is the second lowest. See the Index's methodology (Legatum Institute, 2012 pp. 59-60).

³⁴ The only exception here is Belize, which scores 10 in government type and ranks 72nd in the Governance sub-index.

³⁵ Captures perceptions of the ability of the government to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations that permit and promote private sector development. Ordinal rating, where 2.5 represents the best possible outcome, and -2.5 the worst. Source: World Bank Governance Indicators.

³⁶ Composite variable including five components that are highly correlated: competitiveness in executive branch, competitiveness in legislative branch, judiciary independence, regulation of executive election and political participation. Ordinal rating, where 1 represents the worst possible outcome and 32 the best. Source: Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset

Venezuela presenting the greatest decline of the whole region in Governance between 2009 and 2014.³⁷

Apart from these four countries, others in the region continue to present low results in objective measures of Governance, with only a few countries presenting significant increases in the sub-index variables since 2008. The overall results do show on average increases, but these increases are still very low and the speed of improvement appears to be quite slow.

Reflecting these poor performances in objective indicators, people's perceptions of government and enforcement bodies are generally low as well – which contributes to the successive low ranks in this sub-index in general. The regional average for each subjective variable is actually always lower than the global average, except for measures of corruption³⁸ where the average in Latin America and the Caribbean is 5% higher than the global average.

Starting with corruption, although presenting high levels, it has decreased on average since 2009, with countries such as Nicaragua, Mexico, and Ecuador presenting the greatest declines. On the other hand, there are countries where people's perceptions of widespread corruption have increased significantly over the same period, such as El Salvador and Colombia. It is interesting to note that Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica present the highest levels of perceived corruption in the region in 2013, at 85% and 88% respectively, denoting people's concerns in the Caribbean with this issue. These two are followed by Colombia (85%) and Honduras (83%), this last one also in the Caribbean.³⁹ Uruguay stands as the least corrupt country in the region, with only 47% of people declaring corruption to be widespread, placing between Belgium and Japan in this measure.

The discontent with and mistrust of government and judicial bodies in the region is quite clear when looking at confidence in the judicial

³⁷ The 2014 Prosperity Index highlights how Venezuela is the country that has fallen the most globally in overall Prosperity, due to declines in the Economy, Governance, Personal Freedom and Social Capital sub-indices (Legatum Institute, 2014 p. 8).

³⁸ Composite variable which includes two survey questions: 'Is corruption widespread within business located in (respondent's country)?' and 'is corruption widespread throughout the government in (respondent's country)?' (%yes) Source: Gallup World Poll®

³⁹ Very surprisingly, also in the Caribbean, Haiti is the second country least concerned with widespread corruption at 54.5%, preceded only by Uruguay, which ranks very much above Haiti in the Governance sub-index – see Figure 2. It is worthy of highlight that the results from Haiti are the result of a much smaller sample size than for any other Latin American and Caribbean country in Gallup World Poll®, with only 504 people survey in Haiti in 2013 compared with 1000 in Uruguay for the same year for example. This may have had an impact on the results.

system,⁴⁰ in the honesty of elections,⁴¹ and in government.⁴² In all of these perception variables, the regional average is always lower than the global average and in some cases substantially so: the regional average (34%) for confidence in the judicial system is 18% lower than the global average, for example. Also, all of those three variables present declines since 2009. The low averages on objective indicators together with overall low scores (and declines) in the perception variables point to a widespread discontent and suspicion of government in the region.

Conclusion

First and foremost, it is quite apparent from the analysis *supra* that there are big disparities among Latin American and Caribbean countries, given that the region is a large area containing an array of different types of governments and economic systems.⁴³ Countries such as Chile, Costa Rica, or Uruguay stand out as countries presenting good performance in many areas, while Honduras, Venezuela, and Haiti standing almost at the other end of the spectrum, present several areas of concern.

Although big disparities between countries within the region exist, the trends analysed reveal overarching issues, showing a different approach on how to look at Latin American and Caribbean countries' development and future prosperity. There is good and bad news on the sub-indices analysed, but overall the trends are ones of improvement, especially in Entrepreneurship, Personal Freedom, and the Economy sub-indices. Although not analysed in-depth in this instance, Education and Safety & Security are two other areas of concern for the region, besides Governance.

Governance presents itself as the most worrying indicator for the region, which ultimately can severely affect the region's future prosperity and development if not improved. While it is clear that full democracies are doing better in objective measures, the overall levels in both objective and subjective measures are very low for the region. If it is clear that at the present any economic development that has occurred in the region has not yet produced better governance, it is unclear whether governance will improve in Latin American and the Caribbean in the next few years – in spite of slight improvements in the Governance sub-index. Governance remains the biggest issue for Latin America, and one that needs the immediate

⁴⁰ Survey question: 'In (respondent's country) do you have confidence in the judicial system and courts?' (%yes) Source: Gallup World Poll®

⁴¹ Survey question: 'In (respondent's country) do you have confidence in the honesty of elections?' (%yes) Source: Gallup World Poll®

⁴² Survey question: 'In (respondent's country) do you have confidence in the national government?' (%yes) Source: Gallup World Poll®

⁴³ As it was recently highlighted by Tommasi (2014), for example.

attention of civil society and policy makers. Improvements on tackling corruption, improving regulation quality, and guaranteeing separation of powers are all areas that need greater improvement overall. If these and other issues such as inequality of opportunity are not dealt with, economic and social progress in the region could be compromised.

Specific measures on how to tackle each issue will be different for different countries, but in face of these general trends, greater regional cooperation in dealing with them has been argued for, by Alfaiate (2014) for example. It is also important to continue to stimulate investment in technological infrastructure – besides other kinds of infrastructure – with special attention for those countries who are falling behind the general trends of improvement. Such countries require much wider access to technological infrastructure than is currently available to the general population. Policy-making strategies need to take into account inequality, not only of income, but of opportunity and put in place measures that can promote social mobility. The increment of entrepreneurship is definitely a policy area to consider as a means to promote social mobility, as suggested by Velez-Grajales & Velez-Grajales (2014) in the case of Mexico.

The hurdles that Latin American and Caribbean countries have to jump over are quite clear in the specific areas analysed and a further look into the Index's findings will continue to offer further insights on which areas need improvement.

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Appendix

Figure 1: 2009-2014 sub-index trends Latin America and the Caribbean. Source: Prosperity Index, 2014

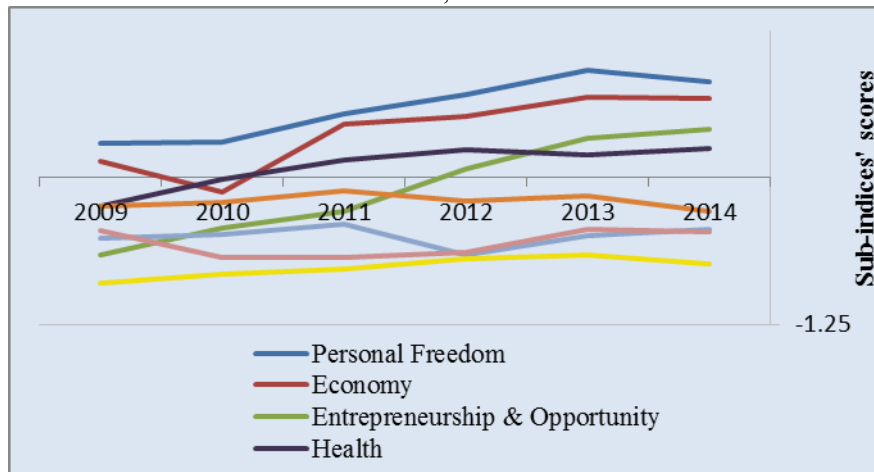


Figure 2: Overall Prosperity and sub-indices rank for 2014. Source: Prosperity Index, 2014

	Overall Prosperity	Economy	Entrepreneurship & Opportunity	Governance	Education	Health	Safety & Security	Personal Freedom	Social Capital
Uruguay	30	55	52	31	68	41	27	8	31
Chile	33	30	32	23	63	48	41	33	71
Costa Rica	34	43	45	29	53	46	48	15	48
Panama	41	33	43	60	65	51	52	34	38
Trinidad and Tobago	43	71	36	47	77	69	45	25	54
Argentina	46	54	55	97	44	42	47	30	53
Brazil	49	37	51	63	86	63	86	27	65
Belize	58	60	81	71	72	68	66	61	52
Jamaica	61	128	59	67	78	79	55	38	42
Mexico	64	34	83	59	85	49	99	75	76
Colombia	66	39	61	64	84	72	127	52	66
Paraguay	70	38	86	110	100	84	73	35	61
Dominican Republic	72	81	79	86	88	90	91	54	58
Ecuador	73	47	76	99	75	81	98	37	123
Nicaragua	76	77	99	91	90	88	69	36	81
Peru	78	48	74	83	87	86	100	69	106
El Salvador	83	68	88	75	101	83	76	82	88
Bolivia	87	51	98	96	91	102	88	46	98
Guatemala	90	72	90	87	107	93	104	68	63
Venezuela	100	104	87	134	52	74	116	108	94
Honduras	105	112	100	111	98	82	81	118	101
Haiti	135	133	138	139	115	139	124	131	97

MANAGEMENT: MUCH MORE INTERDISCIPLINARY THAN YOU THINK

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Abstract

The discipline of Management is typically associated with schools of business and is thought to be a professional or pre-professional degree. Hence, it is commonly separated from the Liberal Arts and any discussions about interdisciplinary topics. However, the roots of management are in Economics, Psychology and other disciplines with ties across many different subjects. In this paper I go through management textbooks and read the primary sources used for the content covered in various chapters. A significant amount of the citations for the material is from academic journals in Psychology, great works by Philosophers, classic writings by Economists and other areas in the Social Sciences. This paper illustrates the interdisciplinary nature of a subject that is not traditionally thought to be one.

Keywords: Interdisciplinary, Management, Economics

Introduction

Compared to many other disciplinesⁱ Managementⁱⁱ is relatively new. Philosophy has its roots in Ancient Greece dating back thousands of years. Writings of the great economists goes back close to two hundred and fifty years. Classical thinkers in Political Science include Cicero and Machiavelli going back hundreds and thousands of year.

The practice of management (organizing people and groups of people such as tribes) has been with us since close to the beginning of recorded history. Throughout history, great civilizations (Greek, Romans, etcetera) have grown and declined. A strong case can be made that those civilizations throughout time that were better able to plan, lead and organize (that is, manage) prospered more than those societies who have not.

Writing officially considered to be in management, such as Henry Fayol's *General and Industrial Management*, can be traced to the late nineteenth century (Irwin, 1984). However, much of this early research was comparatively unknown and not recognized and used by scholars until

decades later. Thus, it can be argued that Management did not become a distinct discipline until the first textbook (Drucker, 1946) was published on how management could be applied to large corporations such as General Motors. Though there were a few isolated classes in the area and in the 1920s Harvard offered the first degree in Business Administration. In the body of the paper, I go through two Management textbooks (Jones and George, 2014) and (Daft, 2014), then find and read the original research to illustrate how much of the discipline stems from other academic areas.

Management's Roots in Other Disciplines:

Early thinking and writing in Management was aimed at helping understand, clarify and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of firms that had developed out of the Industrial Revolution of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Inventors, engineers and entrepreneurs were developing and making automobiles, lighting systems and other manufactured goods. In Shop Management, (Taylor, 1903) developed scientific principles to explain how certain techniques could be applied across different factories so that they could operate better.

These first publications in management tended to view workers as interchangeable parts similar to machines. As the discipline grew it realized that this was not sufficient. As it became more sophisticated it drew on other disciplines, such as Psychology, to help it explain workers behavior and attitudes. Later it became clear that actions of managers have enormous consequences on society, thus the need for ethics, hence the incorporation of Philosophy. The rest of this paper will illustrate Managements ties to, and roots in, other disciplines.

Economics

For the first half century of its existence, Management was considered part of the discipline of Economicsⁱⁱⁱ. But as the world grew, economic growth improved living standards and organizations became increasingly more complex it was necessary for management to separate into its own discipline.

Frederick Taylor was one of the early pioneers of management theory who examined the way in which workers performed their jobs (Taylor, 1911). He used time and motion tests to determine how to best use employees. His focus was on job specialization and the division of labor. Taylor's work examined new factories, but in some ways just refined the work on specialization of the great economist Adam Smith written one hundred thirty years earlier.

Taylor developed various principles to improve the efficiency of factory workers. First he gathered information on what workers did to make

a good. Then he divided the work into small, measureable tasks. Next, he simplified the tasks and organized them so that they followed standard operating procedures. Then he established a base performance level for each of the tasks. The final step was to select appropriate workers and train them appropriately. His methods were implemented by Henry Ford in his production of automobiles.

Organizations do not operate in a vacuum, that is, they are one part of society. The discipline of Management studies not only those factors that impact firms in a direct manner (customers, suppliers and competitors) but also those variables that indirectly influence it. Determining how the state of the economy (unemployment rates, inflation, etcetera), technology, demographics, political, legal, social and cultural factors (officially termed the general environment) plays a major role in the study of Management.

An Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change is one of the many writings based directly in Economics that Management uses (Nelson and Winter, 1982). It provides examples of some of the factors that firms need to be cognizant of. These include, but are not limited to the following. An increase in the unemployment rate will decrease the income of individuals, that in turn can decrease the demand for many firms products. Changes in technology provide both problems and opportunities for firms. In many cases scientific advancements make products obsolete. On the other side, new technology can improve production, such as providing economies of scale.

Aging populations, a higher percentage of female participation in the labor force and a larger number of Hispanic individuals provides many businesses with more opportunities for potential customers. Anti-trust legislation, various laws and regulations restrict what firms can do. In addition, businesses need to adapt to changes in how segments of the population view environmental problems, LGBT issues and other social matters. There is significant research by economists in these areas that management uses.

The discipline of Management also studies how the power of large customers and big suppliers can cause problems for businesses. This area draws heavily from Economics in its study of monopolies (the existence of only one firm providing a good or service in an industry) and monopsonies (only one buyer of a product).

In some situations the line that separates the disciplines of management and economics is almost indistinguishable. Some of the best management theorists (Porter, 1980) are also economists. Research in this area includes how factors such as the level of rivalry between firms, how easy or difficult it is to enter an industry and how the availability of

substitutes impacts firms. These play a large role in the areas of Strategic Management and Public Economics.

Psychology

Early management theorists tended to view workers as interchangeable pieces, robots that would willingly follow orders, thus not necessarily viewing them as human beings with feelings and emotions. In addition, the idea that employees with authority (managers) could be trained to better manage was also missing. It is not surprising that when the discipline grew over time, it borrowed heavily from Psychology.^{iv}

Thus, the overlap of understanding, motivating and coordinating workers with Psychology is very apparent. In addition, there are certain personality traits that enable some individuals to be better managers than others. The connection is so strong that subsets of the disciplines have recently formed (such as Industrial Psychology) that encompasses material that draws heavily, and almost equally, from both disciplines.

A major missing component of initial management thought was realizing the importance of the front line workers. Early research assumed that the managers knew more than the employees actually carrying out the tasks. In preliminary studies (Follett, 1924) argued that it was the laborers who were doing the jobs who knew most about them. The people welding pieces together, on the assembly line and making the good should be included in how to better improve the process. Though it was not fully embraced, and long before it was fashionable this was the beginning of empowerment that has gained much attention recently.

What managers assume about workers and how best to motivate them based on this draws almost exclusively from the discipline of Psychology. In a seminal paper (McGregor, 1960) argued that workers can be classified into two broad categories. On one extreme, managers can assume that typical workers are lazy, they lack motivation and try to do as little as possible. If this is the case, then managers need a strict system of rewards and penalties to ensure tasks are completed appropriately. So firms need to set up a clear system of rules and operating procedures.

However managers may think that the average worker is self-motivated, gets satisfaction from seeing a job well done and will work in the best interests of the organization. In this situation, authority should be decentralized and managers should collaborate with employees to create a work environment that ensures organizational goals are achieved. It should be noted that McGregor was a mentor to Abraham Maslow, the famous Psychologist. So here, the discipline of Management first used Psychology, but then Psychology drew from Management, illustrating that the lines between the two areas practically non-existent.

Research on the importance of personality traits, how aware we are of ours and others and the ability to work within our limitations for managers in organizations also comes from Psychology. The discipline of management classifies five big traits on a scale that impact organizational performance. The ability to get along with others, in the workplace or anywhere else, impacts others around them, including employees (Witt and Ferriss, 2003). Extroversion, the degree to which managers experience positive or negative emotions can impact workers. (McCrae and Costa, 1987). Optimistic managers can coerce and push employees to work harder than they may with pessimistic ones.

Being critical of oneself and others (negative affectivity) can be both a good and bad trait. Workers who are critical of themselves often push themselves to a better job than those who are not. In addition, as long as it is constructive managers need to point out deficiencies in employees in order for them to improve. Successful firms are often led by entrepreneurs that take risks and are open to new ideas and experiences. Lastly, conscientiousness, being self-motivated and persevering is a very good predictor of performance in most jobs (Witt and Ferriss, 2003).

Sociology

Sociology^v also examines human behavior. From 1924 to 1932 a series of studies was conducted at the Hawthorne Works Plant of the Western Electric Company. It was set up to see how various factors impacted factory workers' productivity. This included the actual work environment such as the level of lighting in the plant, the temperature of the rooms and other physical conditions. It also looked at social variables like the amount of interaction between workers, how workers were supervised by managers, the length of rest periods and reward systems.

The results of the Hawthorne studies were published extensively in books and widely cited in the following decades. Among the findings were that the managers' attitudes and behavior towards their workers significantly impacted work performance. Thus, supervisors could be trained to act in ways that would benefit employee's productivity.

After initially taking the results at face value, they were later scrutinized more carefully by academics and researchers. From Sociology, in one of many articles in the social sciences (Carey, 1967) criticizes the results. He notes that the studies were not conducted following the scientific method of using control groups when investigating the impact of different variables on worker productivity.

None-the-less one of the major conclusions of the studies is still integral to the discipline of management. One of the conclusions was that the behavior of managers is as important in influencing worker productivity

as the physical layout of the work area. Common sense would indicate this to be applicable. This criticism by Sociologists and other Social Scientists spurred the discipline of Management to use scientific methodology when examining organizational behavior.

Philosophy

The moral compass of managers can have an enormous impact not only on workers and the company itself but on many other parts of society with regards to unethical decisions. Practically every week it seems that there is news about a firm where managers are manipulating interest rates, bribing government workers, not reporting safety issues, harassing employees or otherwise conducting themselves in unethical ways. One could argue the effectiveness of it but to try and alleviate the problem every management textbook (Jones and George, 2014) and (Daft, 2014) has large sections on ethics based from Philosophy^{vi} (Boylan, 2000).

In addition, even with completely ethical behavior, when managers in an organization make decisions in many situations some agents gain by it, while others may lose. Developing models to determine how to best make decisions when agents are impacted differently (Jones and George, 2014) stems from Philosophy.

The concept of Utilitarianism was developed by the philosopher/economist John Stewart Mill. For management the general idea is to make decisions that produce the ‘greatest good’ for the largest number of stakeholders. That is something that maximizes the net benefit for the entire organization. Variations of this rule have also been used extensively by economists (using Cost-Benefit Analysis) and political scientists (in determining how to implement laws) further validating the interdisciplinary nature of management here.

Another method for managers to follow to ensure they make the right (ethical) decision is to protect the rights of people most impacted by them. For example, a factory should install safety and health equipment in order to ensure the welfare of these workers who are most affected. This will increase costs and decrease profits for shareholders and also increase the price that consumers pay. In essence this decision ‘harms’ others but is the ‘right thing to do.’ This rule for managerial decision making follows John Rawls and Immanuel Kant (Boylan, 2000).

Managerial ethical decision making can also follow the rule of distributing the benefits and harms of a decision in a ‘fair’ or ‘equitable’ manner. Thus when looking at customers, suppliers and other stakeholders there should be impartial procedures. Thus when employees are evaluated their pay, promotion and other remuneration is based on performance only

and not on their personal characteristics or on favoritism. This rule, also referred to as Virtue ethics dates all the way back to Aristotle.

Antropology

In many situations Management borrows ideas from other disciplines. The research then adapts the subjects and expands on the topics so that it explains how organizations work and can be improved. However, there are a few exceptions to this where research in management has later been used by academics in other areas.

One of the most influential studies in the Social Sciences was conducted in the 1960s and 1970s (and later expanded) for International Business Machines (IBM) (Hofstede, 2001). Most large corporations operate in more than one country, many in fact derive most of their sales from outside their domestic market. Thus, knowledge of the culture of different countries is absolutely essential for Multi National Firms (MNFs).

One way to understand and simplify different countries values and norms is to identify similarities and differences. Hofstede initially did this using a scale system for four different attributes. Though his work lacked theoretical foundations and has many other shortcomings it is useful for businesses across the world helping understand preferences of customers and workers beliefs.

If workers are individualistic focusing on personal goals or if they are more collectivistic thinking about group objectives will determine managers how managers set up groups and how workers are rewarded. How much or little workers respect experience, age, education and titles (power distance) impacts businesses operations in terms of promotion and remuneration. The emphasis on achievement, versus quality of life, in different countries defines work-life balances and time off decisions. Certainly the degree to which employees embrace or avoid uncertainty should determine hiring, contracts and workers remuneration.

Hofstede's work was conducted for managers at IBM and classified here under Anthropology^{vii}. However, Hofstede was trained as a Psychologist and his research has major implications in other social sciences. This just further illustrates the interdisciplinary nature of management and shows that the lines between it and other disciplines is sometimes artificial and often not clearly distinct.

Conclusion

Management is typically placed in a School of Business in Universities. To the general public Management is considered a pre-professional or professional degree, separate from the Liberal Arts and other traditional disciplines. However, if one looks at its history, Management is

very interdisciplinary and has connections to all of the Social Science disciplines.

This paper looks at primary sources and shows that Management once was part of Economics and still uses many of the same topics (just adapted) in its areas. In addition, Management borrows from Psychology in explaining workers behavior. And upon close inspection, Philosophy and other subjects have broad connections to it.

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CONFLICTOS EN LAS EMPRESAS. ESTUDIO DE UN CASO

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Abstract

This work deals with frequent conflicts between managers and subordinates. It does not clarify the objectives and functions of each of them and the context of power between them. An approach to the processes of communication and interpersonal transactions where they can generate conflicts, real or psychological objectives within the company was made. Instruments of Transactional Analysis, applied to organizational coaching for conflict resolution were also presented. For Carolina, architect was presented as an example of its application.

Keywords: Conflict, transactional analysis, leadership, psychological games, effective communication

Resumen

El presente trabajo aborda conflictos frecuentes entre jefes y subordinados, por no clarificar objetivos y funciones de cada uno y el contexto de poder entre ellos. Se efectúa un acercamiento a los procesos de comunicación y a las transacciones interpersonales en donde se pueden generar conflictos, con objetivos reales o psicológicos, dentro de la empresa. Se exponen instrumentos del Análisis Transaccional, aplicados al coaching organizacional para la resolución de conflictos. Se presenta el caso de Carolina, arquitecta, como ejemplo de aplicación de los mismos.

Palabrasclave: Conflicto, análisis transaccional, liderazgo, juegos psicológicos, comunicación efectiva

Introducción

Definición de “conflicto”:

El origen de la palabra es latino: “*com*” (juntos), “*fligere*” (pegar)

El diccionario Webster (1964) lo define como:

“Agudo desacuerdo y oposición de intereses o ideas”

“Trastorno emocional resultante de un choque de ideas en una persona”

“Lucha, pelea”

La gente compite o se pelea por los recursos o bienes:

- 1) Tiempo
- 2) Información
- 3) Lo material
- 4) Poder, status, reconocimiento, afecto
- 5) Gente o recurso humano

Formas no éticas de lograr esos bienes o recursos mediante manipulaciones con:

- 1) Culpa
- 2) Temor
- 3) Soborno

“Kertész, R. (2007): *“Resolución de Conflictos en las Empresas Familiares”*, (Coloquio Internacional de Psicología Organizacional), Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, Campus Estado de México”.

Los conflictos pueden ser intrapersonales, interpersonales o mixtos.

Los conflictos interpersonales se presentan frecuentemente en las empresas y afectan su buen funcionamiento al encontrarse los involucrados en “proceso” y no en “producción”.

Sus efectos no son necesariamente negativos, en ocasiones las organizaciones entran en inercia y a veces los conflictos estimulan la competencia generando resultados útiles.

Es necesaria una comunicación efectiva para definir, clarificar y establecer los objetivos y funciones de la empresa y de cada puesto de trabajo.

Se presentan cuando no se comparten normas, creencias o valores y los recursos son escasos.

Objetivos

La finalidad del trabajo es detectar la naturaleza del conflicto, sus características y de acuerdo a ello aplicar instrumentos del Análisis Transaccional y herramientas del Coaching Transaccional, tanto para prevenir, detener y/o resolver los mismos buscando una solución de acuerdo al modelo “ganar-ganar”.

Material

Se expone el caso de Carolina, de 44 años de edad, soltera, arquitecta y docente en la UBA.

Carolina trabaja en una empresa constructora de casas en la provincia de Bs. As., se desempeña como arquitecta bajo las órdenes del arquitecto Miguel dueño de la misma. En su experiencia laboral trabajó de forma autónoma en la empresa familiar, que debido a una crisis económica

decidieron cerrar. Luego trabajó en una empresa multinacional durante dos años, que le permitió relacionarse con Miguel, éste le manifestó que le agradecería que trabajara en su empresa. Al quedar sin trabajo (cambió de equipo de trabajo y su nueva jefa la despidió) se encontró con Miguel y le ofreció trabajar en su “importante” empresa, acordando las tareas a realizar (licitaciones y compras), que ella le facturaría como monotributista y él se haría cargo de las vacaciones y el aguinaldo.

En la oficina trabajan en forma regular ella y una empleada administrativa, en algunos días la esposa del dueño realizando tareas contables y un cadete (hijo de la esposa del dueño).

Cuando llegó encontró desprolijidad y desorden, con su sistema de trabajo logró organización. Si bien el clima de trabajo es bueno, la esposa del dueño opina e interfiere en el trabajo de Carolina, lo cual le incomoda. Con los dos arquitectos que trabajan fuera de la oficina como jefes de obra, mantiene buena comunicación. Al principio el dueño tenía muy buen trato con ella, pero luego empezaron las diferencias en cuanto a diseño y éste tuvo una reacción violenta hacia ella.

Hace un año que Carolina trabaja en éste lugar, cada vez le dan más tareas a desempeñar, le insisten que lleve trabajo a su casa (vive en capital), en vez de hacerlo en la oficina, a lo que ella no accede; no le han dado las vacaciones convenidas en las fechas acordadas y no le han actualizado su remuneración. En cuanto a ésta última decide hablarlo con su jefe, en ese momento no obtuvo aumento alguno, luego al incrementarse el trabajo en la empresa, le ajustaron la remuneración. Carolina piensa que no va a tener aumento en sus ingresos si la empresa no incrementa su trabajo y teme que se repita la agresión de su jefe. Ella quiere continuar con su trabajo durante un año, plazo estimado para hacer su plan de negocios y trabajar de manera independiente.

Carolina trabajó durante mucho tiempo en forma autónoma tomando decisiones y asumiendo responsabilidades, lo que estaría equivocado en este momento es que continúe de este modo estando en relación de dependencia. Entra en un Triángulo Dramático con el dueño que cuando le conviene en reuniones con otras personas, le delega su poder y liderazgo (Víctima), asumiendo ella ese rol (Salvadora) y cuando no, se lo quita (gira a Perseguidor), a la vez que la esposa refuerza esta crítica sin tener conocimientos profesionales (segunda Perseguidora), formando una alianza entre ellos en contra de Carolina; quedando así ubicada en una Posición Existencial Desvalorizada.

Se presenta un conflicto de poder y liderazgo. Carolina no se siente reconocida, no puede confiar en su jefe, no tiene libertad para desarrollar su creatividad (sus tareas son rutinarias), no siente seguridad de continuidad y progreso en la empresa, por lo que no está satisfecha con su trabajo. Hay una

mala negociación de los bienes que se intercambian. Le exigen varias tareas a la vez, jugar a “*Abrumada*”, lo que le ocasiona problemas con los tiempos de entrega, y cuando no llega, “*Te agarré desgraciado*” (“Berne, E. (1964): “*Los juegos en que participamos*” Diana, Méjico”), provocándole stress y disgusto.

Se contraponen su Impulsor “Se Perfecto” con el “Apúrate” de su jefe. No pone límites adecuadamente y sus tareas a veces son muy comprometidas (documentación de las licitaciones, planos, compras), otras administrativas o de ordenanza, que no le corresponden. Hay desconocimiento de la situación real del propio poder y de las propias competencias. La “importante” empresa resulto ser una pyme familiar. Se crearon falsas expectativas respecto de la magnitud de la empresa.

Métodos

Se emplea la Escucha Activa, estableciéndose un buen rapport. Se explica el esquema de la personalidad del AT y las transacciones para que el PC de su jefe no enganche su NR entrando en el Circuito Combativo (Kertész R., Atalaya C. y Kertész A. (2010): “*Análisis Transaccional Integrado*”, 3° Ed., Univ. De Flores, Buenos Aires).

Se ensayan opciones de respuesta a los estímulos inadecuados y transacciones cerradas, ya sea cruzando la transacción o con la técnica de la 2° persona, para una defensa asertiva. Se utiliza el modelo EEOPE para toma de conciencia de su estado actual, las opciones y pasos para lograr el estado deseado, en este caso de conflicto interpersonal en el marco de una pyme, para una solución con la cual ganen ambas partes.

Se desarrolla el Diagrama de Áreas y Roles para la obtención de satisfacción en otros ámbitos, en este caso el rol de estudio. Se trabaja con sus fortalezas y debilidades (FODA) para aumentar su autoestima, conociendo sus puntos fuertes y haciendo una evaluación real de las dificultades. Responder desde las distintas Posiciones Existenciales y mantener una Posición Existencial Realista. Cuestionar sus creencias limitantes como por ejemplo: “*no van a aumentar mi remuneración*”, “*no puedo progresar en este trabajo*” y reemplazarlas por ideas potencializadoras, utilizando el paradigma “Pienso y Veo, luego Siento y Hago”. Abandonar el impulsor “Sé Perfecto” y reemplazarlo por sus correspondientes permisos (Kertész R. y Atalaya C. (1991)), ver los márgenes de error en función del costo y el tiempo, a veces ser realista e imperfecto también puede ser eficaz.

Se enseña confrontación y comunicación efectiva proponiendo conductas asertivas. Se sugiere clarificar funciones y responsabilidades de cada uno en la empresa, que no están bien definidas, haciendo un listado de tareas con las que le corresponden y las que no, poniendo límites cuando sea

necesario. Como el acuerdo inicial es confuso, ingresa facturando servicios profesionales y como empleada percibiendo vacaciones y aguinaldo, se propone que confronte con su jefe adecuadamente (con su Adulto) una cosa a la vez:

1. por falta de vacaciones (adeudan las del año anterior)
2. actualización y mejora de remuneración

Se sugiere mantener una reunión con su jefe una vez por semana utilizando la Comunicación Efectiva para resolver los problemas, alineando sus intereses con los de su jefe, comprender inquietudes de cada uno y las soluciones posibles.

Resultados

Carolina está aprendiendo a salir del Triángulo Dramático, no entrando en el rol de Salvadora ni de sus Impulsores. Se ocupa de sus intereses, está valorándose y elevando su autoestima. Está logrando desarrollar conductas asertivas y comunicación efectiva en el trabajo, aprendiendo a poner límites y reclamando lo que le corresponde. Está aumentando su satisfacción en el área de estudio (haciendo un curso de fotografía). Logra clarificar objetivos y tomar decisiones, quiere hacer un viaje a Europa y a su regreso hacer su plan de negocios y trabajar en forma autónoma.

Conclusion

La aplicación del Coaching Transaccional para la resolución de conflictos en las empresas es un medio para desarrollar un entorno favorable para la solución de los mismos. Es práctico y sencillo, sus potentes herramientas pueden aprenderse, creando una base para la comunicación entre sus integrantes, mejorando el bienestar y la calidad de vida en la organización, evitando así la desmotivación y la baja productividad.

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ENABLING AND SUSTAINING SHARED LEADERSHIP IN AUTONOMOUS TEAMS

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Abstract

A proliferation of autonomous teams across industries entices researchers to examine the transformation of emergent leadership into sustainable shared leadership as an optimal condition for team effectiveness. Little, if any, in-depth research has surfaced in the literature to explain shared leadership. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine specific organizational dynamics most likely to enable and sustain shared leadership in autonomous teams. In this exploratory study, empirical feedback representing personal team experiences of 18 autonomous team members was collected and arranged in themes. What resulted was evidence that top-leader support, an institution-wide focus on team outcomes, face-to-face communication and frequent feedback, and equity in team-member recruitment processes were perceived to be the most critical organizational dynamics shaping shared leadership in autonomous teams.

Keywords: Autonomous teams, emergent leadership, shared leadership

Introduction

Scholar-practitioners recognize that traditional, hierarchical forms of leadership are no longer congruent with the multi-faceted challenges in the contemporary business environment (Carson, Tesluk, & Marrone, 2007; Houglum, 2012). Recently capturing researchers' attention, in particular, has been the prolific use of autonomous teams in transitioning organizations into flatter, more adaptive structures (Devaro, 2008; Jiang, 2010). The pervasive presence of autonomous teams across industries has driven considerable research on emergent leadership within teams as a replacement for traditional leadership elevated by hierarchy. Thus, surfacing in the literature have been *behavioral* analyses (Usoff & Nixon, 1998), as well as *trait* analyses (Taggar, Hackett, & Saha, 1999), of emergent leaders. Attention has even been given to the *effects* of emergent leadership on team performance (Kozlowski, Watola, Jensen, Kim, & Botero, 2009). Yet, little research, if any, exists on the actual transformation of emergent leadership into

sustainable shared leadership as an optimal condition for team effectiveness. Therefore, the purpose of this qualitative study is to advance shared leadership in the literature by examining specific organizational dynamics most likely to enable and sustain shared leadership in autonomous teams. This connection will provide organizational leaders with a framework for fostering organizational conditions most conducive to improved organizational performance.

Review of Literature

Studies have recently surfaced that attempt to tighten the link between emergent leadership within autonomous teams and the empowering leadership of team-external leaders in steering the development of shared leadership (Gilstrap, 2013; Srivastava, Bartol, & Locke, 2012; Zhang, Waldman, & Wang, 2012). What has resulted are discussions of shared leadership as a sign of elevated feelings of empowerment, resulting from high levels of emergent leadership across multiple team members, with only a broad, general analysis of any antecedents for shared leadership (Bergman, Rentsch, Small, Davenport, & Bergman, 2012; Gilstrap, 2013). However, prior to examining specific organizational dynamics most likely to enable and sustain shared leadership in autonomous teams, a brief review of the literature on empowering leadership, emergent leadership, and shared leadership is warranted.

Empowering Leadership

Through empowering leadership, organizational leaders nurture an entrepreneurial climate, promoting autonomy in teams as well as a psychological sense of ownership and shared perceptions of tasks, coordination, commitment, and interdependence among team members (Lorinkova, Pearsall, & Sims, 2013). The literature reveals that descriptions of empowering leadership remain consistent. For example, Hakimi, van Knippenberg, and Giessner (2010) defined empowering leadership as “the delegation of authority and responsibilities to followers” (p. 702), while Martin, Liao, and Campbell (2013) associated empowering leadership with “granting employees a fair amount of autonomy so they are able to make independent decisions regarding how to achieve desired outcomes” (p. 1373). As the literature reveals, the level of empowering leadership dispersed to teams depends largely on two dimensions: (a) the organizational context and (b) organizational leader behaviors.

Organizational Context

An array of factors collectively define organizational context, including but not limited to communication methods, technology

implementation, hierarchical structure, delegation of authority, and the transformation of inputs into outputs (Allen & Hecht, 2004). The coordination of contextual factors can significantly shape team processes, such as when new technologies enhance communications to improve team coordination when dispersed team members replace management layers, for example. Yet, according to Bacon and Blyton (2000), team members' expectations for specific team outcomes are also dependent on certain elements of organizational context. As a result, team members might alter team objectives and the level of effort to achieve them if contextual elements conflict with achieving desired team outcomes. Further, Kozlowski and Ilgen (2006) suggested that organizational context guides the difficulty, complexity, and timing of team tasks. Therefore, the alignment of a team with the organization's philosophy cannot be performed haphazardly.

One major component of organizational context is organizational culture, represented in the evolution of shared norms, beliefs, and values of all organizational members (Hofstede, 1998). Yet, often challenging is the coercion of team members to perform beyond established norms to generate an innovative, entrepreneurial climate (Lumpkin, Cogliser, & Schneider, 2009). Effective autonomous teams warrant empowering leadership unhindered by existing norms and traditions. Another contextual component is how time is allocated for teamwork. Team members develop positive perceptions of teamwork when given time during work hours to meet (Pfaff & Huddleston, 2003); therefore, team members may feel less cohesive and less committed to team tasks if required to devote personal time for teamwork. Also defining organizational context is job design and, thus, team design (Delarue, Van Hootegeem, Procter, & Burrige, 2008). Job design determines the team cross-functionality and the allocation of tasks since assigned tasks are often aligned with the team members' levels of expertise. Finally, organizational context can influence the psychological state of team members. According to Rasmussen and Jeppesen (2006), attitudinal variables such as feelings of satisfaction and team commitment positively correlate with such contextual components as communication processes, resource availability, and leadership style; whereas, behavioral variables such as creativity and conflict handling positively correlate with performance, interdependence, and team autonomy.

Organizational Leader Behaviors

Also influencing empowering leadership are organizational leader behaviors. Though attitudes toward external leaders affect team members' willingness to accept external leader influence (Martin et al., 2013), a critical role of external leaders is to nurture team-member motivation and capabilities (Hoch & Morgeson, 2014). Therefore, the onus is on

organizational leaders to create a leadership culture. External leader behavior influences team-member perceptions of the functionality of the leadership culture (Aitken, 2007). Thus, clear cues for guiding autonomous behavior are observed, shaping what is important and how team members should act. Further, distinct leader behaviors have emerged that shape organizational dynamics that positively influence team processes and outcomes. They include: (a) bestowing appropriate levels of autonomy on teams, (b) promoting team orientation, and (c) generating support and feedback.

Bestowing autonomy. Too much or too little autonomy may negatively impact autonomous team outcomes. *Too little* autonomy prevents team members from optimizing their skill and talent use (Parker, 2003), while *too much* autonomy increases team-member stress in meeting external leader expectations (Godard, 2001). Kuipers and Stoker (2009) proposed that appropriate levels of autonomy can improve team-member well-being and organizational performance. With appropriate levels of autonomy, team members can develop their personal levels of knowledge, skills, and abilities (KSAs), which are complementary resources in tapping into the experiences of other team members to make the most effective decisions. Appropriate levels of autonomy also enhance team-member motivation; Morgeson and Campion (2003) argued that empowering self-directed decisions pushes team members toward higher expectations of themselves and other team members. Finally, appropriate autonomy can result in increased team-member satisfaction and productivity. Leach, Wall, Rogelberg, and Jackson (2005) credited autonomy for fostering satisfaction and productivity by reducing team-member stress resulting from fewer encounters with team-external interference.

Promoting team orientation. A vital role of empowering leadership is to integrate team orientation throughout organizational processes. Morgeson, Lindoerfer, and Loring (2010) cited that weak team orientation is one of the most significant causes of failed empowering leadership. For empowering leadership to be effective, for example, leaders must encourage knowledge sharing among all organizational members (Hakimi, et al., 2010). In doing so, leaders relinquish some control and become dependent on subordinates for surrogate leadership. Yet, particularly rewarding is the level of team-member coordination that knowledge sharing promotes. According to Zhang et al. (2012), team-member coordination fuels shared vision among all team members, resulting in higher team efficacy.

Generating support and feedback. Team-external leaders encourage team-member empowerment by providing appropriate support and feedback. First, organizational leaders transfer supportive knowledge to team members when assuming roles as coaches and mentors (Gaur, 2006; Hakimi et al.,

2010). High standards are set through coaching and mentoring, empowering teams to raise expectations to shape self-directed responsibilities. Srivastava et al. (2006) revealed that empowering teams through coaching and mentoring repositions external leaders from being perceived as forces of control to valuable team resources. Second, organizational leaders are responsible for nurturing social-support systems. Van Mierlo, Rutte, Vermunt, Kompier, and Doorewaard (2006) placed responsibility on organizational leaders to support paradigms that identify themselves and fellow team members as predominant sources of social support. De Carolis and Saporito (2006) further argued that social support builds network relationships which ignite levels of emotional support found to stimulate innovation, trust, and self-enforcing norms. The challenge, however, is for organizational leaders to identify what support and feedback mechanisms work within the organizational context.

Emergent Leadership

The emergence of team-internal leaders is not a new phenomenon in team literature. Seminal studies of emergent leadership began around 1920 when the first study of “leaderless groups” appeared (Bass, 1954). Contemporary researchers continue to study emergent leadership in autonomous teams. Seers, Petty, and Cashman (1999) recognized that emergent leadership naturally develops from general role consensus when team members send verbal and nonverbal cues for leader behavior to other team members who, in turn, display expected leader behaviors. Gilstrap (2013) further revealed that “team members...transfer their own power to those they feel will be most able to achieve goals” (p. 40). Taggar et al. (1999) attributed emergent leadership to the distribution of leader behaviors among team members, also indicating that more than one team member can exhibit leadership behavior at any given time.

Typical in autonomous teams is the significant influence team members have on other team members, though no formal authority is vested in emergent leaders (Taggar et al., 1999). Emergent leader roles mostly involve facilitating team processes, such as setting goals, procuring team resources, encouraging interdependence, and acting as coach, for example. However, the dynamic resulting from emergent leadership remains unique in each team situation. For example, team effectiveness is dependent on team members’ abilities to recognize each other’s types and levels of expertise (Karakowsky & Siegel, 1999), which drives expectations for team-internal leadership among team members. In fact, emergent leadership often starts when team members gravitate toward other team members who have already displayed previous leadership acts (Ammeter & Dukerich, 2002). Druskat and Pescosolido (2006) also suggested that emergent leaders who build

emotional competence among team members are more likely to positively influence desired team outcomes than leaders with directive styles of leadership. Finally, according to Berson, Dan, and Yammarino (2010), team cohesion appears to be a dependable predictor of effective leader emergence. Team members who perceive themselves as highly cohesive tend to share a higher degree of emergent leadership within their teams.

Also mentioned in the literature is team-external leadership as a significant influence on emergent leadership. According to Hoch and Morgeson (2014), emergent leadership can surface even when an external leader has been designated. Team members observe external leader behaviors and are prompted to engage in similar behaviors or react with what they perceive to be more effective behaviors. In addition, leader emergence is driven by a positive leader-member exchange (Zhang et al., 2012). Perceived fairness in the naturally-occurring, one-on-one relationships between organizational leaders and subordinates strengthens a team culture within organizations, prompting more secure levels of cohesion and shared vision in autonomous teams. Carson et al. (2007) do warn, however, that emergent leadership in empowered teams can still be stifled if team-external leaders provide most of the leadership influence.

Shared Leadership

Shared leadership is regarded as the optimal level of emergent leadership teams. For example, Jessup (1990) stated that “the best arrangement for many teams is shared leadership with defined duties assigned to all team members” (p. 80), while Carson et al. (2007) defined shared leadership as “leadership influence across multiple team members” (p. 1218). Taggar et al. (1999) even suggested that the most effective teams require an even distribution of leadership among all members. Shared leadership enables team members to collectively engage in complementary leader behaviors, resulting in reciprocal patterns of team-internal support that reinforce trust, coordination, and shared vision of intended team outcomes. According to Pearce (2004), low-performing teams tend to be influenced by only one or a few emergent leaders, while top-performing teams mostly exhibit shared leadership as a sign of full empowerment.

Contemporary researchers have only recently attempted to discuss some antecedents for shared leadership. Carson et al. (2007) indicated that shared leadership is dependent on emergent leadership as its most powerful determinant but that emergent leadership takes time to develop and must be culturally ingrained. Gilstrap (2013) argued that shared leadership only begins when team members feel truly empowered, suggesting that autonomy bestowed on teams must be genuine and not merely symbolic. Further, Bergman et al (2012) warned that shared leadership can be inhibited if team

members maintain traditional expectations of team leadership, believing that only one or a few people are responsible for the team's fate. Finally, Zhou (2013) contended that shared leadership is most effective when emergent leader roles are complementary. Yet, absent in the literature is any detailed discussion of specific organizational dynamics that can be nurtured to enable and sustain shared leadership, inviting researchers to engage in more in-depth studies.

Methodology

Three team members from each of six autonomous teams, all ranging in size from six to eight members, were interviewed separately to capture their perceptions of work in designing and implementing a quality initiative in their respective higher educational institutions; these 18 participants represented a range of administrators, faculty members, and staff. The open-ended questions invited participants to assess the prevalence of specific organizational dynamics surrounding their team experiences and their perceived impact on the degree of shared leadership in their teams. Data were coded and arranged into meaningful categories, followed by use of thematic analysis to combine data categories into themes that reflected participants' experiences across the data set.

Results

Interviewing three participants from each of six institutions allowed for validation of responses within the same institution. Every participant did acknowledge some level of *emergent* leadership in his or her team; however, only participants from four of the six teams represented in the study acknowledged *shared* leadership. None of the participants cited differences in gender, nationality, personality, or workplace longevity as having any significant impact on leader emergence in the respective teams. As Figure 1 reveals on the next page, four dominant themes emerged from the data that identify organizational dynamics with the most positive impact on enabling and sustaining shared leadership: (a) top-leader support, (b) focus on outcomes, (c) communication and feedback, and (d) approaches to member recruitment.

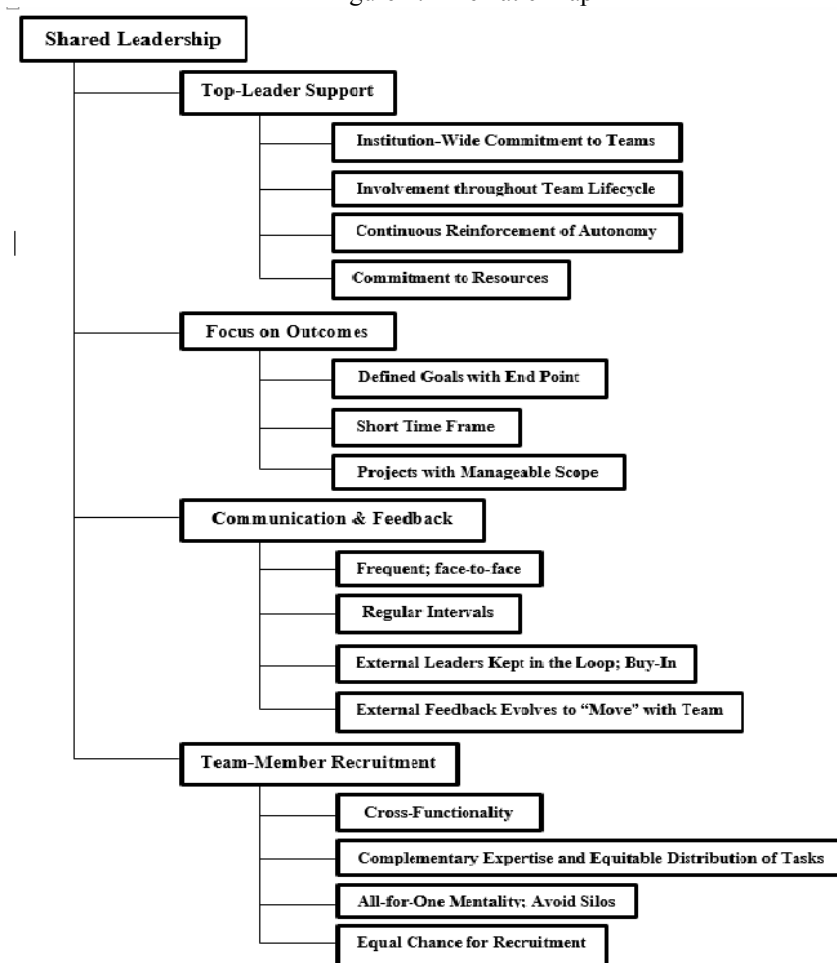
Top-Leader Support

Top leaders were recognized as the main catalysts in shaping team members' expectations by inspiring an institution-wide commitment to teams. Team members agreed that the more similar and consistent their teams' expectations, the more noticeable the degree of emergent leadership. Among teams with high levels of shared leadership, top administrators remained involved throughout the teams' lifecycles, providing an initial

ramp-up with high expectations and working to reduce various organizational barriers throughout the outcome-implementation phase. Though top administrators may fear being too “heavy-handed” in the beginning, particularly when teams are intended to be autonomous, team members expressed appreciation for greater involvement at the start as a clearer tone was set for what was expected.

Further, weakened shared leadership was noticeable if top-administrator interest appeared to wane between a team’s report-out and the actual implementation of outcomes.

Figure 1: Thematic Map



In addition, shared leadership prevailed in those teams in which autonomy was continuously reinforced by top administrators. Not all team members initially perceived the level of autonomy intended for them; therefore, at such a critical juncture, continuous reinforcement of

autonomous behaviors and processes was viewed by team members as a way for top administrators to optimize the level of autonomy bestowed on them. Team members who perceived optimal levels of autonomy, therefore, perceived higher levels of team-member collaboration and interdependence as foundations for shared leadership.

Finally, according to participants, feelings of empowerment are strongly tied to significant levels of needed resources. Shared leadership appeared to be strongest and more widely dispersed in teams with greater availability of needed organizational resources and an upfront, unwavering commitment to those resources. Even in instances where re-allocation of resources became necessary, team members tended to be content in altering their team objectives impacted by the change in resources as long as organizational leaders made a concerted effort to be equitable in the re-allocation process.

Focus on Outcomes

Team-internal leaders emerged more quickly in teams that held a steadfast focus on outcomes, particularly when the outcomes were institution-wide priorities impacting multiple constituencies. Shared leadership and, thus, enhanced feelings of ownership in team tasks appeared in those teams with set goals, defined outcome measures, and a pre-determined end point. Further, participants stated that time constraints are “a good thing.” Projects with a manageable scope that were completed in a short time frame promoted team-member accountability, bringing team members to perceivably higher levels of collaboration and cohesion in their efforts toward shared leadership. Finally, performance indicators and benchmarks for outcomes can shift as a natural progression in a team’s life. However, participants observed that leader emergence waned when such shifts occurred in their teams.

Communication and Feedback

Also enabling and sustaining shared leadership in teams are the organizational dynamics created through communication and feedback processes. Frequent, face-to-face communication generated the most constructive feedback from external leaders and was viewed by team members as a significant means of positive collaboration and consensus. Participants also agreed that communication with external leaders and other constituents should be at regular and frequent intervals in order to generate constructive feedback not viewed as a threat to team autonomy and leader emergence. Further, as indicated in Figure 1, participants attributed shared leadership in their teams to a stronger bond with external leaders forged by seeking buy-in from them in decision making and keeping them “in the

loop.” In doing so, team members contended that external leader feedback evolved and “moves with the team” rather than being regarded as merely occasional criticism and derailling interference.

Member Recruitment

The manner in which team members are recruited also prompts leader emergence and, thus, shared leadership in autonomous teams. Maintaining cross-functionality in teams invited complementary levels of team-member expertise with recruits “each having something to bring to the table.” Participants also asserted that having an equal chance of being recruited, not being forced to participate, and working with an equitable distribution of tasks among members motivated shared leadership in their teams. What resulted was an all-for-one mentality, which ultimately reduces organizational silos that often impede team orientation as an ingrained element of organizational culture.

Discussion

Though a myriad of organizational dynamics impacting the development of shared leadership might have surfaced in this study, constructed themes emphasize that top organizational leaders inspire the most powerful dynamics enabling and sustaining shared leadership in autonomous teams. Shared leadership is contingent on team members feeling empowered to collectively embrace leadership roles and assume ownership of their work. Therefore, team members acknowledge the urgency of top-leader support, specifically through conscientious involvement in team efforts throughout the team’s lifecycle, consistent reinforcement of intended autonomy levels, and an indebted commitment to needed resources. In addition, a leader-driven, organization-wide obligation to teams lures team members to focus more intently on their final outcomes, accelerating the development of shared leadership while working under a short time frame and a defined end point as constraints. Further, frequent, face-to-face communication generates the most constructive feedback from external leaders and other constituencies; thus, team-member consensus and shared leadership develop since feedback at regular, expected intervals is less likely to derail the team’s momentum. Finally, when individuals perceive an equal chance of being recruited for team membership based on complementary levels of expertise, shared leadership evolves from an all-for-one mentality that prevails over leadership silos.

From a theoretical standpoint, leaders cannot solely rely on team structure to entice team members to engage in shared leadership; team-external behaviors and organizational dynamics appear to be more significant in determining the likelihood that shared leadership will develop

in teams. In addition, continued studies of shared leadership in autonomous teams will introduce new paradigms about empowering leadership and behaviors, strengthening the alignment of team-member and external-leader expectations of each other. More specifically, narrowing the incongruence between team-member expectations for external-leader involvement and the perceived level of autonomy bestowed on them may enable shared leadership within teams as an optimal condition for effective organizational performance.

Limitations

Some limitations come to light in this study. First, results from this study may not be generalizable across industries, inviting researchers to consider other organizational types in further studies. Second, the scope of participants' team projects may have varied and participants' institutional roles may have skewed their perceptions of their team experiences. Third, numerous *team* dynamics, personal biases, and conflicting leader-member exchanges may have collectively altered practices of shared leadership, though participants did not acknowledge them in this study. Finally, the researcher did not ascertain whether one particular organizational dynamic, or any combination thereof, was most responsible for leader emergence, providing a foundation for future research.

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UN MODELO DE ANÁLISIS PARA DIAGNÓSTICO DE EMPRESAS PYMES FAMILIARES

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Abstract

Both the owners of a company and the consultants who are invited to work in it, are very important in determining the present situation of the company at a given point in time. Models, approaches, and experiences are numerous. It was provided by each profession and the particular experience and expertise of each professional. We found it interesting to provide two inputs that provides a wealth of information through their extensive applications on time and to very large organizations.

Keywords: Company, consultants, current status, models

Resumen:

Tanto para los propietarios de una empresa como para los consultores a quienes se les demanda intervenir en ella, es clave determinar cuál es la situación de ésta, en un momento determinado. Los modelos, criterios y experiencias son numerosos, aportados tanto por cada profesión que aborda el tema como la experiencia y especialidad particular de cada profesional en el tema. Nos pareció interesante acercar dos aportes, que por sus extensas aplicaciones en el tiempo y en muy numerosas organizaciones, brindan una información muy rica sobre esa situación.

Palabras clave: Empresa, consultores, situación actual, modelos

Introducción

Cuando una empresa demanda servicios de consultoría en alguna de sus áreas o busca indagar por sí en su organización está reconociendo que tiene un problema para el cual, internamente no le encuentra respuesta.

Esta situación, sea que se demande respuestas afuera o se busque internamente, con sus propios medios, instala la necesidad de que vías usar para determinar qué pasa.

Esto supone establecer criterios de análisis que permitan identificar las posibles causas del problema y, posteriormente, cuáles podrán ser las acciones para erradicarlo. En este sentido, son numerosos los modelos, criterios y métodos para hacerlo. Éstos suponen, implícitamente, modelos conceptuales acerca de las organizaciones y su desarrollo y dinámica. También, los valores y propósitos de dichos esquemas (los para qué).

Los Modelos de Análisis proponen qué y cómo mirar – en este caso – una organización. Supone, muchas veces, además, como consecuencia, acciones o conductas a tomar, como respuesta a lo analizado (sean éstas, nuevas, correctivas o de mejoras)

Desde nuestro esquema conceptual y experiencia profesional nos resulta de utilidad dos modelos: el desarrollado por el Dr. Kertész para abordar la problemática de las empresas familiares y el modelo de funcionamiento organizacional propuesto por la “Guía para la evaluación de excelencia en las empresas PYMES”, establecido por la **Fundación Premio Nacional a la Calidad, de la República Argentina**. Nuestra elección de ambos modelos surge de nuestra aplicación en empresas y por el hecho de - ambos modelos – haberse revelado como complementarios.

El primer Modelo, que aquí denominaremos el “**Modelo Kertész de análisis de Empresas Familiares**” es el resultado de su formación en el campo de la psiquiatría y su experiencia en el asesoramiento de empresas familiares desde 1970. El desarrollo conceptual y de asesoramiento en este campo se expresó, entre otras obras, en el “Manual para la Empresa Familiar”

Allí define a la empresa familiar como aquella en que “un mínimo de dos familiares (o la pareja) es propietaria de acciones o bienes de la empresa y trabajan en ella”. Otras definiciones agregan que dicha propiedad supera el 50% de las acciones o de bienes de la empresa, asegurando la dirección de la misma a una familia.

Señala, también, la importancia que tiene para toda economía, este tipo de empresas, (2) en general. Se estima que en la Argentina (como en España, Italia, EE.UU), más del 80% de las empresas son familiares. Si bien, de éstas, un número muy relevante son pequeñas y medianas, empresa familiar no necesariamente es PYME. De hecho, existen empresas familiares de muy gran tamaño y multinacionales. Todas ellas fueron pequeñas empresas en sus comienzos. Hay ejemplo de esto en casi todas las ramas de negocios. En la Argentina hay varios ejemplos de esto. Sin embargo, las características propias de la empresa familiar corresponden a las pequeñas y medianas. La gran empresa, si bien cumple con lo relativo a la propiedad y dirección, por el resto se asimila a la gran empresa burocrática (en el sentido weberiano). Tómese como referencia de esto último a una firma como ARCOR o Mastellone o Pérez Compagn, entre otras.

En ese razonamiento, bien puede decir el titular de una pequeña empresa “la empresa soy yo”. La empresa familiar, por lo tanto, es una “empresa organizada alrededor de las personas (sus dueños, fundadores y luego, sus continuadores), a diferencia de las grandes organizaciones burocráticas, incluyendo las familiares, en donde una afirmación así se hace mucho más difícil,

La otra distinción de la empresa familiar respecto a las “burocráticas” es su duración. El promedio de vida de ellas se ubica en los 31 años. La otra diferencia es su mortandad: a los 5 años de creada, sólo sobreviven el 50%. De éstas, sólo un tercio llega a la segunda generación. De éstas, solo un tercio llega a la tercera generación. En consecuencia, la empresa familiar es una organización frágil. Mientras, en las empresas familiares, su duración se mide en años, en las organizaciones burocráticas se mide en décadas (3).

Cabe aclarar que, además de las egresas familiares, otras empresas también están centradas en personas. Ejemplo: las empresas unipersonales, las sociedades de personas no familiares. Éstas, comparten esa fragilidad con las familiares.

En la empresa familiar coexisten dos sistemas: el familiar y el de la empresa. En la medida en que la familia sea exitosa, logran armonizar ambos sistemas en forma sinérgica. En ese equilibrio donde radican las fortalezas de este tipo de empresas, como también sus problemas cuando dicho equilibrio no existe.

En la empresa familiar, además, coexisten, interactuando, cuatro cuestiones ligadas a: la **propiedad** de la empresa, su **Directorio, Gestión** (gerenciamiento) y **Parentescos**. Estas cuestiones hacen que el abordaje de estas empresas necesariamente debe ser **interdisciplinario (4)**

Para ese enfoque multidisciplinario, el Dr. Kertész propone el Modelo P.A.L.T. (5) Este es un esquema de análisis sencillo, unificado e interactivo, creado en 1994, dentro del Instituto Argentino de Empresas Familiares (INAREF). El mismo tiene el propósito de cubrir las cuatro principales áreas de una empresa, brindando la posibilidad de una visión integrada de la organización.

Esas áreas son: **Psicológica**, que considera los aspectos concernientes a liderazgo, comunicación, delegación, planificación de la sucesión y retiro del fundador, toma de decisiones y varios otros aspectos relacionados.

Administrativa: manejo financiero, relación con bancos, créditos, impuestos, inversiones.

Legal: Elección del tipo de sociedad, aspectos patrimoniales y accionarios, fusiones, divorcios, sucesiones, leyes y juicios laborales, relaciones con los sindicatos, patentes y marcas

Técnica: Procesos de producción y servicios, programas de reingeniería y calidad total, relaciones con proveedores, importación y exportación, marketing. Distribución.

Referido a sus alcances, y siguiendo la obra del Dr. Kertész, este aspecto refiere a otros, propios de las personas y sus vínculos

Además de lo ya citado (creencias, valores, el cuádruple esquema de propiedad, Directorio, Gerenciamiento, familia y el sistema en equilibrio de Familia – Empresa, cabe mencionar lo relacionado con

- La dinámica de las relaciones familiares (padres, hijos, nueras, yernos, otros parientes vs. La empresa)
- La historia de la empresa
- El genograma de los miembros de la familia (diagrama del “árbol familiar” que grafica las estructuras e interrelaciones de, un mínimo de tres generaciones)
- Ciclo de vida de la familia y la empresa
- Aportes del Análisis Transaccional en las empresas familiares
- Reglas para la comunicación efectiva
- Liderazgo. Los ciclos del liderazgo.
- A ello, puede agregar los aportes sobre el logro de la efectividad, hechos por Stephen Covey – del cual el Dr. Kertész hace varias referencias (6).

En el “**Modelo Kertész**” para cada uno de los temas citados se proponen acciones o conductas como posibles respuestas a lo analizado.

El otro Modelo “Guía para la Evaluación de la Gestión de Excelencia en las Empresas PYMES”, (7) que aquí denominaremos “**Modelo Sistémico**” es un derivado – por cuestiones de índole práctica – del “Modelo para una Gestión de Excelencia” usado como referencia para la presentación al “Premio a la Calidad de la República Argentina”. La citada “Guía” fue organizada como versión simplificada de aquél, para las empresas PYMES, aunque ambos participan del mismo esquema conceptual y sistémico.

Este Modelo – como el Premio Malcolm Baldrige (EE.UU) de la Unión Europea, Premio Iberoamericano, Premio Asia Pacífico y muchos otros más, de muchas otras naciones (8), son derivados del Premio Deming (Japón) de 1950 (9).

Dicho premio fue instituido en Japón como guía para el desarrollo y la mejora de la competitividad de las empresas japonesas. El Premio tenía (y tiene) la función de reconocer los logros en ese propósito. La experiencia fue muy exitosa – en el sentido de “trazar un camino u hoja de ruta para orientar el cómo hacerlo). Tan exitosa fue la experiencia - por los resultados obtenidos – que años después – cuando la competitividad de las empresas japonesas se hizo sentir en el mercado mundial, llevó a que el resto de los

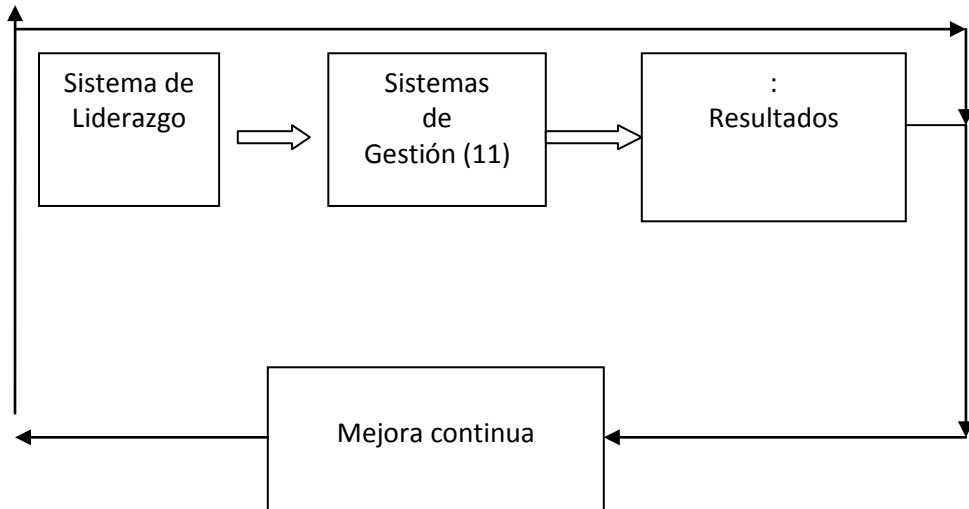
países industriales a imitar la experiencia. EE.UU en 1987, Europa en 1992, la Argentina, en 1994 (uno de los primeros países en A. Latina).

El propósito para el cual están organizados estos modelos son para: (Según se expresa en el Modelo de Excelencia argentino)

- Ayudar a mejorar los procesos de la organización proponiendo un conjunto de factores de desempeño, integrados y orientados a los resultados.
- Realizar un proceso de autoevaluación y de diagnóstico que pueda ser utilizado como una herramienta de mejora interna, detectando Fortalezas y Oportunidades de Mejora en la organización y permitiendo el desarrollo de un Plan de Mejoras
- Evaluar a las empresas que se postulan al Premio Nacional a la Calidad (10)

Estos modelos no están pensados sólo para grandes organizaciones sino para todo tipo de empresas. En el caso del Premio Deming, incluso, se extiende a personas.

Esa extensión a todo tipo de empresas parte de la idea de, todas ellas, constituirse en “sistemas”. En todas ellas distinguirse los siguientes componentes:



El concepto general de “sistema”, significa: un conjunto de entidades interaccionantes, diseñadas a efecto de lograr la obtención de un determinado objetivo, en forma cooperativa (G. Levaggi) (12).

Este Modelo se presenta con una explícita relación causal, en donde el **Liderazgo** determina los **Sistemas de Gestión** y ambos determinan los **Resultados** en una empresa.

Cabe señalar que en este modelo, a diferencia del “**Modelo Kertész**”, en que el centro del modelo son las personas y sus vínculos, el centro de éste son los sistemas que forman una organización.

El “lugar” que tienen las personas en uno y otro tipo de empresas no es el mismo. Mientras en una empresa unipersonal o familiar pequeña las personas “son” las empresas, en la gran empresa (incluso la gran empresa familiar) coexisten con sistemas, protocolos, políticas, bienes materiales y simbólicos que preceden a las personas y continuarán después que ellas se hayan retirado

No obstante, de la gran empresa familiar cabe decir que su tamaño y desarrollo no la hace indiferente a los avatares de las familias que las conducen; por el contrario. En ellas coexisten, en equilibrio exitoso o no, los dos sistemas de familia y empresa, sólo que, ésta última, en general, está desarrollada como una burocracia, aunque evitando, muchas veces, la despersonalización que tienen éstas. Por lo menos, mientras que la familia siga conservando el dominio del gerenciamiento y/o la mayoría de la tenencia accionaria.

Así presentados, pareciera que los dos modelos fueran opuestos. Sin embargo, tienen un muy fuerte nexo común de la visión que ambos **Modelos** tienen, del rol que cumple el **liderazgo** en las organizaciones.

La gran organización, tal como la conocemos hoy, es una formación relativamente moderna. En particular, referido a empresas. Incluso, como afirmamos al principio, la gran mayoría de las empresas son pequeñas o medianas y, además, familiares. Las grandes empresas comenzaron a desarrollarse a fines del siglo XIX, Los ejemplos más claros son las empresas de Correo, los bancos, ferrocarriles, siderúrgicas, petróleo, automotrices. Y en términos de gran organización, precedidas por la organización de los estados nacionales y sus funciones, constituyéndose en la “organización burocrática” en los términos señalados por Max Weber. Esto, en particular, después de la Revolución francesa, que, lentamente fue imponiendo una organización no personalizada en la figura de reyes y terratenientes. Luego de la 1º guerra mundial dichas formas terminaron de consolidarse, apareciendo, lentamente también, a lo largo del siglo XX, la gran empresa multinacional.

Esas organizaciones, tanto estatales como empresarias, dan lugar a organizaciones de una complejidad y formas de gestión diferentes que fijan el modelo de cómo debe ser la organización “racional” que, incluso, se despliega como modelo, a las restantes organizaciones de menor tamaño.

Podemos volver a afirmar que así como las grandes empresas familiares no quedan exentas de lo que ocurre con sus direcciones familiares, las grandes organizaciones burocráticas (empresarias, estatales, de la

sociedad civil, las mismas naciones) no están exentas, precisamente, del liderazgo que posean. Muy por el contrario.

El “**Modelo Sistémico**” responde plenamente a ese tipo de empresas y organizaciones. (aunque luego se lo aplique a todas las empresas). Si bien, en sus comienzos, en Japón, (1950) tuvo por fin orientar y motivar a producir en forma competitiva. El propósito fue desarrollar una industria exportadora (que no poseía Japón). Pero los desarrollos posteriores (de la década del '90 y posteriores) en EE.UU, Europa y Asia, fue (además del propósito mencionado) desarrollar criterios de “normalización” de la producción que faciliten la producción transnacional (13).

Los estándares que fijan los Modelos de Excelencia (los citados como el argentino, que deriva de aquellos) son para adecuarse a esas exigencias. El **Modelo**, por lo tanto, tiene un propósito explícito que es el de contribuir en aumentar la competitividad de las empresas y organizaciones.

La consecuencia de esto último es que la aplicación de ambos modelos de análisis no tienen los mismos propósitos, en principio. La aplicación de uno u otro dependerá de cuáles sean las respuestas a cuáles preguntas, que se formulen.

En el **Modelo Sistémico** será dificultoso analizar cuestiones tales como: la sucesión, argumentos de vida de las personas y familias sus historias, sus vínculos. Sin embargo, serán extremadamente útiles para analizar todo lo referido a los sistemas de gestión y la producción de sus resultados.

En el caso contrario, la aplicación del “**Modelo Kertész**” en una gran organización quizás tenga dificultades para analizar en detalle lo referido a los sistemas de gestión y resultados.

No obstante, como ya lo adelantamos, ambos modelos de análisis coinciden en señalar la importancia clave que tiene el **Liderazgo**. En ambos **modelos**, pensándolos en términos de relaciones causales, el **Liderazgo** tiene el rol de **Causa origen**. Y ese rol es independiente del tipo y tamaño de la empresa de la empresa y organización.

A nuestro juicio, ésa nos parece una conclusión muy interesante, respecto a cuáles son las preguntas que nos debemos formular, sea que estemos dentro de una organización y fuera de ella, buscando determinar qué pasa. Es como haber podido identificar “la punta del ovillo”

Nos habíamos referido a que los **Modelos**, además, tienen un propósito, sea éste implícito o explícito. Esto también nos parece clave, porque señalan el “para qué” del Modelo. En ambos casos, tanto el **Modelo Kertész** como el de la “**Guía**” es explícito.

En el “**Modelo Kertész**” es el de

“Contribuir a que las Empresas Familiares sean productivas, se perpetúen y que sus integrantes las gestionen en armonía”

En el “**Modelo Sistémico**”, dice que **una empresa excelente** es la de proponer la “Excelencia Empresaria”, que es

- **La que muestra Resultados que satisfagan a clientes, accionistas, el personal, los proveedores y la comunidad, de manera continuada a lo largo del tiempo.**
- **Para alcanzarlos y mantenerlos, se sustenta, necesariamente, en un eficiente y eficaz Sistema de Gestión**
- **Logra implementar, sostener y mejorar permanentemente, dicho sistema de gestión a través de un eficaz Liderazgo, ejercido desde su máxima conducción y desplegado a través de toda la organización.**

Fijar las coordenadas de un modelo de análisis nos permite determinar qué respuestas podrían adecuarse mejor a las preguntas que deberíamos responder

En definitiva, todas las herramientas no sirven para todas las cosas.

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Obra citada. Capítulo 1. página 25.

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CONCEPCIONES DE APRENDIZAJE QUE ORIENTAN LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE LOS PLANES DE ESTUDIO DE LA CARRERA DE PSICOPEDAGOGÍA DE LA UFLO Y DE LA UNCO

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Abstract:

The basic aim of this paper was to identify and analyze the conceptions of learning in students studying Educational Psychology at the National University of Comahue and the University of Flores at Comahue. This study was carried out at different times during their undergraduate training under the respective curricula. It employs the ideas developed before and during college, which guides the construction of various conceptions of learning.

Keywords: Conception of learning, psychology students

Resumen:

La Investigación base de esta ponencia⁴⁴ se propuso identificar y analizar las concepciones sobre el aprendizaje en estudiantes de la carrera de Psicopedagogía de la Universidad Nacional del Comahue y de la Universidad de Flores - Sede Comahue, en diferentes momentos de su formación de grado el marco de los respectivos planes de estudio, partiendo del supuesto de que las ideas elaboradas antes y durante los estudios universitarios, orientarían la construcción de diversas concepciones sobre el aprendizaje.

Palabrasclave: Concepciones de aprendizaje, estudiantes de psicopedagogía

⁴⁴ Nombre del Proyecto de Investigación: “Concepciones de aprendizaje en estudiantes de Psicopedagogía y Psicología de la UFLO Comahue y del CURZA (UNCo). Un estudio comparativo en los diferentes momentos de su formación de grado.” Directora: Mg. Liliana Noemí Enrico

Introducción

Una vez identificadas las concepciones de los estudiantes de ambas instituciones al inicio y en diferentes momentos de su formación, indagación que se realizó a través de entrevistas semi estructuradas que incluyen la presentación de imágenes para su interpretación y del análisis de los planes de estudio respectivos, se compararon los resultados obtenidos, desde un enfoque cualitativo.

Se adoptó el método de la Teoría Fundamentada, originalmente formulada por Glaser y Strauss y luego desarrollada por otros autores (Soneira, 2006) y el análisis documental de los planes de estudio, como fuente de información objetiva y considerando sus aportes para la formación de grado (Valles, 2000).

En esta ponencia, se retoman algunos de los objetivos de la investigación base, referidos al análisis documental de los planes de estudio vigentes de las carreras de Psicopedagogía de la Universidad Nacional del Comahue y de la Universidad de Flores, los supuestos y categorías teóricas sobre el aprendizaje presentes en dichos planes, en particular, las formas que adoptan según las concepciones sobre el aprendizaje que orientan su construcción curricular y su correspondencia con las concepciones de aprendizaje de estudiantes ingresantes y avanzados de Psicopedagogía de ambas Universidades.

Trascendiendo el marco de la investigación mencionada, se analiza también la propuesta de modificación del plan de estudios de la carrera de Psicopedagogía de la UFLO desarrollada durante el año 2014, en tanto se presenta como superador del anterior.⁴⁵

Algunos resultados, en el marco de la investigación base de esta ponencia, surgidos de la comparación entre las concepciones de aprendizaje de alumnos ingresantes a la carrera de Psicopedagogía en ambas Universidades - UFLO y UNCO – refieren a las coincidencias encontradas todos ellos, dado que conciben el aprendizaje en un sentido lineal, como una continuidad, sin contradicciones, ni distinción de clasificaciones, opuestos, ni jerarquías. “Se acepta la idea de aprendizaje como cambio pero sin interrupciones ni diferenciación de contenidos”⁴⁶.

En ningún caso, aparece la idea de aprendizaje como cambio conceptual.

⁴⁵ Para distinguir los Planes de Estudio de UFLO, nos referiremos al vigente como plan 2001 y al modificado como plan 2014.

⁴⁶ Iguacel, S; Mainou, S; Inostroza, K.: “Ideas que elaboran sobre el aprendizaje los estudiantes ingresantes de la carrera de Psicopedagogía en la Universidad Nacional del Comahue y en la Universidad de Flores Sede Comahue”. Ponencia VI Congreso Nacional y VI Internacional de Investigación Educativa. Cipolletti, 2013

En cuanto a la comparación entre las concepciones de aprendizaje de alumnos avanzados de ambas Universidades, se encontró que sólo algunos de los entrevistados, conciben al aprendizaje como algo más que una copia fiel de la realidad, aunque haya ciertas variaciones en los términos que utilizan para explicarlo.

En definitiva, no aparecen significativas diferencias entre estudiantes que recién inician la carrera y los más adelantados, “ya que en ambos casos, siguiendo la perspectiva teórica de Pozo, no se alcanzan a identificar teorías constructivas sobre el aprendizaje. Esencialmente se trata de teorías directas o interpretativas, y sólo en casos excepcionales, hay incipientes reestructuraciones de sus ideas de sentido común.”⁴⁷ (Pozo, 1998, 2003, 2006).

En relación con esta comparación entre las concepciones de aprendizaje de alumnos ingresantes y avanzados en ambas Universidades, realizamos un análisis documental de los planes de estudio a partir de los cuales estos estudiantes se forman, considerando principalmente el enfoque, la función pedagógica de los contenidos y la estructura que los incluye en el texto curricular.

El término Currículum es polisémico y ha sido definido en diferentes momentos y lugares de muy diversas formas, desde el siglo XVII: como el contenido o materia de instrucción; como totalidad que incluye la disciplina y el ratio studiorum -esquema de estudios-; como plan de estudios y prácticas tendientes a que el alumno desarrolle sus potencialidades (Aguerrondo 1990); Tyler (1950), representa la posición para la cual currículum y plan son prácticamente sinónimos.

Contrapuesta a la concepción académica del currículum como lista de asignaturas, aparece la concepción sistémica que tiene su origen en la Teoría General de Sistemas en la que “se entiende por sistema al conjunto organizado de elementos en constante interacción con el objeto de alcanzar un determinado fin” (Nosensko y Fornari, 1996). Un enfoque derivado de esta concepción es el currículum interdisciplinario, organizado en base a problemas que no pertenecen a ninguna de las disciplinas tradicionales a partir de los cuales se elabora el marco conceptual y se realiza investigación coordinada por representantes de diversas disciplinas que comparten ese mismo marco conceptual.

Es importante aclarar que en esta ponencia se establece una diferencia entre currículum y plan de estudios entendiéndose que éste forma

⁴⁷ Enrico, L; Iguacel, S; Mainou, S.: “La relación entre las concepciones de aprendizaje y la formación de grado en estudiantes avanzados de Psicopedagogía”. Ponencia II Jornadas de investigación e intervención en psicopedagogía. Córdoba, 2014

parte de aquél en una complejidad conformada por otros aspectos (socio político, institucional, cultural, contextual).

Si bien se ha tomado para el análisis que aquí se presenta, el texto curricular de los planes de estudio, se sostiene la idea de que el currículum incluye no solamente los planes y programas (que seleccionan y organizan la transmisión del conocimiento), sino también las condiciones organizativas y materiales de las instituciones (que facilitan o dificultan dicha transmisión), el ambiente, los recursos, las prácticas de enseñanza, etc., aspectos que podrán ser considerados en un futuro trabajo.

A partir del análisis efectuado, encontramos que si bien el plan de estudios de UNCo incorpora la figura de las áreas, los dos planes (UFLO 2001 y UNCo) están basados en una lógica curricular pre eminentemente disciplinar, en los que subyace una concepción atomizada del aprendizaje. “Responden a un enfoque y estructura curricular centrados en disciplinas que apunta a aprendizajes formales desde la valorización de las disciplinas científicas como cuerpos de conocimiento sistemáticamente organizados en teorías y conceptos así como en sus metodologías específicas de investigación y ofrece una presentación del contenido estructurada desde el punto de vista lógico. Los formatos de las unidades curriculares del plan de estudios, son predominantemente, asignaturas o materias.”⁴⁸

El plan de estudios de la carrera de Psicopedagogía⁴⁹ de la UFLO responde netamente a un currículum tradicional, formal, ya que se organiza en disciplinas diferenciadas simultáneamente -estructura horizontal- y correlativamente -estructura vertical- (Davini, 1983); se caracteriza por una lógica disciplinar y una clasificación fuerte (Bernstein, 1988) que implica la baja integración de los contenidos separados por límites rígidos.

El plan de estudios de la carrera de Psicopedagogía de la UNCO, presenta una intencionalidad superadora del currículum puramente formal – disciplinar, ya que las materias conforman áreas de conocimiento, aunque con limitada comunicación entre sí. En este sentido, podría interpretarse que comparte características del currículum disciplinar e interdisciplinar.

Las disciplinas que componen el currículum disciplinar, son campos de conocimientos específicos, delimitados; tal es el caso de la división entre las materias del “ciclo de la formación general” y el de la “profesional” (plan UFLO 2001) que responde a la clasificación de disciplinas científicas y aplicadas donde las primeras anteceden a las segundas, coincidente con una estructura teórico – deductiva; la misma

⁴⁸ Mainou, S.: "Concepciones de aprendizaje en estudiantes de Psicopedagogía y Psicología de la UFLO Comahue y del CURZA (UNCo). Un estudio comparativo en los diferentes momentos de su formación de grado". Informe de Investigación. Ponencia Congreso Docencia Universitaria. Buenos Aires, 2013

⁴⁹ Plan 16/2001

indica partir de premisas generales de la ciencia, formalizadas en disciplinas desde las cuales se abordan, mediante una aplicación directa, los problemas concretos (Davini, 1983).

El currículum interdisciplinar, en el que se intenta interrelacionar las diferentes disciplinas en áreas (UNCO), responde a una estructura inductivo – teórica que estimula la investigación y comprensión de los problemas y que, en términos de Bernstein (1988), se refiere a “la subordinación de asignaturas o cursos previamente aislados a una idea relacional, la cual difumina los límites de las asignaturas”.⁵⁰

Se propone una forma de organización que intenta favorecer las articulaciones entre asignaturas, a través de las áreas, para superar la estructura disciplinar, rígida mediante la interdisciplina. Sin embargo, la delimitación de disciplinas al interior de las áreas y la escasa comunicación intra e inter áreas de este currículum (UNCo), que reduce la posibilidad de la integración a la enunciación de áreas y de contenidos articulables al interior de cada asignatura, no permite inferir un funcionamiento sustancialmente diferente al del currículum tradicional.

Concluimos entonces que estas dos estructuras curriculares, no favorecerían el cambio de concepciones de los alumnos respecto del aprendizaje y que habría concepciones coincidentes entre las subyacentes a los planes y las de los alumnos de ambas instituciones. “Si bien los documentos curriculares no son suficientes para explicar la reproducción de concepciones de los alumnos parecería que tampoco favorecen su modificación.”⁵¹

Profundizando en esta línea de análisis, podría suponerse que un currículum que se orienta a la construcción de aprendizajes complejos es aquél que incluye de modo explícito la integración entre la teoría y la práctica y que articula los problemas y sus hipótesis de solución en el contexto socio – cultural particular en que éstos se producen. Parecería que el Plan de Estudios UFLO 2014⁵² es el que más se acerca a esta posibilidad ya que se propone “superar problemas curriculares derivados de su clásica organización formal centrada en disciplinas con muy baja integración curricular”. Explicita como problemas a superar: “la atomización de las materias, la fragmentación de los contenidos, la desactualización de algunos de ellos, la baja articulación horizontal y vertical del diseño, la descontextualización del perfil profesional”.

⁵⁰ Bernstein, B. Clases, códigos y control. Tomo II, Hacia una teoría de las transmisiones educativas. Madrid, Akal, 1988, p. 88.

⁵¹ Mainou, S.: Ponencia Congreso Docencia Universitaria. Bs. As. 2013

⁵² Plan de Estudios 2014 fue elaborado en forma participativa por todos los actores involucrados

Propone la integración curricular, mediante la inclusión de unidades curriculares con diferentes formatos; la diversificación de sistemas de cursado, evaluación y acreditación; la presencia de espacios de integración curricular para la articulación horizontal y vertical de la carrera, la recursividad de contenidos, la integración de las materias en áreas o campos de conocimiento, la ponderación de la Práctica Profesional en ámbitos diversificados y con un carácter integral constituyéndose en eje de la relación entre la formación y el contexto (Plan UFLO 2014).

Se trataría por lo tanto, de un plan con fundamentos explícitos que cumple condiciones para el funcionamiento de un currículum integrado: consenso con respecto a la idea integradora; explicitación de esta idea; la naturaleza de la vinculación entre la idea y los diversos contenidos debe ser desarrollada sistemática y coherentemente; el criterio de evaluación deber ser claro (Bernstein, 1988).

Estaríamos en condiciones de afirmar entonces que las características y diferencias encontradas en los textos curriculares, permitirían clasificar los planes de estudio analizados en tres tipos: disciplinar, interdisciplinar e integrado, organizados sobre la base de tres tipos de códigos.

El primero, tiene las características del “código de colección” (Bernstein 1988): rigidez, especificidad, clasificación y separación entre los contenidos y que coincide en gran medida con las concepciones que del aprendizaje tiene los alumnos. Este tipo de currículum se fundamenta en una concepción pedagógica según la cual aprender es, en gran medida, memorizar informaciones o ejecutar mecánicamente determinados procedimientos. La enseñanza divide, separa, segmenta y atomiza los conocimientos, y espera que sea el estudiante quien realice integraciones metacognitivas.

El segundo, responde al formato del currículum interdisciplinar, organizado por áreas; si bien podría suponerse que se apoya en una concepción de aprendizaje más compleja, sin embargo, reduce las posibilidades del conocimiento interdisciplinar, a las relaciones que puedan establecer los alumnos entre las disciplinas que conservan el formato tradicional; son limitadas entonces, las posibilidades de conocimiento de la realidad específica y elaboración de soluciones contextualizadas.

Ambos tipos de currículum sustentados en la estructura formal del conocimiento, tendrán que enfrentar la tensión entre el conocimiento parcelado y la realidad como instancia totalizadora, entre la teoría y la práctica.

El tercero, coincide con el tipo de código que Bernstein definió como integrado cuyas características son: flexibilidad, límites permeables, énfasis en lo relacional.

Ahora bien, el polisémico término currículum tiene dos componentes fundamentales: el pedagógico (sintetizado en el plan de estudios) y el institucional; ambos orientan el aprendizaje de los alumnos. Si bien podría suponerse que el currículum integrado es el que mejor promovería la construcción y reconstrucción de los aprendizajes, sin embargo, constituye una condición necesaria pero no suficiente para lograrlo. De hecho, frente a las limitaciones de los currículos formales, se ensayaron diversas experiencias en vistas a superarlas; se departamentalizaron las Universidades, se implementaron agrupaciones de disciplinas “afines”, etc.

Sin embargo, los resultados fueron en general irrelevantes, en tanto se cambiaron mecanismos pero las instituciones permanecieron escindidas de la práctica profesional y las prácticas instituidas hicieron que cada profesor continúe encerrado en su disciplina. Resultaría indispensable entonces, confrontar este análisis con una investigación que estudie las prácticas pedagógicas y el modo en que los planes de estudio se implementan en los ámbitos institucionales. Tarea que deberá encararse a futuro.

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LOS JÓVENES UNIVERSITARIOS Y EL OCIO

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Abstract

This paper is a brief summary of the Doctoral Thesis "Benefits of leisure activities of university students from the University of Flores, Regional Comahue". Through it, we tried to help give birth to the concept of leisure from an empirical basis and within the framework of a specific population. A questionnaire where the various components of leisure concept were reported in the literature were included; and the questionnaire was applied to a sample of universities. This study helps us to determine whether the frequency of leisure practices performed by university students from the University of Flores, Regional Comahue, contributes to the increased perception of general well-being both at the physical, psychological, social, and spiritual level. Through this theoretical and field research, we try to review the literature previously available on the subject, studied the leisure of the selected population, and framed in positive psychology that takes the study of Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi as a reference point.

Keywords: Leisure, University Students, Positive Psychology

Resumen

El presente trabajo es una breve síntesis de la Tesis Doctoral "Beneficios de las actividades de ocio en jóvenes universitarios de la Universidad de Flores, Regional Comahue". A través del mismo, se intentó contribuir, dar luz, al concepto de ocio desde una base empírica y en el marco de una población específica. Para ello se construyó un cuestionario en el que se incluían los diversos componentes del concepto de ocio recogidos en la literatura y se aplicó dicho cuestionario a una muestra de universitarios. Con el propósito de conocer si la frecuencia de prácticas de ocio realizadas por los jóvenes universitarios de la Universidad de Flores, Regional Comahue, contribuye en el aumento de la percepción de un bienestar general tanto a nivel físico como psíquico, social y espiritual. A través de este trabajo de investigación teórica y de campo, se intenta revisar la literatura hasta entonces disponible sobre el tema, estudiando el ocio en la población

escogida, enmarcada en la psicología positiva que toma como referentes, a su máximo exponente; Seligman y Csikszentmihalyi.

Palabras clave: Ocio, Jóvenes Universitarios, Psicología Positiva

Introducción

Proponemos estudiar de forma crítica y sistemática los conceptos fundamentales que se abordarán a lo largo del trabajo: *ocio, dimensiones del ocio, tiempo libre, recreación, salud, psicología positiva, emociones positivas, felicidad, capital psíquico, bienestar subjetivo, calidad de vida, beneficios derivados del ocio, estilos de vida, flow, enfoque bio- psico-social, jóvenes universitarios.*

Para ello se llevó a cabo una investigación empírica que es doble: del tipo cualitativa, inductiva de perspectiva holística y una investigación del tipo cuantitativa a través de la producción y administración de un cuestionario, con el propósito de encontrar la solución a problemas o preguntas científicas, mediante la producción de nuevos conocimientos, los cuales constituyen respuesta a tales interrogantes.

Se nos planteaba como problema ¿Cuáles son los diferentes tipos de beneficios que perciben en la práctica y actividades de ocio los jóvenes universitarios de la Universidad de Flores, Regional Comahue?

Siendo nuestra hipótesis como respuesta inicial probable frente a la pregunta de investigación: La frecuencia de prácticas de ocio realizadas por los jóvenes universitarios de la Universidad de Flores, Regional Comahue, contribuye en el aumento de la percepción de un bienestar general tanto a nivel físico como psíquico, social y espiritual.

Justificación del problema

Sabemos que la difusión cultural de la violencia y otros hábitos sociales impactan negativamente en la vida social de los estudiantes. Es por ello que nos preguntamos:

Cuán significativo es conocer el valor y las motivaciones que le dedican los jóvenes universitarios al ocio?

- Nos permite identificar sus hábitos y actitudes frente a la vida.
- Conocer intereses, valores y beneficios para los jóvenes universitarios.
- Poder desarrollar políticas de prevención y promoción de la salud integral.

Objetivos

Objetivo General

- ✓ Conocer las prácticas de ocio y los beneficios que a ellas asocian los jóvenes de la población objetivo del estudio.

Objetivos Específicos

- ✓ Identificar y describir las prácticas de ocio de los miembros de la población objetivo.
- ✓ Describir las motivaciones de los miembros de la población objetivo a las prácticas de ocio.

Relevancia del Estudio

Un diagnóstico sobre la frecuencia del ocio y la significación para la salud y la armonía de la vida social resulta útil, porque:

- Las instituciones (más la UFLO) pueden encarar políticas de difusión de actividades de ocio como acción preventiva hacia la promoción de la salud integral.
- Conocer los niveles de satisfacción a través de las prácticas de ocio con direccionalidad positiva.
- Aportar conocimiento sobre el ocio como medio para otorgar mayor bienestar al sujeto.

Marco teórico de referencia

La investigación sobre esta temática se encuadra dentro de la Psicología Positiva, rama de la psicología que busca comprender, a través de la investigación científica, los procesos que subyacen a las cualidades y emociones positivas de los seres humanos. Su objeto de interés no es otro que aportar nuevos conocimientos acerca de la psique humana, no sólo para ayudar a resolver los problemas de salud mental de la que adolecen los individuos, sino también para alcanzar una mejor calidad de vida y bienestar, todo ello sin apartarse de la metodología científica propia de toda ciencia de la salud.

Históricamente, la psicología se ha centrado exclusivamente en el estudio de la patología y la debilidad del ser humano. Este fenómeno ha dado lugar a un marco teórico de carácter patogénico que ha sesgado el estudio de la mente humana. Así, la focalización exclusiva en lo negativo que ha dominado durante años el estudio de la psicología ha llegado a primar, olvidando las características positivas (Seligman, 2005; Csikszentmihalyi, 1998). De esta manera, características como la alegría, el optimismo, el bienestar, la creatividad, el humor, el ocio, han sido explicadas superficialmente.

También será de suma importancia los aportes de la psicología humanística sobre las dimensiones del ocio- prácticas del ocio/ Valor asignado al ocio- formación. Para la realización del cuestionario administrado a los estudiantes de la población objetivo se tomaron los aportes realizados por Cuenca Cabeza (1995) sobre este tema, entendiéndose por dimensiones del ocio a cada una de las magnitudes que sirven para definir el fenómeno, y que se pueden relacionar con los procesos personales y sociales que genera y el tipo de actividad o tiempo y espacio a la que están asociadas. Las dimensiones estudiadas fueron la: lúdica, deportiva, festiva, creativa, Teniendo en cuenta el marco teórico escogido para esta investigación, la psicología positiva, haciendo hincapié en las conductas saludables de los sujetos, identificamos el uso del tiempo libre como una conducta saludable que permite, por ejemplo; neutralizar el estrés en los estudiantes. Una investigación realizada en seis dimensiones del estilo de vida que arroja como resultado que los jóvenes que manejan el tiempo libre tienen un mejor nivel de conductas saludables, potenciando así a seguir dicha vía de estudio. (Arrivillaga, Salazar & Correa, 2003).

Lineamientos de la Investigación

La población objetivo está constituida por estudiantes universitarios de la Universidad de Flores Regional Comahue, con edades entre 18 a 35 años. Son estudiantes de diferentes carreras de grado.

Se desarrollaron dos instrumentos para la recolección de datos:

Para la primera etapa, una guía de pautas para una entrevista en profundidad semiestructurada que fue aplicada en la etapa cualitativa. En la misma se exploraron las dimensiones del constructo ocio realizándose una comprobación experiencial sobre el mismo partiendo de los planteamientos teóricos indicados.

Para la segunda etapa de tipo cuantitativo se trabajó un cuestionario que comprende:

- Datos Generales: incluye informes socio demográficos en el que se reúne indagación sobre el sexo, la edad, el estado civil, lugar de procedencia, estudios, grado y nivel de satisfacción con el mismo y si trabaja actualmente.
- Modulo I: tipo de Actividades de Ocio según las dimensiones de Cuenca Cabeza, (ocio deportivo, ocio lúdico, ocio festivo, ocio solidario y ocio creativo, ocio ecológico/ambiental)
- Modulo 2º: Motivación del Ocio (los motivos que llevan a la realización de las prácticas de ocio)
- Módulo 3: sobre los Beneficios percibidos a través de las prácticas de ocio (beneficio físico, beneficio emocional/mental, beneficio social y beneficio espiritual)

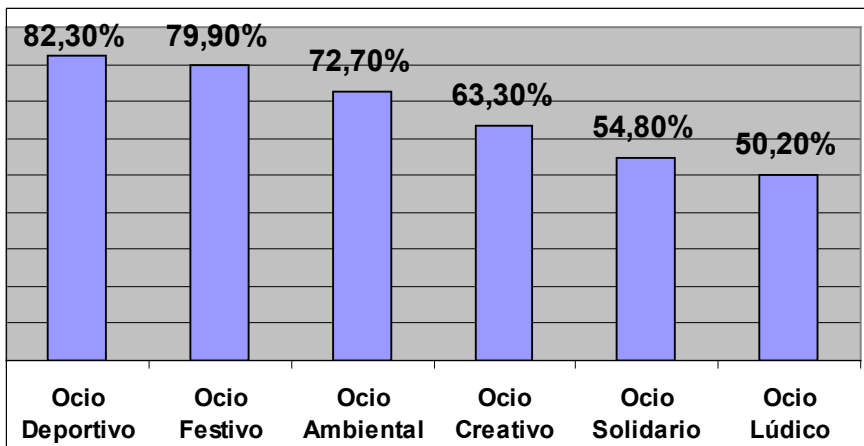
Para la sistematización de los datos se elaboró una base de datos en Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) versión 12.0.

Resultados y Análisis de Datos

En la Tabla que a continuación se muestra, puede verse que el grado de satisfacción que obtuvieron con la realización de la práctica fue alto para los entrevistados de la muestra.

Tabla de contingencia Promedio General Actividades de Ocio

		Promedio Activ. de Ocio: La última vez que lo practicaste, ¿Con qué frecuencia lo hiciste?	
		Ocasionalmente	Habitualmente
¿Cuál fue tu grado de satisfacción?	Medio	14.8%	1.8%
	Alto	85.2%	98.2%
Total		100%	100%



En ella se corrobora que a mayor frecuencia de práctica de una Actividad de Ocio en general mayor nivel de satisfacción se obtiene y viceversa. El coeficiente de asociación chi cuadrado indicado representa que la prueba es altamente significativa. Esto es que ambas variables están fuertemente asociadas.

A partir de este resultado podemos inferir que existe una conexión entre la práctica de una actividad de ocio y la manera en que nos sentimos al realizarla. Así como también, el sentimiento de gratificación lleva a una nueva realización de una actividad de ocio. Por lo tanto, para mejorar nuestras emociones podemos realizar actividades de ocio.

Las actividades agradables pueden llevar a los estudiantes universitarios de la Universidad de Flores Región Comahue, a sentirse más contentos y positivos, ayudando a enfocarlos en cosas saludables. Una actividad de ocio en tanto proporciona satisfacción se la considera una actividad positiva que permite a los sujetos dejar de lado los problemas y preocupaciones por un rato para poder descansar de ellos y reanimarnos, así es más fácil volver a enfrentarlos. Hacer actividades gratificantes y agradables también colabora a la salud física.

Realizar actividades de ocio aumenta la satisfacción. La satisfacción percibida afecta nuestro interés por realizar dichas actividades. Resultado que arroja claramente nuestro estudio. Su práctica no sólo implica la satisfacción de una necesidad personal, sino también un requisito imprescindible para mejorar su calidad de vida.

Es por ello y por lo que los resultados arrojados, es que consideramos que la participación en actividades de ocio tiene repercusiones sobre el bienestar del estudiante.

A través de nuestra investigación corroboramos que a mayor frecuencia de práctica de una actividad de ocio en general mayor nivel de satisfacción se obtiene y viceversa, podemos pensar esta hipótesis sobre la base de lo que propone, Csikszentmihalyi (1998); cuando dice que las actividades que hacen al ocio motivan a los sujetos y le propician tal satisfacción que desean seguir realizando dichas actividades. Esto parece ser así en los estudiantes universitarios de la Universidad de Flores Regional Comahue.

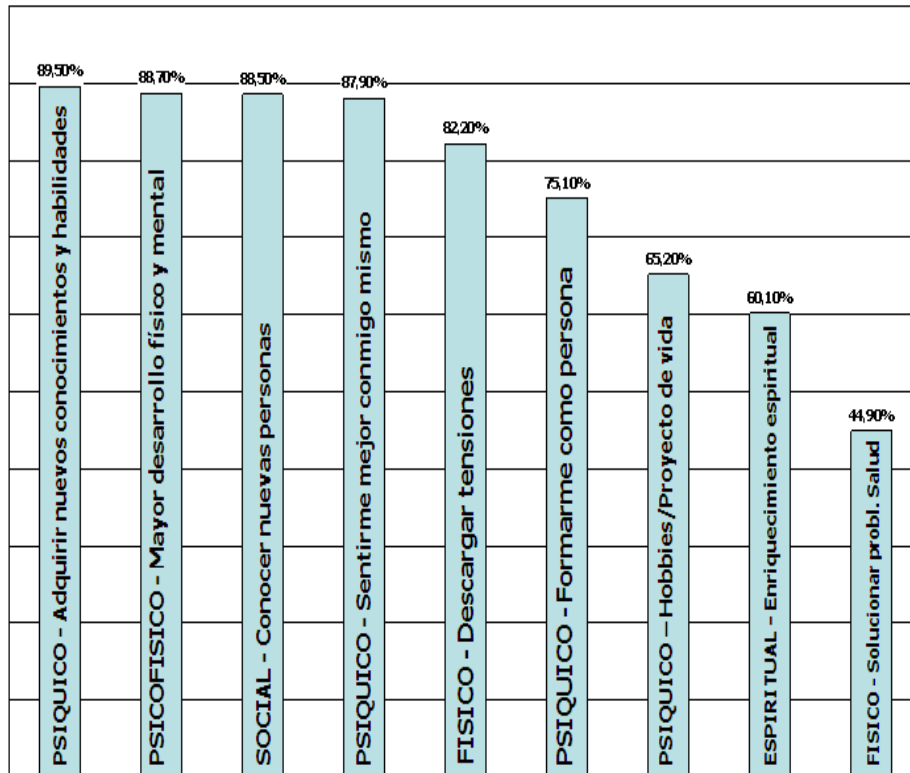
La direccionalidad positiva que adquiere el ocio se relaciona con una vivencia gratificante del mismo, desde el punto de vista de la persona y también de la sociedad. (Cuenca Cabeza, 1995)

Siendo el “buen uso” del ocio beneficioso para proveer a las personas de estados subjetivos satisfactorios, mejorar el ánimo y adquirir buenas herramientas para enfrentar etapas vitales.

El ocio, adecuadamente desarrollado, posibilita la construcción de una personalidad fuerte y equilibrada, favoreciendo valores como la creatividad, la armonía psico-física, la autonomía, la capacidad de cooperación, la responsabilidad y la aceptación de uno mismo, la capacidad de comunicación, el autocontrol, el optimismo, el bienestar, la serenidad, la imaginación, la asertividad, todas emociones positivas que se despliegan claramente en las diferentes dimensiones del ocio estudiadas.

Con respecto a las motivaciones en la realización de las prácticas de ocio en los estudiantes universitarios de UFLO- Región Comahue, hemos constatado que el panorama de los motivos-beneficios de la práctica de actividades de ocio, proporcionan una atribución salutógena que contribuye a su bienestar integral.

Motivación y las Prácticas de Ocio



Conclusion

❖ La primera comprobación es que la frecuencia de prácticas de ocio realizadas por los jóvenes universitarios de la Universidad de Flores, Regional Comahue, contribuye en el aumento de la percepción de un bienestar general tanto a nivel físico como psíquico, social y espiritual.

A partir de este resultado podemos inferir que existe una conexión entre la práctica de una actividad de ocio y la manera en que nos sentimos al realizarla. Así como también, el sentimiento de gratificación lleva a una nueva realización de una actividad de ocio. Por lo tanto, para mejorar nuestras emociones podemos realizar actividades de ocio.

Las actividades agradables pueden llevar a los estudiantes universitarios de la Universidad de Flores Región Comahue, a sentirse más contentos y positivos, ayudando a enfocarlos en cosas saludables. Una actividad de ocio en tanto proporciona satisfacción se la considera una actividad positiva que permite a los sujetos dejar de lado los problemas y preocupaciones por un rato para poder descansar de ellos y reanimarnos, así es más fácil volver a enfrentarlos.

Hacer actividades gratificantes y agradables también colabora a la salud de manera integral, tanto física, psicosocial y espiritual.

Propiciar momentos de ocio en su direccionalidad positiva aumenta la satisfacción. Su práctica no sólo implica la satisfacción de una necesidad personal, sino también un requisito imprescindible para mejorar su calidad de vida. Es por ello y por lo que el resultado de esta investigación arroja que consideramos que la participación en actividades de ocio tiene repercusiones sobre el bienestar del estudiante.

La satisfacción obtenida de la participación en ocio es el primer y quizás más importante beneficio que se puede obtener del ocio y subraya su valor como fuente de satisfacción en la medida en que se ha de ajustar al máximo, a las expectativas de quien o quienes protagonizan la vivencia del ocio. La comprensión del ocio como vivencia satisfactoria alude a su carácter autotélico, es decir, al valor que posee y justifica la acción en sí misma, transformándola en un premio o recompensa interna.

Una persona experimenta el flow cuando se encuentra inmerso en una actividad de forma tal que durante su realización pierde las nociones de tiempo y siente una profunda satisfacción. A través de nuestra investigación corroboramos que a mayor frecuencia de práctica de una actividad de ocio en general mayor nivel de satisfacción se obtiene y viceversa, podemos pensar esta hipótesis sobre la base de lo que propone Csikszentmihalyi (1998), cuando dice que las actividades que hacen al ocio motivan a los sujetos y le propician tal satisfacción que desean seguir realizando dichas actividades. Esto parece ser así en los estudiantes universitarios de la Universidad de Flores, Regional Comahue.

En otro orden, se ha establecido también que la frecuencia de prácticas de cada actividad de ocio incide sobre el nivel de bienestar psicológico y espiritual que ostenta el público objetivo que las practica

❖ Existe un circuito de refuerzo entre el nivel de acuerdo con las motivaciones que los llevan a las prácticas de ocio, el tipo y grado de intensidad de las relaciones sociales que establecen los estudiantes y sus manifestaciones en el bienestar psicológico y la satisfacción que obtienen de sus actividades de ocio.

La motivación es una característica psicológica multidimensional que se ve influenciada tanto por aspectos internos de la persona (preferencias,

deseos, temores) como por las vivencias externas de su entorno (aceptación social, amistades, habilidades, medio que la rodea).

La motivación intrínseca nos impulsa a hacer cosas como las actividades artísticas, deportivas o de aventura, que son agradables en sí mismas.

Las personas que están motivadas intrínsecamente muestran más entusiasmo y más confianza en relación con las tareas que realizan, presentando más creatividad, mejor autoestima y un mayor bienestar subjetivo.

La motivación intrínseca de una persona se refuerza ofreciéndoles opciones sobre la forma de realizar las actividades, dándoles oportunidades para que se dirija ella misma y ofreciéndole una retroalimentación. Al reforzar dicha motivación para la práctica de actividades de ocio autotélico como connotación positiva, se podrá aumentar el grado de felicidad o bienestar psicológico

El panorama de los motivos y beneficios obtenidos de las actividades de ocio permite aseverar que la práctica de ocio les proporciona a los estudiantes universitarios un motivo salutógeno que incide tanto en el orden de lo físico, emocional y espiritual que contribuye a su bienestar

Teniendo en consideración que la investigación se desarrolló en el marco de una Institución, la Universidad de Flores, Regional Comahue, estudiamos el ocio en tanto interesa no solo a las personas sino a las instituciones que, no ignoran el hecho de que si el tiempo libre es bien aprovechado y se educa para ello, el ocio se transforma en una actividad que no solo divierte sino que también repercute positivamente en el desarrollo social.

De manera tal que se sugieren algunas **Recomendaciones:**

- ✓ Considerar políticas de gestión universitarias que contemplen el uso del espacio de Bienestar Universitario, para promover y focalizar actividades y prácticas de ocio que aumenten el bienestar psicofísico de los estudiantes universitarios de la Universidad Flores Regional Comahue.
- ✓ Será plausible tomar medidas de acción para tal fin, a fin de arbitrar los medios para llevar a cabo dichas actividades, tales como las sugeridas por los mismos estudiantes; cine debate, espacios de recreación más delineados desde lo lúdico, encuentros intra e inter estudiantiles deportivos o festivos para promover la sociabilidad sobre todo en los primeros estadios del ingreso universitario.
- ✓ Abordar como posibles estrategias los lineamientos emitidos de las Universidades Promotoras de Salud a efectos de proveerles a los estudiantes universitarios un marco de salud y bienestar, puesto que si tenemos jóvenes sanos, tendremos una sociedad sana.

- ✓ Focalizar aspectos psicoeducativos hacia la resignificación del ocio con la posibilidad de reflexionar sobre la realidad y aportar así las transformaciones que requieren los estudiantes universitarios en pos de la participación saludable de la consecución de un ocio positivo y no alienante.

Futuras Líneas de Investigación

Las futuras líneas de investigación que se proponen son las siguientes:

- ✓ Ampliación del estudio a otras poblaciones de estudiantes de universidades públicas y privadas, pertenecientes de la Región del Comahue.
- ✓ Profundizar la relación entre las variables del ocio y la calidad de vida de los estudiantes universitarios.
- ✓ Investigar sobre la vinculación del ocio y los estilos saludables.
- ✓ Indagar sobre las barreras o factores que inhiben la capacidad de participar en las actividades de ocio.
- ✓ Explorar sobre el uso de las nuevas tecnologías y servicios relacionados con el ocio y el tiempo libre en los universitarios.

Lo expuesto aquí, es una aproximación inicial, que no cierra el amplio universo de líneas de investigación que permitan seguir profundizando en este mundo tan apasionante como es el ocio en su direccionalidad positiva.

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MARCO CONCEPTUAL DEL TALLER “PONER LÍMITES” PARA PADRES DEL NIVEL INICIAL

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Abstract

Every practice needs a theory that can both enrich each other. Therefore, when I drafted the workshop "*Putting Limits*" (TPL) aimed at parent's early education, the first thing I posted was a conceptual framework to guide the practice, and at the same time, parameters to evaluate the results. The TPL originated because teachers identified the main problem to work in classroom to be that students have "no limits" (don't wait for their turn, bother, ignore, rise without permission, etc.), and their parents have some difficulty in getting their children to obey them. Being a member of GPS / ENSRP, I delved on the subject and reflections I have made based on contributions from other authors. Also, I employed Transactional Analysis which allowed me to develop conceptual assumptions that may enrich dialectically with lines of action and research on this problem by similar workshops in different contexts. However, this paper identifies and evaluates these fundamental concepts.

Keywords:

Resumen

Toda práctica necesita de una teoría que la oriente y ambas se enriquecen mutuamente.

Por ello, cuando elaboré el Taller "*Poner Límite*" (TPL) dirigido a los padres de Nivel Inicial, lo primero que pergeñé fue un MARCO CONCEPTUAL para guía de la práctica y, a la vez, parámetro para evaluar los resultados. El TPL se originó porque los maestros identificaron como el principal problema para trabajar en el aula que los alumnos "*no tienen límites*" (no esperan su turno, molestan, no hacen caso, se levantan sin pedir permiso, etc.) y que sus padres tienen algunas dificultades para lograr que los hijos les obedezcan.

Siendo miembro del GPS⁵³ de la ENSRP⁵⁴, profundicé sobre la temática y las reflexiones que hice, basadas en aportes de otros autores y, en especial, los de Análisis Transaccional, me permitieron desarrollar supuestos conceptuales que pueden enriquecerse dialécticamente con líneas de acción e investigativas en torno a esta problemática, mediante talleres similares en diferentes contextos. Este trabajo identifica y evalúa estos conceptos fundamentales.

Palabras clave:

Institución

La elaboración (*constitución y preparación*) del TPL se llevó a cabo como parte de las actividades del GPS de la ENSRP, en la ciudad de Formosa, a fines de 2014. La *concreción* de la primera puesta en escena fue en las instalaciones del Nivel Inicial de la misma institución.

Propósitos

Esta tarea implicó responder al problema planteado por los maestros de nivel inicial (*“los alumnos no tienen límites”*) instruyendo a los padres para que aprendan a *poner límites con conciencia educativa* desarrollando el potencial personal de los mismos. La propuesta fue el TPL con metodología de alternancia entre exposición-demostración y participación interactiva, con las posibilidades teórico-prácticas que ofrece el Análisis Transaccional.

De manera que, como creador y responsable del TPL, me propuse desarrollar los conceptos que den cuenta de algunos los procesos implicados al poner límites. Luego los fui redactando en un texto que servirá como punto de partida para futuras aplicaciones y sobre el cual se irán recopilando los enriquecimientos que práctica y reflexión proporcionen.

Recursos y métodos

Como principal recurso para la elaboración (*constitución y preparación*) de los aspectos conceptuales del TPL utilicé los textos y sugerencias recibidas en la Diplomatura en Coaching Transaccional de la UFLO y otros autores de AT como así también de otras orientaciones teóricas.

Metodológicamente seguí algunas pautas propuestas por Susana Vidal (1993) en “Ecología de la acción”⁵⁵ intentado atender a las relaciones

⁵³ GPS es el Gabinete Psicopedagógico y Social donde me desempeño desde 2004.

⁵⁴ La ENSRP es la Escuela Normal Superior “República del Paraguay”, institución educativa que integra los cuatro niveles educativos (Inicial, Primario, Secundario y Superior) Todos los años la matrícula sobrepasa los 2100 alumnos en total.

⁵⁵ VIDAL, Susana. (1993) “*Ecología de la acción*” Espacio Editorial. Bs As.

que deben existir entre los elementos componentes y que, en definitiva, el resultado sea una propuesta funcional y ética.

Comencé la tarea considerando los pasos de un proyecto productivo (*constitución, preparación, concreción, evaluación*) para prestar atención a cada una de las capacidades que se ponen en juego, que siendo polares se complementan.

Así que, después de conocer la demanda en el Nivel Inicial, *preparé*, creativa y pragmáticamente, primero, un MARCO CONCEPTUAL (contenido conceptual para el TPL) que luego dio forma al PROYECTO (TPL) y los EJERCICIOS para llevarlo a la práctica.

La primera puesta en escena del TPL (*concreción*) fue a fines del año pasado, sin muchos participantes dado que para esa época los padres se ven obligados a colaborar en diferentes actividades del Nivel Inicial y se ocupa el SUM⁵⁶. Sin embargo los resultados fueron promisorios y el impacto institucional algo inesperado; ya que los padres se mostraron muy satisfecho con lo aprendido y las regentes de los Niveles Primario, Secundario y Superior han solicitado que el TPL sea realizado para padres, maestros de escuelas asociadas y estudiantes avanzados del magisterio (una forma de *evaluación*). La figura 1 muestra esquemáticamente el método seguido relacionado con el proceso de cambio.

ESTADO ACTUAL	CAMBIO		ESTADO DESEADO
CONSTITUCIÓN	PREPARACION	CONCRECIÓN	EVALUACION
Demanda “Los alumnos no tienen límites?” Inventario de recursos con los que podía contar	Incubación y selección de propuesta TPL Elaboración de MARCO CONCEPTUAL orientador	Elaboración de PROYECTO y EJERCICIOS Dictado del primer TPL	Del TPL en general y, en particular, del MARCO CONCEPTUAL
Qué es lo que ocurre Con qué cuento para solucionarlo	Cuál es la mejor alternativa de solución Qué punto de vista teórico adopto	Cuáles son los objetivos, recursos, contenidos y actividades	Cuál fue el resultado Se logró funcionalidad, ética y estética?

Fig1: Método y cambio

Lo he hecho así pensando en la continuidad dialéctica del proceso, en el que el estado deseado no es un punto final sino un nuevo comienzo para un nivel diferente de desarrollo.

Resultados

⁵⁶ SUM es el Salón de Usos Múltiples

Pensar en términos de resultados con respecto al MARCO CONCEPTUAL del TPL implica identificar cuáles son los supuestos conceptos elaborados y si estos, en conjunto, han sido funcionales y éticos en la práctica.

Identificación

Los conceptos que elaboré para componer, junto con el de otros autores, el MARCO CONCEPTUAL del TPN, son:

- I- En el plano social, la importancia que tiene la crianza de los hijos como base de algunas características negativas de la sociedad actual
- II- En el plano individual, poner límites es una *actitud* que determina el modo de las relaciones interpersonales entre adultos y el modo con que se educa a los hijos
- III- Identificación de rasgos de los estilos parentales (asertivo, autoritario y permisivo) mediante el análisis funcional de los estados del yo
- IV- La necesidad de vencer obstáculos para poner límites
- V- Poner límites como caricia correctiva y de acuerdo a la etapa de la vida
- VI- Es posible un *modelo esquemático* para reconocer el proceso de poner límites en diferentes circunstancias.
- VII- La necesidad de aprender a poner límites con *conciencia educativa*.

I.- Desarrollé esta primera idea a partir de la lectura de Aldo Naouri (2005) y Rick Trinkner (2011). Naouri, asegura que la susceptibilidad de las sociedades europeas hacia todo tipo de dictadura inculcó a los padres la teoría de ser tolerantes para con sus hijos y que las consecuencias de esta actitud fueron catastróficas porque "*a esos niños que nada se les impone, se les deja a expensas de sus pulsiones*" se convierten en niños tiranos que harán caprichosamente lo que quieran, aun siendo adultos. Trinkner, basado en un estudio científico, afirma que la actitud de los padres estrictos y autoritarios puede generar hijos rebeldes con posibles tendencias delictivas como robar, lastimar a otros o consumir drogas.

Durante las reflexiones que hice sobre el problema de la falta de límites, no pude eludir el hecho de que, así como la sociedad occidental actual tiene características positivas inigualables a la de tan sólo pocas décadas atrás; asimismo, presenta características negativas. Muchos autores se han dedicado a éstas últimas y desde diferentes ópticas, tales como Alvin Toffler (1971), Elvira Repetto (1977), Enrique Rojas (1992), Joseph Stiglitz (2002), etc. Seleccioné algunas de las características mencionadas por estos autores y otra, *derechosis*, que concibo personalmente:

- Individualista
- Materialista

- Hedonista
- Relaciones pasajera y superficiales
- Violenta
- Derechosis

Analizando cada una de estas características se puede notar que las mismas son factibles de ser generadas por el modo de crianza y la cultura y, presumiblemente, por la falta de límites al comportamiento inapropiado, caprichoso, tendencioso e incluso peligroso de y/o para los hijos, de parte de sus padres.

Esta idea es difícil de ser comprobada científicamente en su totalidad; pero es muy fácil de ser aceptada por el tipo de relación causal en la que se funda. Sin dudas es una idea punzante, por ello la utilicé como punto de partida y de reflexión en el TPL con buenos resultado en cuanto a la disposición de los asistentes.

II.- Considerar el *poner límites como una actitud* resultó una idea fructífera. Por un lado me permitió relacionar conceptos como conducta, personalidad, rasgos y estados del yo, como mostraré brevemente más adelante. Por otro, me permitió dar a *poner límites* mayor extensión de lo que por ello se entiende comúnmente. Así en el plano individual, *poner límites* determina las relaciones que los padres (y cualquier persona) establecen en cada uno de sus roles fundamentales. Cuando no se ponen límites ante ciertas circunstancias que lo merecen, por ejemplo, ante la pareja, el jefe o un amigo, se deja a los demás avanzar sobre el propio terreno emocional y decisional. *Poner límites* define a las personas, establece la diferencia entre lo que somos y lo que no somos o no queremos ser. Define el alcance de nuestras responsabilidades y determina la actuación de los demás a nuestro alrededor y cómo deben ellos tratarnos. No poner límites significa atentar contra nuestra autoestima y bienestar.

Además, poner límites significa educar a los hijos porque esta actitud está relacionada con las principales funciones parentales: *moralizar, socializar, proteger y disciplinar*. Poniendo límites los padres enseñan a sus hijos a distinguir entre el bien y el mal, a ser responsables de sus acciones; a tener respeto, consideración y tolerancia hacia los demás; a cuidarse a sí mismo y a otros de posibles peligros; a controlar los impulsos, tener normas de comportamiento y a ser ordenados. En síntesis, poner límites a los hijos es enseñarles a ser personas buenas, sociables, cuidadosas, disciplinadas y ordenadas.

III.- Creo que la que sigue es una idea con gran potencial teórico-práctico. Favorece *el conocimiento sobre sí mismo y los demás para desarrollar el potencial personal y actuar de una manera más adecuada en las*

circunstancias que requieren poner límites a los hijos. Efectivamente, pueden identificarse **rasgos de los estilos parentales** (asertivo, autoritario y permisivo) mediante el análisis funcional de los estados del yo, aplicando los conceptos que Kertész (2002) y su equipo elaboraron para identificar los estilos de liderazgo y educadores.

Creo que la transferencia de estos desarrollos al estudio de los estilos parentales es posible porque los conceptos en cuestión son aplicables en toda situación donde una persona influencia sobre otra.

El proceso lógico que seguí para ello, es así: Partí de considerar el *poner límites* como una *actitud*, con sus componentes cognoscitivos, emocionales/valorativos y comportamentales; los que, junto a ideas y hábitos organizados dinámicamente constituyen la *personalidad*; en la que podemos identificar pautas consistentes denominadas *estados del yo*, con sus respectivas funciones y sistema de conducta. Dicho de otra manera, podemos suponer que:

Al poner límites, un padre está manifestando funciones y sistemas de conductas (Ok – No Ok) matizados con componentes de su personalidad, dando lugar a estilos parentales particulares y posibles de generalización.

Llamé *rasgos* a lo que Kertész, en el esquema original, denomina *estilos*. Cada rasgo constituirá una forma expresiva específica de funciones y sistemas de conducta y, por tanto, determina la calidad de la comunicación entre padres e hijos. El rasgo que denomino “dictador”, en el esquema original de Kertész (2002) y sus colaboradores, se llama “estilo autoritario”. Ambos renombramientos (rasgos por estilos y dictador por autoritario) persiguen evitar confusiones por denominaciones comunes (en mi caso, utilizo *estilos* y *autoritario* para referirme a modos parentales)

Entonces, teniendo en cuenta estas nuevas denominaciones, el esquema original queda así:

RASGOS INADECUADOS	RASGOS ADECUADOS
<p>PC- DICTADOR PN+ CONDUCTOR Al poner límites puede rebajar y ser agresivo, Es firme, serio, justo, correcto y autoritario, prejuicioso, prepotente y no dar ordenador al poner límites explicaciones.</p>	
<p>PN- SALVADOR PN+ PROTECTOR Sobreprotector, meloso. Quita límites Afectuoso, nutritivo, cálido. Adecuados. A veces hace él lo que deberían hacer los hijos disfrutar. Pone límites dejando vivir y</p>	
<p>A- FRIO RACIONAL No informado o mal informado Al poner límites da razones Robotizado. Es lógico pero sin los valores y dependiendo de la edad del hijo del rasgo Racional puede analizar la situación con él y escuchar sus sugerencias</p>	
<p>N- INDIFERENTE NL+ CREATIVO Evita asumir su responsabilidad en la educación de sus hijos (busca comodidad, emociones auténticas delega demasiado o teme asumirla) Es ocurrente y de buen humor</p>	

Fig. N°2: Análisis funcional y rasgos de estilos parentales

Este esquema permite suponer que los **estilos parentales** (asertivo, autoritario y permisivo) se manifiestan a través de los **rasgos** que los

constituyen. Los ocho rasgos mencionados, son **rasgos comunes** a muchas personas por ello los estilos de los que forman parte pueden generalizarse.

Pero los estilos parentales además se matizan con otros componentes de la personalidad o **rasgos individuales** dándole las particularidades únicas de cada persona. Por ejemplo, no todos los padres autoritarios (dictador o frío) lo son de la misma manera.

Cada estilo, además, puede manifestarse en cada persona con **preponderancia** de algún **rasgo común**; así si bien son propios del estilo asertivo los rasgos de conductor, protector, racional y creativo, un padre asertivo puede presentar un **rasgo central**, preponderante, para poner límites asertivamente; los otros rasgos comunes serán entonces **rasgos secundarios**.

Mientras más integrado y flexible sea el estilo parental más capacidad de adaptación tendrá ante las diversas situaciones manifestando el rasgo o los rasgos más adecuados para la ocasión. Así, un padre asertivo instruido podría distinguir cuándo actuar como conductor, protector, racional o creativo.

Conocer cuáles son los rasgos propios de cada uno y aprender a manifestar los más adecuados es un objetivo importante del crecimiento personal para los padres que quieren poner límites con conciencia educativa.

ESTILO PARENTAL	RASGOS			
	ADECUADOS		INADECUADOS	
ASERTIVO	Conductor	PC+		
	Protector	PN+		
	Racional	A+		
	Creativo	N+		
AUTORITARIO			Dictador	PC-
			Frio	A-
PERMISIVO			Salvador	PC-
			Indiferente	N-

Fig. N°3: estilos parentales y rasgos

Al observar la figura 3 podemos apreciar porqué el estilo asertivo es el más adecuado para poner límites a los hijos y, además, que no hay una única manera adecuada de hacerlo. Con todos estos recursos los padres asertivos pueden:

- Actuar oportunamente para poner límites importantes,
- Dar explicaciones, indicaciones y/o correcciones de manera clara y consistente con su conyugue y con el comportamientos de ambos (u otros familiares)
- Considerar las necesidades y sentimientos de los hijos, dar alternativas y comprobar que entendieron el límite
- Expresar los límites con anticipación, poniendo acento en la conducta positiva y las consecuencias del incumplimiento

- Poner límites con afecto y firmeza
- Ser consistentes insistiendo pacientemente hasta que el niño aprenda el comportamiento adecuado.

Los estilos autoritario y permisivo son inadecuados. Uno por poner límites de manera muy extrita y el otro por no ponerlos. El autoritario puede genera hijos con poca autoestima o bien hijos rebeldes con tendencias delictivas, y el permisivo niños tiranos, impacientes y egoístas

IV.- La necesidad de **vencer obstáculos** para poner límites. Esta idea es fructífera en tanto y cuanto sugiere el *trabajo personal* para la “autoaceptación”. Creo que los talleres, como el TPL, deparan como sorpresa a los asistentes el tomar conciencia de lo bien que se conocen; pero que levantan un velo de ilusiones y engaños para evitar caer en la cuenta y así evitar sufrimientos peores. He llegado a esta conclusión: *por lo común las personas, con tal de evitar sus propios temores, prefieren seguir sufriendo de la manera acostumbrada*. Y no poner límites, cuando es lo que debería hacerse en ciertas circunstancias, entraña algo de esto.

De allí que el TPL debe presentarse como contención afectiva y reflejo de la realidad mediante la seguridad del instructor, el trabajo grupal y los conceptos que permitan aprehender, entender y nominar los procesos que ocurren.

Sugerí intuitivamente que los obstáculos podrían ser: baja autoestima, desinformación, modelos inadecuados, beneficios. En la primera y única puesta en escena, los padres sugirieron que el obstáculo más común es el desacuerdo entre los padres (incumplimiento de una de las características de los límites: CONSISTENCIA)

En fin, éste, como todos los conceptos de este MARCO CONCEPTUAL, se irá enriqueciendo mediante la práctica.

V.- El poner límites como **caricia correctiva** y acorde a las **etapas de la vida** del niño está bien trabajado, aunque no precisamente como *poner límites* en el sentido aquí establecido, por Kertész (1985 y 1994) Los incorporamos porque son sin duda alguna conceptos importantísimos para el crecimiento personal de los padres. Cada uno de ellos, aplicados a esta problemática, suscita una serie de preguntas e interrogantes que serán material para el progreso teórico-práctico del TLP.

VI.- En ninguno de los textos que estudié apareció un esquema que permitiera reconocer los componentes del proceso de poner límites. Pensé que si hubiera uno y el mismo fuera interpretado flexiblemente, serviría para actuar en diferentes circunstancias.

Así, propuse este modelo que consta de seis elementos esenciales, tal como muestra la figura 4

PRINCIPIO	REGLA, ORDEN	VERIFICACION	MODELO	REPUESTA	CONSECUENCIA
“Se ordenado”	“Pon los juguetes dentro de la caja”	“Dime lo que entendiste”	“Así es cómo se hace”	El niño cumple (o no) la regla	Refuerzo Castigo

Fig. 4: Modelo para poner límites

Los **principios**, son la clave educativa sobre la que se indica o corrige a un niño, señala el rasgo que se desea forjar en su personalidad. Según éstos, podemos actuar con antelación (ANTICIPACIÓN de los límites)⁵⁷ o bien en el momento cuando los hijos se comportan de manera no deseada, riesgosa, etc. Los principios son los valores que los padres admiten y quieren transmitir a sus hijos y es lo que hace importante poner límites (IMPORTANCIA). Por ello, en este momento, es necesario captar la atención del pequeño llamándolo por su nombre u otro recurso llamativo. No es posible ponerle límites de manera efectiva, si aquel sigue entusiasmado con su actividad. Por otro lado, si se quiere enseñar a un niño a que sea ordenado, esto mismo es lo que hay que comunicarle tanto verbalmente como con el ejemplo. Por ello, los principios educativos, requieren que sean especificados mediante unas **reglas** u **órdenes** que indiquen la correcta realización de una acción y sus consecuencias. Si se educa a un niño para que sea ordenado, lo será en relación a algo concreto que deba realizar; por ejemplo acomodando sus juguetes. Entonces, se le indicará que ponga los juguetes dentro de una caja o donde él prefiere si fuera posible (ALTERNATIVAS) y que esto tendrá una consecuencia (CONSECUENCIAS). Cuando se dé la orden o regla será de la manera más conveniente para que el pequeño la entienda (CLARIDAD)

Dependiendo la edad del niño, es posible **verificar** si ha entendido el límite, pidiéndole que repita con sus palabras la regla que se le ha indicado (COMPRABABILIDAD). Una vez que estamos seguros que ha entendido el mensaje, lo siguiente es mostrarle cómo se hace lo solicitado; es decir, es necesario servir de **modelo** para que el pequeño tenga una referencia segura. Luego, se le indicará que prosiga sólo. Su **respuesta** será cumplir o no con la

⁵⁷ En paréntesis, las características que deben presentar los límites según VERDUZCO, Adriana. (2001)

regla y de esto dependerá cuál será la **consecuencia**. La misma se tratará de un refuerzo o de un castigo (CONSECUENCIAS). Es conveniente reforzar señalando lo que el niño ha logrado en relación a lo que deseamos que aprenda (principio, valores); en este caso, ser ordenado, mostrando afecto. En caso de castigo, por ejemplo, se le dice que no verá el dibujo animado hasta que ordene los juguetes. De este modo se hace efectiva la consecuencia sobre la conducta y no la autoestima del pequeño. Veámoslo en un ejemplo completo donde el padre le habla a su hijo.

- “Juanito, tienes que ser ordenado para que puedas encontrar los juguetes cuando los necesites”. (Principio)

El niño presta atención

- “Así que vas a colocar los juguetes dentro de esta caja. Comprendes?” (Regla)
- (Juanito) “Sí”
- “Dime ¿qué tienes que hacer?” (Comprobación)
- (Juanito) Poner los juguetes aquí (señala la caja)
- “Bien. Hazlo así”. El padre pone algunos juguetes dentro de la caja (Modelo)

Luego, Juanito pone los juguetes (Respuesta) y cuando termina el padre le dice:

- “¡Muy bien! Eres un niño ordenado. Así, siempre encontrarás los juguetes cuando los necesites”. El padre lo abraza (Refuerzo)

Hay que agregar que, además, todo este proceso se hace sobre la base de un ESTILO ASERTIVO que le da afectividad, firmeza, racionalidad y creatividad al proceder de los padres, y de CONSISTENCIA, esto es, insistiendo pacientemente hasta que el niño incorpore la regla y que las personas que lo crían (padres, abuelos, etc.) manejen los mismos límites y de la misma manera.

Otra aclaración importante es que, en el componente REGLA, en niños mayores y adolescentes, habrá situaciones, en las que es conveniente suministrarles información sobre si su comportamiento es aceptable o no. Si no lo es, los niños mayores y adolescentes pueden desear hacer unos cambios ellos mismos. En este modo de autolimitación por parte de los hijos, los padres actuarán, preponderantemente, de manera asertiva con rasgo racional.

VII.- La necesidad de aprender a **poner límites con conciencia educativa**, es la idea que constituye el objetivo último del TPL y la central en el MARCO CONCEPTUAL. Subyace a la misma que no basta ser asertivo.

Cada vez que una persona pone límites en circunstancias que así lo merecen se define en su singularidad, porque es lo que elige ser en relación consigo misma, con los demás y su entorno. Decide el tipo de relación psicológica que la persona se permite sostener (simétrica o asimétrica) sin

riesgo de aprovechamiento, manipulación, violencia, amenaza, engaños, mentiras, zalamerías, etc., de parte de la otra para controlarla. Establece de ese modo el alcance de su responsabilidad en la relación y determina cómo espera ser tratada. No poner límites va socavando la autoestima y el bienestar de quien así procede.

Entonces, por *poner límites* no debe entender sermonear, reprimir, prohibir o algo por estilo, sino, más bien, establecer el modo de relación que nos permitimos para con la persona a quien se los ponemos y, tratándose de nuestros hijos, fundamentalmente significa educarlos en sentido amplio mediante una forma adecuada de comunicación.

Poner límites con conciencia educativa a los niños quiere decir que quien lo hace persigue un objetivo que está más allá de la situación que la conducta de los pequeños puede provocar. Un padre que pone límites a conciencia sabe que está educando a su hijo, contribuyendo con el desarrollo de su personalidad en sentido amplio (moral, intelectual, físico, afectivo, social, etc.) y por ello, por más que deseara dejar a su hijo hacer lo que le place, sin frustrarlo, ni ponerse él mismo en una situación a veces incómoda, toma la decisión de intervenir, frenando la conducta desviada y señalando la correcta o esperable. Además, sabe cómo hacerlo: anticipa el límite y sus consecuencias con firmeza y cariño; y si el niño persiste, procede consistentemente con lo dicho hasta que el párvulo aprenda. Asimismo, establece límites según la edad del pequeño, atendiendo a sus necesidades e intereses.

El padre asertivo es, el de todos, el etilo más próximo a este ideal y se verá enriquecido al aprender algunas nociones y técnicas que la ciencia psicológica ha desarrollado

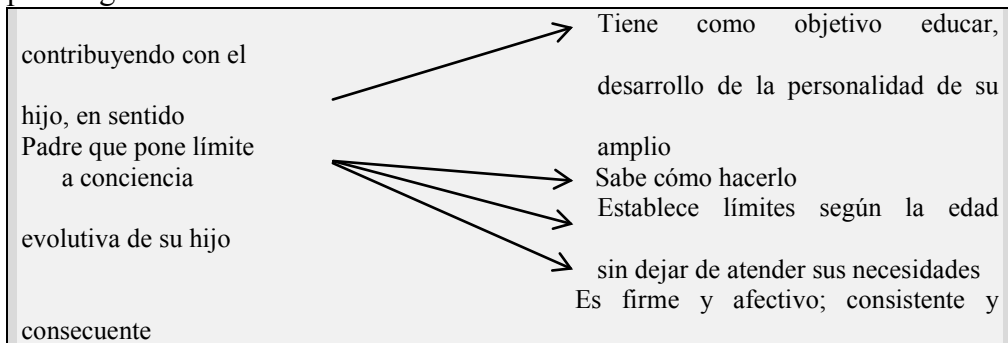


Fig. N°5: Características del padre que pone límite a conciencia

Evaluación

La primera evaluación de este MARCO CONCEPUAL, consistió en la aceptación de los padres que participaron del TPL y el impacto que el mismo tuvo en las autoridades de la ENSRP. Aunque fueron pocos, los

padres se mostraron satisfechos al culminar el TPL. Y algunas de sus respuestas afines fueron las siguientes:

- Todos consideraron que aprendieron algo nuevo en el Taller “Poner Límites”
- A cinco padres les pareció bastante importante lo que aprendieron y a dos muy importante
- Todos creen que lo aprendido es aplicable a su rol como padres

Y en cuanto al impacto de la propuesta en las autoridades de la ENSRP:

- La Regente de Nivel Inicial pidió que se lleve a cabo el Taller durante 2015 por parecerle una gran contribución para padres y maestros.
- Las Regentes de Nivel Primario y Secundario pidieron que el Taller se lleve a cabo para los padres de los respectivos niveles
- La Regente de Superior pidió que el Taller sea dirigido a los docentes de las escuelas asociadas a las ENSRP y que se dicte para los alumnos avanzados del Profesorado para la Enseñanza Primaria.

Otras instancias de evaluación y retroalimentación serán las próximas puestas en escenas del TPL y la evaluación de los responsables de la Diplomatura en Coaching Transaccional de la UFLO.

Conclusion

En lo que a mí respecta, este MARCO CONCEPTUAL es **funcional**; ya que me permitió motivar a los participantes, seguir un hilo conductor, presentar una línea argumentativa sólida coherente con el pensamiento de autores destacados, y contrastable con los hechos (salvo el primer concepto), generar un proyecto y los ejercicios para que resulte vivencial y dinámico.

También es **ético**, porque promueve con respeto un valor precioso para los padres dispuestos al cambio: el autoconocimiento en pos del comportamiento más adecuado para la crianza de los hijos.

Soy consciente que toda propuesta, en principio, es 1.- la mejor alternativa que podemos presentar, 2.- que no conformará a todos (sobre todo si no aceptan el AT) y 3.- que es enteramente perfectible. En cuanto a lo primero, es necesario darse autoconfianza para emprender desafíos y no quedar paralizados por la duda u otra forma de inacción. Con respecto a lo segundo, aguantar las críticas o indiferencias de los que están en otra posición; y, por lo tercero, aceptar las críticas constructivas, los hechos y las evoluciones.

Quedo a vuestra disposición

Cordialmente

Roberto Galasso.-

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- Test on line ¿Sabes poner límites a tus hijos?
<http://www.psicoinactiva.com/tests/test.asp?idtest=7>

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Abstract

To exploit the research results commercially or otherwise has become increasingly important for universities. When pursuing this, universities have established Technology Transfer Offices and developing links to industries and businesses. This paper focuses on the ways selected European universities have established and organised their Technology Transfer (TT) activities. The study was made using the model developed by professor Allan Gibb as a framework. The data collection work was done in a series of interviews in four European universities. The background material and data was collected from public sources, mainly from the universities' web pages. The study recognised certain elements, which affect the success of the TT activities. Technology Transfer operation requires top management support and a link to university's strategy. The size of the economic area and the amount of cumulative research results are important factors in TT. Successful Technology Transfer can be organised centralised or decentralised way as long as the operating model is known to all involved parties. Creating an entrepreneurial atmosphere and showing that the university values the exploitation of the research results appears to be highly important in order get results from TT activities.

Keywords: Knowledge transfer, university third mission, innovation process

Introduction

Technology has been valued as a premier production factor driving economic growth and development since 1950s, based on Robert Solow's seminal article, which emphasised the role of technology in the aggregate production function. The corporate sector has remained the main engine transforming technology progress into business and the corporate R&D function has increased steadily and even in an accelerating pace in the 20th century. More and more often the R&D functions are now done in networks and in cooperation between large and small companies.

Universities have also entered in the cooperation and networks with corporations. This kind of joint research activity has been going on in many universities, but quite obviously it has gained more and more attention lately and the amount of such cooperation has increased. In the course of this development universities have organised services to support the industry cooperation. One outcome of this development has been that the universities are aiming to get their research utilised more efficiently. In particular this is achieved through technology transfer activities in order to boost the science- or knowledge-based entrepreneurship in the regionally and nationally (Debaeckre, 2012, 3; Rasmussen et al, 6).

Industry-science links have become a key dimension in both innovation management and innovation policy. The industry cooperation can take many forms, including joint research, contract research, research-based consulting, in-house development project or targeted training (Charpentron et al, 2014, 83-84). In order to support and develop the links between the worlds of science and industry, professional technology transfer organisations (TTO's) have been frequently established in universities around the world. TTO's have different names in different parts of the world in universities but their function is quite similar worldwide.

Technology-, Knowledge Transfer and Third Mission

In this paper, we focus on the ways selected European universities have established and organised their Technology Transfer (TT) activities. TT is typically included to university's Third Mission Activities, which in addition include Continuing Education (or Life-long Learning) and Social Interaction activities. Our main attention lies on the broad definition of Technology Transfer, which can also be referred as Knowledge Transfer, which extends the Concept covering some of other Third Mission activities.

The Technology Transfer Organisation (The TTO) can ideally be positioned at the interface of academia and industry in order to manage the latter's access to academic output, including inventions. One might advocate the use of the concept of "Knowledge Transfer Organisation" (The KTO) rather than "Technology Transfer Organisation".

The continuous role of the TTO, encompassing a variety of knowledge transfer activities that move beyond the strict realm of "technology", supports and advocates such a view. However, as the concept of a TTO is by now well recognised in the professional innovation community, the acronym TTO is used together with KTO in this paper. The "technology" needs to be interpreted in its broadest, fully knowledge-based, sense when using the term. (Pertuzé, 2010, 84; Debaeckre, 2012, 14)

Technology transfer has been named as challenging for universities. Additionally, technology transfer calls for new skills and knowledge for

university personnel. Especially this is the case if the goal is to start up company development and activity. This is due to the fact that skills and knowledge for start up activity has not been among the qualifications for university research, teaching, and support staff. Additionally, there are cultural differences between academia and industry. (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997)

Universities' technology and business research should not be isolated in research but being part of a larger entity, namely innovation system, in which universities are participants and actors. (Edquist & Johnson, 1997; Lundvall, 1992; Carlsson & Stankiewicz, 1995; Bijker, 1995). Innovation system refers to network that consists of people and organisations, in which develops and takes advantage of new ways organising activities, production methods or inventions. It also includes innovation finance and private and public research organisations. Innovation system research produces various different categories (technology and socio-economic systems), which define common requirements for innovation system to perform. These requirements include new knowledge production, incentive system for actors, resource allocation, research resource allocation, information exchange facilitation, and uncertainty reduction. (Lundvall et al., 2002). Similar, although abstract concepts, can be used in evaluating TTO's success. Other indicators have been used, too, These include publications, conferences, collaborative and contract research, academic consultation, staff and student mobility, IPR, spin-off companies, and standards. (OECD, 2013)

The development of Third Mission Activities in European Universities

The success of maintaining and developing Industry-science links in universities can often be seen as a function of the performance of existing Technology Transfer Organisations. According to Debaeckre (2012), the relevant TTO key performance indicators are the size and (financial) volume of: 1) the collaborative research portfolio, 2) the portfolio of discoveries, patents and licences, and 3) the spin-off portfolio. The TTO should also develop the necessary and appropriate processes and IT-systems to facilitate and support those management tasks. In addition, it should build a team capable of dealing with those activities. (Debaeckre 2012, 9)

Table 1: Three Levels of TTO Development (Debaeckre 2012; 6-9)

	Level 1, "The Island"	Level 2, "The Centerpiece"	Level 3, "Inclusive Operation"
When:	Before 1995	1995-2005	From 2005
Organisational status within the university	TTO as a separate "island" at the periphery of the academia	The centerpiece of the university "third mission". Operation becomes university-wide and more	TTO activities now diffuse and interweave alongside the two core missions of education and research. The TTO is

		professional.	fully embedded within the university
Business model:	No actual business model	Integrated business models	The omnipresence of the TTO throughout the full internal value chain of the university turns it into a truly and fully inclusive activity
Main activities	Contract negotiation	Management of intellectual property, contract portfolio, and business development through spinoff creation, including increasing impact on regional development	Technology transfer activities generate a variety of relevant spill overs (cognitive/intellectual as well as financial) towards the education and research activities of the university.
Motivators:	TT activity not used in measuring performance of scientists	TTO achievements are taken into account when measuring academic performance	TTO achievements are taken into account when measuring academic performance
Publicity:	Limited impact and visibility	Impact and visibility have increased rapidly	“Level 3” will further heighten the impact and the visibility of TTO operations in academia.
	Still actual as an entry level concept for 3 rd Mission activity.	“Level 2” can still be observed at many EU-universities.	“Level 3” is expected to take full effect in the decade to come

However, the studies about Technology Transfer Organisations focus mainly on the performance of existing TTO:s, which - especially during the second and third “level” - are already recognised as parts of the Universities functions in both strategic and institutional level. Taking into account, that there is a number of universities in Pan-European context almost completely without any Third Mission (Including Technology or Knowledge Transfer) activities. Another group consists of the Universities, who have currently just entered the aforementioned “Level 1”, but who are struggling for making their presence known among the industries, but also inside the University itself. Examples of non-existing 3rd mission activities can be found among many former Eastern European universities, which have not changed their curricula and activities towards Bologna agreement.

Data collecting and analysis

For this research project we collected data on order to benchmark our own university's innovation process activities with a few selected European universities. Initially the selected universities were:

- University of Gothenburg, Sweden
- Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KU Leuven), Belgium
- University of Århus, Denmark
- Oxford university, UK
- University of Konstanz, Germany

The universities were selected so that they would include a) top European universities (KU Leuven and Oxford); b) rising relatively young research universities (Konstanz), and c) Nordic universities outside the capital region (Gothenburg and Århus). Århus was contacted, but no interviews could be agreed (timeframe did not allow that). Therefore, Århus was unfortunately, left out at this stage.

The benchmarking study was made using the model developed by professor Allan Gibb as a framework (for example *Annals of Innovation & Entrepreneurship* 2012, 3). Based on Gibb's framework the data collection work was organised and the interview structure and questions worked up. The background material and data was collected from public sources, mainly from the universities' web pages. Most important source of data for this benchmark study was the interviews carried out in summer/early fall 2012, as well as the written material and document received in connection with the interview.

Summary of the Interviews

Strategy and goals

All the mentioned universities pay due attention to promotion and fostering innovation-related activities and technology transfer among their researchers and students. Gothenburg and KU Leuven Universities have definite university strategies aimed at the promotion of knowledge, technology transfer and innovation activities. Special units at the universities' structure allow realizing of their strategies by providing researchers and students with innovation support at all levels of their work.

Gothenburg activities are focused on assessments of intellectual assets and their management from strategic point of view. KU Leuven defines its goal as promotion & support of knowledge and technology transfer between University and industry. Oxford and Konstanz don't declare any specific strategies or goals devoted to innovation development but their activities and efforts are also concentrated on awareness rising within innovation-related activities.

Oxford directs its resources to organization of entrepreneurship and innovation matters. Konstanz's activities are directed to creating independent working environment for concentrating its researchers and scientists on their research. At Konstanz strategies are made at departmental level. The university recruits professionals for strengthening innovativeness.

Organisation and governance

The universities have different approaches concerning governance and managing of innovation policy. In order to boost their innovation process and make it productive the universities either have special divisions dealing with support of innovation activities or cooperate with external ones. Gothenburg and KU Leuven universities have more centralized governance; main decisions on innovation-related activities and technology transfer are made by universities' administrations.

At Gothenburg the Vice rector bears overall responsibility on innovation policy, and operational responsibilities are shared between three units operating together: Research & Innovation Office (advisors, business lawyers etc); GU Holding (financial issues) and Institute for Innovation & Entrepreneurship. GU Holding doesn't belong to the University structure, it is owned by the Government.

At KU Leuven main issues related to the implementation of innovation policy are addressed by KU Leuven Research and Development (LRD), namely by its Executive Board consisting of the rectors, researchers and external members.

Oxford representatives emphasize the necessity of decentralization of activities for achieving operational effectiveness in innovation management. Main actors are: Oxford Centre for Entrepreneurship & Innovation (innovative activities consulting, entrepreneurial teaching); ISIS Innovation (managing tool for technology transfer and consulting).

Generally, the organization of innovation activities at Konstanz can be described as decentralized. Substantial role in the innovation policy management plays Patent & invention management unit. It cooperates with Technology License Office (TLB, external body) which also affects the decisions within use of research findings. Konstanz adapts its activities and strategies to national "the Excellence Initiatives", the Committee on Research is responsible for research profile.

IP ownership

Gothenburg University's researchers (exception-PhD research) own the IP results.

Other universities (Oxford, Konstanz, KU Leuven) initially own the IP results but they may be transferred to researchers when the universities' administration or special responsible departments deem it fit.

Co-operation partners

In total all the universities underline the crucial role of collaborative work with different actors within innovation development and technology transfer processes, such kind of cooperation allows exchanging information, contacts on business, technology, research cooperation.

Gothenburg University is an active partner of a number of organizations, contributing together to innovative system in Western Sweden. Main partners are science park and companies providing the University's researchers with business consulting, incubation, evaluation, research financing and transferring research results; organisation-promoters of entrepreneurship & business among students. Research Service and External Relations – subdivision of the Research and Innovation Service deals with research and education networking.

Oxford University has very strong links with professionals dealing with entrepreneurship within Oxford area. The University cooperates closely with local science park, providing all facilities for start-ups. The cooperation with external partners is established mainly through ISIS - the University unit managing TT and academic consulting.

Konstanz 's main cooperation is with TLB (Technology License Office), dealing with evaluation of potential innovative products, consulting, patenting and transfer activities. Innovation development strictly focuses on the field of TT cooperation with enterprises and society. The University maintains relations with its external target groups worldwide via the Executive Support Unit Communication and Marketing. Also, the University Board is connected with many enterprises at regional and national levels, links with industry representatives.

KU Leuven aims at creation of strong innovative networks with technology companies & university colleges both for strengthening innovation activities and improvement of quality of education. KU Leuven is in partnership with ten science parks and business centres. The University cooperates also with banks, local and international investors & business angels through its Research and Development Office.

Support activities

The Universities are able to provide their students & researchers with different kinds of support activities necessary for productive innovation development with use of either own or partners' recourses and facilities.

Innovation development is financed at GU with sources of the University special funds, regional programmes, EU, interested business

angels, venture capital companies etc. At Oxford there are three investment funds, working for early-stage development. Financial support at Konstanz is provided with use of money from “Excellence Initiative” and private sponsors; Konstanz sponsors also include private sponsors. KU Leuven cooperates with private banks and has its own seed capital fund, providing capital for innovation development; The Industrial Research Fund supports innovative research, and there is also a network of local and international investors and business angels.

Consulting, business support, incubation

Gothenburg University works with skilled advisers who help researchers to reach market; they offer researchers such services as business development, patent strategies, financing, and assistance in company creation. Gothenburg University is also involved in long-term regional projects supporting research findings with commercial potential. GU has its own well developed innovation system with several units operating on different areas: Business support (innovation advice and commercial law); Research Service and External Relations (together with partners generates the conditions for best research and education environments); Research and Innovation Service (supports commercial application of ideas and research findings, involves advisers, lawyers, project managers, research coordinators).

Oxford Centre for entrepreneurship is an important contributor to the University innovation & TT activities; it provides Oxford’s staff and students with entrepreneurship programmes, advices on start-up creation and project running. ISIS (subsidiary of Oxford) assists the University researchers in technology commercialising and innovation management; incubation facilities are also available at Science Park.

Konstanz’s cooperation with Technology License Office is important for provision of support activities at all levels of innovation development, as well as a link with Technologiezentrum Konstanz association), their services include evaluation of potential innovations, business support, incubation.

At KU Leuven a wide range of innovation support services (fundraising, legal issues, IP management, etc.) are concentrated at Research and Development (LRD), it also involves external advisors & experts when providing these services. KU Leuven has also incubator offering facilities for innovative businesses.

Entrepreneurship education is available for students of all disciplines at Oxford but only as short workshops or training days. It is practically impossible to incorporate entrepreneurship studies to student’s study scheme and get the courses credited, if the student is majoring in some discipline than business studies. University of Konstanz has no educational programs

dedicated to innovation management, but such courses are available for Konstanz students at partner university- The University of applied sciences in Konstanz. KU Leuven pays much attention to teaching modules related to entrepreneurship; such courses are provided to the University students and staff. There are also modules on research valorisation in doctoral schools.

Conclusion

The Knowledge transfer activities in Western European and US universities have typically reached the level 2 or 3 of the Debaeckre (2012; 6-9) model. Of the examined universities KU Leuven can be set to level 3 and Oxford and Gothenburg to either level 2 or 3. Konstanz University was clearly on level 2 (or in some aspect on level 1). Based on the interviews and review of related material, in addition to set the universities on different levels of TT development, one can also recognise certain items or prerequisites for successful Technology Transfer activity.

A necessary prerequisite to run fruitful Technology Transfer operation is top management support and a link to university's strategy. This demonstrates that Technology Transfer is valued activity and is something the staff should pursue. However, just mentioning Technology Transfer in the strategy is not enough but the university must have supporting activities for Technology Transfer as well as mechanisms to develop research finding into inventions and eventually innovations.

One must also keep in mind that to get results requires time. Universities that are now regarded as "good examples" are typically those who started early. For example KU Leuven started the activities in a separate TT office in 1972 (second in Europe) and the output started to accumulate only years thereafter. Tech transfer activities require investments by the university and it must be patience to wait for the results.

Critical mass was a term that came up frequently in this research. In order to get noticeable impacts in Technology Transfer decent amount of cumulative research results, both basic and applied, is required. In addition adequate support and other TT services are needed. Also the size of the economic area in which the university is located matters. Although universities operate internationally and also TT activities have international aspects, many activities are done together with regional companies, incubators and financiers. The interviews showed that successful tech transfer requires good connections with the region's business, industry and financial community as well as public bodies. Therefore, when setting the goals for TT activities, the size of the economic area should be taken into consideration.

The scope or definition of TT varied in the examined universities. In Leuven and Konstanz collaborative research was regarded as an essential

part of the technology transfer. While the outcome is not always spin-offs or licensing agreements but technology or knowledge transfer in other ways. In Oxford and Gothenburg the collaborative research more regarded as a basis or source for the technology transfer rather than a part of it. In spite of this difference in thinking, collaborative research was regarded an important asset for TT in all universities. It was also noted funding aspect: it is important to support and promote efficient exploitation of the research funding sources, not only finding ways for spin-off funding.

Based on the findings it appears that the way of organising the TT activities is not a central issue in getting good results. The activities can be centralised or decentralised. Important is that system and organisation is understood and known for the researchers and that TT operations fit and support the general strategy.

Raising awareness of entrepreneurial and innovation development possibilities as well as educating the staff and students in these areas are some of the key tasks of TT operations. Creating an entrepreneurial atmosphere and showing that the university values the exploitation of the research results is important. Examples of good cases and success stories are valuable when promoting tech transfer. The need of educational support, for example entrepreneurship or business creation studies for non-business students and for researchers was recognized in all of the examined universities. All universities viewed that in this aspect they should do better as the current offering of these studies was inadequate.

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THE EFFECT OF COLLABORATION ON OMANI STUDENTS' WRITING: A COMPARISON BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL, PAIR AND GROUP WORK

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Abstract

Recently, there has been a lot of discussion about the integration of collaborative writing in L2 classrooms. Collaboration is likely to have a positive effect on writing. However, none of the studies on collaborative writing have been conducted in an Arabic context where learners seem to be in favour of working individually. The current study investigates the effect of collaboration on L2 Omani students writing and expands the discussion to the attitudes of those learners to such collaboration. The data is collected from 41 students selected from two regional schools in Oman. Learners were firstly asked to complete a questionnaire about their attitudes towards collaborative writing. Then, they were divided into individuals, pairs and groups to work in a writing task followed by self reflections for pairs and groups. The analysis and interpretations of data found that collaborative writing positively affects accuracy, fluency and lexical resources of the texts. Moreover, learners generally perceive collaborative writing positively. It was concluded that collaborative writing tasks, groups rather than pairs, have an advantage over autonomous writing to some extent. The findings suggest that collaborative writing should be introduced gradually in writing classes and integrated in the actual writing process.

Keywords: Collaborative writing; negotiation for meaning; L1 use

Collaborative work means that learners work together in small groups or pairs to draw new conclusions, based on their prior knowledge, in order to achieve their group's goal (Palmer et al., 2006). According to Harmer (2007), the rationale behind collaborative work is that working together increases students' talking time and encourages them to negotiate different views and make decisions about their own learning.

Collaborative work in L2 learning is supported by cognitive and socio-cultural theoretical perspectives. These two theoretical frameworks share a common interest in the impact of social interaction on L2 acquisition (Foster & Ohta, 2005). The general aim of collaboration is to encourage social interaction among learners so that they learn from each other (Elola & Oskoz, 2010, Donato, 1994, Raja, 2012 & Storch, 2007). In addition, Firth and Wagner (1996) argue that 'language acquisition' and 'language use' cannot be separated because learning takes place once language is used (Zuengler and Miller (2006). Slavin (1992) points out that learners engage in a process of 'cognitive restructuring' by interacting with another person so that new information is retained besides previously existing knowledge (p.163). Based on Vygotsky's theory (1978), learning is a social process that requires learners to socially interact with each other. In other words, there is that kind of relationship between a novice and an expert to co-construct knowledge about language (Anton & DiCamilla, 1999, Dobao, 2012, Donato, 1994, Mutwarasibo, 2013, Wigglesworth & Storch, 2012, Storch, 2005).

Further, Foster & Ohta (2005, p.405) state that second language acquisition occurs when learners are exposed to 'comprehensible input' that is 'a little beyond the learner's current L2 knowledge' according to Krashen (1981, 1982, 1985). Long and Porter (1985) assert that interactional adjustments are the most effective way to achieve comprehensible input; Pica (1994) refers to such adjustments as repetition and paraphrasing of input (Lantolf, 2000). Storch (2011) indicates that the use of pair and group work encourages such negotiation for meaning to attain the common goal of developing a native-like language proficiency level.

The use of L1 in L2 classrooms is a vital issue that still concerns language teachers. Brooks and Donato (1994) state that teachers may avoid using group work because it may encourage students to use L1, which is undesirable in communicative language teaching (Storch & Wigglesworth, 2003). Yet, it is believed by some educationalists that L1 has great value in L2 learning because learners can draw on their previous resources of the L1 to develop their knowledge of the L2 (Auerbach, 1993 as cited in Liang et al., 1998). Supporting this point of view, Schweers states that 'starting with the L1 provides a sense of security and validates the learners' lived experiences, allowing them to express themselves. The learner is then willing to experiment and take risks with English' (1999, p.7). Additionally, according to Storch and Aldosari (2012), in L2 small groups or pairs, negotiation of meaning using L1 occurs essentially to discuss L2 grammatical and lexical items, and to achieve task management. Moreover, Villamil and DeGuerrero (1996) state that their students were using L1 mainly for the purposes of 'making meaning of text, retrieving language

from memory, exploring and expanding content, guiding their action through the task, and maintaining dialogue' (Anton & Dicamilla ,1999, p. 236).

Collaborative writing refers to the situation when learners work together with a shared responsibility to produce one written text (Storch, 2011 & Dobao, 2012). Yet, many learners may have had a daunting experience when writing collaboratively because they are concerned about their language proficiency level, their attitude and ability to participate with the rest of the group (Wigglesworth & Storch, 2012). Moreover, Elola & Oskaz (2010) state that extensive research supports the effectiveness of collaborative writing tasks since it encourages collaborative re-creation of discourse to achieve the group's goal. Therefore, it is worthwhile to integrate collaborative writing in L2 classrooms to 'expand the writer's linguistic experience in a holistic manner' (Elola & Oskaz, 2010, p.65).

However, The previous literature gives the impression that collaborative writing tends to be limited to brainstorming and peer review stages rather than collaboration in the whole writing process (Dobao, 2012 & Storch, 2005). Nonetheless, to avoid the drawbacks of previous research, some scholars have been aware of the importance of exploring the benefits of collaborative writing that obliges learners to work collaboratively during the whole writing process (e.g. Dobao, 2012, Wigglesworth & Storch, 2009, Storch, 2002, 2005, 2007, Storch & Wigglesworth, 2007).

In general, research comparing the benefits of collaborative versus individual work supports the use of collaborative writing tasks due to its positive impact on task achievement. Yet, these findings are still inconsistent, so it is sensible to conduct further research.

A recent similar study to the current one was carried out by Dobao (2012) to examine the effect of writing collaboratively in L2 learning by drawing a comparison between individual, pair and group work. This study was conducted in the United States in a public university. The importance of this particular study comes from the fact that most previous research compared only collaborative pair work to individual work, while this study compared individual, pair and group work. The researcher found that group work has a better effect on grammatical accuracy of the written texts than pair work, but there is no difference in accuracy between individual and pair work, which supports previous research (e.g. Wigglesworth & Storch, 2009 and Storch, 2007). However, there seems to be the same significant effect of pairs and groups on lexical and structural complexity compared to those written individually, which is consistent with the findings of the previous research that compared individual and pair work (e.g. Wigglesworth & Storch, 2009 and Storch, 2007). Further, supporting the findings of Storch (2005), in terms of fluency, texts written individually were longer than those written collaboratively. However, it is vitally important to recognize that the

findings of this study cannot be generalized across levels of proficiency or other types of writing tasks since the study focuses on intermediate level learners working on pictures to produce a written text.

In relation to learners' perspectives towards collaborative learning, a number of studies have been conducted but only a few of them, conducted recently, have focused on collaborative writing specifically. Most of these studies show that learners generally have a positive attitude towards collaborative writing tasks (e.g. Dobao & Blum, 2013, Mutwarasibo, 2013 and Storch, 2005). The reasons given by learners for this positive perception are variable. For instance, in Storch (2005), learners seem to be convinced that collaborative writing leads to better accuracy and lexical choice. Nevertheless, according to Dobao and Blum (2013), learners appreciate collaborative writing but they do not perceive its efficiency for learning grammar and vocabulary which opposes what Storch states. On the other hand, learners in a study conducted by Shehada (2011) reported that collaborative writing positively affected their speaking and self-confidence skills as well as their writing skills which support the positive attitudes of learners.

Based on this literature, the current study aims to investigate the effect of collaborative work on the performance of Omani high school students' writing by drawing a comparison between individual, pair and group work. It is expected to bring new insights on collaborative writing for Arabic ESL classes since to the best of my knowledge, no earlier study focused on this particular topic in an Arabic context. It also seeks to examine learners' perspectives towards different task designs since the literature has not given this issue much attention.

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written collaboratively. However, it is vitally important to recognize that the findings of this study cannot be generalized across levels of proficiency or other types of writing tasks since the study focuses on intermediate level learners working on pictures to produce a written text.

The study

This research was conducted for Arabic native speakers, particularly in the Sultanate of Oman, one of the Arab Gulf Countries. The targeted population for this study was 45 female students studying an elective English course in Grade 11 at school. Unfortunately, no statistics could be found about the population that the target sample represents. Based on the educational system in Oman, the course is designed as an optional course usually taken by high achievers besides the compulsory English course, so students can be assumed to be highly motivated and willing to learn English.

The subjects only represent two schools in the regional area of the researcher that have been chosen because they are reachable. One of the schools has one elective English class and four compulsory English classes, while the other school has two elective classes and eleven compulsory English classes. It is worth mentioning that all students have been studying English as a second language for 11 years at school and their ages range from 16-18. As reported by their teachers, their grades range mostly between A and B according to the proficiency level descriptor used by The Ministry of Education in Oman. The assessment of students' performance includes continuous assessment, 60%, and a final test, 40%. According to the mark gained on both columns, students can get A (90-100), B (80-89), C (65-79), D (50-64) and E (less than 50). Therefore, the sample's level of English explains the rationale behind their choice to study the elective course. Out of those students, 4 of them have been selected by their teachers for interviews. Then they have been asked for permission to be interviewed by the researcher and the four of them agreed to participate.

Generally, the research seeks a better understanding on the effect of collaborative work on writing tasks and the attitudes of learners to such type of learning. A major step to attain this aim is drawing a comparison between individual, pair and group work on a guided writing task specially designed for the purpose of this study.

Qualitative and quantitative methods are used to examine the effect of collaboration on learners' writing. Writing papers are corrected and compared in terms of accuracy, task response, lexical resources, fluency and complexity based on a specified set of criteria approved in the educational institution where the researcher comes from. The aim is to investigate the merits of collaboration on writing by comparing the work done by students who worked individually to those who worked in pairs and groups.

Furthermore, a simple descriptive analysis is used to analyze the research survey through drawing diagrams and tables. The focus is on the attitudes of learners towards collaborative writing. Additionally, interviews and self-reflections were used to show learners' perceptions of their experience on such tasks.

Data Analysis

Writing task

The analysis of the writing task (Appendix A) is centred over the first research question which is related to the effect of collaboration on learners' writing. The findings are based on a comparison between 5 individuals, 5 pairs and 10 groups of 3. Learners' papers were investigated in relation to task response (TR), accuracy (GA), fluency (F), coherence and cohesion (CC) and lexical resources (LR). Fluency is judged by the number of words; whereas; the other areas are scored by two markers based on specific writing assessment criteria (Appendix B). Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 below present a summary of the scores that learners achieved in these areas.

Table 2.1 Summary of individuals' scores

	Individual (5)					AVG
TR	6	7	12	15	18	12
CC	20	15	19	22	22	20
LR	16	15	19	18	21	18
GA	16	17	12	17	20	16
SUM	58	54	62	72	81	
Average overall score for the group = 65						

Table 2.2 Summary of pairs' scores

	Pair (5)					AVG
TR	20	23	16	19	17	15
CC	18	22	19	21	21	20
LR	17	21	19	17	18	18
GA	16	19	17	18	18	17
SUM	71	85	71	75	74	
Average overall score for the group =75						

Table 2.3 Summary of groups' scores

	Group (10)										AVG
TR	22	23	23	25	24	23	24	20	21	18	22
CC	17	24	16	22	22	22	20	22	22	16	20
LR	18	23	18	23	23	23	19	23	20	16	21
GA	13	23	16	19	18	18	18	20	19	16	18
SUM	70	93	73	89	87	86	81	85	82	66	
Average overall score for the group = 81											

The tables show that learners generally achieved better total scores in the whole task when they worked collaboratively. For example, groups (average= 81) got higher total scores than pairs (average= 75) and pairs got higher total scores than individuals (average= 65). Texts written in groups are longer and more fluent than those written individually or in pairs based on the number of words written. The detailed analysis of the other four areas is presented below for each one separately.

Task response

Achievement in terms of task response increases gradually as the number of students working together increases. The average scores of individuals, pairs and groups in this area are 12, 15 & 22 respectively. 4 of those who worked individually and 3 who worked in pairs failed to order the events in the first part of the story. Moreover, all individual learners and 3 pairs showed a lack of understanding of task requirements in which they either paraphrased or copied the first part of the story (ordering events) before adding their own thoughts to complete the story. On the other hand, all 10 groups completed the task as required.

Coherence and cohesion

In terms of coherence and cohesion, they seem not to be affected by the way of learning since most learners got scores in the good level with a minority of them whose scores range somewhere in the satisfactory level. It is interesting to note that the average score for all groups is 20 which suggest that neither individual nor collaborative work has an influence on texts' cohesion and coherence.

Lexical resources

Moving to the lexical resources, the average scores of individuals and pairs are the same, 20; whereas, the average score of groups is 21. However, pairs and groups' scores mostly range between satisfactory and good, while individuals' scores spread out between unsatisfactory, satisfactory and good. Therefore, this suggests that both pairs and groups have a positive effect on lexical resources. Generally, errors of all groups are related to spelling of words.

Grammatical accuracy

Scores of groups' papers provide evidence supporting the positive effect of group work (average=18) on grammatical accuracy against individual work and even pair work. Pairs, whose average score in this area is 17 also did better than individuals whose average is 16. The most common grammatical mistakes of individuals and pairs are the use of verb- to -be +

verb, double negatives, past after 'to' in infinitive and misuse of prepositions.

The importance of analyzing learners' own writing is a major step to answer the first research question about the effect of collaboration on writing. The findings of this analysis show evidence in favor of collaboration in general, and group work in particular especially in task response, grammatical accuracy and fluency.

Survey

To answer this research question, the survey data of 41 learners was analysed. Tables and charts are produced for each theme (Appendix C).

In the first part of the survey, students were asked about their opinions on collaborative and individual writing tasks. When learners were asked generally if they like autonomous writing rather than collaborative, agreements 29% and disagreements 32% seem to be very close, while 38% of the participants shared a neutral attitude. Interestingly, when asked more specific questions in relation to individual writing, it is noticeable that the majority shared a positive attitude to independent writing. To support this, 56% of the participants (n=23) agreed that they achieve better when they work alone compared to 15% (n=6) who disagreed. With regard to individual testing, a large majority (81%, n=33) agreed that they need to write individually to practice for their exams. However, when learners were asked if they understand the task better when they work with others, 85% (n=35) agreed. Surprisingly, all but one student agreed that collaborative writing develops creativity.

Overall, the above figures show that learners prefer to work individually but have a strong belief that collaborative writing has a positive influence on their performance. It is not surprising that most students agree with Q3 as it focuses on individual testing. It's an interesting contrast with Q5, maybe suggesting that students enjoy group work but deal with individual work as a preparation stage for their exams.

In relation to fluency and accuracy of the texts, the figures indicate that the majority of learners (81%, n= 33) agreed that collaborative writing improves their grammatical accuracy. The numbers show that just over half of the participants (52%, n=21) hold a positive belief about the effect of collaboration on the fluency of the texts, while 29% disagreed with them. It could be concluded that most students agreed that collaborative writing improves accuracy of texts more than fluency.

The interpretations of the learners' responses to questions in relation to feedback show that perception towards feedback from each other is inconsistent. When asked if they trust getting feedback from their classmates, they were divided into three groups: 31% agreed, 32% neutral and 37%

disagreed. Moreover, 66% (n= 27) agreed that collaborative writing is less effective since their mistakes cannot be all corrected by the teacher. It could be inferred that the perception towards peers' and teachers' feedback may consequently have a negative impact on their attitudes towards collaborative writing in general.

The investigation of learners' responses to questions related to social interaction and responsibility shows that the majority of learners agree with all of them. Specifically, 61% (n= 25) of learners perceived collaborative writing as an opportunity to express ideas. Further, 76% (n=31) agreed that collaboration leads them to cooperate rather than to compete. In relation to getting sense of responsibility and confidence due to collaborative work, 63% and 66% of learners agreed compared to a minority who disagreed. Additionally, 66% of all participants agreed that collaborative writing improves self-confidence. All of these high percentages indicate that the majority of participants have a positive attitude towards collaborative writing due to its positive effects on these areas.

The last part of the questionnaire, learners were asked about the use of Arabic when working collaboratively. About half of the learners stated that using Arabic helps them write better; whereas, 29% disagreed. From all participants, 68% (n= 28) agreed that using Arabic makes their language learning less successful in contrast to 15% who disagreed. The analysis shows that the majority of learners tend to perceive using Arabic in collaborative work negatively as they need to practice English. Yet, there is still a fair belief among learners that using Arabic helps them in their writing.

Self-reflection

Having finished the writing task, a sample of 20 learners who worked collaboratively (10 in pairs and 10 in groups) were given a simple self-reflection paper (See Appendix D) to reflect on their experience of the work they did with their pairs or groups. Table 4.4 shows a numerical description of learners' responses to the first part of the reflection which indicates that the majority of students liked working collaboratively in this task.

Table 2.4: Learners' reflection on the writing task

	Pairs	Groups
☺	8	9
☹	2	1
☹	0	0
Total	10	10

To go into more detail, learners' positive attitudes towards collaborative writing, pair and group, have been categorized into three aspects which are shared between the two groups as summarized below along with sample quotes.

1. Pair and group work minimizes the time spent on a given task.
2. Collaboration helps learners to share ideas and to produce more imaginative texts.
3. Collaborative work leads to a more accurate text in terms of grammar and vocabulary.

[Quotation 1: Student A: Pair work]

'I think working in pair is very important and creativity. Because we can share our ideas together and working in short time successfully. It is really a good way to improve our way of thinking and imagination.'

[Quotation 2: Student B: Group work]

'Because all the members have different ideas and vocabulary and grammar and different imaginations that can make the text better than when work individually.'

However, the two students who worked in pairs who stated that they did not like the task provided the reason that the task is difficult but this criticism relates to the task itself rather than to the use of pair work. On the other hand, the student who worked in a group did not like the task because the group members were 'not cooperative and they were laughing and playing'. Regarding the second research question about learners' attitudes, the reflections suggest that learners enjoyed collaborative writing because they were able to share ideas and discuss issues on grammar and lexis to produce a text in a short time.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted to collect data qualitatively in order to elaborate findings on the second research question which is related to learners' attitudes towards collaborative writing tasks.

The interviews were conducted as a follow up for the writing task that students worked on as individuals, pairs or groups. Four students were interviewed: S1 and S2 finished the task in pairs and S3 and S4 worked in groups. These interviews have revealed insights on learners' perceptions of the collaborative task. Therefore, the following part presents direct quotes along with the author's interpretations for such perceptions together with the learners' attitudes. See Appendix E for more information with regards to the full interviews.

Learners' perceptions on collaborative writing

When the four interviewees were asked: To what extent did you like working with your classmates? Three of them expressed a position in favour of collaborative work but one learner who worked in a group, stated clearly that she prefers working alone. For instance S1 and S3 said:

S1: 'I like it so much because my partner was helping me and we; she gives me new words that I didn't know it before. That's it.'

S3: 'In general, I like working in groups so much but sometimes I prefer to work alone when the group members don't work.'

Further, question 7 on their thoughts about if they could do better in the task if they worked alone partially supports their positive response to the first interview question. With this regard, S1 and S2 who worked in pairs expressed their preference to pair work in opposition to individual work; whereas, S3 and S4 who worked in groups declared that they like working alone rather than with others. Following are examples of responses of two students, one from each group, contrasting each other.

[Extract: Interview with S2]

Q8: Researcher: *Do you think you could do better if you worked alone? Please explain.*

S2: *No. No. as I told you, to exchange the ideas, sharing how to, for example begin the story, end the story. Maybe she will help me some phrases.*

[Extract: Interview with S4]

Q8: Researcher: *Do you think you could do better if you worked alone? Please explain.*

S4: *Yes, I do. Because I'll be able to use my own thoughts and ideas. And I totally depend on myself. Also, I don't like anybody to argue with me at all.*

The two interviewees who worked in pairs shared a positive attitude in opposition to those who experienced group work. Although S3 expressed that she liked working in the writing task in a group in Q2, she stated that she would prefer to work individually if she was given the chance to. Responses to the two interview questions imply reasons for the interviewees' preferences. The two who worked in pairs took the advantage of sharing ideas and helping each other with vocabulary items. On the other hand, those who experienced group work mainly complained about uncooperative group members. This suggests that sometimes it is better to restrict collaborative work to pair work to avoid conflicts between students. Yet, these conflicts could be avoided by asking students to choose their group members, so that they feel satisfied with whom they work. Moreover, uncooperation may result due to different levels of learners within the same group which

suggests using ability grouping in some cases especially if collaborative work has been recently introduced to students.

The first part of the interview focuses on learners' actions in relation to task organization, first language use and prior preparation that learners used when working in pairs or groups and their relation to their performance. It could be clearly noticed from the responses of the four students that they organized and distributed the work between them and mostly got the benefit of working together which creates a good opportunity for sharing ideas to finish the task. Additionally, they all expressed that using Arabic had taken a part in the completion of the task; however, those who worked in pairs think of it positively but the others who worked in groups seem not to be satisfied about doing so. With regards to prior preparation for the task, they are all in favour of it and think that it leads to a better performance.

Question 5 of the interview focuses the attention on the problems that learners may face, which relatively affect their attitudes to collaborative work and consequently answer the second research question. S1 and S2 who worked in pairs highlighted their weakness in using vocabulary and resolving it through discussion. For example S1 stated:

'We cannot find some phrases and we discuss and use simple words to complete the story. We don't have so much vocabulary.'

On the other hand, the other two learners, S3 and S4, who worked in groups agreed that the lack of cooperation between group members is a major problem. The following lines quote the response of S3:

'There are lots of problems that we faced like different opinions but we can deal with it by asking someone to help us to choose the right opinion. Also, the wrong division of the works is a difficult problem and this is a result of the wrong plan. The bad leader, the different personalities and uncooperative members are problems which usually faced us.'

This suggests that the number of students working together may negatively affect collaboration among group members. With regards to the second research question on the attitudes of learners to collaborative writing, the interviews show that learners are aware of the positive effect of collaboration on their writing through sharing ideas and negotiating about grammar and vocabulary. However, some learners still have a tendency to work individually.

Discussion

Based on the findings of the current research, it could be indicated that collaborative writing is generally perceived positively by some learners who participated in the study. Also, the findings show that there is a positive impact of collaborative writing on learners' performance in a number of

aspects which supports the statement of Elola & Oskaz (2010) that research is in favour of collaborative writing due to its positive influence on L2 learning. This positive perception and impact of collaborative writing support the previous literature to some extent, but there are some considerable differences that are worth discussing. This discussion section is divided into two sub-sections: the effect of collaboration on writing and learners' attitudes to collaborative writing. These sections are related to the focus of the two research questions of the current study.

The effect of collaboration on L2 writing

A major question that the current research is concerned with is the effects of collaboration on writing. Storch (2005), in her study, found that collaboration improves accuracy and complexity of written texts but ends up with shorter texts. On the other hand, a study conducted by Wigglesworth and Storch (2009) found that collaborative writing leads to more accurate texts with no influence on complexity and fluency. The findings of the current research support that collaborative writing enhances accuracy but also found that it also positively affects fluency. Moreover, supporting Storch (2005) and opposing Wigglesworth and Storch (2009), it found that collaborative writing improves complexity of compositions. It is worth noting that the present study combines accuracy with what is referred to as complexity in the literature. Based on the marking criteria, it was also found that neither autonomous nor collaborative work has an effect on coherence and cohesion of the texts.

It is worth noting that these two previous studies are based on a comparison between individual and pair work; therefore, it is reasonable to compare the findings of the current research with the study conducted by Dobao (2012) which was based on a comparison between individual, pair and group work. The results of this study show that group work resulted in more accurate texts than pair and individual work. In terms of lexical resources, both pair and group work showed a more positive effect than individual work. However, individual texts were more fluent, based on the number of words, than jointly written texts. The findings of the current research supports what Dobao (2012) found with respect to lexical resources and accuracy. Yet, it found that group work leads to a higher achievement in terms of task response and fluency. Therefore, the positive effect of collaboration on Omani students' writing is more significant in group work than pair work.

It is clearly noticed that the literature and the current research agree that collaborative writing leads to more accurate texts. Nonetheless, findings with regards to fluency, lexis and task response are inconsistent. The effect on accuracy could be due to negotiation of meaning in relation to the

grammatical rules that learners have already studied but still have difficulties in applying them. To support this claim, one finding that the interviews revealed is that negotiation occurs to discuss about vocabulary and grammar. However, such negotiation does not seem to have the same impact on lexical resources. The variation of findings of the current study and the previous ones could also be affected by the context of the study and the level of learners. Hence, further research is still needed.

Learners' attitudes towards collaborative writing

In this discussion about learners' attitudes, few points should be highlighted in relation to the areas and aspects of collaborative writing as the analysis of learners' attitudes is divided by themes.

The literature shows that learners generally appreciate collaborative writing and perceive it positively to some extent. Nevertheless, there are two contrasting points for the reasons behind this positive attitude. Storch (2005) states that the main reason given by her participants was that collaborative writing improves accuracy and lexical complexity, whereas the learners in Dobao and Blum (2013) did not think that it affects accuracy and lexical choice in any way although they also perceived the collaboration process in a positive manner. Most of the learners in this study agreed with Storch's participants that collaboration helped them produce texts with a higher level of grammar and vocabulary. Two more reasons regarding the effectiveness of collaborative work according to the sample is that it decreases the time and increases their creativity which they believe to be positive for their learning. However, this positive perception seems to be more relevant to pair work rather than group work which shows that the increasing number of students in collaborative work is considered a disadvantage by some students. The interviewees who worked in groups seemed to have a daunting experience which negatively affected their perceptions. Wigglesworth and Storch (2012) state that the major concern of learners when working collaboratively is their ability and level to participate. However, in this study, some learners' complained about uncooperative group members which is against the aim of sharing responsibility that collaborative writing seeks (Storch, 2011 & Dobao, 2012). The lack of cooperation means lack of learning because unless learners collaborate, group work has no value in learning since there is no negotiation. When asked precisely, learners enjoyed working collaboratively. Yet, some of them may prefer to work individually to practice for their exams and to avoid being under the pressure of working with uncooperative classmates. The Omani collective culture may contribute to the positive attitudes of learners towards collaborative writing. A personal interpretation on some learners' preferences to individual

work may be relevant with high achievers who want show their ability and level of English to their teachers.

Regarding first language use, the findings of this study support Dobao (2012) and Foster and Ohta (2005), who are supporters of the socio-cultural theory of mind, that negotiation of meaning when working collaboratively helps learners overcome their weaknesses by each others' strengths. Interviewees expressed that they scaffolded each other with lexical and grammatical items to finish the task. An interesting point to note is that teachers and learners, in the current study, have two contrasting points of view regarding the use of L1. When talking about the students, Schweers (1999) relates L1 use in L2 classrooms to the feeling of security that allows learners to express themselves. The findings of the present study support what Schweers stated that the use of L1 helps students' feel secure to discuss the task. Negotiation of meaning through the use of L1 is essential to discuss grammatical and lexical items according to Storch and Aldosari (2012). Nevertheless, none of the sample learners mentioned using L1 to discuss grammar or vocabulary. Another use of L1 that this study shows is to make sense of the task and expand the content of the text which supports one of the uses resulted from the study conducted by Villamil and DeGuerrero (1996). The interviewees who worked in pairs expressed that using Arabic helped them finish the task due to their level of English. It could be interpreted that collaborative work helps low achievers to feel secure to express themselves in Arabic, so that high achievers working with them get the benefit of their ideas and translate them to English. This sense of security and comfort in collaborative work may be the reason for producing more fluent texts.

With respect to social interaction and personality of learners, the present study shows that learners perceive collaborative writing as a way to increase their confidence and sense of responsibility. It also gives them a chance to express their ideas and cooperate with each other. These results are in line with some previous literature. For example, Shehada (2011) states that collaboration has a positive influence on learners' self-confidence and speaking skills. The findings on responsibility contradict with the problem of uncooperative members. If collaborative writing develops sense of responsibility, it means that learners all cooperate and share the responsibility to finish the task.

Conclusion

As the findings of the current research have been analyzed, discussed and interpreted, there seems to be a positive effect of collaborative writing on texts' accuracy in particular. There are also effects on other aspects which do not correspond with the previous literature such as fluency and lexical resources. Negotiation of meaning to understand the task seems to have a

noticeable impact on jointly written texts even when comparing groups to pairs. The first research question is clearly answered by analysing the data. The data on the second question about learners' attitudes towards collaborative writing seems to reflect a positive attitude in general but still needs further investigation. Based on these findings, some recommendations for teachers and stakeholders of English language teaching are highlighted as following:

- Learners' different learning styles should be taking into considerations and a variety of teaching methods is needed. Some learners are unenthusiastic to work collaboratively which requires the teachers to find a teaching method that suites everyone and leads to better performance.
- Collaborative writing should be integrated in the writing process due to its positive effect on L2 learning in general. A good task management and feedback enable learners to be aware of the advantages of collaborative writing.
- Collaborative writing should be introduced gradually, starting from brainstorming ideas, then pair work and lastly group work to avoid negative attitudes towards grouping students.
- Teachers should be aware of their students' cooperative skills, so that once they decide to have a collaborative writing activity, they come to a decision whether to choose group members or leave the responsibility for students themselves.

It is worth noting that this study is a small scale study that focuses on female students at Grade 11 with a sample of 45 students. It is difficult to represent a very large population, but the findings could assumingly be generalized in other areas in the Arab world which usually have single-sex high school classes with similar educational systems. Since the study is concerned about the effect of collaborative writing and learners attitudes, it is reasonable to include male students which may reflect gender differences, if there are any. Yet, time constraints when the study was conducted in the last week of the semester, were capable to restrict the sample to two reachable female schools in the regional area of the researcher. Another limitation of the present research is that it ignores the years of experiences of teachers which may have an influence on their attitudes. Unfortunately, it was impossible to get such information once the questionnaires were collected. Also, validity of the research might be criticized since there are different numbers of students in each condition (individual, pair, group) due to time constraints. Thereby, further research is suggested to engage the same students in the three different conditions at three different times to examine the actual effect on their performance.

There is much research conducted on collaborative work but a few focused the attention on collaborative writing. All but one study examined pair work only as a collaborative work and ignored group work. Thus, the current research seems to be the first one in Oman that attempts to explore the consequences of collaborative writing in L2 learning by comparing individual, dyads and groups' compositions. Further, the use of triangulation strengthens the truthfulness and validity of the results. For example, it could be noticed that there is a contradiction in learners' data in some areas comparing results from the survey and those from the self-reflections, interviews and the writing task. Findings of qualitative methods are more supportive to each other especially that self-reflections and interviews were conducted after exposing learners to the collaborative writing activity.

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SUSTAINING A COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARS AT A TRANSNATIONAL UNIVERSITY: A SELF- STUDY

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Abstract

In this article we report on a self-study at a transnational research-intensive university in Qatar. We trace the shared perceptions of four emerging scholars, from two disciplines, coming together to build a sustainable community of scholars as an interdisciplinary team. We explore our initial thoughts in developing our group and illustrate the themes of collegiality, mentorship and conflict in sustaining a successful community of scholars. We conclude with lessons learned illustrating how the concept of support played a significant factor in sustaining our community and adjusting to both a transnational education setting and expatriate life. The findings may serve useful to others working in such a setting, and most expressively, provide an opportunity to broaden the continued scholarly discourses of scholarship, community of scholars, and interdisciplinary teams within the context of transnational education.

Keywords: Community of Scholars, Interdisciplinary Teams, Transnational Education, Scholarship

Introduction

Faculty members employed at foreign-based transnational universities face many unique opportunities and challenges in their work environment as they learn to navigate the new terrain on time-limited working contracts, and often arriving with little knowledge of colleagues. However, what is familiar to faculty members is their responsibilities.

Essential academic responsibilities primarily include: educating learners; providing service to a community; engaging in active research and scholarship to advance knowledge; and/or supporting best practice in his or her field. Generating novel ideas, and undertaking a research or scholarly activity is no longer practiced in isolation, but accomplished collectively among teams of interdisciplinary researchers and scholars (Melnik & Fineout-Overholt, 2011). Coming together for these scholarly activities is referred to as a community of scholars (CoS).

In published literature on the concept, CoS is often described as local, in-house, and discipline-specific (Adendorff, 2011; Brahm, Davis, Peirce, & Lamb, 2011; Cash & Tate, 2008; Cumbie & Wolverton, 2004; Cumbie, Weinert, Lupareli, Conley, & Smith, 2005; Jameson, Jaeger, Clayton, & Bringle, 2012; Scott, Justiss, Schmid, & Fisher, 2013; Wilding, Curtin, & Whiteford, 2012). Postlewait & Michieli's work (2010) is the exception. These authors focused on a CoS within a transnational context and outlined the contributions made by their group of scholars, which included translating research findings into several languages, publishing their work for a much broader audience, and encouraging the renewal of often out-dated teaching practices within their specific discipline. Excluding Postlewait & Michieli's (2010) findings, there is a paucity of evidence of how faculty working at transnational universities move toward assembling and sustaining a CoS in general, let alone from an interdisciplinary perspective.

In this article, we present an interpretation of the reflections of a group of faculty, the four authors, on the development of scholarly identity and on establishing and sustaining a CoS within a transnational interdisciplinary context. We first provide an overview of the concepts of scholarship, community of practice (CoP) and CoS as background to a self-study approach. We then demonstrate some of our initial thoughts and perceived benefits in forming an interdisciplinary team. We further highlight the opportunities and challenges that emerged from our CoS by reporting on three inter-related themes: collegiality, conflict and mentorship. We conclude with lessons learned where we present team and institutional support as the driving forces in sustaining and adapting to our new work context. Collegiality, conflict, mentorship, and support have been a focus in many scholarly studies. However, what we maintain is the discovery of a distinctive dimension of the concept of support that has not been previously identified to date about interdisciplinary CoS within the context of transnational scholarship. Our aim is to provide an opportunity to broaden the continued scholarly discourses of scholarship and CoS in this context.

Context of the Study

University of Calgary in Qatar

According to the Council of Europe/UNESCO (2000), transnational education (TNE) is defined as all forms of higher education that are accessible to learners located in different countries from which the main academic institution is centred. TNE is not a new phenomenon, but has expanded across most of the globe (Adam, 2001; McBurnie & Ziguas, 2007). In the Middle East, there has been a rapid expansion in the number of TNE institutions. These include branch campuses, replica offshore institutions, and satellite universities (Miller-Idriss & Hanauer, 2011).

The University of Calgary (U of C), a Canadian university, has joined the TNE movement. A transnational branch of U of C is located in Qatar (UCQ). It was established in 2006 with a vision to “enrich the health and wellness in Qatar and the Gulf region” (Donnelly, 2013, p. 1). Closely associated with this vision is the nation’s aim in becoming a knowledge-based, global intellectual centre (Qatar Foundation, 2012). UCQ offers nursing degrees, one at the undergraduate level and another at the graduate level. The English for Academic Purposes (EAP) program serves as a supportive role to assist with English. Approximately 85% of students require one or more courses in the EAP program prior to enrolment in either nursing program, as the majority of students come from countries where English is not an official language.

Our Community

The four novice scholars involved in this study started working at the University of Calgary in the Fall of 2012. We were all new to a transnational university context. We were brought together our first term by the idea of using microblogging as a reflective pedagogical tool for student nurses involved in a community health course. We have continued to work on a microblogging project, while building and developing our scholarly identity through this interdisciplinary CoS, although 2 faculty members have since completed their contracts and returned to Canada. Table 1 summarizes our collective background information.

Background

Scholarship

Boyer’s (1990) perspectives on scholarship and subsequent development of a framework have been immensely influential. Specifically, Boyer (1990) described four types of scholarship. The scholarship of discovery is often referred to as the traditional view of how research is conducted by academics. Within this type of scholarship, inquiries are made by scholars with the goal of generating knowledge. The scholarship of

integration implies the compilation of facts or perspectives to arrive at a new understanding. “It is about making connections across disciplines, placing the specialities in larger context, illuminating data in a revealing way, often educating non-specialists, too” (Boyer, 1990, p.18). The scholarship of application is in employing knowledge gained, within a specified context, to solve problems, and to facilitate best practices within institutions. It includes acquiring “new intellectual understandings from the very act of application” (Boyer, 1990, p. 23). Finally, the scholarship of teaching is about “transforming and extending knowledge and the continuity of knowledge” (Boyer, 1990, p.23). This renewed perspective on scholarship facilitated in narrowing the gap between teaching and research. Boyer (1990) distinguished teaching as “the highest form of understanding” (p.23) and situated teaching at the very core of scholarship. These ideas seemed especially applicable to working in an interdisciplinary team in the situated context of TNE. In this paper, the term scholarship includes aspects of discovery (the scholarly process), integration (interdisciplinary knowledge), application (best practice in the TNE context) and teaching (our project on a teaching innovation), and the development of scholarly identity refers to our learning and growth across them.

Community of Practice

A learning community emerges when a group of individuals comes together and commits to learning in new ways. Nourishing and nurturing group learning can lead to the building of a CoP. Lave and Wenger (1991) defined what they termed CoP by linking the two previously separate ideas of community and practice. Later, Wenger (2011) added a domain to their concept of CoP to differentiate it from a “club of friends or a network of connections between people” (p.1); rather, a CoP “has an identity defined by a shared domain of interest” (Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002). These authors defined a CoP as a group of people who develop a common sense of purpose and a desire in sharing knowledge and experiences through extensive communication as part of becoming a community of practice. This group of people may work together, or share interests or challenges that are similar. (Wenger, et al., 2002). While people in communities of practice can work in a variety of contexts, the concept of communities of scholars is contextualized in the specialized field of academia.

Community of Scholars

In the advent of a beginning shift in the academy’s view of scholarship and of Boyer’s (1990) *Scholarship Reconsidered* paper, CoS began to materialize across campuses. A CoS is a group of academics that devote time in the art of inquiry and knowledge development. Rizzo-Parse

(2005) identified fundamental attributes of a CoS such as “knowledge vision (focus), a spirit of collegiality (recognition of strengths of the group), and a persistent pattern of critical contemplation (reflection of the group’s contribution to the body of literature of their disciplines)” (p. 119). Within the context of community of learners, Selznick’s work (1996) adds to the list of essential features identified by Rizzo-Parse (2005) to include identity, history, and culture. Extending Selznick’s contributions, Misanchuk, Anderson, Craner, Eddy, and Smith (2000) discovered that communication, collaboration, and cooperation set up a community for success. In our coming together as a group of scholars, we used the CoP framework to develop a CoS.

Self-Study as our Methodology

Self-study research has gained popularity as a research methodology in the field of Education. Although there is a lack of agreement on its definition (Pinnegard & Hamilton, 2009), a person involved in self-study “questions practice with the support of colleagues, and frames, assesses, and reframes his/her practice within the context or broader educational aims” (Samaras & Freese, 2009, p.11). The particular aim of this approach is for educators to transform their practice through examining their own teaching (Lyons & LaBoskey, 2002). The self-study methodology has its theoretical and practical roots in teacher inquiry (Samaras & Freese, 2009), action research (Carr & Kemmis, 1986; McNiff, 1988) and reflective practice (Dewey, 1933; Schön, 1983, 1987). Self-study has also evolved from the post-modernist view that “that it is never possible to divorce the ‘self’ from either the research process or from education practice” (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2004, p. 607). Despite the deliberations surrounding its credibility, rigour, and identified shortcomings (as cited in Craig, 2009), self-study is an approach that is increasingly being used in education because it assists in uncovering the tacit knowledge of teachers which is valuable in improving practice (Lasonde, Galaman & Kosnik, 2009).

Samaras & Roberts (2011) consider developing pedagogies to improve learning as an important aspect in the self-study methodology.

Self-study has further been defined by role, situated practice, and purpose (Samaras & Freese, 2009). Approaches to the self-study methodology are varied and may include interviews, personal experience, participatory research, communities of practice, and artistic models (Lasonde, Galman & Kosnik, 2009).

Self-study methodology and these particular definitions are appropriate to our group and context. Our group focused on developing and sustaining a CoS within a CoP framework as we worked in collaboration on a microblogging project to foster reflection in student nurses. We arrived

together as a group to work on this learning innovation, and as our group evolved, we also began to explore our new role as novel scholars in an interdisciplinary team. We were learning collectively in a new work context: a transnational university offering only nursing degrees. This specialized context rarely encountered at other teaching institutions added expectations of close collaboration between the EAP and nursing programs. Finally, our motivations for relocating to another part of the world for work, and in forming a CoS, were embedded in a desire for both personal and professional growth and renewal, two of the three defining purposes mentioned by Samaras & Freese (2009).

While being involved on the microblogging project, we came to realize that we could work on a scholarly piece about our experience as a community, and hence, this self-study evolved in an organic fashion. Focusing on pivotal points in the journey of building a community, we used a reflective process and analysed our observations and experiences to uncover underlying themes. In keeping with the nature of a self-study, the data was analysed inductively and retrospectively. This resulted in rich descriptive data of our journey in developing a scholarly identity through forming an interdisciplinary CoS, and of how this process benefited us.

Findings

In this section, we outline our findings from the self-study as they relate to the perceived benefits and feelings about building an interdisciplinary community. We further describe collegiality, mentorship and conflict as themes that emerged while sustaining our community.

Building a Community

It was not until an impromptu hallway encounter that we discovered our mutual interest in the establishment of an interdisciplinary team and in considering microblogging as a pedagogical tool. Thus, a CoS was conceptualized. We reflected on the early stages of building our community as we remembered our initial thoughts about forming an interdisciplinary CoS and being involved in a project about microblogging.

Scholar 4 reflected:

Working as an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) instructor and being part of a faculty of nursing, I felt it was important to find a way to collaborate with nurses and was also interested in finding out what went on in a nursing classroom. When I first heard the idea of using microblogging as a means of reflection in a nursing class, I was interested in finding out how the language of reflection would differ in nursing's traditional paper format and that of using microblogging.

Scholar 2 reflected:

The focus of my master's thesis explored reflection as a skill and how it develops with practice. I was involved in a reflective community with a few people from my cohort and a supervisor. It was a great experience to learn to reflect on my practice while having the opportunity to read and witness others' growth in the process. When I hear of the idea of using microblogging as a way to build a community and a reflective forum, I was automatically attracted by the project. As I was new to the university, I considered it a great chance to work in collaboration with nursing faculty and learn more about their program.

Scholar 3 reflected:

It was a good feeling to become part of a group where I felt supported and could share my ideas and thoughts in safe space. As each of us shared in the group, I became more comfortable to bring up questions and admit that I did not know how to teach students whose first language was not English. In being vulnerable the other members of the group helped me not just in strategies but also provided emotional support in the way of encouragement.

Sustaining a Community

In examining the reflections related to sustaining our interdisciplinary CoS, three inter-related themes emerged: collegiality, mentorship, and conflict.

Collegiality

A first theme that emerged from our reflections was collegiality. The excerpts below illustrate how we fostered a collegial environment within our interdisciplinary community.

Scholar 1 reflected:

Coming to a university setting from a college setting was an incredibly overwhelming experience for me. It was unsettling at first, as everyone seemed to have his or her plan. Cooperation or collaboration among my colleagues, was not explicitly apparent as it was in my previous workplace. My frame of reference needed a bit of re-adjustment. When Scholar 3 shared the idea for a scholarly project with me, I immediately felt a connection. My familiar feelings of what it meant to work toward a common goal of improving practice came flooding back. The inclusion of Scholar 2 and 4 into our community only added to my appreciation of the inherent value of being collaborative and cooperative.

In a same way, Scholar 4 depicted collegiality as:

.... Moreover, I formed very valuable connections with nursing faculty who I may not otherwise have worked with.

Along with promoting a form of cooperation and collaboration, our interactions, whether in person or virtual, seemed to foster respect for one another's professionalism and points of views. For example, Scholar 4 revealed:

As an EAP instructor who had not submitted an abstract before, I learned a lot about writing with a team. While writing, I learned about the scholarship of teaching and learning and I learned how to contribute on a team. I somehow had a hard time envisioning where I fit into this project. Working on the abstract with my team members helped inform my own practice as it made me think about how I could get my students ready for what was going on in the nursing classroom. It gave me a glimpse into how reflection assignments may be handled, and it also sparked my interest in how I could use social media, and reflection, in my own classroom.

As can be seen in Scholar 1's excerpt, collegiality was further nurtured in a place of safety as she reflected on the quality of our meetings.

Scholar 1 reflected:

At the outset, the nature of our meetings were categorized by open and safe dialogues about scholarly teaching; our views on teaching, curriculum development, and learning outcomes. Subtly, a shift in conversation led to identification of key terms to use to search the known literature from each of our respective disciplines, sharing the findings with one another, and optimistically, to locate potential venues to disseminate our contribution.

Finally, Scholar 2 and 3 identified how collegiality helped them find their feet in both the new work and living environments.

Scholar 2 reflected:

The professional relationship we developed was very important for me. It helped me make sense of my new working environment. However, the bonds that I developed with the members was made even stronger because of the relationship that continued to develop outside of work. For example, Faculty 3 shared similar difficulties and challenges as me in settling her husband and child in this new environment. These problems were quite stressful, but as we were able to share and support each other through them, we became even closer. Knowing I was not the only one adjusting on a personal level made me better able to focus on work and projects when at work. Similarly, three of us lived in the same compound. Our shared experiences in settling into our living environment

added to the shared experiences and the feeling of closeness, both at work and at home.

Scholar 3 reflected:

We came together to discuss our challenges as teachers and I learned so much about how to be a better teacher especially with students who are second language learners. Many times we shared our discipline specific knowledge with each other spontaneously and in usual places. We could be greeting each other at the park while supervising our children playing and launch into a discussion about something that had happened in our classroom that day. Our lives were intertwined in many different ways – through our children, our recreational activities, our residence and our work setting In many ways this strengthened our collegial relationships.

Mentorship

A second theme we saw emerge was mentorship. Mentorship can be defined as a relationship that embraces “sharing knowledge and experience, providing emotional support, role modeling, and guidance” (Mijares, Baxley, Bond, 2013, p. 23). We discovered that the mentor/mentee relationship was an important part of our interdisciplinary CoS in learning about the process of scholarship and in sharing expertise.

Scholar 4 reflected:

As a new faculty member at a transnational university I learned that presenting at international conferences was something that most members of the academic staff at UCQ were doing. I had not presented in this capacity before. I was quite nervous about this. Working with team members who had more experience than me was really useful. It felt useful when I realized I could help my team members because I have expertise in teaching second language learners, whereas their expertise lays more in nursing and education. It was extremely beneficial for me to carry out my first presentation with someone who knew what they were doing. I feel this helped me find my identity by building my confidence as a scholar. I am grateful for the help and mentorship I have received throughout this process.

Scholar 1's excerpt highlights the personal and reciprocal relationship felt by a faculty member. It further highlights how interdisciplinary mentorship helped her make sense of the new transnational context. This is also emphasized in Scholar 3's comments.

Scholar 1 reflected:

Rizzo-Parse's (2005) visualization of CoS highlighted the need to recognize the strengths of each member of the community. This particular testimonial resonated in me while I was finding my place within UCQ. In our regular meetings I felt a sense of belonging. My contributions mattered to our group and this was acknowledged privately and publically. And as such, the contributions of others consciously assisted me in the pursuit of negotiating what teaching strategies worked best within this new learning environment. Establishing trusting relationships with students at the beginning of every semester is always challenging, more so in this culture because of its unfamiliarity. Being referred to as "Miss", "Maa'm", or "Dr" by students was initially overwhelming. Working harmoniously with Scholar 2 and 4, I learned to appreciate this form of relationship building among students, but more explicitly they showed me how to make the course concepts make sense to students whose primary language was not English. And it was successful.

Scholar 3 reflected:

As we continued to meet as a group, we began to share our experiences in the classroom and I found it was extremely helpful to have instructors in our group that brought the perspective of teaching students whose first language is not English. I remember being confused at times with my expectations of students in my class compared to where they were actually at with their English language skills. Once I realized that I had to make adjustments to my expectations, I began to wonder how I could best support my students. The EAP teachers supported me by providing various strategies I could try in the classroom and additional readings I could acquaint myself with to increase my knowledge in the area. They also helped with reviewing my midterm and final multiple choice exams.

Finally, Scholar 2 mentions not only mentorship within the CoS, but also mentorship she received through two certificates courses offered at our institution.

Scholar 2 reflected:

When starting this position, I had been away from research for more than 10 years. It's also my first time working in a interdisciplinary team with a PhD prepared, and PhD candidate co-worker. I wasn't sure how I'd fit in. Two things helped me in this regard. The first thing is the knowledge and support given by our group. For example, I would never have been able to start outlining the contents of a paper for publication. I feel I was

mentored through the process of developing a research question, abstract writing and conference application, ethics approval, and making poster presentations, to name a few. A second thing is the support given by the Center for Teaching and Learning. Through them, I was able to join in and complete two certificate courses over two terms that were great refreshers into the scholarly process.

Conflict

A final theme that emerged from our data is conflict. Our community experienced points of tension and conflict, especially in communication. We found that our group experimented not only with how to communicate, but also with means of communication in times of tension. Some forms of communications were felt to both cause conflict, yet have other advantages. Other forms were preferred in times of conflict.

Scholar 1 reflected:

Sometimes, misunderstandings occurred in our writing. How often have I heard that email is a source of disagreements because we rely on one form of communication, when another may be more applicable? The physical distance and the time zones, only add to relying on email. Our communication and a sense of inclusivity seem so more tangible when we used Skype.

While conflict was present, it was seen as an opportunity for self-reflection and learning as apparent in the following excerpts.

Scholar 2 reflected:

Conflict is an inevitable part of group work. However, I hate conflict, and I'm not very good at dealing with it. My tendency is to ignore it and hope that things will pass. If I do address them, I tend to be accusative rather than supportive. There were a few points of tension that arose in the last few weeks. I've been trying to see those conflicts as a learning opportunity. I've tried understanding the other person's point of view or possible reasons for their behaviour. I've also tried different approaches and ways to address problems. I value and respect the people in this group, and I want my actions to reflect that. What helped me a lot was getting mentorship from one of the members on how to approach people. I feel that I'm working through something valuable that I'll be able to apply to other situations.

Scholar 1 reflected:

As much as I valued and appreciated the inherent strength of our group, that is in building our identity as a CoS from an interdisciplinary stance, it was often the source of my struggle to

understand seeing' other'. The subtle nuances of endeavouring to recognize a member's contribution to the conversation on teaching practices, led me to re-evaluate how I conceptualize patience. I was often reminded from a past lesson learned that my journey in explicating the nature of my practice was situated in the challenge of working with tension rather than solely to attempt to resolve tension. It made me a more enriched as an educator.

Lesson Learned

In this section, we emphasize the concept of support as a unique feature with a distinctive dimension in forming and sustaining interdisciplinary communities in a transnational setting.

While reflecting on our journey in developing our scholarly identity since the inception of our interdisciplinary CoS, one overarching concept has emerged, that of support. Support has been the key to our growth and success as a community. We received support from one another, both in our personal and professional lives. This support was apparent in the forms of collegiality and mentorship. It was also present in times of conflict. Finally, institutional support was a meaningful factor.

Community of Scholars as a Support Group

Working at the University of Calgary in Qatar was our first opportunity to be employed at a transnational university, and we had not known each other prior. When we started meeting and thereafter, we made it a precedent to take time from each meeting to share our thoughts, feelings and perceptions, from both a personal and professional perspective. This particular strategy of '*getting to know*' from a personal outlook unquestionably contributed to our sustainability; but it also functioned as a way to form a CoS. Similarly, our shared living conditions and experiences in settling into our new living environment helped to strengthen the bond.

Working, living, and socializing with the same individuals abroad is a common emotionally charged phenomenon experienced by many expatriates. Richardson (2013) described it as a roller coaster ride. Much of the literature on the expatriate life exists anecdotally. Only a few empirical studies offer insight into the expatriate lived experience of working in international posts (Crooke, 1998; Kishi, Inoue, Crookes, & Shorten, 2014; Stahl, 2001). Irrespective of the use of differing contexts, methodologies, and populations, these authors indicated that without an effective coping mechanism; *working abroad* is challenging. None of these inquiries fully addressed the *living abroad* aspect. Indirectly, however, the findings do suggest strategies for the individual to cope with living. However, what was exclusive to our experience is the belief that our CoS was sustained because of its supportive

nature not only in *working* in a transnational university, but also in *living* in a foreign country. Using such a venue to cope, as it relates to *living abroad*, as not been identified to date.

In sustaining our interdisciplinary CoS, support was also the tread that connected our experiences of collegiality, mentorship and conflict. First, the CoS not only functioned as a support in our personal and professional transitions in the transnational context, but it also strengthen our commitment to the work of the group. Indeed, within the vast body of literature on collegiality is an intrinsic belief that professional development occurs when faculty engage in establishing relationship. Collegiality in our CoS further assisted in creating a safe context. Hadar & Brody (2010) discovered that a safe context was a vital feature of a community to allow for professional growth and change. Equally significant, mentorship was also a driving force of support in developing our scholarly identity. We developed mentoring relationships in sharing expertise in our respective fields and in learning of scholarly activities. Parse (2008) claimed that mentors and mentees share a common interest and a unique relationship that takes place while keenly undertaking the unknown. For us, interdisciplinary work and TNE and were big unknowns. Although there is little agreement on common factors that make mentoring successful, it is agreed by many authors that mentoring encourages academic progress and career advancement (Girves, Zepeda, & Gwathmey, 2005). This was evident in our journey.

Collegiality and mentorship in working groups are supportive in nature. However, the role of support in conflict is less understood. Wenger (1998), one of the authors who coined the phrase “community of practice”, stated that “Most situations that involve sustained interpersonal engagement generate their fair share of tensions and conflict.” (p.77). Conflict can even be the cause of failure such as the one reported in a collaboration on an interdisciplinary project (Vanasupa, McCormick, Stefanco, Herter, & McDonald, 2012). Vanasupa et al. (2012), after reflecting on the reasons behind their failed project, made recommendations for successful interdisciplinary teams. Specifically, they said “Embrace conflict as the visible signs of differences in hidden assumptions and mental model. Allow conflict to serve as an entry point into exploring each other’s views” (p.182). This stance was apparent in our community.

The close blend of personal and professional boundaries which characterizes our transnational branch campus served our group in developing close ties and creating an environment where we felt trust, safety, and could support each other even through conflict. We believe this was instrumental in each of us viewing conflict as a learning opportunity, a time for self-reflection, and an opportunity to receive mentoring. As this may represent an innovative discovery of what is meant by support in a CoS,

additional exploration highlighting the role of the interrelated dynamics of collegiality and mentorship in a transnational context, and how these can influence attitudes and reactions to conflict, would help understand the process of sustaining professional learning communities in TNE.

Institutional Support

Establishing a community among faculty to build research and scholarship capacity has increasingly been encouraged at institutions of higher education (Cash & Tate, 2008; 2012; Gelmon, Blanchard, Ryan, & Seifer, 2012; Jameson, Jaeger, Clayton, & Bringle, 2012). As previously identified, UCQ's vision is to "enrich the health and wellness in Qatar and the Gulf region" (Donnelly, 2013, p. 1). To align itself with this aim and vision, UCQ's Research and Center for Teaching and Learning units began to foster a culture of scholarship by strongly encouraging faculty to actively engage in research and by facilitating means to establish interdisciplinary partnerships within the university as well as within the community at large. For example, the Center for Teaching and Learning offers certificate courses entitled *Certificate of Professional Inquiry* and *Getting Published Workshop*. We soon realized, apart from our own enthusiasm, that we were also working within a culture that promoted what Melnyk and Fineout-Overholt (2011) called a "spirit of inquiry" (p. 11) in which the resources within UCQ to complete scholarship and research were visible and readily accessible. This form of support within the organization is a consistent theme in the literature as key to a successful research and scholarship program (Brahm, et al., 2011; Scott, et al., 2013). Further inquiry is necessary in describing and evaluating the catalytic role of institutional support in the forming of interdisciplinary CoSs and in the development of scholarship in a transnational setting.

Conclusion

While CoSs are often formed to facilitate faculty development, in our experience, it was a microblogging project that provided an opportunity for four novice scholars from two different disciplines working at a transnational university to come together to build a CoS. In this paper, we narrated the process of forming and sustaining a CoS and the development of a scholarly identity with the use of personal reflections. Specifically, we focused on the role of institutional support and support through collegiality, mentorship and conflict. Each form of support contributed to our success as a CoS and to our professional growth. We have learned that feeling internally supported within our group facilitated a smoother adjustment to an expatriate life. Similarly, being part of an interdisciplinary team and being supported by our institution facilitated our adjustment to a TNE context.

To ensure the sustainability of our CoS, we have archived our material. Archiving material is not a unique feature, but what is exceptional is our transitory-style context, in which faculty are on time-sensitive working contracts. Because the two founding members had returned to their home country, an invitation to join the COS was extended to another faculty member. Having material accessible on Dropbox™ was instrumental for our newest member in becoming familiar with the COS and in the details of the approved scholarly project. Her contributions to our ongoing discussions have brought what Hassel (2004) described as a benefit to extending the discourse of what is meant by diversity and multiple perspective. This way of thinking is also closely aligned with Rizzo-Parse's (2005) distinguishing feature of a COS "a spirit of collegiality" (p.119). Rizzo-Parse explained that the spirit is gained through embracing the capacities of each scholar within the community. We anticipate that our experience and the continual growth of our community at UCQ will contribute to the continued discourses on the development of scholarship, CoSs and scholarly identity, and has the potential to transform the way communities at transnational educational settings are practiced.

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List of Tables

Table 1: Background of Faculty¹

Faculty Name	Scholar 1	Scholar 2	Scholar 3	Scholar 4
Gender	Female	Female	Female	Female
Credentials	PhD, MEd, BSN,RN	MA (TESOL), CTESOL, BSc.	PhD(c), MSc(H.P), BScN, RN	MA (TESL),CTESL, BA
Years of Teaching Experience	24	21	12	10
Research Experience	Novice	Novice	Advanced Beginner	Novice
Experience with working at a transnational university	Novice	Novice	Novice	Novice
Experience with working on an interdisciplinary team	Proficient	Novice	Advanced Beginner	Novice
Experience with working with students whose primary language is not English	Beginner	Expert	Novice	Advanced Beginner
Experience with microblogging	Beginner Novice with microblogging	Beginner Novice with microblogging	Beginner Novice with microblogging	Beginner Novice with microblogging

¹ Benner, based on Dreyfus model of skill acquisition, identified five stages of competencies that nurses pass through.. The stages are: Novice, Advanced Beginner, Competent, Proficient, Expert. Benner, P. (1982), Novice to Expert. The American Journal of Nursing, 82(3), 402-407.

HISPANICS IN TEXAS HIGHER EDUCATION: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE STATE “CLOSING THE GAPS” INITIATIVE

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Abstract

Demographic changes associated with growth of the Hispanic and black population in the U.S. state of Texas have led politicians and policy-makers to recognize that academic success in their ethnic and racial minority populations is a key to future statewide economic success. These demographic transitions require proactive state intervention to assure the earning power and intellectual prowess of the next generation. This study assesses the degree to which the Texas “Closing the Gaps” initiative has addressed the disparities in higher education among the state’s diverse populations.

Keywords: Hispanic, Black, Higher Education, Texas, United States of America, Educational Policy, State Politics, STEM, Affirmative Action, Workforce Development, Demographic Transition

Introduction

Over the past fifty years, the United States government enacted a series of policies collectively known as “Affirmative Action.” These policies, at the federal, state and local levels, are attempts to redress some of the effects of the country’s formal discriminatory policies of years past, especially in the areas of education and employment. According the National Conference of State Legislatures (2014), “In institutions of higher education, affirmative action refers to admission policies that provide equal access to education for those groups that have been historically excluded or underrepresented, such as women and minorities.” Although legal obstacles to full participation in most areas of public life were removed decades ago, participation and success in higher education remains a challenge among many racial and ethnic groups.

The United States is a pluralistic society still dominated by people of European heritage (whites). But the proportion of racial and ethnic minorities

continues to rise each year. Some racial and ethnic minority groups continue to be underrepresented in higher education. The largest of these populations are Hispanic (defined here as an ethnic group of people in the United States who are originally from or trace their heritage to Latin America or Spain) and black (a racial category of people who trace their lineage to Sub-Saharan Africa). According to the Kaiser Family Foundation (2015), the total population of the United States in 2013 was 314 million people, of which 62% are white, 17% are Hispanic, 12% are black, and 8% are classified as “other”.

The U.S. state of Texas is a majority-minority state (racial and ethnic minorities combined make up a larger proportion of the state population than whites). The U.S. Census (2013) estimates that in Texas there are approximately 26.4 million people, of whom 44% identified as white, 38.3% as Hispanic, 11.6% as black, and 6.1% as “other”. According to the Pew Research Center (2013), Texans who trace their roots to Latin America or Spain overwhelmingly prefer the term “Hispanic” over “Latino,” and therefore “Hispanic” will be the term used to refer to this group in this research.

The issue of minority underrepresentation in higher education is particularly pronounced in majority-minority states like Texas and California. As a reference point, in 2000, Hispanics made up almost one-third of the Texas population, yet a large gap existed among racial/ethnic groups in both enrollment and graduation from the state’s colleges and universities (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, “Closing the Gaps”, 2000). Recognizing this underrepresentation, state officials created an initiative known as “Closing the Gaps” in the year 2000. The original intent of the plan was to increase participation and success in higher education among traditionally underrepresented groups by the year 2015. But what began as a forward-looking proactive response to economic and demographic realities was overtaken by political wrangling, budget cuts, and the nationwide economic downturn of 2008. Still, though falling short of its original goals, progress has been made. The *quinceañera*, or fifteenth birthday of Texas’ Closing the Gaps initiative –the point in time when the goals of the initiative should be met- has indeed arrived. This research seeks to interpret the assessment of the Closing the Gaps initiative, in addition to proscribing methods for the state to improve its higher educational system.

I.

The focus of the Texas Closing the Gaps initiative has always been Hispanic and black student underrepresentation and underachievement in higher education. However, the methods of addressing this issue had to be modified due to a United States Supreme Court case decided in 1996. In that

case, entitled *Hopwood v. State of Texas*, the Supreme Court affirmed (let stand) the ruling of Judge Jerry E. Smith of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, which concluded that using race or ethnicity to favor certain classes of minority student applicants at the University of Texas Law School was unconstitutional. Judge Smith ruled that the four white non-Hispanic plaintiffs in the case, who had been passed over for admission in spite of the fact that their LSAT scores were better than thirty- six of the forty-three Hispanic and sixteen of eighteen black students admitted for the 1992 entering class was not in accordance with the Constitution of the United States (Sandel, 1996). The ban on racial or ethnic preferences was later extended when the top legal voice in the state, Texas Attorney General Dan Morales, issued an opinion in 1997 that “Hopwood’s restrictions would generally apply to all internal policies, including admissions, financial aid, scholarships, fellowships, recruitment and retention” (Morales, 1997). The net result of this Supreme Court decision and the declarations of the state attorney general was that higher education institutions had to seek out a different way (other than race or ethnicity) of increasing racial and ethnic minority participation.

Racial and ethnic diversity in college and university classrooms is viewed by many academics as germane to the learning process. Since universities are designed to provide a marketplace for ideas, innovation, and discussion, having classrooms with individuals of varied racial and ethnic backgrounds contributes to the learning process. Most universities, such as Texas A&M University-Commerce, have included student diversity as part of their mission statement: Texas A&M University-Commerce provides a personal, accessible, and affordable educational experience for a diverse community of learners (Texas A&M University-Commerce, 2015). Furthermore, the university also lists “Diversity” first among seven Guiding Principles: “DIVERSITY- Foster a culture of inclusion whereby people of all backgrounds who live, learn, and work on campus feel welcome, and valued. Represent the diversity of the region we serve while respecting individual differences and similarities” (Texas A&M University-Commerce, 2015).

Nevertheless, many people in Texas feared that the twin events of the Hopwood decision and Attorney General Morales’ declaration would reintroduce segregation in higher education. 2012 estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau indicate that only 14% of Hispanics have earned at least a Bachelor’s (post-secondary) degree, compared to 30% for Non-Hispanic whites and 20% for blacks (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Even worse, the national graduation rate from high school (secondary education) in 2012 hovered near 73% for Hispanics and 69% for blacks, while 86% of non-Hispanic whites graduated from high school (Layton, 2014). In Texas, the

high school graduation rates for 2012 were better: Hispanics graduated at a rate of 84.3%, while the black student graduation rate was 83.5 and whites graduated at a rate of 93% (Texas Education Agency, 2013). When examining nationwide data on Hispanics, there is a marked difference in educational attainment based on their country of national origin. For example, among Hispanics of Argentinean origin, 40% have earned at least a Bachelor's degree, a percentage that is not only significantly higher than all Hispanics, but also 11 percentage points higher than the overall U.S. population (Pew Research Center, 2013).

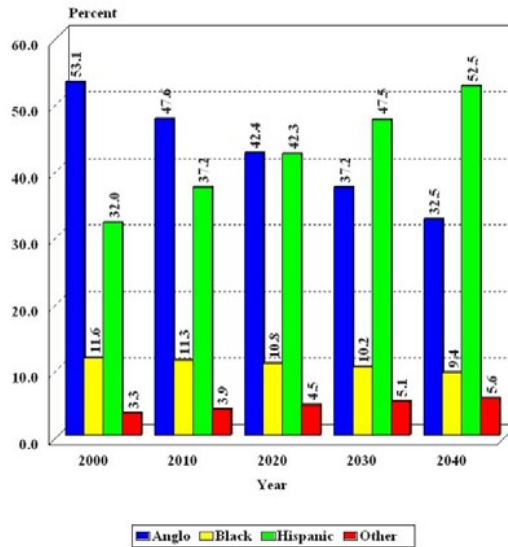
Hispanics who are specifically of Mexican origin are by far the largest minority group in Texas. According to the Pew Research Center (2011), among Texas Hispanics, 88% are of Mexican origin, while Hispanics who trace their roots to any other Latin American country or Spain only make up 12% combined. For Mexican-American Texans, the numbers are even worse than for all Hispanic sub-national groups. Only 57% of Mexican-Americans in Texas are high school graduates, and only 11% are Bachelor's degree recipients. Statistics like these produced the genesis for the Closing the Gaps initiative. Texas State Demographer Stephen Murdoch pointed out this demographic sinkhole in 1997 (Murdock, 1997).

Hispanics make up about 42% of total Texas population, and they have the highest fertility rate of any racial or ethnic group in the state. It became clear by the late 1990s that Texas would effectively have an underdeveloped economy within a few decades if the educational attainment of Hispanics did not dramatically increase. Stated more simply, the largest and fastest growing demographic group in Texas was not only the least educated, but also the least likely to pursue higher education at all (Murdock, 1997).

Murdock's demographic statistics got the attention of even the most disinterested parties in the state government. A Texas filled with unskilled laborers would be a Texas without a significant tax base. The Speaker of the Texas State House of Representatives at the time, Pete Laney, and then-Lieutenant Governor Bob Bullock contracted Murdock's group, the Center for Demographic and Socioeconomic Research and Education, to get a handle on what was happening (or rather, not happening) with regards to Hispanics student success in higher education. Their unsurprising conclusions were that Texas had to ensure a workforce with the skills and resources to "drive private-sector growth and fund public services" in the global economy of the twenty-first century (Murdock, 1997). Suddenly, it seemed, everyone was interested in the future of Hispanics and higher education. The graph below shows State demographer Steve Murdock's data indicating that Texas would become a majority-minority state by 2010 and that Hispanic population would equal white population by 2020. This is the

graphic which alerted many white legislators to the fact that Hispanic educational achievement was a critical factor in the future economic success of the state (Murdock, 1997). In actuality, Texas became a majority-minority state *five years before* Murdock’s projection, in 2005 (Fox News, 2005). Current estimates indicate that the population of Hispanics will not only surpass whites by 2020, but that Texas will become a Hispanic majority state by 2042 (Office of the State Demographer, 2014).

Percent of Texas Population by Race/Ethnicity in 2000 and Projections to 2040 (0.5 Scenario)



The legal decisions discussed previously remained as obstacles to addressing the vast disparity between whites and Hispanics in higher education. The courts had ruled that institutions could not show admissions preferences on the basis of race or ethnicity. In what can only be described as a “Texas Wink,” the legislature sidestepped race and ethnicity to address the issues of underrepresentation in higher education by passing legislation to promote higher education for underrepresented classes without referencing race or ethnicity. The best known of these moves was Texas House Bill 588 in the 80th Legislature (2007) the so-called “Top 10% Rule”. The bill, written by Representative Irma Rangel (D-Kingsville), stipulated that any student who graduated in the Top 10% of their high school graduating class was automatically granted admission to either of the state’s largest institutions: The University of Texas at Austin or Texas A&M University (College Station).

Although Texas high schools are no longer officially segregated, the fact remains that Hispanic populations in Texas are. Therefore, high schools located in dominantly Hispanic areas would create *de facto* Top 10% scholars; without any reference to race or ethnicity. The 80th Legislature concomitantly created a “Top 10 Percent Scholarship” to encourage top performing students to actually follow through and enroll in post-secondary education (College For All Texans, 2014).

The effects of the Top 10% Rule were dramatic, immediate, and particularly applicable to Hispanic students. By 2008, over four-fifths of all entering freshmen at the University of Texas at Austin were being admitted via the Top 10% rule. A survey of entering freshmen there showed that sixty-five percent of non-Hispanic whites, blacks, and Asians took advantage of the automatic admission rule. The percentage for entering Hispanics students was over 78% (Lavergne and Hargett, 2014). The rule was later extended to all thirty state institutions of higher education. The Top Ten Percent Rule had proved its mettle for getting Hispanic students into college, but success was another matter. As with high school, dropout rates for Hispanic students are the highest of any demographic group. A 2002 report sponsored by the Pew Hispanic Center highlighted the problem as follows:

“● Among 18- to 24-year-olds, thirty-five percent of Latino [Hispanic] high school graduates are enrolled in college compared to forty-six percent of whites.

● Latinos are far more likely to be enrolled in two-year colleges than any other group. Forty percent for Latinos...twenty-five percent of white and black students.

● Latinos are more likely to be part-time students. Nearly eighty-five percent of white... college students are enrolled full-time compared to seventy-five percent of Latino(s).

● Latinos lag behind in the pursuit of graduate and professional degrees [i.e. Master’s in Business Administration, Doctor of Philosophy, Medical Doctor, etc.]...3.8 percent of whites are enrolled in graduate school. Only 1.9 percent of similarly aged Latino high school graduates are pursuing post-baccalaureate studies” (Fry, 2002).

Collectively, these risk factors result in lower Hispanic retention and achievement rates. As with previous studies, the Pew Research Center (2012) finds that Hispanic students of Mexican origin fare worse than Hispanics of Cuban, Dominican, Puerto Rican, Colombian and the general Hispanic population when it comes to staying in post-secondary education and actually graduating (much less obtaining graduate or professional degrees). Again, as go the Hispanics of Mexican origin, so go the majority of Texas

Hispanics. Higher education directly correlates with higher income. In Texas, the annual income difference between an average holder of an Associate of Science (2-year degree) when compared to a Bachelor of Science (4-year degree) holder is over \$17,000 annually. The gap is even greater when comparing those who are only high school graduates, or worse yet, high school dropouts (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, “Texas Higher Education Facts-2006”, 2006). It is not a stretch to suggest that the Closing the Gaps initiative was primarily fueled by state government’s desire to ensure a well-paid (and most significantly, tax- paying) citizenry as opposed to the philosophical goal of decreasing or eliminating the underrepresentation of Hispanics and blacks in higher education. The “gap” being closed was in reality a series of gaps: in educational access, retention and persistence, graduation, graduate and professional (post-baccalaureate) education, and perhaps most importantly from the perspective of the state government, gaps in lifetime earning potential.

By April of 1999, the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board (THECB), which is Texas’ overall governmental authority for colleges and universities, had been instructed by the legislature to prepare a new higher education plan for the state that would address the demographic realities highlighted by Murdock and others while simultaneously observing the still-active Supreme Court ban on racial or ethnic preferences in higher education. That fall, a contract was let to the Rand Corporation to perform an efficiency analysis on the capacity and capabilities of all publically-funded institutions of higher education in the state. The final product, dubbed the Closing the Gaps Higher Education Plan, was adopted by the THECB in October 2000. Although promulgated by the THECB, implementation of the plan is closely aligned with the Texas Education Agency (TEA), the state agency which oversees primary and secondary education, and the State Board for Educator Certification (SBEC), which oversees the preparation, certification and conduct of public school educators (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, “History of the Plan”, 2000).

As with many Texas state mandates, Closing the Gaps was mandatory, metrically-driven, highly prescriptive, and importantly: *unfunded*. The plan adopted a fifteen year performance window and assumed a natural growth of 200,000 students in Texas higher education during that time period. In addition, the plan mandated an additional 300,000 students for a net total of a half-million new college and university students by 2015 (Perez, 2008). The total enrollment target was later revised to 700,000 students, reflecting the dramatic 20.6% increase in the state population between 2000-2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). For context, the increased enrollment alone is equal to thirteen times the size of the existing University of Texas at Austin student body. The specifics of the Closing the

Gaps plan consisted of four goals with each goal containing specific strategies:

1. Close the Gaps in Participation by adding 500,000 new students in state higher education institutions.
2. Close the Gaps in Success by increasing the number of degrees/certificates by fifty percent.
3. Close the Gaps in Excellence by increasing the number of nationally-recognized programs.
4. Close the Gaps in Research by increasing federally-funded Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) programs by fifty percent to \$1.3 billion annually (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, "Closing the Gaps: The Texas Higher Education Plan", 2000).

Goal One strategies focus primarily on adopting college-preparatory programs in Kindergarten-12th grades (primary and secondary education in the United States) with concomitant teacher training and an emphasis on student and parent counseling on the value of higher education. It also included a promise of financial aid "for every student with financial need" (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, "Closing the Gaps: The Texas Higher Education Plan", 2000).

Goal Two strategies included financial incentives for colleges and universities to retain and graduate students (as opposed to simply having them enroll in -and pay for- classes). It also suggested a mandated college credit transfer protocol to ensure classes taken at one college or university in Texas could not be rejected at another state institution.

Goal Three strategies were likely the most vague. Each public college and university was required to identify at least one program of nationally-recognized excellence; a difficult proposition for many public community colleges (two-year institutions where students either complete coursework for an Associate's degree and/or take required general education courses that lead to a Bachelor's degree -prior to transferring to a 4-year institution).

Goal Four strategies involved internal incentives such as allowing universities to retain their federal overhead dollars (AKA *indirect costs*), establishing various consortia, and promoting a competitive program for emerging Research-1 institutions such as the University of Houston, UT-Arlington, and the University of North Texas.

The overall theme of the four Closing the Gaps goals was twofold: Goals One and Two were aimed at increasing minority participation and success by making higher education more accessible, affordable, and seamless. Goals Three and Four have no direct impact on ethnic or racial minority participation or success save the abstract (and somewhat indistinct) connection of increasing the brand appeal of their respective institutions.

Goal One was addressed quickly and eagerly with several initiatives. The TEA and SBEC both began rewriting STEM curricula. The THECB began handing out numerous grants supporting teacher preparation. The Dual Credit initiative (whereby high school students could take courses at their local community college that would count for both high school and college/university credit) was implemented as a part of the Texas Education Code §28.009. Dual Credit allowed high school students to earn up to two years of college credit (State of Texas Education Code, 2014). Furthermore, the cost of dual credit courses may not even require out-of-pocket expenses, as some districts pay for their students to take dual credit courses (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, “Dual Credit-Frequently Asked Questions”, 2014). Also, a tuition rebate program was implemented statewide which allowed students completing their degrees at Texas public universities in four years or less to qualify for a \$1,000 cash back award (College for All Texans, 2014). A statewide common core curriculum for higher education was also implemented. Under this plan, any student who took an official general education course at any institution was guaranteed that credit for that course would be transferable to any other institution in the state (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, “The Texas General Education Core WebCenter”, 2014). In addition, institutions were incentivized by having part of their state funding formula tied to retention and completion rates. Taken as a package, the changes were cause for much initial optimism that higher education in Texas was about to become much more inclusive of formerly underrepresented populations.

Additional incentives were added for Goals Three and Four. The THECB established an *Advanced Research Program* and the Texas Legislature followed up with over \$400 million in appropriations to support a *Texas Emerging Technology Fund*. An additional \$200 million was earmarked for UT-Austin, Texas A&M (College Station), The University of Houston, and Texas Tech University to support a *Competitive Knowledge Fund* which incentivizes research activities (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, “Overview: Research Funding in Texas,” 2014).

With such a rosy buildup, it would be difficult to imagine the Closing the Gaps initiative not succeeding. In general, this has turned out to be the case, but not without substantial hiccups and unintended consequences. Official results, curiously, have come from the THECB itself. So the state agency charged with making the changes is also responsible for assessing their own performance, as opposed to having an independent body review their progress. Data reported by individual institutions varies wildly.

Results for Goal One (headcount participation of Hispanic students) through 2013, show a highly bimodal distribution with most smaller regional institutions achieving their state-mandated goals while the larger institutions

tended to be overwhelmed by increases in the white population. None of the thirty-eight reporting institutions registered negative enrollment values, a reflection of the fact that overall population among all racial and ethnic groups is rapidly rising in Texas. Likewise, every state-funded institution in Texas reported increased enrollments in Hispanic, white and black students. The state “flagship” institutions (University of Texas-Austin and Texas A&M University-College Station) both reported the biggest overall enrollment gains, but floundered on diversity. UT-Austin reached only 20% of their state mandated goal for Hispanic enrollment and 5% of their state-mandated goal for black students. A&M-College Station, fared even worse, reaching just 18% and 3% of their state-mandated goals for Hispanic and black students, respectively. This failure to recruit and enroll minority students was cited in a July 2014 U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals decision (*Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin*), allowing UT-Austin to resume using race as an admissions factor. Nevertheless, by 2012 white student enrollments at UT-Austin dropped below 50% for the first time in the institutions’ history. Hispanic enrollment at UT-Austin did reach 21.7% in 2012, this achievement still demonstrated significant underrepresentation of the 38.4% Hispanics population in Texas (HuffPost College, 2014). The Table below shows performance headcount figures for the five best and five worst performing institutions (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, “Institutional Rankings for Selected Accountability Measures”, 2014).

Best Performing institutions for Hispanic headcount enrollment		
Rank	% of THECB Goal Reached	Institution
1	93%	Texas A&M International University
2	88%	University of Texas-Pan American
3	87%	University of Texas-Brownville
4	87%	Sul Ross State University-Rio Grande
5	79%	University of Texas-El Paso

Worst Performing institutions for Hispanic headcount enrollment		
Rank	% of THECB Goal Reached	Institution
1	6%	Prairie View A&M University
2	7%	Texas Southern University
3	10%	Texas A&M University-Texarkana
4	12%	Lamar University
5	12%	University of Texas-Dallas

Goal One: Participation. Best and Worst performing institutions for Hispanic headcount enrollment for the period 2000-2013 (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, “Closing the Gaps Progress Reports”, 2014).

Results shown in the Table above are consistent with virtually all demographic data on Hispanic students. Generally lower-income levels, coupled with strong family pressure result in students who remain close to

home to attend college. In this case, all Top 5 performers are in borderlands regions with majority-minority Hispanic populations. The Bottom 5 worst performing institutions are all located on the opposite side of the state from the international border.

Reporting trends for Goal Two (Success) are not detailed by race or ethnicity. Nevertheless, they show a dramatically different story reinforcing the observation that getting a student in the door does not automatically result in keeping them on campus long enough to earn a degree. On the measurement of four-year graduation rate, the best performers (in rank order) are Texas A&M University (College Station), UT-Austin, UT-Dallas, Texas Tech, and UNT. For the five-year graduation rate the rankings are identical except that Texas A&M University- Galveston replaces UNT in the #5 position. (HuffPost College, 2014).

Four-year and five-year graduation rates for the Top 5 Texas Hispanic-Serving Institutions* (HSIs) are listed in the table below.

Texas A&M University-International	#21	four year graduation
University of Texas-Pan American	#20	five year graduation
University of Texas-Brownville	#24	four year graduation
University of Texas-El Paso	#21	five year graduation
Sul Ross State University-Rio Grande	N/A	four year graduation
University of Texas-El Paso	N/A	five year graduation
University of Texas-El Paso	#27	four year graduation
University of Texas-El Paso	#26	five year graduation

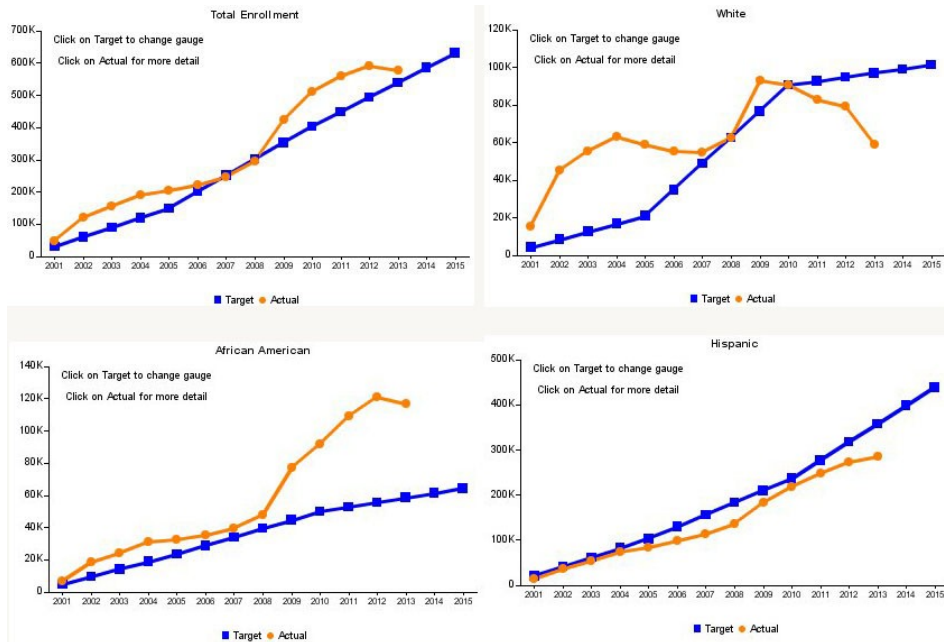
* The U.S. Department of Education defines Hispanic-Serving Institutions as colleges/universities with at least 25% Hispanic students.

All of these graduation rates should be taken in the context of what constitutes normal for Texas university students. Even the top ranked schools only had four-year graduation rates in the 50% range. Therefore a #21 ranking (e.g. Texas A&M University-International) translates to an actual graduation rate of only 21% (i.e., four out of five entering freshmen do not graduate after four years). The University of Texas-El Paso, often cited as a model Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI), only managed a four-year graduation rate of 13%. Restated, the most successful schools at recruiting Hispanic students in Texas are graduating those students at a rate less than half that of the top performing non-HSIs.

Overall, the Closing the Gaps performance on Goal One (Participation) will likely be judged as successful. As the 2015 goal of adding 700,000 new students arrives, the plan is on track (see the Figure below). In terms of Total Enrollment targets, as of 2013 there were 575,581 more students than was the case in 2000, for a total headcount of 1,614,646, but this is largely due to extraordinary increases in enrollments by white and

black non-Hispanic students (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, “Closing the Gaps Dashboard”, 2014). Although no data exists to explain the 2009 downturn in white student headcount, many analysts have pointed to the nationwide economic downturn as the cause (HuffPost College, 2014).

The 2013 target for white college student enrollment in 2013 ended up about 40,000 students below target. Black student enrollment nearly doubled in the 13 years studied, and ended up more than 58,000 students *above* the state-mandated target. Finally, although there were more than 284,892 net new Hispanic students in Texas higher education as of 2013, Hispanic enrollments fell short of their state-mandated target by nearly 73,000 students.



Headcount enrollment totals for Closing the Gaps, 2000-2013 (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, “Institutional Rankings for Selected Accountability Measures”, 2014)

Closing the Gaps performance on Goal Two (Success) will also likely be judged as successful. Degrees awarded, the so-called BAC (Bachelor’s, Associate’s, and Certificates) statistic, are well above projections (surplus n=48,423 on a total of 242,823 BACs awarded in 2013. In 2013, black BACs are about 7,000 above the projected goal. Hispanic BAC awards are well over 16,000 above projections. But total STEM BACs are over 7,000 below their projected goal level (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, “Institutional Rankings for Selected Accountability Measures”, 2014).

These data point out several obvious conclusions: (1) Hispanic headcount enrollment, even though it is 72,974 below projected goal levels,

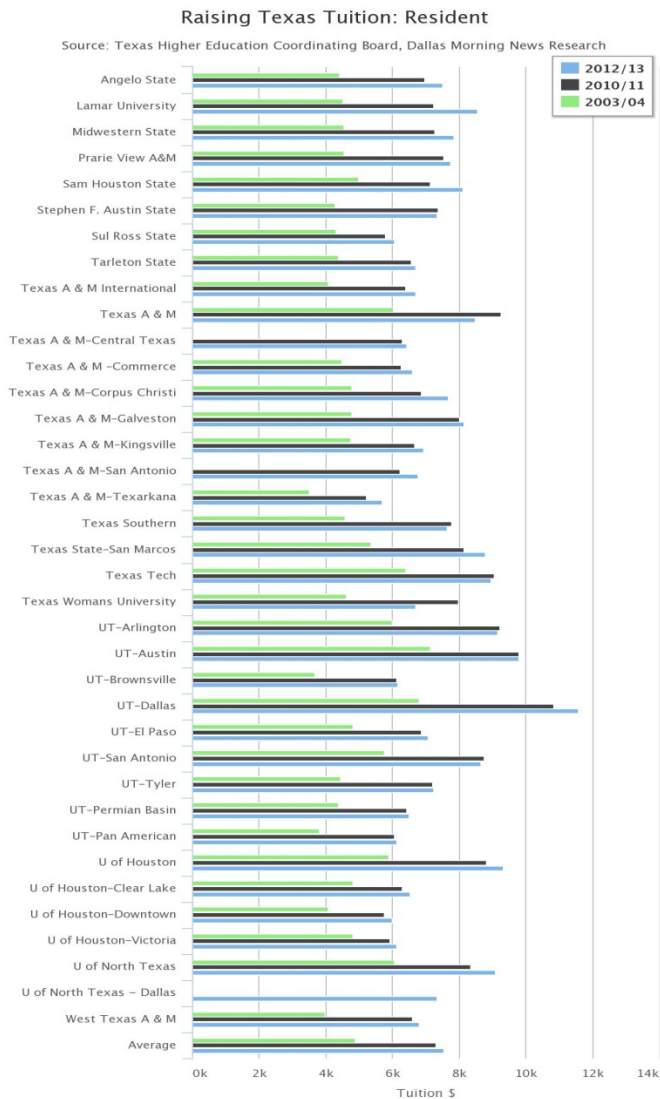
is generating a disproportionately large number of graduates, (2) Black headcount enrollment, even though it is 58,379 above projected goal levels, is generating proportionately fewer graduates, and (3) The surplus 2013 graduation rate of 48,423 is only 51% non-Hispanic white. Like the overall Texas population, the 16,486 surplus Hispanic graduates and 7,187 surplus black graduates are, in fact, Closing the Gaps. But, (4) The gains are not occurring uniformly in the all-critical STEM disciplines. All of which points to (5) Most of the students who enrolled since 2000 are pursuing non-STEM degrees, and therefore there is still a major gap – but now it is a STEM Gap.

Earning a degree in the arts or humanities certainly counts as a college education, but these are, on average, the lowest paying occupational fields. This has led some scholars to question if higher education is truly serving its Hispanic population by not encouraging study in STEM disciplines (Lederman, 2010). On the one hand, it is a positive sign that more black and Hispanic Texans are pursuing post-secondary degrees, however, if the occupations they are preparing for are among the lower paying fields, then the overall economic impact to the state is not as significant as it could potentially be.

A National Science Foundation-funded study at the University of Southern California's Center for Urban Education examined high-achieving HSIs in six U.S. states (including Texas) where the STEM GAP did not exist. That study found commonalities among the successful institutions, including “special programs, curricular innovations, smart administrative policies, culturally responsive pedagogy, focused counseling and advising, outreach to community colleges and Latino communities, (and) Latino-targeted scholarships” (Dowd, Malcom, and Bensimon, 2009). The top Texas exemplars cited in the study are all located in areas with significant Hispanic populations: UT-El Paso, UT-San Antonio, UT-Pan American, Texas A&M University-Kingsville, and UT-Brownsville. All award more than 100 STEM degrees annually to Hispanic students, and Hispanic students make up between 42% and 89% of those institutions' STEM majors (Dowd, Malcom, and Bensimon, 2009).

As good as the overall experience with Closing the Gaps has turned out, one cannot help but wonder what the results would have been like in the absence of several overtly anti-student success initiatives which occurred during the period Closing the Gaps was implemented. Chief among these was the Texas Legislature's decision in 2003 to reduce funding to higher education by 11% and simultaneously deregulate tuition rates at state schools. Prior to 2003, tuition rates were set by the legislature and, with few exceptions, were the same at all state institutions. Texas House Bill 3015 was passed in 2003 allowing each institution to charge whatever they saw fit (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, “Overview: Tuition

Reregulation”, 2014). By 2013 average tuition rates had jumped by 55% statewide; a definite impact on blacks, Hispanics, and other low-earning demographic groups in the state (Cardona, 2013). It is true that there are many more financial aid programs today than there were in 2000, but many Hispanic first-generation college students are unaware of such programs (Crisp and Nora, 2012). Texas legislators were (and are) aware of the impact of these increased costs, but over the past decade there has been a pronounced increase in the philosophy that higher education is a personal good, not a societal good. This approach has been used to justify rising costs for higher education on the theory that those who benefit (mostly non-Hispanic white students) will simply pay the extra expenses. See the chart published in *The Dallas Morning News* below.



In addition to tuition increases, students have also been faced with a series of success- unfriendly initiatives including:

- The 5-W Rule: Restricts students to a maximum of five withdrawals from classes over the course of their academic work, which disproportionately penalizes students less well-prepared (often black and Hispanic students) for college-level work.
- The 120 Hour Rule: Restricts virtually all degree programs to the 120 hour academic minimum stipulated by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS). Texas students thus get the lowest possible amount of higher education coursework.
- In-state residents at Texas state institutions who change majors (a common occurrence) may be forced to pay out-of- state tuition rates on any hours in excess of 120 that they must take to graduate.
- Differential Tuition: Allows institutions to create and add surcharges onto tuition on coursework deemed as leading to a well-paying or high-demand career (e.g. engineering, nursing).
- Unintended Consequences of the Top 10% Rule: Students who have made the decision to attend college and who plan on invoking the Top 10% Rule have discovered that there is strong incentive not to take an academically rigorous high school program of study; precisely the sort of program that would ensure success in higher education. (The strategy would be to take easy or less rigorous courses in high school, thus ensuring a higher class ranking.)
- Lack of engagement incentives. Numerous studies (e.g. Perez, 2008) have found strong correlations between student academic success in higher education and early exposure to university faculty while still in high school. Yet there are no formal incentives to encourage either primary and secondary teachers or University faculty to reach across the ever- widening gap between secondary and university learning.
- Inappropriate Standardized Testing: The TEA continues to promote standardized testing of what they perceive to be a high school-level college- readiness curriculum. In spite of this, many state colleges and universities routinely report half or more of their incoming freshmen go directly into remediation for English and Mathematics.
- Inattention to First-Generation College Student Needs: The Hispanic students targeted by Closing the Gaps are dominantly first-generation college students with little access to advice on actions as simple as how to apply to college or fill out a scholarship application (Perez, 2008).

The single most-pressing question as we arrive at the fifteenth and penultimate year of the Closing the Gaps initiative is “Did it make any difference?” This question is particularly cogent for Hispanic students who

are more likely to begin their higher education experiences in community college settings. While university-level retention rates hover around 50% to 70%, community college retention rates rarely break 25%. The Dallas County Community College District reports a graduation rate of 8% for their two-year Associate's degrees. The tripartite of low retention, low income, and low expectations are particularly acute in such settings (Perez, 2008). In addition to these external factors, there is evidence that there is an inverse correlation between a student's family size and their success in higher education. Larger families, statistically more common in Hispanic households, must spread finite resources across a larger number of children (Perez, 2008).

In the midst of these multivariate compounding factors, (Perez, 2008) attempted to answer the simple question of "Has it made a difference?" In a sample from four urban community colleges, she asked three questions: (1) Does your institution have Closing the Gaps programs for recruitment and retention? (2) Does your institution now enroll more minority students as a result of these programs? And (3) Does your institution now retain more Hispanics as a result of these programs? Respondents from all four institutions answered the first question affirmatively describing programs which included collaboration with high schools, making direct faculty-to-student contacts in high school, and using minority faculty to recruit at high schools.

Respondents from all four institutions also answered the second question affirmatively-they were actually enrolling more minority students - A lot more. For the period from 2000 to 2006, Perez reports minority student headcount increases of 23%, 27%, 17%, and 23% for the four institutions she examined. The third question had the most surprising results with respondents from all four institutions reporting Fall to Spring retention rates for Hispanic students in the 60% to 73% range. While initially stunning, it should be remembered that many of these freshmen are dual credit high school students with fewer options to drop out or skip a term.

Conclusion

Closing the Gaps was initially conceived as a blanket solution to a statewide demographic transition. Half of it focused primarily on Hispanic and black students; a second half dealt almost exclusively with institutional prestige. The Hispanic and black half of the initiative, Goals One and Two must be judged a success in the limited sense of increasing enrollment in higher education among all students, particularly black students, who far surpassed their target enrollment goals.

The results for the success part of the goal are more ambiguous. For doctoral degrees, the final target goals were reached in 2011 and are now

well above targeted rates. Hispanic graduate degrees rose the fastest, and as of 2013 over 9.2% of doctorates at state universities were earned by Hispanic students, while 5.9% of doctorate degrees were earned by black students (Closing the Gaps, 2014). Some federal programs, such as the Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program exist to help prepare low-income, first-generation, and underrepresented minority students to go on to graduate school and be successful. However, with limited resources, these programs can only serve a fraction of the students who would otherwise be eligible for their services. Just as there is a correlation between earning a bachelor's degree and income, those with graduate and professional degrees have even higher earnings, on average. The fact that the targets set forth in Closing the Gaps were met is great news, but the rate of doctoral degrees earned by Hispanics and black students still pales in comparison to the doctorates earned by white students, and continues to be disproportionate to the percent of blacks and Hispanics in the state. It should be noted that many students who attend graduate school in Texas are out-of-state students, and therefore black and Hispanic *Texans* are still dramatically underrepresented in many programs.

Despite some limited success at the graduate level, Hispanic secondary and post-secondary students still drop out at an alarmingly high rate. This in turn has a ripple effect for higher education, since a high school diploma or its equivalent is necessary to go on to college, and a bachelor's degree is generally necessary to go on to graduate study. But Hispanic students who do persist are more likely than their black or white counterparts to graduate.

Social issues unique to Hispanic students were generally ignored by the Closing the Gaps strategies. One common issue is lack of buy-in among Hispanic parents to the idea that their child should: 1. Go to college instead of working; and/or 2. Attend a college or university that is far away from home. These issues overlap with the fact that most Hispanic college students (or potential college students) are first-generation. But there is also a potential language-gap in communication between institutions of higher education and Hispanic parents of potential first-generation students. The "foreign" nature of academic language (e.g. applications, scholarships, grade-point-averages, etc.) is often perceived to be intimidating to parents without a personal grounding in post-secondary education.

As for the location of colleges attended by Hispanic students, it is not a surprise that the data show that Hispanic Serving Institutions are located in predominantly Hispanic-populated regions. There are several factors at play here: First, is the fact that Hispanic college students may not hail from families who can afford to pay for on-campus housing. Second is a pronounced lack of understanding of the Financial Aid application process

(and the potential implications of irregular immigration statuses upon that. Third, is “familism,” or the cultural nuance of Hispanic parents particularly wanting to keep their children (particularly their daughters) close to home. In many Latin American countries it is a common cultural practice for children to live with their parents until they get married, and among immigrant Hispanics and their offspring, there is evidence of this practice being carried over to the United States, adding another challenge to Hispanics in higher education (see Desmond and Turley, 2009).

Perhaps most troubling of all, however, is the continued underrepresentation of Texas Hispanic students in STEM disciplines. A primary impetus of the Closing the Gaps initiative was to ensure a globally competitive Texas workforce for the future. That workforce will be dominantly Hispanic. It follows that the successor to Closing the Gaps (if there is one) must address the STEM Gap which remains.

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ASSESSMENT OF STUDENT LEARNING THROUGH THE USE OF SEMI-CONTEXTUALIZED MEASURES IN MEDELLIN

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to present a 2014 Fulbright proposed evaluation framework and to analyze recent findings resulting from the administration of contextual measures anchored on local instructional practices of LEARNING BY DOING and academic standards from the National Education Ministry in Colombia in the areas of Mathematics, Language & Literacy and Inquiry-Based Learning. The goal of the Fulbright grant funded project was to explore, examine and analyze the structure, scope and extent of implementation of the ALIANZA MODEL (Learning by Doing) in five municipalities situated in the southwest region of Medellin in Colombia, in order to propose an Evaluation Framework to measure the extent of implementation and level of educational effectiveness in the region. The ALIANZA MODEL was originally designed to improve the quality of education for students attending designated public schools in grades K -11, with the goal to bridge and close the academic achievement gap within the region. The specific objectives of the ALIANZA MODEL were defined: 1) Facilitating and enhancing learning in mathematics, language arts and investigation as pedagogical strategy; 2) Contributing to the improvement of the processes of educational management and cultural transformation of public schools; 3) Creating inter-municipal networks to strengthen actions for the improvement of quality and equity of education in the region; 4) Strengthening the confidence of both private and public sectors in the implementation of public education policies; and 5) Strengthening

Professional Development Models of teachers so that they would have a positive and effective impact on students learning.

Keywords: Learning by Doing, Experiential Learning, Assessment of Learning, Evaluation Research, Educational Effectiveness

Introduction

The ALIANZA MODEL started its implementation in 2003 in Antioquia (Colombia) through support provided by Fundación Empresarios por la Educación, Fundación Proantioquia, Comfama and Centro de Ciencia y Tecnología de Antioquia (CTA). Currently ALIANZA MODEL is executed in eleven municipalities with resources provided by Fraternidad Medellín, Fundación Dividendo por Colombia, Fundación Bancolombia and the above mentioned entities. The ALIANZA MODEL was designed to reduce identified deficiencies in student learning and academic achievement by replacing the current methodology of *learning by repetition* - which has proven to be inefficient in the knowledge appropriation process - with the new proposed methodology of *Learning By Doing* (Caine, Caine & McClintic, 2002; English, 2013; Poikela & Poikela, 1997). The national standardized tests known as **Pruebas Saber** and the national tests **Olimpiadas del Conocimiento** conducted in Colombia for elementary age students (Grades 5 – 9) were used to measure academic achievement and gains in Alianza Model schools in mathematics, inquiry-based learning and language/literacy. Results of student learning had not shown significant growth during the last few years for schools implementing Alianza Model teaching strategies. Therefore, the purpose of the 2014 Fulbright grant funded project was to 1) Design an evaluation system able to assess base line data on assessment of student learning ; 2) Redefine a support strategy in the classroom through AULA-TALLER coordinated with Teacher Professional Development through JORNADAS PEDAGOGICAS; 3) Restructure the model according to trends and international standards; 4) Provide new methodology for the development of content presented in math and language workshops for teachers and students; 5) Identify model indicators to measure the impact and management of outcome measures; and 6) Conceptualize and present an evaluation framework designed to assess and report on baseline data and final evaluation of student learning over a multi-year project implementation.

Theoretical model

The design for evaluation research and student-centered assessment is based on the premises and operational principles of *Understanding by Design* from Wiggins and McTighe (1993, 2007, 2012, 2013), and the multi-

layer institutional approach to evaluation research originated in the field of Sociology and Public Education Policy. In the context of institutional assessment research, the framework utilized for this study is an adaptation of the National University (2014) *Assessment Guide for the School of Education*. This framework positions the collection of data for candidate measures programmatic measures, and institutional measures in the context of looping back to original institutional learning outcomes, program learning outcomes, and course learning outcomes. The process of using assessment data (Marsh, 2007) to loop back into program design, program outcomes, course outcomes and candidate competencies is imported to the K-11 public school environment located in the southwest of Medellin. As a result of a preliminary review of the data, a proposed Evaluation Framework for ALIANZA MODEL was proposed at the classroom level, at the school site level and at the municipal level for educational public policy (Messick, 1989; Popham, 1999). The proposed Evaluation Framework was presented to the Center of Science and Technology in March, 2014. After sharing the proposed Evaluation Framework to Center of Science and Technology, all review and feedback was taken into consideration in order to improve such framework during for the following Phase of research.

This framework capitalizes on the notion that institutional assessment and evaluation is most effective when triangulated through the use of multiple direct and indirect measures at various levels of implementation. For our research study, the levels of implementation are the classroom level (**Gestion de Aula**) (Stecker , Fuchs & Fuchs, 2005); the school site (**Gestion Institucional**) and the municipality (**Gestion de Contexto**). The composite of measures respond to context-based measures in the classroom (local measures) used and administered by the classroom teacher, semi-contextualized measures at school site level designed and administered by personnel from the Center of Science and Technology of Antioquia; and decontextualized measures provided to all students at national level in Colombia across direct and indirect measures for student academic achievement.



ALIANZA-FULBRIGHT MODEL

Methodological Design

Data Collection and Analysis

Initial Findings

Proposed Evaluation Framework for Alianza Model



This article is focused on the comparative analysis of student achievement data resulting from the administration of three semi-contextualized measures at the classroom level only (**Gestión de Aula**) administered during February, June and October 2014 in the areas of Mathematics, Inquiry-Based Learning and Language/Literacy for Alianza public schools. These measures also known as Initial Measure (**Prueba Inicial: P1**), Intermediate Measure (**Prueba Intermedia: P2**) and Final Measure (**Prueba Final: P3**) were developed by members of the Alianza team at the Center of Science and Technology (CTA) under the direction of Dr. Clara Amador-Lankster, Fulbright Senior Specialist for the project. The goal of their design and administration was to gather data on student learning aligned to the academic expectations contained in the subject-matter standards provided by the Colombian National Ministry of Education and anchored on student learning resulting from *learning by doing* across Mathematics, Inquiry Learning and Language/Literacy. The analysis of results will reveal distinct patterns of achievement across time, across subject matter and across municipalities for students served by the Alianza Model. It is critical to point out that his data analysis must be framed within a more comprehensive Evaluation Framework that contains student learning data as per Contextualized Classroom measures, Semi-Contextualized Intermediate Measures and Decontextualized National Test Measures. Triangulation of these three lines of data will provide a layered, richer understanding of student learning and academic achievement as a result of the Alianza Model intervention over time.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data was gathered from the administration of three semi-contextualized measures at the classroom level (*Gestion de Aula*) administered during February, June and October 2014 in Mathematics, Inquiry –Based Learning and Language/Literacy for Alianza public schools. Each measure was designed with item questions aligned to competencies listed by the Colombian Ministry of Education for the pertinent grade level and subject –matter. The following competencies were measured per subject-matter:

Mathematics:

- Interpretative Competence (*componentes numérico variacional; geométrico métrico*)
- Propositional Competence (*componentes numérico variacional; geométrico métrico*)
- Argumentative Competence (*componentes numérico variacional; geométrico métrico*)

Inquiry-Based Learning:

- Interpretative Competence
- Argumentative Competence
- Recognition of Scientific Language Use

Language/Literacy:

- Interpretative Competence for Literal Comprehension
- Interpretative Competence for Inferential Comprehension

Levels of Academic Achievement were based on the grade level expectations as per the Colombian Ministry of Education in the subject matter or content area for 3rd – 5th grades.

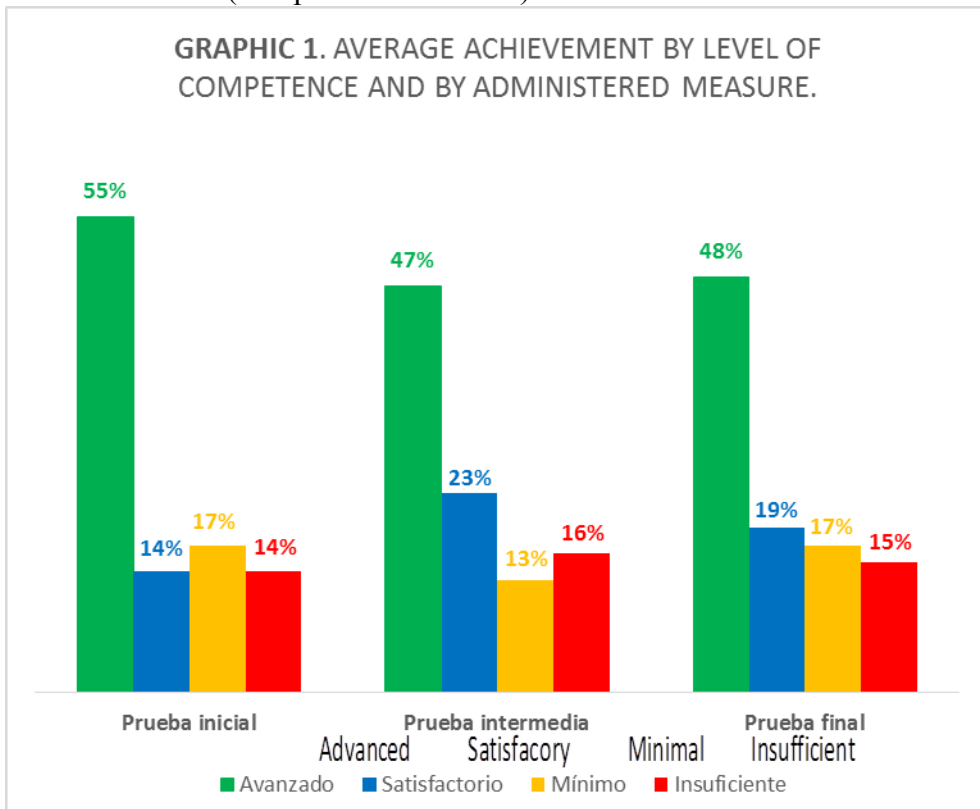
LEVEL	DESCRIPTION	AREA	POINTS
ADVANCED	Student academic achievement is advanced for the competencies within subject matter and grade level as defined by the ranges of performance listed on this chart.	Mathematics	Above 64%
		Language	Above 68%
		Inquiry Learning	Above 78%
SATISFACTORY	Student academic achievement is adequate for the competencies within subject matter and grade level as defined by the ranges of the performance listed on this chart.	Mathematics	Between 49% - 63%
		Language	Between 49% - 68%
		Inquiry Learning	Between 59% - 78%
LEVEL	DESCRIPTION	AREA	POINTS
MINIMUM	Student academic achievement is minimal for the competencies within subject matter and grade level, as defined by the ranges of the performance listed on this chart.	Mathematics	Between 32% - 48%
		Language	Between 44% - 48%
		Inquiry Learning	Between 32% - 58%

INSUFFICIENT	Student academic achievement is inadequate for the competencies within subject matter and grade level, as defined by the ranges of the performance listed on this chart.	Language	Below 32%
		Mathematics	Below 44%
		Inquiry Learning	Below 32%

Results from initial data collection in Mathematics are presented in two categories: 1) Average Achievement per Level of Competence and 2) Average percentage of students by level of competence, by measure administered and by municipality.

Mathematics

AVERAGE ACHIEVEMENT BY LEVEL OF COMPETENCE (Sample Size P3 = 164)



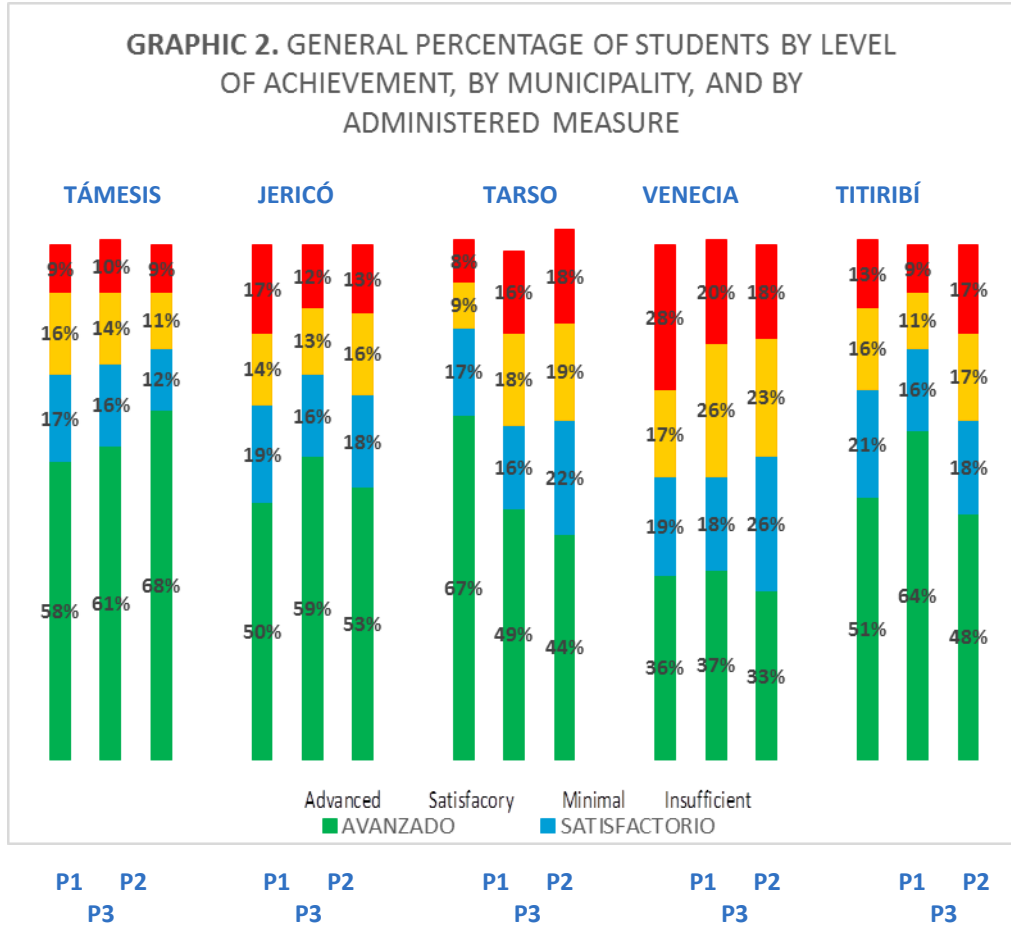
The average number of students reaching Advanced and Satisfactory Levels in the initial measure totals 69%, in the intermediate measure 70% and the final measure 67%. There is evident stability of the average number of students reaching the Advanced Level for the final measure (48%) and the intermediate (47%). While it is also noted that 85% meet adequate expectations for these competences.

Over the course of these three administrations, it is evident that the majority of students are placed on the Advanced and Satisfactory levels,

while about one third of the students are at the minimal and/or insufficient levels. Over time the level of achievement is maintained and the hope is to have fewer and fewer students at levels below meeting competencies as a result of Alianza Model best practices.

Mathematics

General percentage of students by level of achievement, by municipality



Based on a first analysis we can see that over 80% of students in all municipalities have reached a Satisfactory Level when meeting the competencies expected for that grade in Mathematics. Additionally, the general percentage of students reaching the Advanced level is greater than the percentage for any other level of performance, resulting in a steady pattern of achievement over time.

On average, Tamesis has shown the highest level of achievement at the Advanced Level with 68% of the student and at the Advanced and

Satisfactory levels with 77% of the student population. On average, Venecia has shown 38% for Advanced level, 26% for Satisfactory, 23% for Minimum and 18% for

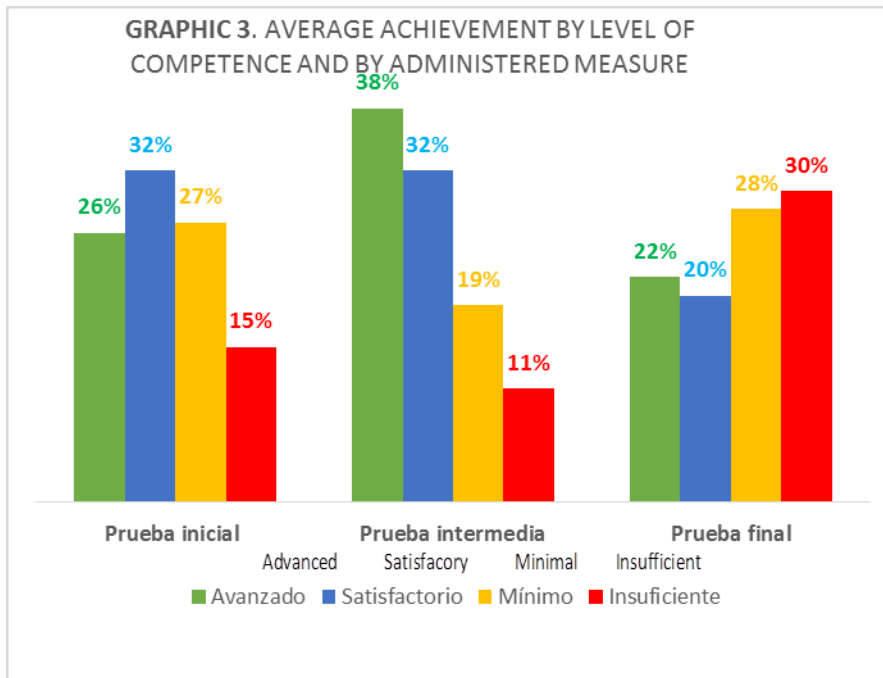
Insufficient levels. On average, Venecia has 33% of students reaching the Advanced Level, 26% reaching the Satisfactory level, 23% reaching the Minimum Level and 18% reaching the Insufficient level. The highest level of achievement at the Advanced Level with 68% of the student and at the Advanced and Satisfactory levels with 77% of the student population. Venecia is in sharp contrast with Tamesis as it relates to overall academic achievement even though both municipalities have received the Alianza Model intervention.

On average, Tarso has 67% of students reaching the Advanced Level in the Initial Measure (February 2014); followed by 49% in the Intermediate Measure (Mayo 2014) and followed by 44% in the Final Measure (October 2014). This gradual decrease in performance has also been confirmed by the increase of students reaching the Insufficient level over time. It is critical to understand the reasons for this tendency to lower academic achievement. On average, Jerico has 53% of students reaching the Advanced Level, 18% reaching the Satisfactory level, and 13% reaching the Insufficient level in the Final Measure. Finally, Titiribi has 48% in the Advanced Level, 18% in the Satisfactory Level, 17% in the Minimum Level and 17% in the Insufficient Level. Titiribi got its best and most promising results during the Intermediate Measure with 91% of students. Like the municipality of Tarso, Titiribi exhibits a 17% percentage of students at the Insufficient level, whereas Tarso shows 18% of students at that same level for the Final Measure.

Inquiry-based learning

AVERAGE ACHIEVEMENT BY LEVEL OF COMPETENCE (Sample Size P3 = 192)

Results from initial data collected in Inquiry Learning are presented in two categories: 1) Average Achievement per Level of Competence and 2) Average percentage of students by level of competence, by measure administered and by municipality.

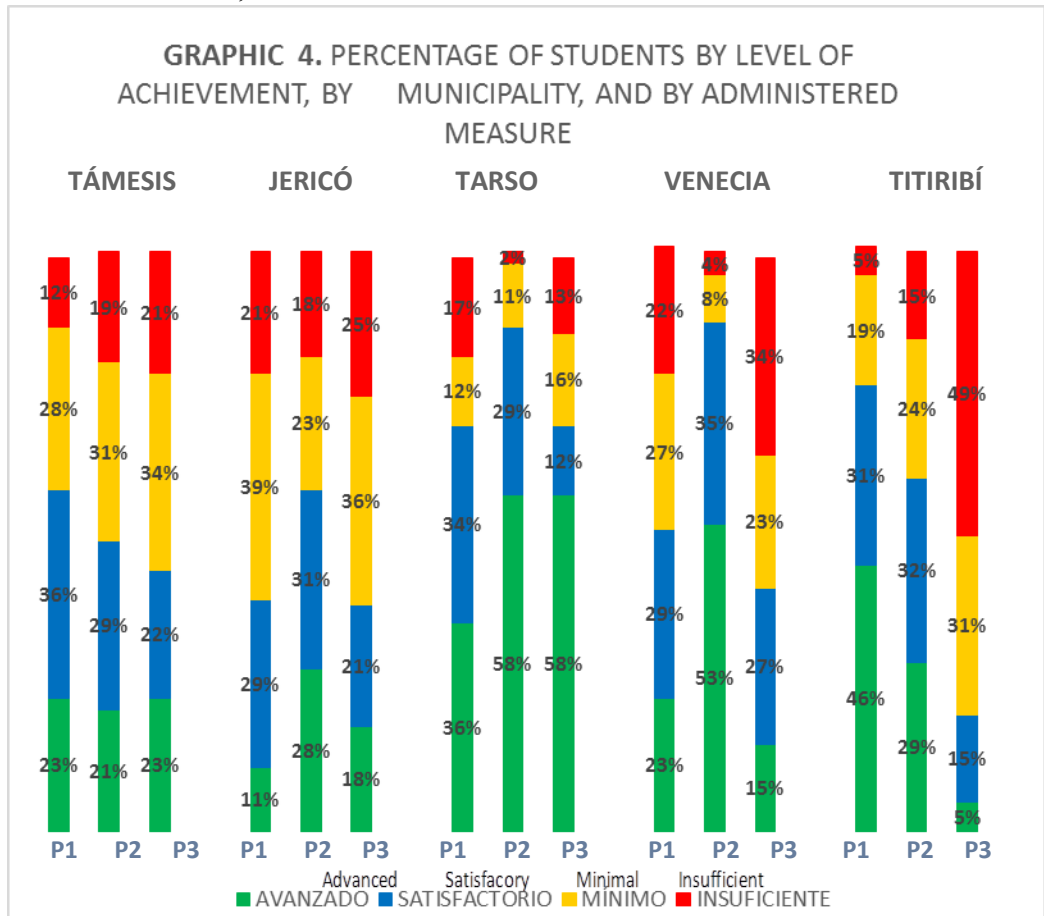


A first analysis of Inquiry Learning (Graphic 3) shows that the highest performance by students was achieved during the Intermediate Measure with 70% of students achieving at the Satisfactory or Advanced Levels. The final measure showed that only 42% of students achieved Satisfactory or above – a drop of close to 30% of the students between May 2014 and October 2014 administrations.

The lowest achievement reached in the Final Measure can be explained by a myriad of factors, but one of them is the fact that students were asked to work in research groups for Inquiry Learning. However, this measure was administered to individual students and was designed to assess individual student learning, not learning in groups. This type of assessment measure is not designed to assess the practices that take place within the structure of research groups.

Inquiry-based learning

GENERAL PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS BY LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT, BY MUNICIPALITY



Based on a first analysis, we can see that over 50% of students in most municipalities have reached a Satisfactory Level or above when meeting the competencies expected for that grade in Inquiry Learning. However, there is a trend towards lower achievement in the Final Measure across all municipalities under study. Tarso and Venecia exhibit the highest level of Inquiry Learning achievement in their

Intermediate Measure. In the case of Jerico, Tarso and Venecia there was an evident drop in achievement from the Intermediate Measure to the Final Measure.

On average, Tarso has shown the highest level of achievement at the Advanced and Satisfactory Level with 70% of the students in the Initial Measure, followed by 87% of the students in the Intermediate Measure and followed by 70% of the students in the Final Measure. This is a remarkable

achievement for Inquiry-Based Learning, since it is not directly taught in public schools as a designated subject-matter. On average Tamesis shows that about 79% of students were able to reach Minimum Level or above for Inquiry Learning, situating this municipality just below Tarso.

Venecia shows a remarkable drop in achievement from the Intermediate Measure (88%) to the Final Measure (42%) in the attainment of the Satisfactory and Advanced Levels. Currently the Alianza Team is examining a host of variables that may explain this sharp variation for the municipalities affected.

Titiribi shows that close to half of the students (49%) completing the Final Measure achieved at Insufficient Level , with 31% of students achieving at the Minimum Level for a total of 80% of the students attaining a level below Satisfactory. These results are in sharp contrast with the results derived from the Initial Measure where Titiribi had 24% of students below Satisfactory Level. It is obvious that several factors have caused this drop to take place including, but not limited, to variation in the support provided to teachers in the classroom and facilitators of Learning By Doing; variation of personnel trained by Alianza Team and others.

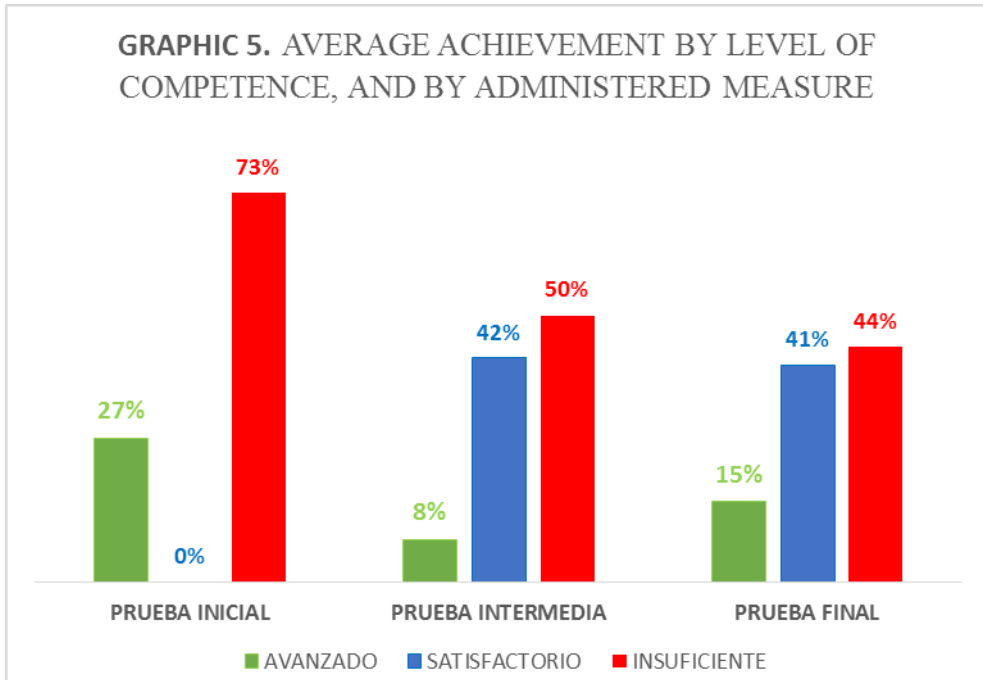
Finally Jerico demonstrates a certain level of stability over time with its highest achievement during the Intermediate Measure where 59% of students achieved Satisfactory and/or Advanced Levels. Overall Jerico follows the same pattern of decreased achievement for the Final Measure as is the case with other municipalities.

Language/literacy

AVERAGE ACHIEVEMENT BY LEVEL OF COMPETENCE (LITERAL COMPREHENSION)

Results from initial data collected in Language/Literacy presented in two categories: 1) Average Achievement per Level of Competence and 2) Average percentage of students by level of competence, by measure administered and by municipality.

GENERAL PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS BY LEVEL OF COMPETENCE, AND BY ADMINISTERED MEASURE (Sample Size P3 = 172)

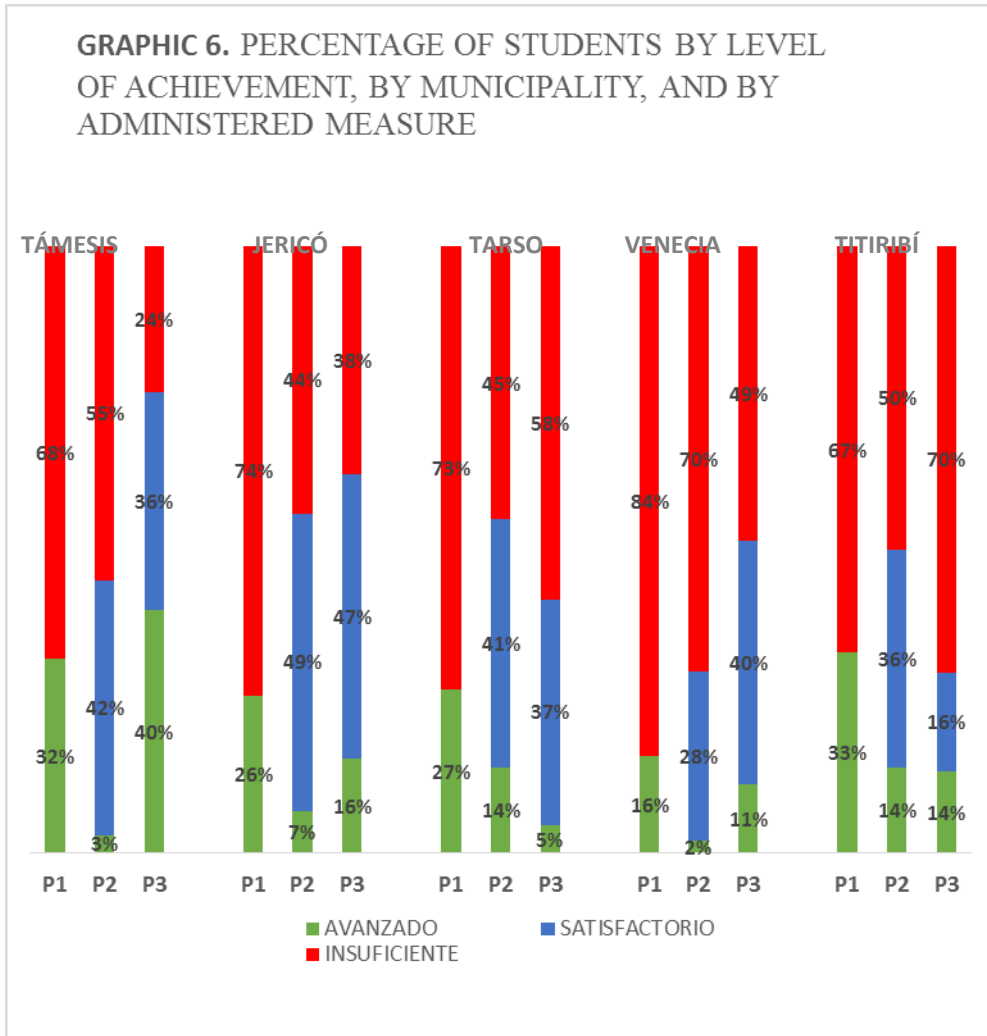


Language/Literacy is an area that has experienced several shifts in the conceptualization and administration of measures over time due to important personnel changes for this area within the Alianza Team. Three levels of performance have been reported due to no results present for the Minimum Level. Graphic 5 exhibits a general upward trend in achievement over time when we see that attainment of Satisfactory and/or Advanced Levels shifted from 27% of students (Initial Measure) to 56% of students (Intermediate Measure) to 56% of students (Final Measure) in Literal Comprehension.

In the Initial Measure, 73% of students scored at the Insufficient Level which was an alarming result for basic Literal Comprehension of texts. The downward trend in achievement is evident over the three measures, even though the final administration exhibits that 44% of students are still demonstrating an Insufficient Level of achievement. Language and Literacy is foundational and critical to the development of Learning to Read and Reading to Learn. Since students in the sample come from grades 3 – 5, this data point reveals that the Alianza Team needs to focus attention to intervention and targeted resources to the preparation of facilitators and teachers in Language and Literacy.

Language

GENERAL PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS BY LEVEL OF ACHIEVEMENT, BY MUNICIPALITY



Tamesis represents the highest achievement results with 76% of students attaining Satisfactory and/or Advanced Levels, followed by Jerico with 63% of students and followed by Venecia with 51% of students at that level. Tamesis is the only municipality with a higher percentage of students achieving Advanced level (40%) than students achieving Satisfactory Level (36%). This trend requires future examination so that the Alianza Team can replicate some of the context variables impacting teaching practices for targeted student learning.

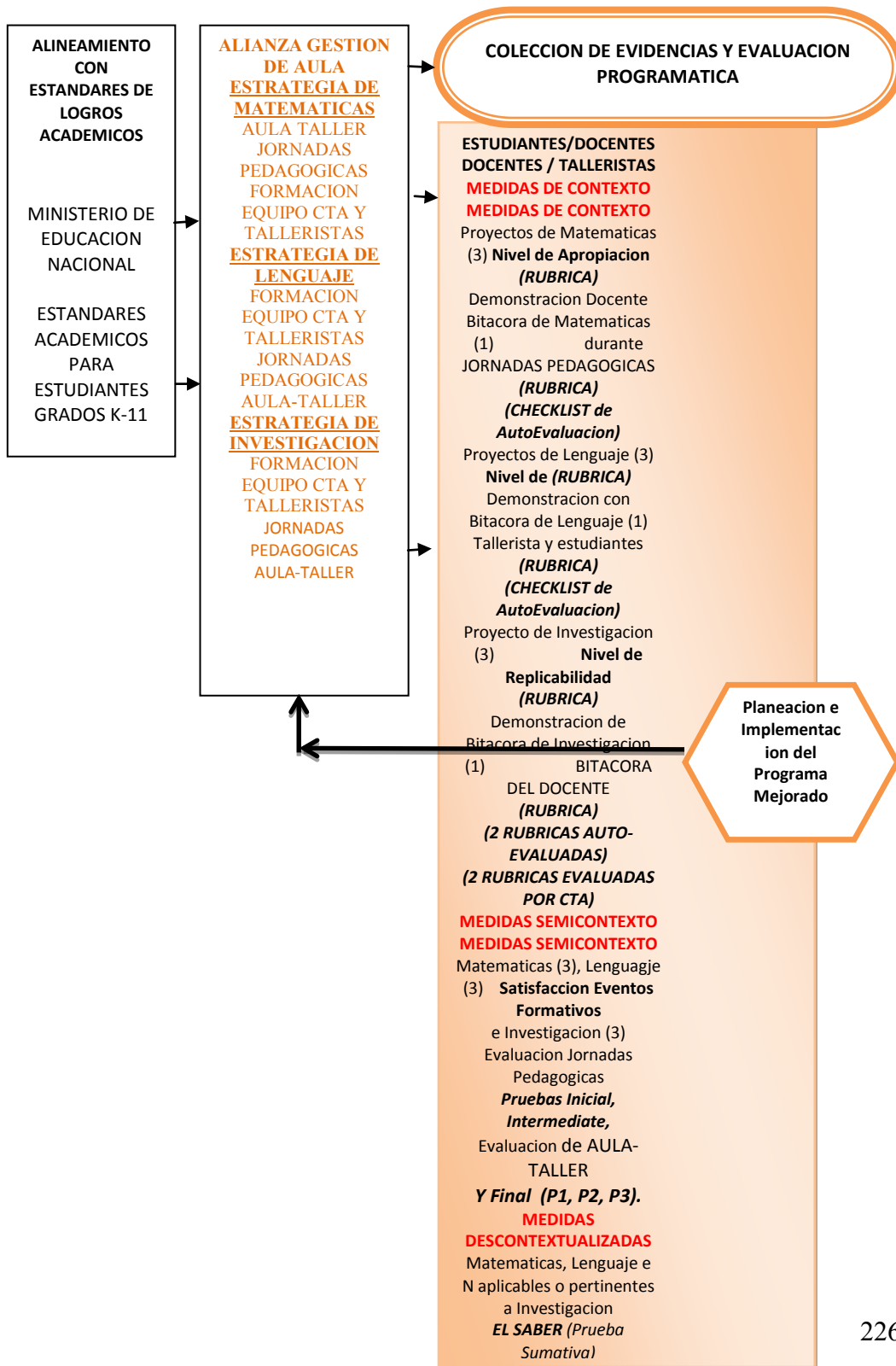
Jerico has the second highest achievement for Language/Literacy when compared to other municipalities, showing that the number of students at the Insufficient Level has decreased over time from 74% (Initial Measure) to 44% (Intermediate Measure) to 38% (Final Measure). Venecia also shows a considerable upward trend of achievement when an inter-measure comparison is made (P1:16%; P2:30%; P3: 51%) that reveals an increased number of students have achieved the Satisfactory and/or Advanced Levels. These results are relevant when we consider the fact that Venecia has been characterized by high rurality, absenteeism, and institutional resistance to implementation of *Learnig By Doing* teaching strategies.

Finally Tarso and Titiribi both show the lower results in Language/Literacy achievement across the board, as evidenced by a considerable drop in the number of students reaching Satisfactory/Advanced Levels of attainment. On the other side, Tarso shows 45% of students at Insufficient Level in the Intermediate Measure and 58% in the Final Measure. Whereas Titiribi exhibits an even sharper decline for the same level of competence moving from 50% to 70% of students at the Insufficient Level. This latter decline in achievement may be attributed partially to the fact that there were consistent problems with student attendance where the administration of the Final Measure had to be repeated in order to secure a threshold level for the sample being assessed. These results in Titiribi impacted greatly the general achievement level across municipalities for the entire administration of Final Measure (P3).

Conclusion

Analyzing the results of the administration of these three semi-contextualized measures must be framed within the comprehensive Alianza-Fulbright Evaluation Framework proposed by Amador-Lankster (2014) as depicted in Graphic 7 in relation to the overall measurement of educational effectiveness of Alianza Model.

**ALIANZA-FULBRIGHT EVALUATION FRAMEWORK FOR EDUCATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS
(GRAPHIC 7, AMADOR-LANKSTER, MARCH 2014)**



This comparative analysis of semi-contextualized measures (P1, P2, P3) reveals important trends in student learning as measured by the administration of Initial, Intermediate and Final Measures aligned to current standards and competencies expected from the Colombian Ministry of Education, supported by best practices in teaching and *Learning By Doing*.

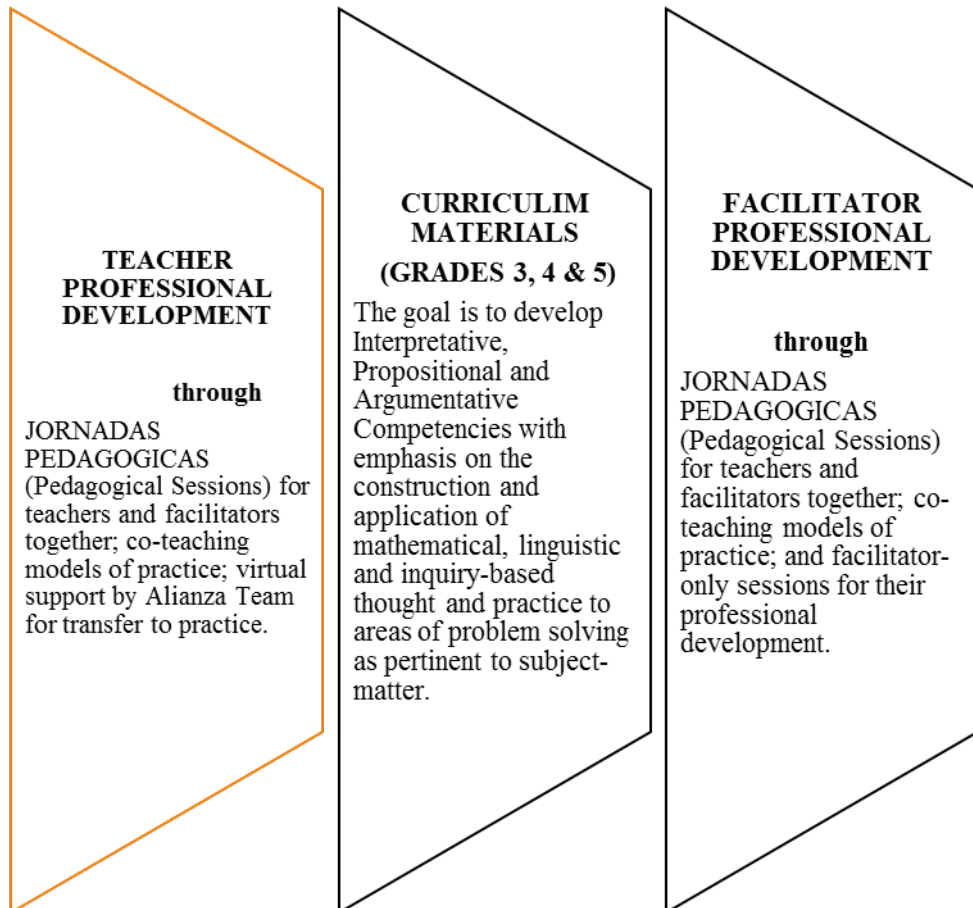
Based on the analysis by area, by administration over time, by municipality, the Alianza Team will be implementing the following recommendations in terms of extent, quantity and quality of implementation in FY2015 and FY2016 in order to utilize this body of data to inform the planning, budget allocation for future program improvement.

Recommendations for Mathematics, Inquiry-Based Learning and Language/Literacy:

1. The Alianza Team will maintain the systematic work initiated with teachers and facilitators in order to strengthen the preparation and development of teachers institutionally:
 - i. Alianza Team will increase the number and frequency of JORNADAS PEDAGOGICAS with the joint participation of both teachers and facilitators together;
 - ii. Alianza Team will reconceptualize the professional learning of teachers in the classroom:
 - a. Teachers and Facilitators will work in pairs during Jornadas Pedagogicas;
 - b. Facilitator will model strategies in-classroom for teachers to observe actively inside the classroom;
 - c. During the AULA-TALLER, teachers and facilitators will begin to co-apply strategies together gradually; and
 - d. After the AULA-TALLER is over, teachers will begin to implement strategies by themselves with gradually increased levels of sophistication with the support of the Alianza Team by use of asynchronous communication or synchronous communication via virtual platforms, WEBEX or SKYPE on demand.
 - iii. Alianza Team will gather data on the professional learning achieved by teachers in their application of new strategies in the classrooms;
 - iv. Alianza Team will implement this proposed Evaluation Framework in 2015/2016 in order to assess levels of student learning by area, by municipality, by level of teacher use of best practices in *Learning By Doing*.

The following Graphic 8 exhibits the three lines of action for program improvement resulting from the initial analysis of this data set.

Additional recommendations will be provided when student learning data is triangulated across Contextualized, Semi-Contextualized and Decontextualized measures over time.



Graphic 8 : Adapted by Clara Amador-Lankster from Adriana Lozano,2014)

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COOPERATION AND INTERNATIONALIZATION EXPERIENCE WITHIN HIGHER EDUCATION

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Abstract

Education has historically developed parallel to socio-technological changes; at present the innovations in information and communication technologies promote a new educational paradigm, where the search for higher education quality, pertinence and internationalization is remarkable. On these lines, the creation of university networks of postgraduate studies, students and researchers mobility and the cooperation of Spanish American researchers who work outside the region constitute one of the goals which Ibero American countries aim at achieving during the next decade (OEI, 2010). Within this context, the aim of this paper is to describe an experience of cooperation and internationalization with teachers and postgraduate students mobility which took place in the Departamento de Economía de la Universidad Nacional del Sur (Department of Economics of National University of the South). This experience took place from 2008 to 2011 in the context of the Programa de Centros Asociados para el Fortalecimiento de Posgrados, Proyecto CAFP (Program of Associate Centers for the Strengthening of Postgraduate Studies, CAFP Project) and the promoting institution was the Departamento de Desemvolvimento, Agricultura e Sociedade and Instituto de Ciencias Humanas e Sociais (CPDA) of the Universidades Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro and the receiving institution, the Departamento de Economía of UNS (Department of Economics of the National University of the South). Thus, two postgraduate programs were linked: The Program of Pós Graduação de Ciências Sociais em Desemvolvimento, Agricultura e Sociedades del CPDA and the Magister in Agrarian and Rural Management of UNS. Based on the weaknesses of the latter, the proposed objectives were, among others, improving the graduation rate, revising and updating the Course of Studies, widening the research lines and incorporating interdisciplinary approaches.

Keywords: Cooperation and Internationalization of Education. University networks

Introduction

Education has historically developed parallel to socio-technological changes; at present the innovations in information and communication technologies promote a new educational paradigm, where the search for higher education quality, pertinence and internationalization is remarkable

Internationalization of Higher Education is understood as a process consisting of the design and implementation of policies and programs which have as their goal, on the one side, incorporating the international and intercultural dimensions in the missions, objectives and functions of teaching, investigation and extension of university institutions, and, on the other side, channeling the benefits derived from international cooperation (Knight, 2005). International cooperation at the educational level is thought as a way of educational institutions to relate in view to mutual benefit. Interuniversity cooperation is meant to encourage intellectual collaboration by means of the formation of networks between institutions and teachers with the aim to enable the access, transference and adaptation of knowledge towards the interior of countries as well as across their borders.

These concepts explain not only the growing importance attached to knowledge at the global level but also the increase in communication among the participants of the process of generation and appropriation of knowledge, which gives rise to a “new global geopolitics of knowledge” (García Guadilla, 2010)

The internationalization of higher education is a complex phenomenon, in which varied agents and actors participate -international and regional organisms, national States and institutions of higher education (IHE).each with its own logic (Abba).

Thus, the Ibero American Heads of State and Government gathered for the XV and XVI Ibero American Summit set the bases of a program to encourage the creation of the Ibero American Space of Knowledge, based on the recommendations and mandates which emerged from different spheres of the Ibero American cooperation during the 90s. One of the goals in the “Metas Educativas 2021” (“2021 Educational Goals”) proposal was devoted to stimulate that program.

The main aim of this space is to establish a mechanism of collaboration and interaction among higher education researchers and teachers, since they recognize how important this is for the generation and spreading of scientific and technological knowledge.

The criteria which guide the conformation of this space are “cooperation and solidarity in the attention of asymmetries, respect for diversity, continuous improvement and guarantying higher education quality and pertinence, research and innovation as the bases for sustainable development and conservation of biodiversity in the region, as well as complementarity and agreement among the different actors involved” (SPU-Secretaría de Políticas Universitarias)-(University Policy Department). Its main lines of action are increasing the number of researchers in each country and their mobility, as well as a sustained rise in the investment on research and development, admitting, at the same time, that this knowledge will pass over to primary and secondary levels of education (OEI- IASO, 2010).

In this context the Ministry of Education of Argentina has been encouraging the process of internationalization of Argentine universities for several years by means of the implementation of the Programa de Internacionalización de la Educación Superior y Cooperación Internacional (PIESCI) (Program of Internationalization of Higher Education and International Cooperation) which the Secretaría de Políticas Universitarias (University Policy Department) carries out. The basic purpose of this program is to promote the links and articulation of all actors in the field of higher education in the national, regional and international spheres with the aim of fostering the opportunities that are offered to the institutions of higher education by educational and academic cooperation.

The institutions of higher education, as agents and actors of internationalization, outline their own internationalization project taking into consideration their view and mission. In Universidad Nacional del Sur (National University of the South) particular case the subject is dealt with in one of the chapters of its Strategic Plan, where the university admits that, although an important group of teachers-researchers have been collaborating fluently with akin groups around the world for some time now, it is since the creation of the Subsecretaría de Relaciones Internacionales (International Relations Undersecretariat) in 2007 that the process of internationalization at UNS (Universidad Nacional del Sur-National University of the South) has been furthered. With a view to renewing and improving the quality of higher education, participation of the whole university community in the different modalities of internationalization and cooperation is encouraged by this Undersecretariat. Thus, among other activities designed to reach the proposed aims, the participation of students, teaching and non-teaching staff in mobility programs is managed and facilitated, agreements with institutions of known prestige are signed. Besides, agreements for joint degrees and joint investigations with foreign groups are formalized. (UNS, 2013)

In this context, the aim of this paper is to present an experience of cooperation and internationalization with mobility of teaching staff and

postgraduate students at the Department of Economics of Universidad Nacional del Sur (UNS) (National University of the South). The said experience took place from 2008 to 2011 within the Programa de Centros Asociados para el Fortalecimiento de posgrados (CAFP-BA) (Associated Centres for the Strengthening of Postgraduates Program) The promoting institution was the Departamento de Desenvolvimento, Agricultura e Sociedade and the Instituto de Ciências Humanas e Sociais (CPDA) of the Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro (UFRRJ) and the recipient institution the Departamento de Economía of UNS (Department of Economics of National University of the South, Argentina). To this end, the CAF-BA program will be briefly outlined, then some features of the involved postgraduate programs of studies will be mentioned and lastly, the main achievements of the experience will be presented.

The Associated centers for the strengthening of postgraduate programs. Some features

Within the PIESCI agreements of bilateral cooperation with Brazil, France, Spain, Cuba, Germany and Chile among other countries have been signed. These agreements, in general, are intended to strengthen the formation of human resources by means of courses or research stays at foreign institutions. While others, aim at the implementation of joint degree studies.

Among the agreements entered into with Brazil, the *Programa de Centros Asociados de Posgrados (CAPG-BA) (Associate Centers of Postgraduate Studies)* and the *Programa de Centros Asociados para el Fortalecimiento de Posgrados (CAFP-BA) (Program of Associate Centers for the Strengthening of Postgraduate Studies)* stand out. Both of them involve teachers and students mobility between quality postgraduate studies of both countries, whilst the *Colegio Doctoral Argentino-Brasileño (CDAB) (Argentine-Brazilian Doctoral School)*, consists in *sandwich scholarships* for doctoral students in Engineering, Informatics and Computing Sciences belonging to postgraduate studies of excellence in both countries.

The CAF-BA, set up in June 2000 by the Fundação Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES) and the Secretaría de Políticas Universitarias (SPU) (University Policy Department) in Argentina, was conceived under the Protocolo Adicional del Convenio de Cooperación Educativa (Additional Protocol of the Agreement of Educational Cooperation) between Brazil and Argentina on Educational Integration for the Formation of Human Resources at the Postgraduate level.

Since the geographic distribution of postgraduate studies is neither quantitatively nor qualitatively homogeneous, the main aim of the program is to generate mechanisms that enable to reduce these asymmetries by means of

the formation of human resources at the postgraduate level, the improvement of the quality of the courses which are offered, the promotion of teachers exchange programs and the support for research activities in areas showing a shortfall of research and/or complete vacancy.

The projects within this program are based on the principles of cooperation and solidarity, and they consist in the bi-national academic association where a program of postgraduate studies-master or doctorate- of academic excellency (PROMOTOR), strengthens another program of postgraduate studies-doctorate or master- with a relative lower development (RECIPIENT).

Each project lasts 4 (four) years and its continuity is evaluated annually. One public university from the Republic of Argentina and one university from the Federative Republic of Brazil will participate. The promoting programs of postgraduate studies must be evaluated above 5 by the Fundación Coordinación de Perfeccionamiento del Personal de Nivel Superior (CAPES) (Foundation of Higher Level Staff Improvement Coordination), in the case of Brazil, and they should preferably be ranked as A or B by the Comisión Nacional de Evaluación y Acreditación Universitaria (CONEAU) (National Commission of University Evaluation and Accreditation) in the case of Argentina. Whilst the programs of postgraduate studies assessed with 3 or 4 by the CAPES and the doctorates or master programs accredited or with accredited projects by the CONEAU, will be accepted as recipient programs of postgraduate studies.

At the same time, each Project must be concentrated on one disciplinary area and foster, among other aspects, the consolidation and strengthening of research capacities, the formation and improvement of human resources linked to the university system, the formulation of curricular innovation proposals and strategies allowing the mutual use of the complementary features of the involved programs of postgraduate studies. Besides, it must have some kind of impact on the national/regional context in which the Recipient and Promoting Unities are situated.

Work missions and study missions are carried out to attain the proposed objectives. The first ones consist, on the one hand, in specific courses, seminars, workshops, and conferences dictated by teachers belonging to the Promoting Unity at the Recipient Unity. And on the other hand, the teachers of the recipient programs of postgraduate studies may go on two annual missions for the dictation of courses and/ or seminars.

The study missions are unidirectional, from the Recipient Unity towards the Promoting Unity. This mobility model established that teachers and students from the Recipient Unity take courses and participate in workshops linked to their thesis subject matter, and they may even arrange the co-orientation of the thesis.

Thirty-nine of the projects presented in the four calls carried out up to 2011 were accepted. Almost 25% of the public universities participate in the presentation and execution of these projects dealing with different disciplines. In general, there is a predominance of the oldest institutions. The biggest ones- Universidad de Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires University), Universidad de Córdoba (Córdoba University) and Universidad de La Plata (La Plata University) – have presented a greater number of projects during the period considered. (Chart 1)

Chart 1. CAFP-BA- On-going projects

	2007	2008	2009	2011
Projects	13	7	7	12
Institutions	9	7	7	12

Source: Prepared by the authors based on SPU-Ministerio de Educación (Ministry of Education)

CAFP-BA.The Master on Agrarian Economics and Rural Management experience.

Programs of postgraduate studies involved: features

The Project for strengthening the Master in Agrarian Economics and Rural Management was approved in 2008 (Project N° 008/08), when a specific agreement of collaboration between the Departamento de Economía de la UNS (Department of Economics of the National University of the South) and the Program of Pós-graduação de Ciências Sociais em Desenvolvimento, Agricultura e Sociedade (CPDA) of the Universidad Federal Rural de Rio de Janeiro (Rural Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) was signed. A Framework Agreement signed in July 2002 had already formalized the relationship between the UFRRJ and the UNS.

The Master in Agrarian Economics and Rural Management-*Recipient Program of Postgraduate Studies*- started in 1982. It follows the regulations in force at UNS for programs of fourth level and has been accredited as rank C by the CONEAU. It was designed for the postgraduate formation in the field of Economics of professionals from the Agriculture and Livestock and Rural Management sector.

The program is based on two subject areas which offer the participants an integral formation in Economics for the Agriculture and Livestock sector and the Agro Industrial sector as well as in Rural/ Agro Industrial Enterprise Management. Its purpose is to respond to all the concrete and everyday necessities of the professionals in that area, university researchers or agents from the state sector.

As regards the professionals, whereas they work independently or in the context of private enterprises or state entities of the sector, the programs try to satisfy the demand for knowledge and management tools applied in

Agrarian Business, in the optimization of Enterprise Management and in the generation and strengthening of local innovative dynamics. In relation to the requirements of researchers, the programs are intended to integrate the postgraduate studies with the consequent thesis work in the research programs on Agrarian Economy, Rural Management and Territorial Economy which the Departamento de Economía (Department of Economics) and other Departments of the UNS (National University of the South) carry out. In addition, knowledge on social evaluation of projects and sectorial and rural development strategies is transferred.

The Academic Committee and the Academic Coordinator are in charge of the planning, coordination and direction of the program of studies. The Academic Coordinator is a local teacher appointed by the Consejo Departamental del Departamento de Economía (CDE) (Department Council members of the Department of Economics), who are in office for four years. The Academic Committee appointed by the CDE for four years is formed by three local teachers and the Academic Coordinator.

The teachers and tutors are responsible for the academic formation of the student. They promote, activate and stimulate the students learning.

The academic body is formed by 18 permanent members and a variable number of guests, depending on the existing agreements and/or specific contracts. The members of the academic body have been formed and have worked academically and professionally in the disciplines of Economics, Agrarian Economics, Statistics and Management.

The program of studies of the Master in Agrarian Economics and Rural Management is organized with a period of general theoretical-practical formation which takes up 540 hours. It has seven compulsory subjects, each one requiring an attendance of sixty hours; four seminars, each one requiring an attendance of thirty hours; a compulsory exam on foreign language and a final thesis.

In addition, the students must comply with 160 hours as a *pasante* in research projects and 200 hours for writing the final thesis. These activities are carried out during 2 years.

The students must have a minimum attendance of 80% of the theoretical-practical classes offered in the program of studies. The passing mark for the courses, seminars and workshops is 6 (six) out of a maximum mark of 10 (ten), whilst the average mark cannot be below 7 (seven) points at the end of the program.

With the aim of integrating all the topics dealt with in the Master program, as well as stimulating intellectual qualities together with the capacity to solve problems, the handing in of a final thesis paper and the oral presentation of the said work is required by the postgraduate program. The thesis must be written individually.

The CPDA-*Promoting Postgraduate Program*- is a center of excellence on Agrarian Studies and the Brazilian Agro Alimentary System with a strong Latin-American orientation. It is well-known as a research and exchange center of multidisciplinary nature on Social Sciences oriented to the construction of knowledge on development, institutions and social processes related to the Agro Alimentary system and the rural world.

The CPDA-founded as a Program of Master Studies in 1997- is a program of fourth level of interdisciplinary nature in the field of Social Sciences, devoted to the study of subject matters related to the rural environment and its transformations in the contemporary world. The program is intended to develop a perspective which may embrace the complexities and interactions between the local, national and global processes from an economic, social, cultural and political point of view. These processes have redefined the concept of rurality and have posed queries. Since 1995, a program of Doctorate Studies has been also offered, besides the Master Studies. .

The subjects that make up the framework of the CPDA are grouped in three categories:

Compulsory: The aim of these subjects is to consolidate the formation of the students in research methodology.

Basic Disciplinary: they are oriented to the theoretical formation of the students in the areas of interest of the CPDA

Specific Disciplines of Research Lines: the subjects in this group are aimed at strengthening the theoretical, methodological and historical basis for the subject contents of each of the five lines of research⁵⁸ developed in the institution.

Although the current curricula of the involved programs of study in the Strengthening Program show some differences, they also present common areas to be improved in the program proposed by the UNS, as well as subjects that would enhance the preparation of the students. On these lines, the ones corresponding to the compulsory category of the CPDA are especially relevant, as well as Political Theory and Economic Theory- subjects belonging to the group of Basic Disciplinary category. The specific courses of the *Culture and Rural World Studies; Institutions, markets and regulation; Public Policies, State and Social Actors* research lines- offer valuable options for the formation of the graduates.

The proposal of academic collaboration between the Maestría en Economía Agraria y Administración Rural (Master in Agrarian Economics

⁵⁸ The on-going research lines are: Culture and Rural World Studies; Institutions, Markets and Regulation; Social Movements; Nature, Science and Knowledge; and Public Policies, State and Social Actors.

and Rural Management) and the CPDA had as its main aim the creation of institutional support which could encourage the exchange of postgraduate teachers and students to develop and consolidate knowledge in areas of study of the Agro Alimentary System and Latin American Rural World.

Other aims of the project were:

- To develop the exchange of knowledge on the Agro Alimentary System Dynamics
- To promote academic competencies and encouragement for the construction of teaching frameworks capable of forming qualified and responsible professionals.
- To stimulate the exchange of academic experiences with the intention of promoting institutional learning and international insertion for both postgraduate programs.
- To strengthen cooperation between postgraduate centers in the MERCOSUR.
- To encourage students to take up the doctorate studies in the CDPA and other programs in Brazil.
- To achieve a general improvement of the Maestría en Economía Agraria y Administración Rural (Master in Agrarian Economics and Rural Management) from the curricular aspects to the pedagogical ones.
- To increase the thesis production from the part of the students of the Maestría en Economía Agraria y Administración Rural. (Master in Agrarian Economics and Rural Management)
- To generate a wider exchange space which may give some feedback in new mechanisms of scientific and academic cooperation, consolidating institutional links and promoting mechanisms to guarantee the quality of the graduate of the Master in Agrarian Economics and Rural Management.

To attain these aims study missions and work missions were carried out. The former were designed aiming at the incorporation of contents and practices made in the CPDA, with the intention to produce curricular changes. There was also the purpose of improving the qualifications of human resources which form part of the teaching staff of the Maestría en Economía Agraria y Administración Rural (Master in Agrarian Economics and Rural Management), through the definition of research works and the co-direction of thesis, exchange of bibliography, didactic practices, organization of joint teaching lectures and seminars.

On the other hand, the work missions were based on dictating seminars on topics which were not dealt with before or were dealt with different approaches. The approach of the different topics in the CPDA is

wider than the local one and goes beyond the economic perspective; sociological, historical and anthropological visions, among others, are incorporated. As regards thesis workshops and thesis methodological aspects the intervention aimed at improving the graduation rate in the master. Local teachers and teachers from the CPDA have integrated for the dictation of seminars and the possibility of development of new research lines has been achieved.

Experience results

During the four years of development of the project 26 study missions and 13 work missions were carried out (Chart 2).

Chart 2. CAFP-BA. Study and work missions

	2008	2009	2010	2011
Study missions	6	9	6	5
Work missions		6	6	2

Source: prepared by the authors

On the one hand, the study missions carried out during the Project allowed students from the Master as well as students from other postgraduate courses dictated in the Departamento de Economía (Department of Economics) to write their thesis plans or to progress in the preparation of their thesis thanks to the collaboration of teachers from the promoting postgraduate program.

On the other hand, they also allowed the teachers to work on their projects and to incorporate new subject matters and teaching-learning techniques to be applied in the courses of the Master. Similarly, the teachers and students who participated in the CPDA stays carried out several tasks and some of them were oriented to updating the bibliography used in the subjects that they dictated; others, to prepare a new seminar to be dictated jointly and also, to prepare joint publications. Furthermore, several teachers took part in congresses organized in UFRRJ and research workshops as presenters or panel coordinators, which enabled them to get in touch with teachers and researchers from several universities in Brazil, who are developing research lines akin to their own.

The work missions received at UNS consisted in dictating different courses and seminars, which offered the students a wider and more experienced view of the topics dealt with.

There were varied actions derived from the project, among which we can mention as the most standing:

The *formation of the Observatorio de Políticas Públicas para la Agroindustria y el Desarrollo (OPPAD)* (Observatory of Public Policies for the Agro Industry and Development) within the Departamento de Economía of the UNS (Department of Economics of the National University of the

South)-venue of the recipient postgraduate program. The project, which was drawn up and launched with the support of the Observatorio de Políticas Públicas para la Agricultura (OPPA) (Observatory of Public Policies for Agriculture) of the CPDA, was approved by the Consejo Departamental (Department Council) in September 2010.

The OPPAD consists of a group of researchers from UNS historically linked to the area of Agrarian Economics and Public Policies of the Departamento de Economía (Department of Economics) and two members from the Observatory of the OPPA. Among its objectives, the carrying out of joint investigations and the preparation and study of comparative analysis of the public policies and their impact on both countries are especially worth mentioning.

The *modification of the program of studies of the Maestría en Economía Agraria y Administración Rural* (Master in Agrarian Economics and Rural Management) (Res. CDE 75/10) (Department of Economics Council Resolution 75/10). The ideas contributed by the teachers and students who participated in study missions were of great importance for the drawing up of the new program of studies.

The subjects Microeconomics and Macroeconomics were incorporated in the new plan. At the same time, Applied Economic Statistics was substituted for Econometrics and 160 hours of research and tutorship activities were incorporated. Furthermore, the syllabuses of some of the subjects have been modified to include new approaches that have an interdisciplinary analytic perspective. Sociologists, anthropologists, historians and economists participated to outline these modifications. The curricular innovation was directly introduced via seminars dictated by teachers from CPDA.

Copies of the Revista Estudios (CPDA) (Studies Journal) and Estudios Económicos (Departamento de Economía-UNS) (Economic Studies) *started to be exchanged by the respective libraries and the mutual publication of works from both institutions*, respecting the original language pursuant to the Tratado del MERCOSUR (MERCOSUR Agreement), was arranged.

The impact on the University has been really positive, since other academic unities have felt the motivation to present themselves in the subsequent calls. Thus, in 2009, the Departamento de Ciencias de la Administración (Department of Management Sciences) has received the approval of the project to strengthen the Maestría en Administración (Master in Management). And, on the other hand, the coordinators of the Maestría PLIDER (PLIDER Master), dictated by the Departamento de Geografía (Department of Geography) have become interested in incorporating the workshops of teachers from CPDA in the offer of the aforementioned

postgraduate program. It is also worth mentioning that, between 2008 and 2010, nine students ended their studies, after satisfactorily defending their thesis. This means a significant progress, since only nine Master students had graduated since the beginnings of the postgraduate program of studies. In addition, nine new projects for prospective Master degrees were passed.

Moreover, as the result of the exchange of ideas and experiences carried out by a group of teachers of the area of Sociology of the Departamento de Economía (Department of Economics) in Río de Janeiro, the strengthening of the LUDIBUS project was achieved. This project supports formal education in poverty contexts pursuant to the premise that a healthy and educated population is a key element for development.

According to the results pointed out and also according to the opinion of the coordinators of the recipient postgraduate program, it can be stated that the experience has been highly satisfactory. The proposed objectives have been not only achieved but also exceeded. It is specially worth mentioning the flexibility of the program to adapt actions to face unexpected difficulties that may come up during its development. As a weakness, the relatively poor knowledge about the programs dictated in the Brazilian universities is worth mentioning. The project coordinators state that this pioneering experience has settled the bases for future new projects of bilateral cooperation.

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DEFINING WORKPLACE LEARNING

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the significance of workplace learning. Learning is often defined as the route in which any type of knowledge is attained (Eraut, 2000: 4; Lave & Wenger, 1991: 47). The workplace can be an important place for learning and development, and in which knowledge can be created (Avis, 2010: 171). A discussion of the various types of workplace learning is included in this paper, namely those which fall under the category of formal, informal and unconscious. Research shows that 80% of the learning occurs informally through self-directed learning, networking, coaching and mentoring (Yeo, 2008: 318). However, there may be obstacles that can hinder learning at the place of work. Examples of these obstacles are also tackled in this paper.

Keywords: Workplace Learning, Situated Learning, Communities of Practice

Introduction

Working is interconnected with learning and consequently, workplace learning is the way in which skills are upgraded and knowledge is acquired at the place of work. The literature in this paper concerns workplace learning and offers different definitions. Broadly speaking however, it can be defined as the acquisition of knowledge or skills by formal or informal means that occurs in the workplace. According to Collin *et al* (2011) learning in the workplace is perceived as an ever-present practice that occurs through customary work systems (2011: 303).

Workplace learning mostly occurs through work-related interactions, and is generally described as contributing to the learning of both the individual employee and the organisation as a whole (Collin *et al*, 2011: 303; Doornbos *et al*, 2008: 131; Felstead *et al*, 2005: 360, 363; Fenwick, 2008a: 228). Fenwick (2008b) defines workplace learning as occurring through the relations and dynamics between 'individual actors' and 'collectives' (2008b: 19). Moreover, workplace learning can enhance skills that may lead to

formal qualifications, as well as informal narrowly focused skills (Stroud & Fairbrother, 2006: 458). Research shows that 80% of the work-related learning occurs informally and this includes self-directed learning, networking, coaching and mentoring (Yeo, 2008: 318). Therefore, workplace learning can include formal elements but is predominantly informal in nature, and is often incorporated into workplace social interactions and everyday practices.

According to some authors, workplace learning is also ‘culturally bound’, meaning that the skills that an employee learns represent the requirements of his or her tasks within the organisation (Muhammad & Idris, 2005: 65). Moreover, much evidence shows that people learn more from each other and through finding solutions for their day-to-day problems at the workplace (Felstead *et al*, 2005: 368; Hager & Johnsson, 2009: 497; Silverman, 2003: 15). In this regard, it is often argued that the most important source of information, from which one can learn, is the existing job predecessor. An experienced person is commonly described as the best source of information about a new job wherein he or she can inform about the challenges of and changes required to a task (Silverman, 2003: 14). In addition, workplace learning can be identified as a two-way representation in which employers and employees can mutually address skills development through a process of social discourse in relation to the workplace.

Categories of Workplace Learning that Involve Intervention

Workplace learning is more concerned with informal learning rather than formal education and qualifications. However, methods of workplace learning may take many forms and, according to Silverman (2003), these can be categorised into three types that involve a learning intervention of some sort: in-house training, experience-based learning opportunities and training through coaching and mentoring, and continuous learning (2003: 2).

In-house training involves planned learning activities that take place near the job or outside work. Here, the organisation provides either short training courses at the workplace setting or information and communication proceedings that have a learning element. Trainers are usually from the organisation itself or from external entities.

According to Silverman (2003), experience-based learning is an on-the-job learning activity that is supported and evaluated, mostly through coaching and mentoring (2003: 4). However, Eraut (2000) states that experience-based learning often occurs in an either unplanned or in an unaware manner during the usual day-to-day tasks (2000: 115). In the case of learning that is supported and evaluated, one or more employees are identified as people who trainees and other employees can go to for advice. Experience-based learning may also take the form of job rotation and

increased autonomy. Here an employee is given a somewhat straightforward task and then gradually shifts to more intricate tasks along with the relative responsibility and autonomy.

In their study, Bishop *et al* (2006) hypothesized that the belief that once employees are empowered, they will use that increased autonomy in a responsible way, could be an important part of a learning-supportive culture. Other studies show that lower level employees are often ready for greater autonomy than they usually exercise and are eager to learn how to participate in decision-making related to their tasks (Silverman, 2003: 17). It is often argued that mentoring provides opportunities for peers to help novices become experts (Yeo, 2008: 318). In this regard a skilled employee guides the learner in carrying out particular tasks. Another method would be for a trainee to work beside an experienced employee to observe and learn.

Experience-based learning may also push employees to learn informally through discussions with customers, suppliers and other external stakeholders of the organisation. Eraut (2000) mentions the 'reactive' kind of learning in which learning is explicit but takes place impulsively in response to recent, current or forthcoming situations without any time being specifically reserved for it (2000: 115). This type of learning, which is not supported or evaluated, is a process that occurs normally involuntarily and continuously.

Continuous learning may include a group of employees working together to identify how to improve certain processes, either formally or informally. Accounts such as those above promote the view that continuous learning occurs where the work environment is all the time focused on the learning of new skills and knowledge and largely free of political conflict. In this scenario employees are continuously encouraged and provided with resources to learn for themselves from e.g. books, manuals, videos and computer-based learning. In addition, the study of Fuller & Unwin (2003) on expansive learning illustrates that organisations that offer an open approach to apprenticeship are more expected to form learning opportunities (2003: 412).

Informal/Unconscious Workplace Learning

According to Doornbos *et al* (2008) and Mallon *et al* (2005) workplace learning is predominantly informal or unconscious and is a purely situated, tacit, informal, and social process (2005: 4; 2008: 130). Likewise, Yeo (2008) argues that informal learning is usually unintentional and it may occur with or without the encouragement of the organisation (2008: 318). Doornbos *et al* (2008) further argue that people can learn implicitly and are able to distinguish the changes in their thoughts and behaviours at a later stage (2008: 130).

The notion of '*Spontaneous learning*' is identified by Doornbos *et al* (2008) wherein learning occurs when actions are executed with another objective in mind other than learning (2008: 131). This occurs when the related action is itself unintentional, or when an action is intended but not with the precise objective of learning. Doornbos *et al* (2008) describe the changes in knowledge and skills as a result of such actions as '*by-products, discovery, coincidence, or sudden realization*' (2008: 131). In their study, Rowold & Kauffeld (2009) identified that constant informal learning activities assisted employees most in increasing their relevant work-related competencies (2009: 97). Therefore, the results of their study highlight the significance of informal workplace learning.

Lave & Wenger's Situated Learning

Maybe the most common theory of the meaning of learning at work stands with Lave & Wenger's (1991) book on situated learning, which has guided and helped researchers understand the meaning of workplace learning and apprenticeships. In their book, Lave & Wenger emphasise two concepts, namely 'Communities of Practice' and 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation', wherein they provide insights on the meaning of workplace learning, mostly apprenticeships (Fuller *et al*, 2005). The 'Communities of Practice' concept relates to the action of participating in social practices that leads to a sense of belonging within a community (Avis, 2010: 173; Clarke, 2005: 191; Fuller *et al*, 2005: 4; Fuller & Unwin, 2003: 3; Lave & Wenger, 1991: 98; Yeo, 2008: 318). These communities may include some sort of uniformity or diversity in their structure and may also be either organised or made up voluntarily (Chang *et al* 2009: 409).

Employees are able to learn from their participation in the everyday activities of a community (Fenwick, 2008b: 20) and it is argued that communities of practice aid individuals to learn and consequently to perform better at the workplace (Chang *et al*, 2009: 410-11). Several critiques were presented regarding this concept such as the lack of analysis on the politics, comradeship, and form of a community, the lack of attention on the development of the knowledge within the community during periods of change that are expeditive and, the lack of consideration on the innovation offered by the community and the agency/structure actions within (Fenwick, 2008a: 235; Fenwick, 2008b: 21; Fuller *et al*, 2005: 15-16). Therefore, communities of practice are regarded as very important since they create a link between the individual and organisational learning (van Winkelen & McKenzie, 2007: 531). In this regard Newman (1985) suggests that trust and openness should be fostered between the different departments of an organisation (1985: 208). Thus, if an organisation is to succeed, it is important that communities of practice are fostered within, and that these

share the knowledge by allowing these information flows to continue (Coakes & Clarke, 2006: 75).

Obstacles to Workplace Learning

Organisations consist of individual agents of organisational learning, of which behaviour is shaped by the social systems they are embedded in (Easterby-Smith *et al*, 2000: 787). These social systems are also learning systems that can inhibit learning due to the organisational politics, which may result in lack of shared knowledge as illustrated by Newman (1985). According to Collin *et al* (2011) social relations also include power issues to some extent (2011: 303), which are also politically based. In his study, Newman identified “invisible walls” between different units in organisations that hindered the learning and sharing of information (1985: 208).

Collin *et al* (2011) argue that learning processes are central to the use of power and control since workplace learning is seen as linking individual and social realms (2011: 302). As such, learning and power become linked during the tangential doing and shared custom through which workplace culture become mutual, both in isolation and as a group (Collin *et al*, 2011: 303). Organisational politics can impede learning and as such, workplace learning is not a neutral process for the organisation or the worker (Mallon *et al*, 2005: 8).

An example illustrated by Silverman (2003) states that, in organisations, managers are rewarded for the possession of a skill, knowledge and understanding, and not for disseminating these important resources to their subordinates (2003: 16). Therefore, organisational politics may influence how these are accessed and controlled. Undoubtedly, this is not only applicable to managers but also to lower level employees who may feel the need to protect and control their skills due to the status and influence that the same skills give them. Some other forms of barriers for workplace learning, especially informal learning, may include lack of respect from the new employee towards an experienced employee, individuals who hold back information from their colleagues out of fear of being seen as a surplus and passing erroneous information to new employees with the aim of harming them (Billet, 1995: 24-25).

It is interesting to note that Lave & Wenger’s theory does not explore in depth the issue of hindrance and politics and thus, this is a major limitation of their theory in connection with the current research being carried out (Fuller *et al*, 2005: 15). In this regard evidence shows that learning situations may have considerable power inequalities (Collin *et al*, 2011; Malcolm *et al*, 2003: 5). In addition, if employees lack trust in the organisation they work with, they would tend to keep the skills and knowledge acquired to themselves in order to protect their job and position

within the organisation (Ashton & Sung, 2002: 21; Fenwick, 2008a: 233; Kirwan, 2009: 117).

Conclusion

As discussed in the above sections, workplace learning is conventionally seen as a means of improving the skills of employees and enhancing their knowledge, and the learning involved may be either formal or informal. Formal learning, which consists of qualifications and certified training, is no longer seen as the sole method of learning. Formally-acquired qualifications are becoming viewed more in terms of a wider structure that concerns workplaces and the employees, educational institutions and various communities within organisations. At the same time, informal learning at the workplace is becoming an increasingly important tool for training employees. Both formal and informal learning may benefit either the organisation or the individual or both (Crouse *et al*, 2011; Lancaster, 2009). However, such benefits are not automatic. According to Silverman (2003) organisations do not always benefit from workplace learning and the progress features of workplace learning must be taken into consideration that can be hindered by careerism, apprehension, pressure, obsequiousness and unsolved divergences (2003: 15).

Bishop *et al* (2006) state that there are strong indications that cultures put forth a great influence on the amount and kind of learning that takes place (2006: 21). This is especially concerned with assumptions about what comprises „valuable“ knowledge, dealing with the latest knowledge, the appropriate „location“ of knowledge in an organisation or group, and the shape and role of social interactions (Bishop *et al*, 2006: 21). All these appear to have a deep effect on workplace learning. Additionally, in their study, Fuller & Unwin (2003) identified that the expansive or restrictive learning approaches of the organisations they studied are the result of an innate chronological, socio-cultural, organisational and economic practices that are hard to imitate (2003: 424).

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POOR PARTICIPATION AND ALIENATED CITIZENRY: THE PROBLEM WITH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN NIGERIA.

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Abstract

Development is a programme, deliberate, concerted and sustained to free people from poverty, illiteracy, and disease and bring them into modern life. But citizen participation is a significant and necessary component of any attempt of improving the planning process of Development in Nigeria. This paper therefore investigates various approaches geared towards development and also their short comings. Among other causal factors; non participation of citizenry in developmental programme, planning, project choice is in a rarity hence a bane to development programme.

Keywords: Poor Participation, Governance, Citizenry, Development

Introduction

Development in human society according to Walter Rodney (1976) is a many-sided process. To him at the level of individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creating, self-discipline, responsibility and material wellbeing. At the level of society groups development implies an increase in capacity to regulate both internal and external relationships.

Mooguel (1985) defines development as a process of induced economic growth and change. If development is a process of induced economic growth, one might ask what is the difference between growth and development. Growth refers to the increase in the quantity of goods and services produced in the economy (Osumah, 2000). When the goods and services produce each year increase above the quantity in the previous year we can say that growth occurred in the economy. In other words, if factories increase the volume of products they produce, farmer increase the quantity of food they produce and other people such as market women increase the

commodities they sell each year, we can say that growth is occurring in the economy. The growth of an organization is the increase in six of that organization. Growth is in short physical and quantitative.

The concept of development means more than growth. When we say economy is developing it means that birth growth and social changes for the better are occurring in the economy. Development means that in addition to growth people's attitude to work, changes resulting in a better attitude to work. New institution can also be introduced to give people a better life and growth in the economy can so be distributed that it is fairly and equitably and among the people in the country. More examples will help to illustrate the differences between growth and development. When schools are established where they did not exist before this may be regarded as development. When roads are built, electricity supplied, pipe borne water provided, where these amenities do not exist before we call it development but where they existed before and are merely extended we may call that growth although the elements of development is inbuilt (Osumah, 2000). This implies that development is psychological and qualitative in addition to being physical and quantitative.

Development could be conceived as a multidimensional process involving changes in structures, attitudes and institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and eradication of absolute poverty. People often emphasis one aspect of development more than the other. Prett (1973) defines development as a change process characterized by increasing productivity, equalization in the distribution of the social product and emergence of indigenous institutions whose relations with the outside world and particularly with the developed centers of international economy, are characterized by equality rather than dependence and sub-ordination.

Anyanwu (1981) on his part highlighted few principal characteristics of development viz:

- a) Unlike random changes, development in society moves along a definite trend. This means that it moves from one point to another, maintaining definite direction e.g moving from low level of living to higher level of living. Related to this study non-governmental organization should be able to move the poor from low level of living to higher level of living.
- b) While obeying this directional movement, social changes remain cumulative. Thus what can be seen at any point in time in the result of what has gone before in the life of that society?
- c) Development in society is characterized by stages. Thus the changes, which emerge, have sequential relation to one another, following from one stage to the other. Within this frame, non-governmental

organization should be able to take the people within their constituency through stages that have sequential relation to one another. It must however be possible changes that would lead to development.

- d) Development in society has a purpose or goal considered as fulfilled. This is naturally logical, as any plan for development must have a purpose to be fulfilled or achieved that the plan may be said to have been attained:

Approaches to development in nigeria

In Nigeria the development of communities have a combination of a number of approaches or strategies. These strategies were aimed at improving agricultural productivity through farm settlement schemes, state owned plantations, provisions of subsidized infrastructure, farm inputs, extension services, credit, agricultural research and so on.

At independence, Nigeria's first development plant (1962-1968) focused on the attainment of economic growth through a dual strategy of import substitution and agricultural led industrialization (Iyoha, 1999:116). There was an emphasis on the provision of manufacturing plants and the construction of petroleum refineries, dams and bridges (Ogbogho, 1989). Allied to that small scale industries, small industrial credit scheme (SIC), and industrial development centers (IDC) were established in 1962 (Mabugunle 1989:98). In addition to the plantations (Iyoha, 1999) to produce export commodities such as rubber, cocoa, oil palm and groundnut in order to enhance the country's foreign earning capacity and provide raw materials for foreign and budding local industries.

The emphasis on industries and cash crops had two identifiable effects. First, it meant that production of food was reflected as many people became employees of the large scale plantations, while others were encouraged to move into farm settlement. Secondly, the inhabitants of local communities did not benefit as much as they contributed to the development of the state. For example between 1960 and 1974 while the dwellers of local communities contributed above 50% of the State Government's revenue attracted only about 20% of Government expenditure (Olatunbuson, 1975)

The 1970s however witnessed a rethinking on Nigeria's development approach. The second National Development Plan (1970-1974) adopted a self reliant approach. Nigeria, the plan states "will accelerate it pace of development through the use of her own resources instead of relying unduly on external aid" (Iyoha, 1999). The guidelines for the fourth National Development plan (1981-1985) also stated that Africa and the third world, cannot develop until we absolutely resolved to be self reliant (Iyoha, 1999). The strategy emphasized the people's ability to initiate and sustain socio

economic and political development on their own through problem identification, problem learning, and resolution. One method through which Government sought to achieve self-reliance in the early 1970s was the indigenization of commercial and manufacturing firms. The success achieved was minimal as foreign companies continued to dominate the Nigerian economy, particularly in construction, trading, banking and the oil industry.

Another avenue for self-reliant development was the encouragement of self-sufficiency in food production. To achieve this national and State Governmental established food production companies; an Agricultural credit guarantee scheme, and River basin Development Authorities, and encouraged co-operation between Federal, States and Local authorities in the co-ordination of supporting services and primary production in a designated location. Improved seedlings and other equipment were made available to farmers through national Accelerated Food production programme and Tractor Hiring Scheme. In order to attract foreign investment in agricultural production a land use decree was promulgated (Osumah, 2000)

Again, success was elusive as the drive for food self-sufficiency failed. This was due to reduced capital and recurrent expenditure on agriculture. The reality was a lack of commitment on the part of government to real improvement in the food situation. Beyond limitations passed by leadership were other constraints: ethnic rivalry which resulted in the emphasis on sharing of resources rather than the mobilization of people for improved production of goods and services, the unavoidable reliance on foreign companies for equipment, parts, raw materials and technological know how, failure of government to explain how the society should be mobilized (Nwosu and Nwankwo, 1988:64)

It is instructive to state however that increased food production alone would not have meant development for the local communities. And even in spite of Government's commitment to increase food production the food import bill remained high. Operation Feed the Nation was designed to foster the production of food by individuals and institutions through Government supply of necessary input and a guaranteed price. This programme was a dismal failure for many reasons. Operation Feed the Nation suffered from insufficient distribution, and misallocation of resources there was also corruption. Imported fertilizers could not be distributed properly because of inadequate transport. Consequently, individuals enriched themselves to the detriment of the farmers and programmes objectives. As a result the importation of food continued and so did the escalation in prices.

The programme was eventually scrapped in 1979 under the Shagari administration and replaced by the green Revolution programme. The Green Revolution Programme offered nothing "green" for the people as it

experiences similar difficulties as did Operation Feed the Nation. Operation feed the Nation and the integrated Rural Development programmes emphasized agriculture to the detriment of other services leading to the unavoidable conclusion that improved agricultural production was synonymous with community development

In 1985 the Babangida Military Regime continued with the policy of self reliant and integrated rural development. The need for citizen participation in all decision making was repeated. The Government adopted programmes aimed at improving local community infrastructure, food, encouragement of local handicraft and employment. In pursuant of these ideals the administration created Directorate of Food, road and rural Infrastructure (DFRRI). The Directorate of Social Mobilization, the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) and the Better Life for Rural Woman (BLRW). (Daily Times, June 27, 1990) of these agencies, the DFRRI and BLRW were the administration most powerful tool at least in their propaganda for local community development, the major functions of DFRRI include the provision of feeder roads, rural water supply production of programmes that encourage productive economic and agricultural activities in rural communities, and to encourage contribution of labour, time and interests by the communities (Complemented by grants from DFRRI, Local and State Government) (Iyoha 1999:119)

A key limitation of DFRRI, however, was the complexity arising from joint action of the principal actors. There were five main actors, the Ministries of Finance, national Planning, works and Housing, thirty State Governments and their relevant Ministries and 589 local authorities. The higher the number of actors on a programme the higher the number of decision path and participants with the attendants delay.

This era however show Government's commitment to the provision of basic needs interlaced with the need for improved agricultural production which in itself encourages food self-sufficiency. The directorate has also been in the forefront of encouraging the development of indigenous technology through the production of agricultural processing, road construction equipment, and drilling of working capital, scarcity and high cost of materials, and poor marketing strategies by manufacturers.

Furthermore, in 1989 the need to provide credit to those who usually lack adequate collateral was addressed through the establishment of people's bank. By 1993, the fortune of bank greatly declined. The bank found it difficult to meet its obligation to both borrowers and depositors. Repayment performance was low, that radical restricting became imperative in late 1996, as it was merged with other agencies.

Like the People's Bank, the better Life for Rural Women of Babangida's Government which worked through the state Governor's and

chairman of local authorities wives in hope that they would appeal to women and through them their families had very little to do with rural women as the system was poorly co-ordinated.

The better life for Rural Women of Babangida's Government eclipsed with the exit or escape of Babangida from the locus power. However, successive Governments adopted similar approaches. Under Abacha's Government family Support programme (FSPL), Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP) and Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) were put in place. These programmes of agencies appeared to encourage patronage and pacify opposition to the regime. The Family Support programme and Family Economic Advancement Programmes worked through the State Military Administrator's and chairmen of local authorities' wives in the anticipation that they would appeal to women and through then their families. These two programmes ended up supporting and advancing the families of the head of state, State Military administrators, other top Military brass and the band of praise singers in Abacha's Government with little or nothing to support and advance the families of these in rural communities.

The Petroleum Trust Fund on its own was adopted by Abacha's Government as an intervention force initially to rehabilitate roads that has suffered neglect lower the agency's activities were extended to the supply of drug to hospitals and rehabilitation of Government institutions. The revelations after the sudden demise of Abacha indicated that the \petroleum trust Fund was only an agency that entrusted Abacha and his Military cabals with public fund through looting and stashing away in foreign banks for private use.

Poor participation on development programme in nigeria

Derivable from various approaches geared toward development in Nigeria is the fact that development relates to the transformation of peoples theory temperament, affection, income, belongingness, health status and environment in order words development are Government projected programmes designed with anticipated revenue to free the citizenry from poverty, diseases and social insecurity, also to enhance the per capita income and living standard of people.

Development possesses and fosters facilities and infrastructure that could ensure contended living standard. Several Policy instruments obviously have been adopted, entrenched and utilized to make possible modernity and contended living among Nigerians. But complexities associated with development programmes have made development efforts statistical and most times ridiculous. In spite of numerous laudable political act and projected programmes Nigeria since independence is characterized

with inadequacies in the provision of infrastructures, sub standard living, insecurity, poor health facilities, Housing and indignity.

The viral situation is rather resistible and has informed the search for the causal factor. The world conference on Agrarian reforms and rural development held in Rome July 12-20, 1979 lamented on promotion of Economic growth, peoples participation, justice and equality, integration of women into development and transfer of resources to the rural sector. Uncommon to National planning, among these inherent primary and secondary conditions to development is poor participation of people in developmental projects. This problem although boasted by National Economic Empowerment Strategy (NEEDS) as a concerted instrument in response to the development challenges in Nigeria (Nwachukwu Sunny etal 2010) has not actually been implemented.

Therefore, the non-participation of non association, non support of non mobilization of and non involvement of individual stake holders, cooperatives, Academics, Trade Unions, Professional bodies and chamber of Commerce in planning, project choice, location, funding, implementation and sustenance of development programme has been identified as a causal factor to stagnate and recurring failure of development programmes in Nigeria. The pattern of adjustment to rapid socio-economic and political changes in development policies and projected programmes could be attributed or adduced to the level of popular awareness of changes in Nigeria and the pattern of adjustment to changes (Ekony 1980:184) in formulation and implementation of these political act and projected programmes . A large proportion of Nigerian are not aware of the changes, awareness and application of these recommended polices are therefore inevitable and should be primus if actualization is deemed necessary although studies have equally investigated that degree of inadequate awareness and participation could be lined to illiteracy and diverse aspirations towards separated development strategies, this should not satisfy lack of information and application knowledge, therefore citizen participation is a significant and necessary component of any attempt of improving the planning process. The participation process not only reflects the philosophy and methodology of overall societal development and guidance, but will improve attempted and methods of problems solving (Kolade and Colents: 1981: 119-129). Development therefore is the product of a series of quantitative and qualitative therefore changes occurring among a given population, the conveying effects of which produce in time, a rise in the standard of living and favourable changes in the way of life of the people (UN 1969: 13-14). Development is qualitative because it relates to education, political awareness and the demand of modern living. It is quantitative because it involves the citizenry since development is a programme, deliberate,

concerted and sustained to for people from poverty, illiteracy and disease and bring into modern life, in like manner enabling environment needs to be created for free participation of individual stakeholders and general citizenry because one cannot bite unless one gets closer to his enemy. The success of these aforementioned projected programmes becoming a success without forgetting people participation is a variety. Poor or non responsibility for the failure of some development programmes in Nigeria (Streten Bark etal 1981:191).

To ensure there is equal participation of the entire people of the country in all facet of the developmental process, there is the need to identify the people in various sets and where they can participate in development process. There is need for individual to be properly oriented. Participation in the development process is a life wire to a success driven developmental programmes. In fact some erudite scholars in their postulations regard participation as a basic political right (Okogie 1995), it is basic right to participate on anti-poverty programmes and development. Participation strengthens sensitivity to needs and empowerment to collective right. Poverty: it is the democratization of the development process. It improves implementation, management, maintenance and sustenance of projects. It enhances the utilization, benefits and impacts of projects and strengthens the commitment, support, contribution and co-operation of the people (Ikelegbe & Ikelegbe 2002).

Conclusion

The emphasis placed on participation and mobilization of the citizenry in project choice, planning and implementation as a step in the right direction, given the fact that citizens constitute the main stay of the country. Therefore attention should be given to the target population. However, it would be pertinent to point out that in the area of productive activities; development has suffered in most cases development programmes are not text run before implementation. Federal Government should adequately fund the institutions created and give them a relatively true hand in determining the needs of the people and what their priority should be. Above all the participation of citizenry in the development of recommended practices, planning of diffusing such practices; and more involvement in innovation, research and extension, should be our policy statement.

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RESPONSE TO INTERVENTION

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Abstract

The purpose of this interdisciplinary paper is to describe Response to Intervention (RTI), or multi-tier systems of support, for early literacy to improve reading outcomes for students with or at risk for reading disability. First we review the current US policy on RTI for the purpose of early literacy intervention and for identification of reading disabilities. We situate this within recent efforts in developing countries supported by the World Bank and the Early Grade Reading Assessments. Then, we highlight a large experimental study we conducted with first graders and provide findings from a third grade follow up. We conclude with implications for research, practice, and policy.

Keywords: Early literacy intervention, assessment, response to intervention, educational policy

Introduction and Main Text

Over a decade ago in the US, the amendments to the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (2004) allowed states to use RTI both for prevention and for identification of learning disabilities. The amendments stemmed from concern among researchers, policy makers, practitioners, and parents that the IQ-Achievement discrepancy based formulas used to identify students with reading disabilities had become a “wait to fail” model (Fuchs & Fuchs, 1998; Vellutino et al., 1996). One concern was that students were

typically not eligible for reading interventions until they were about 10 years old, which was problematic given converging evidence indicating that preventing disability is easier and more efficient than remediating (e.g., Torgesen, 2000). Another concern was the over- and under-identification of reading disabilities for students from minority backgrounds, for students attending schools serving a high proportion of students from low socio-economic backgrounds, and for students with Limited English Proficiency (e.g., Hosp and Reschly, 2004). Furthermore, the IQ-Achievement tests did not provide teachers with help planning interventions or guide progress monitoring (e.g., Fletcher, Francis, Shaywitz, Lyon, Foorman, Stuebing et al., 1998).

The field was optimistic that children would be better served through RTI given converging findings (cf. National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, 2000) that early reading instruction interventions which provided phonological and phonetic instruction could prevent most reading problems and that those students who did not respond to generally effective intervention would have “true reading disabilities” (Vaughn, Moody, & Schumm, 1998; Vellutino et al., 1996). Under RTI, evidence based instruction would occur in Tier 1 or general education settings along with screening and progress monitoring. Students who did not respond would be immediately given extra layers of increasingly intensive intervention beginning in Tier 2, and for those very few students who did not respond, in more intensive Tier 3.

RTI models are in use in all 50 of the United States for prevention, but policy guidelines for how to use RTI to identify students as reading disabled are lacking (Zirkel & Thomas, 2010). The Institute of Education Sciences authorized a review of the literature on RTI and subsequently published a practice guide for RTI that identified five core components for the effective implementation of RTI (Gersten et al., 2009). These include universal screening, a high quality core reading program, progress monitoring, increasingly intensive tiers of intervention, and fidelity of implementation. Furthermore, the World Bank has supported development of Early Grade Reading Assessments (http://www.ineesite.org/uploads/files/resources/EGRA_Toolkit_Mar09.pdf) that can be used to screen and progress monitor students in an effort to iteratively improve reading outcomes, particularly for children living in developing countries.

There remains ongoing concern about the limits of the current evidence base to guide RTI implementation. This concern led us to conduct a randomized control trial comparing two models of RTI: the typical model which requires students to begin in Tier 1 and move through increasing lay or to immediately be placed in Tier 2 or Tier 3 based on initial screening and

subsequent progress monitoring. We called this later model “Dynamic.” We were also interested in describing the characteristics of students who did not respond to either model and in examining longer term (third grade) reading outcomes.

Study 1: Effects of First Grade RTI

We conducted a randomized controlled experiment to compare the efficacy of two Response to Intervention (RTI) models – Typical RTI and Dynamic RTI (Al Otaiba et al., 2014). This study involved 10 schools and 34 first-grade classrooms ($n = 522$ students). Dynamic RTI provided Tier 2 or Tier 3 interventions immediately according to students’ initial screening results. Typical RTI was designed to follow the two-stage RTI decision rules that begin with Tier 1 and provide more intensive intervention based upon response to Tier 1. Interventions included phonics, phonological awareness, fluency, and comprehension and were identical across conditions except for when intervention began. Reading assessments included letter-sound, word, and passage reading, and teacher-reported severity of reading difficulties. The intent-to-treat analysis used multi-level modeling and revealed an overall effect favoring the Dynamic RTI condition ($d = .36$). In addition, growth curve analyses demonstrated that students in Dynamic RTI showed an immediate score advantage, and that the effects accumulated across the year. Furthermore, the analyses of standard score outcomes confirmed that students in the Dynamic condition who received Tier 2 and Tier 3 ended the study with significantly higher reading performance than students in the Typical condition.

Study 2: Characteristics of Students Who Did Not Respond Adequately

Greulich et al. (2014) used a mixed methods approach to describe the characteristics of children who did not respond adequately (defined as not meeting a reading standard score of at least 90) to either Typical or to Dynamic RTI. In this study, participants were limited to the 156 students who received supplemental intervention services within the larger study. An all-subset regression revealed that among students’ initial skills, the most variance in response was explained by letter word reading, the fluency composite, and blending words. Adding additional teacher ratings of behavior and academics, accounted for a small amount of additional variance. A ROC curve analysis indicated 87.5% of students were correctly classified, yielding a sensitivity of 85.3 and a specificity of 65.0. Findings from qualitative observations of intervention sessions suggested that inadequate responders demonstrated physical and verbal task avoidance and displayed emotions of hopelessness and shame.

Study 3: Third Grade Follow-Up

The purpose of this study was to compare the long term effects of two first grade RTI models (Dynamic and Typical RTI) on the reading performance of students in second and third grade. After attrition from the original 522 participants, we located 352 in second grade and 278 in third grade. First we considered whether at the start of first grade students had been at risk and needing either Tier 2 or Tier 3 or as never at risk (NR). Then, we considered those at risk students who received intervention as easy to remediate (ER) or as requiring sustained remediation (SR). Students in the Dynamic RTI condition had higher reading comprehension scores at the end of third grade. At the end of second grade, ER and SR students had lower reading scores than NR students. At the end of third grade, the ER students performed similarly in reading as the NR students; thus we closed the gap for this group. However, the SR students continued to have significantly lower scores than NR students. ER students in the Dynamic RTI condition had higher reading scores at the end of second grade than those in the Typical RTI condition.

Conclusion and Implications for Research, Practice, and Policy

As RTI efforts continue to spread within the US and globally, it is vital that students with the most intensive needs receive the help they need and not wait to fail. Researchers should continue to develop more intensive interventions, to learn whether multiple years of intervention lead to accumulating effects, and to track students longitudinally. In addition, learning which set of screening and progress monitoring tests lead to the best allocation of resources will be vital. Policy makers should ensure that special education remains “special” to protect resources to ensure that students with reading disabilities receive sustained intervention.

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MODELO DE INVASION NO LINEAL Y FUNCIONES BIOINGENIERAS DE SAUCE FRAGILIS EN PATAGONIA (ARGENTINA)

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Resumen

Las invasiones de *Salix fragilis* en las planicies inundables de los ríos andino patagónicos pueden competir con árboles nativos. Para abordar la problemática se diseñó un modelo de coevolución de cuatro especies arbóreas (*Nothofagus dombeyi*, *Myrceugenia exsucca*, *Maytenus boaria*), entre ellas el sauce exótico. El modelo asume que: a) los sauces crecen en forma logística; b) son especies ingenieras que modifican el paisaje ribereño y compiten o cooperan con otras especies en función del disturbio y la densidad de plantas; c) el régimen hidrológico regula las colonizaciones de áreas inundables; d) la probabilidad de disturbios extremos define las reglas de cooperación o competencia. El modelo diseñado permitió inferir que existe un espacio de fases de la relación de especies en donde las densidades se equilibran sin riesgo en el corto plazo de extinciones locales (0,57-0,30). El sistema está en equilibrio con probabilidades de disturbio relativamente altas (0,60) y densidades de sauces elevadas en zonas inestables del río.

Palabras clave: Modelo De Invasión No Lineal, Patagonia

Keywords: Nonlinear Model Of Invasion, Patagonia

Introducción

La construcción de modelos poblacionales y de invasiones se reduce habitualmente al estudio de interacciones de una o dos especies entre sí y su ambiente. El modelado de relaciones cooperativas generalmente comprende a unas pocas especies en interacción, como en la polinización favorecida por insectos (Momo y Ure, 2009; Bascompte y Solé, 2006; Law et al, 2003, May

1976). Pero el estudio de relaciones cooperativas mediadas por invasiones biológicas hasta ahora es una materia incompleta. En las planicies de inundación de ríos patagónicos, existe una compleja trama de interacciones básicamente integrada por una fase biótica de plantas y otra abiótica regulada por el régimen hidrológico. El régimen de pulsos hidrológicos que introduce disturbios recurrentes, con frecuencias y magnitudes variables, por un lado y la vegetación que se dispersa en el tiempo sobre la planicie, configuran el contexto en el que se desenvuelve la sucesión vegetal (Tabacchi et al, 1996; Corenblit et al; 2007).

Salix fragilis es un árbol de ramas sésiles y reproducción vegetativa, que se ha introducido en la Patagonia desde principios del siglo XX. En la región andino patagónica este sauce podría competir con plantas nativas de planicies de inundación, como arbustos dispersos (*Baccharis* spp.; *Fabiana imbricata*, *Berberis* spp.) y con el sauce *Salix humboldtiana*, que es la única especie de árbol nativo propiamente de las riberas de los ríos. Hacia la desembocadura de los ríos en lagos y sobre cursos de aguas lentas, es un potencial competidor de especies de árboles riparios nativos como *Nothofagus dombeyi*, *Maytenus boaria*, *Myrceugenia exsucca* y *Luma apiculata* (Datri et al., 2013, Budde et al., Tomas et al., 2012). Sin embargo la competencia de sauces y sus consecuencias en la flora nativa de la planicie inundable de los ríos Patagónicos no está del todo comprobada. Inclusive son reconocidas las propiedades de *Salix* spp. de producir cambios a nivel de los paisajes riparios y facilitar a otras especies. Esto las convierte en especies ingenieras capaces de producir profundas transformaciones biogeomorfológicas (Gurnell, 2014; Gurnell y Petts, 2006; Corenblit et al., 2007; Schnauder y Moggridge, 2009; Moggridge y Gurnell, 2009; Francis et al., 2009).

El objetivo de este estudio es contribuir a una mejor explicación de los factores desencadenantes de la invasión de sauces en las planicies de inundación de ríos de la Patagonia andina, en las últimas décadas. La hipótesis que se plantea es que la invasión del sauce exótico puede ser promotora de un proceso de bioingeniería en las planicies de inundación, que coopera con el establecimiento de árboles nativos. Para probar la hipótesis se consideró la invasión de sauces a lo largo del tramo inferior y delta del río Azul al suroeste de Argentina. Para esto se desarrolló un modelo matemático que permitió correlacionar el crecimiento de tres árboles nativos de la cuenca del río Azul con el crecimiento logístico de sauces. El modelo incluyó una función de disturbios, estimado con el registro del régimen hidrológico entre 1966 y 2012.

Materiales y métodos

Inicialmente se barrenaron 85 árboles sobre la planicie de inundación del río Azul entre la confluencia con el río Quemquemtreu y la desembocadura en el Parque Nacional Lago Puelo, con el fin de obtener las curvas de crecimiento por especie. Luego con empleo del programa PULSO (Neiff y Neiff, 2003) se obtuvieron los pulsos hidrológicos para un nivel de desborde de $186 \text{ m}^3/\text{s}$ y los días de duración de cada inundación. De esta manera se pudieron comparar las curvas de crecimiento empírico y contrastar con las curvas teóricas obtenidas del modelo. Para este fin solo se analizaron las tres especies de árboles nativos más abundantes (*N. dombeyi*, *M. exsucca* y *M. boaria*) y la invasora *S. fragilis*.

Los modelos matemáticos de Robert May (1976) basados en la función logística de Verhulst para el estudio del crecimiento poblacional nos permiten poner el proceso de sucesión que se estudia en términos de la perspectiva de complejidad y caos del sistema. De acuerdo a May la población se reproduce en intervalos discretos de tiempo, que en este caso son n años. El número de individuos en el t -ésimo año es entonces x_t . Cuando la densidad poblacional es baja, la población se reproduce exponencialmente pero, conforme la densidad aumenta el crecimiento disminuye de manera que:

$$x_{t+1} = \lambda x_t g(x_t) \quad (1)$$

donde λ es la tasa intrínseca de crecimiento poblacional; la función g tiene la propiedad de que $g(x_t) \rightarrow 0$ cuando $x_t \rightarrow K > 0$; K es la capacidad de carga del ambiente y es el número de individuos máximo. Así nos queda que:

$$g(x) = 1 - x/K \quad (2)$$

La ecuación de crecimiento poblacional obtenida de g es la ecuación logística que ahora queda definida como:

$$x_{t+1} = \lambda x_t (1 - x_t / K) \quad (3)$$

Donde $x_t = x_t / K$ para obtener la ecuación:

$$x_{t+1} = F(x_t) = \lambda x_t (1 - x_t) \quad (4)$$

A los fines de establecer un modelo representativo del crecimiento oportunista de sauces sobre superficies afectadas por el disturbio frecuente, a la ecuación (4) se la ajustó a un parámetro (β) que regula el crecimiento de la población inicial, establecido más fuertemente por el régimen hidrológico:

$$x_{t+1} = x_t^\beta [\lambda (1 - x_t)] \quad (5)$$

Donde β , es un factor de regulación de crecimiento impuesto por la condición ambiental que se obtiene de la probabilidad de ocurrencia de un disturbio estimado para caudales superiores a la media de las máximas y la densidad de plantas que contribuyen a la estabilidad del suelo. De esta manera definimos el crecimiento inicial de sauces con independencia de las relaciones bióticas, pero regulados por el tipo de ambiente que colonizan. La definición de β es de acuerdo a la siguiente ecuación:

$$\beta = 1 / [(ds \times a) - b] + p \quad (6)$$

Donde, ds es la densidad de sauces, a (1.75) y b (-0,7076) son constantes del modelo y p es la probabilidad de ocurrencia de un disturbio severo (0.60). Pero otro ejemplo poco extendido en la literatura biológica, en relación a la interacción de tres especies nos permite introducir un sistema de ecuaciones (Peters, 1983; Momo y Ure; 2006) de estas características, para obtener una medida de crecimiento de coihues, pitras y maitenes, en relación a sauces que se ajusta a una función no lineal, del tipo logística:

Para poblaciones de coihues pioneros:

$$P_{t+1} = P_t x [1 + r x (1 - A/f x N - P/N)] \quad (7)$$

Para pitras y maitenes:

$$A_{t+1} = A_t x [1 + s x (1 - A/f x N - P/N)] \quad (8)$$

El sistema de ecuaciones propuesto plantea que una población pionera de coihues, que colonizan primariamente, luego es sucedida por pitra y maitenes, que establecen el primer parche sobre la planicie inundable. r y s (equivalente al rol de λ en sauces) son tasas de crecimiento propias de cada especie. Pero como estas poblaciones inicialmente facilitan el arraigo de tallos de sauces que se reproducen en forma asexual, la población invasora es propensa a un crecimiento exponencial simple con bajas densidades, y una tendencia a decrecer en altas densidades. La pendiente de este comportamiento no-lineal es ajustada a su vez por el parámetro β , de manera que quedan establecidos dos factores de regulación de la especie invasora. Esto influye en las poblaciones de nativas a partir del parámetro N que separadamente se plantea para sauces. Así el sistema de ecuaciones queda autorregulado en todas sus dimensiones.

Resultados

La vegetación principal de la planicie de inundación del río Azul, preexistente a la invasión de *S. fragilis*, eran bosques riparios de pitras y de especies andino patagónicas no riparias dispersas. Se registraron dos grupos etarios bien diferenciados de parches de *S. fragilis* cuyo crecimiento se asocia a períodos con muy alta frecuencia de inundación. Mientras que la mayoría de las especies nativas se asocian a crecimientos relacionados con dos períodos de muy baja frecuencia de inundaciones. Uno entre 1963 y 1980, con solo dos inundaciones de más de un día de duración y otro entre 1980 y 1996, con un solo año con más de un día de inundación. Sobre el final del período estudiado las frecuencias se mantienen altas, con una recurrencia aproximada interanual y períodos más extensos de duración de la inundación. Los parches de vegetación nativa aparecen a lo largo de toda la serie temporal con incremento de la riqueza de árboles. Los cambios en la composición se corresponden con el mismo período de expansión de *S. fragilis* pero con incrementos significativos en el año 2000 y dominancia de

saucos sobre nativas, en concordancia con un año de una inundación de 11 días. En total se contabilizaron 29 pulsos extremos en 46 años (Figura N° 1).

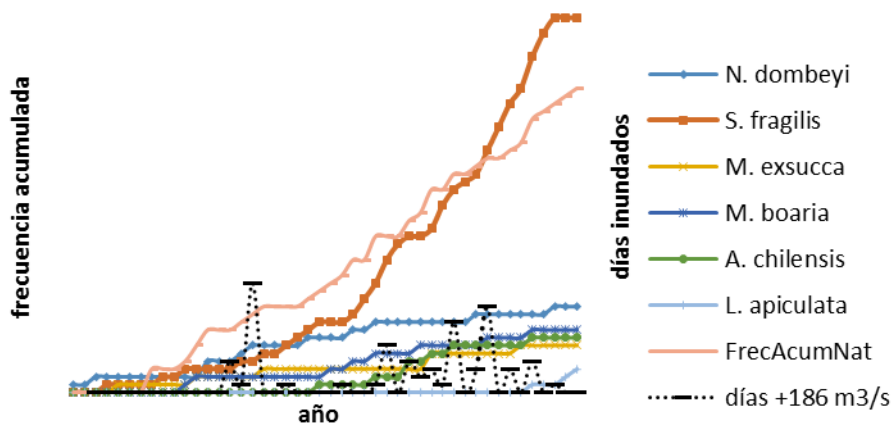


Figura 1. Sincronización de frecuencias de crecidas con caudales superiores a 186 m³/s y edad de árboles de la planicie de inundación.

Los parches boscosos de sauce se asocian al lecho del río y las geoformas fluviales activas. Maitenes y pitras lo hacen sobre planicies elevadas o bajos anegables estables (Figura 2). Los cipreses (*Austrocedrus chilensis*) ocupan planicies en franja, mientras coihues lo hacen sobre albardobes y franjas contiguas al río. Junto a cipreses se asocian Fabiana imbricata también coloniza superficies pedregosas (Figura 3). Los saucos ocupan bordes de planicies elevadas y el propio lecho del río. La asociación de saucos al cauce principal favorece el depósito de ramas y la vía de reproducción asexual, después del disturbio producido por el régimen de crecidas estacionales de invierno y primavera (Figura 3 y 4).

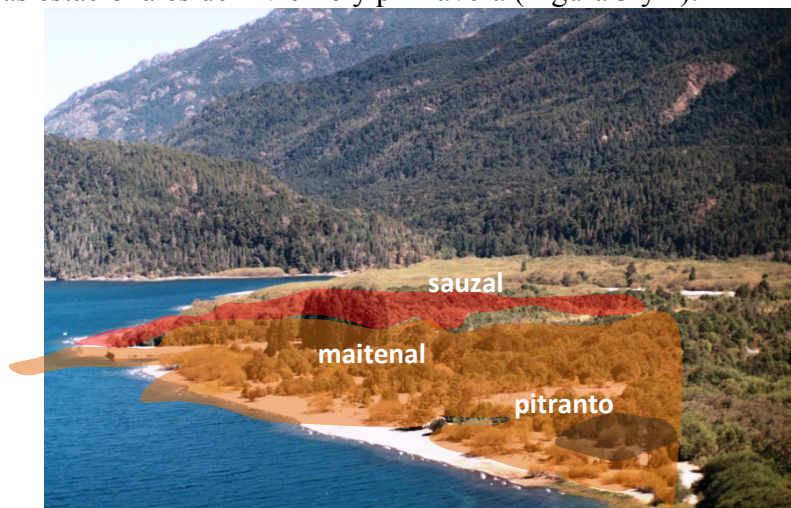


Figura 2. Delta del río Azul, en su desembocadura en el lago Puelo

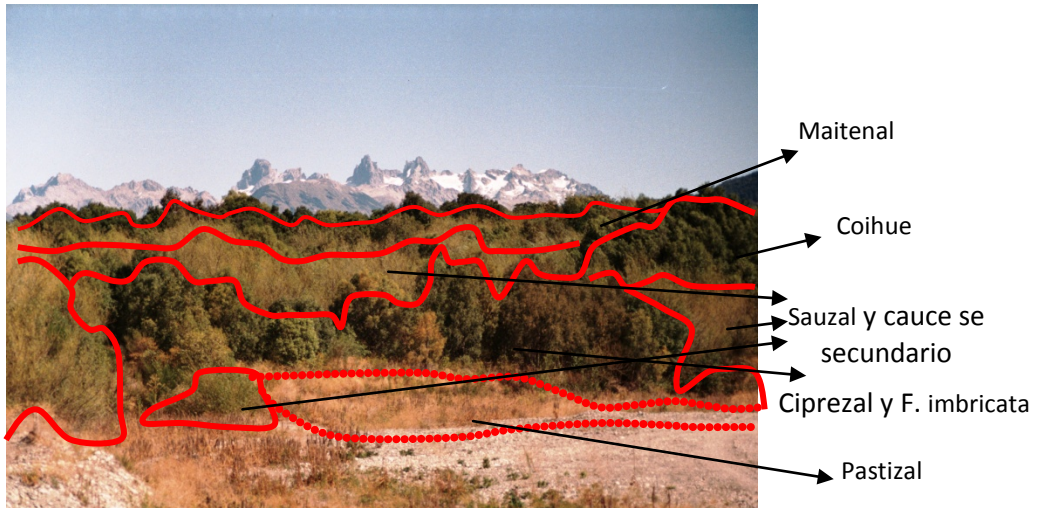


Figura 3. Distribución de parches de bosque en el delta del río Azul



Figura 4. Barras transversales colonizadas por *S. fragilis*, produce atascos que retroalimentan la reproducción vegetativa por medio de tallos sobre el lecho pedregoso del río

Los sauces expresan un crecimiento logístico típico con un ajuste a K entorno a 1995 al mismo tiempo que el sistema ingresa en un periodo incremento de disturbios de gran intensidad. El valor de r y s del modelo se corresponde con un conjunto de varios dominios de comportamientos dinámicos de la ecuación de May como funciones de los parámetros, que determina la respuesta no-lineal. Para un $r(\text{coihue})$ de 0,067, un $s(\text{pitra})$ de 0,047 y un $s(\text{maitén})$ de 0,029; para λ sauces de 2,57 y β en un rango de 1,47 – 1,18; el modelo explica la correlación empírica y teórica de los datos, que representa el espacio de fases en el que la diversificación del sistema impulsa su complejidad (Figura 2).

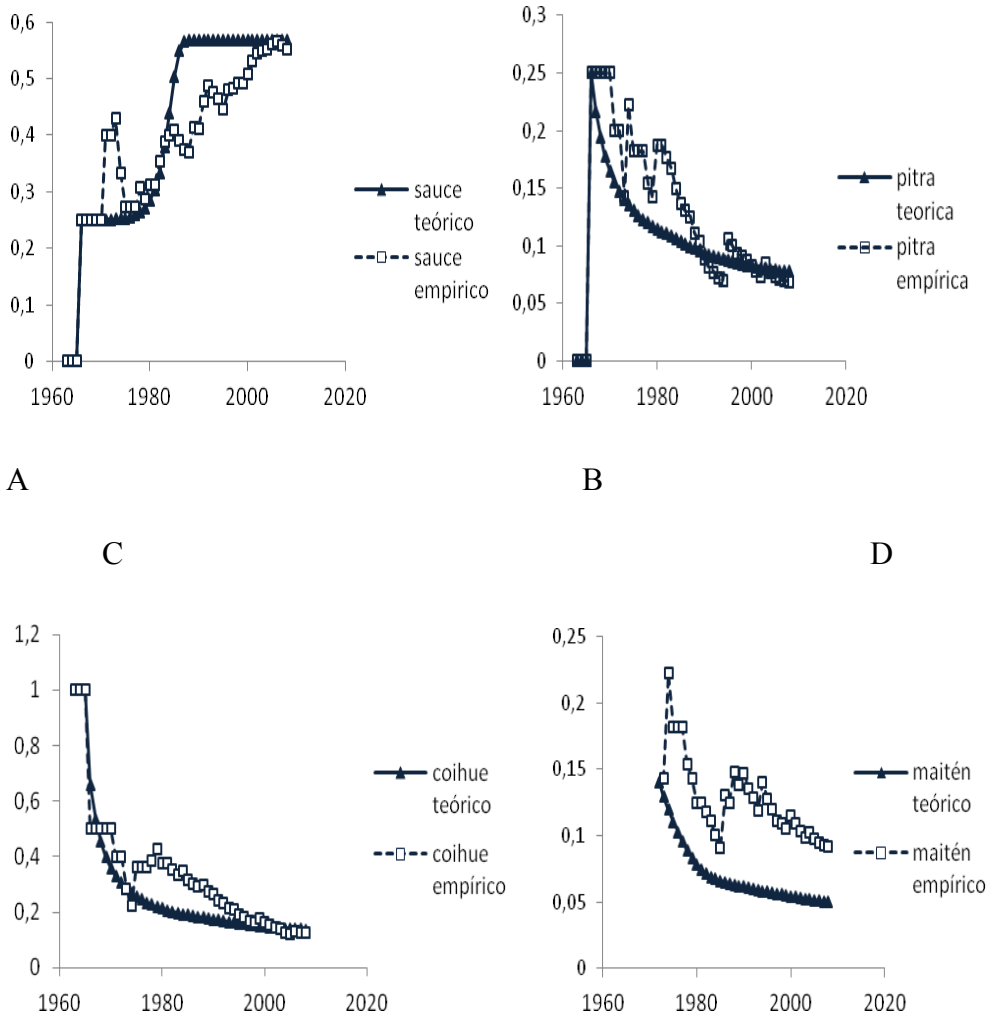


Figura 2. Los sauces poseen crecimientos logísticos típicos. Aunque las densidades de árboles nativos declinan en relación a sauces, se estabilizan en todos los casos en umbrales de densidad superiores a 0.05. (coeficientes de correlación entre curvas empíricas y teóricas: A) sauces=0,8354; B) pitras=0,8952; C) coihues=0,9433; D) maitenes=0,7631). Las correlaciones elevadas entre curvas avalan con datos empíricos las proyecciones teóricas del modelo.

A nivel de comunidad se produce un atractor en torno a densidades de sauces de 0.57 y de árboles nativos en su conjunto de 0.30. El sistema es estable, en el largo plazo sin riesgo de extinciones de árboles nativos (Figura 4).

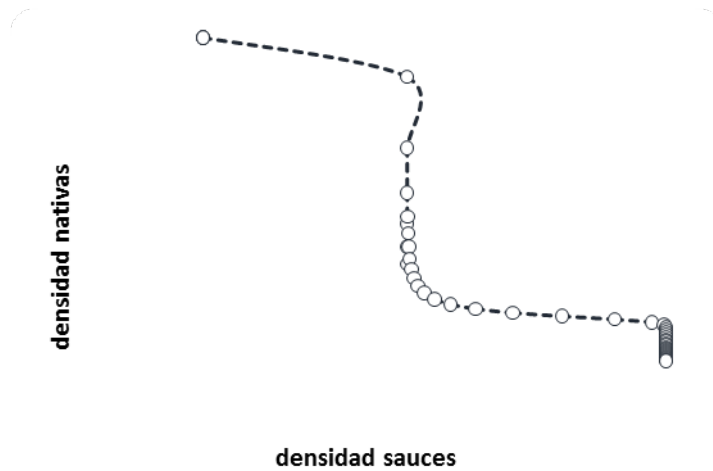


Figura 4. En el espacio de fases en el que se produce un atractor (0,57-0,30) en que densidades de sauces y árboles nativos se equilibran.

Conclusiones

Si bien la colonización dominante de *S. fragilis* restringe la diversidad de comunidades, estos bosques están acotados a zonas inestables, para las cuales no existen especies del acervo nativo con adaptaciones a condiciones riparias inestables. El pitral que se encuentra próximo al delta del Azul, es una formación de bosques pantanosos, propia de aguas lentas o de bajo escurrimiento. No existe en la ecorregión del bosque andino patagónico, vegetación original adaptada a aguas rápidas. Por eso, *S. fragilis* invade superficies inestables como pedreras y bancos de arena. Los ambientes riparios históricamente más estables en el frente de avance del delta sobre el lago, son ocupados por *M. exsucca* y *M. boaria*. Los sauces estabilizan bordes inestables y permiten la colonización de planicies, islas y albardones más estables, por árboles nativos. Las proyecciones del modelo a futuro evidencian en el espacio de fases un atractor estable de las densidades que permite inferir que no existen riesgos de extinción local a corto plazo. Las condiciones de *S. fragilis*, como especie bioingeniera, capaz de estabilizar superficies inestables, quedan confirmadas por los datos empíricos. La relación cooperativa va depender más del ingreso de disturbios recurrentes al sistema y el raleo de sauces que la propia capacidad biológica de la especie de competir con árboles nativos. El ajuste del modelo nos permite concluir que es posible una modelación de largo plazo, que permita monitorear la evolución del bosque ripario y anticipar medidas de conservación de especies y estabilidad de riberas.

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BEYOND JUDICIAL INTERVENTION: COLLABORATIVE LAW AS A NOVEL APPROACH TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the main characteristics of the collaborative approach to conflict resolution. It traces its history and development across the continents. The comments of the participants from the research conducted by the International Academy of Collaborative Practitioners (IACP) are reviewed and the success rate is presented. The author posits that collaborative law, a non-adversarial approach to resolving conflict, has been successful in the area of family disputes and should be used worldwide in other types of disputes allowing the court systems to only manage the truly adversarial cases with the litigants disinterested in win-win solutions.

Keywords: Collaborative law, conflict, family disputes, conflict resolution

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to outline the history of the collaborative law movement and to present the unique aspects of the collaborative process. It will also discuss the results of the survey undertaken by the IACP on the impact of various factors on termination and difficulty of cases and their success rate. Finally, the author will argue that the results of the research conducted by the IACP; in particular, the client satisfaction rate should further support the application of this model of dispute resolution to other types of legal disputes. **A brief history of collaborative law**

The concept originates in the United States of America, in the city of Minneapolis, Minnesota where a family lawyer, Stuart G. Webb, was battling one of the worst litigation cases of his career in 1989. It involved all of the elements of the litigation process that make it so challenging and unattractive to many practising lawyers: never ending court hearings, lying, nasty tricks, failing to disclose assets and so on. In traditional litigation model each spouse is represented by his and her lawyer who labours to draft lengthy affidavits outlining the client's stories, conducts depositions and

examinations with expensive transcripts, files detailed briefs, prepares witnesses and eventually proceeds to trial. By the time the trial is concluded there may be no money left for the spouses (and their children) involved in the dispute. So in the middle of his nasty divorce case, Stuart Webb came up with an idea during one of his hearings in the case that, “There should be settlement only specialists available for divorcing couples, specialists who work with the couple outside the court system, and who would turn the case over to trial lawyers if and only if the settlement process failed. That, in a nutshell, was the birth of Collaborative Law.” (Webb & Ousky, 2006).

This was a novel approach to resolution of family disputes in early 1990s. The model became better known in the United States in the 1990s and Stuart Webb and his law partner Ronald Ousky wrote a book entitled “The Collaborative Way to Divorce: The Revolutionary Method That Results in Less Stress, Lower Costs, and Happier Kids – Without Going to Court”. Stuart Webb’s book was followed by Pauline Tesler’s “Collaborative Law: Achieving Effective Resolution in Divorce without Litigation” and by “Collaborative Divorce: Helping Families Without Going to Court”, written by another prominent California lawyer, Forrest S. Mosten and published in 2009. The common underlying thread for the above authors and many other lawyers who chose to be trained in the process is the deep concern for the wellbeing of the children (research is unequivocal that parental conflict harms the children) and respect for the participants and human dignity, the qualities that appear to be scarce in the litigation processes in many courtrooms of the world. Collaborative attorneys are mindful of the importance of the need to preserve family relationships in the future as spouses cease to be wives and husbands but continue to be the parents to their children for the rest of their lives.

The American Bar Association in its 2007 Ethical Opinion (American Bar Association, 2007) about collaborative law defined it as follows:

“Collaborative Law or Collaborative Practice is an out-of-court settlement process where parties and their lawyers try to reach an agreement satisfying the needs of all parties and any children involved. The parties agree to provide all relevant information. If the parties engage in contested litigation, their Collaborative lawyers cannot represent them in court. The process typically involves “four-way meetings” with the parties and lawyers and possibly other professionals such as neutral financial specialists, communications coaches, child specialists, or appraisers.”

What is unique in the collaborative law approach to dispute resolution is the requirement for the lawyers to withdraw from representation of their clients in court if the process turns out to be unsuccessful. This was a much debated requirement that has generated a lot of discussion in legal

circles. It was perceived as limiting the lawyer's right of representation but, the holders of the opposite view, claimed that it was motivating to have more in depth settlement discussions with careful consideration of all options presented by the parties which ultimately led to more satisfactory solutions.

The other requirement for engagement in the collaborative process is voluntary disclosure of documents. In a typical court case the litigants, if reluctant to share the documents, can be ordered to provide them sometimes necessitating several court applications which increase the overall costs of the proceedings. In collaborative process, on the other hand, the clients commit in their Participation Agreement to the timely provision of all necessary financial disclosure to enable meaningful settlement discussions. The process, like mediation, remains confidential and voluntary. The participants are committed to negotiation of a mutually acceptable resolution while maintaining open and respectful communication. At the conclusion of the four-way meetings the parties instruct the lawyers to draft a legal contract reflecting their negotiated agreement.

The only other country to follow the collaborative process in the 20th century was Canada where the collaborative practice began in 1999. In 2001 IACP, the International Academy of Collaborative Professionals was founded, the international organization which currently has of over 5,000 members from all around the world and holds yearly networking forums usually in the month of October. The United States of America has 3,558 members and Canada has 550. In the first five years of the 21st century some European countries joined in 2003 (England, Ireland and Scotland), Switzerland in 2004 and from all the way down under, Australia in 2005. Between 2006 and 2010 Austria, Bermuda, France, Czech Republic, Germany, Israel, Netherlands and Italy also began to practice in the collaborative model. In the last five years New Zealand, Hong Kong, Spain and Brazil have also started developing their collaborative practice. In terms of the membership, as of 2014, in the International Academy of Collaborative Practitioners, after the Americans (3,558) and Canadians (550), there are 192 Dutch members, 122 Australians, 118 Italians, 104 Scots and 98 French. The table below details the entire membership in such distant geographic locations as Bermuda, Israel and New Zealand (IACP, 2014).

Country	When Collaborative Practice Began	# of IACP Members	# of IACP Practice Groups
United States of America	1992	3,558	239
Canada	1999	550	35
England	2003	47	11
Ireland	2003	11	6
Scotland	2003	104	2
Switzerland	2004	7	2
Australia	2005	122	14

Austria	2006	3	2
Bermuda	2006	8	1
France	2006	98	2
Czech Republic	2007	3	1
Germany	2008	3	2
Israel	2008	29	3
Netherlands	2008	192	1
Italy	2009	118	2
New Zealand	2012	2	1
Hong Kong	2013	5	1
Spain	2013	2	1

In addition to the paradigm shift from adversarial to interest based approach to the resolution of family conflicts, collaborative practice has adopted an interdisciplinary approach. The IACP in its “Principles of Collaborative Practice” stresses the inclusion of other professionals as follows:

“Collaborative Practice is a new way for a divorcing couple to work as a team, with trained professionals to resolve disputes respectfully without going to court. The term encompasses all of the models that have been developed since Minnesota lawyer Stu Webb created the Collaborative Law model in 1990. This model is at the heart of all of Collaborative Practice. Each client has the support, protection and guidance of his or her own lawyer. The lawyers and the clients together comprise the Collaborative Law component of Collaborative Practice.

While Collaborative lawyers are always a part of collaboration, some models provide child specialists, financial specialists and divorce coaches as part of the clients’ divorce team. In these models the clients have the option of starting their divorce with the professional with whom they feel most comfortable and with whom they have initial contact. The clients benefit throughout collaboration from the assistance and support of all of their chosen professionals.” (Mosten, 2009).

Other professionals have become increasingly more involved in the practice. With difficult child custody disputes, clients can rely on child specialists (psychologists), where there are financial and tax issues to be decided clients are assisted by financial neutrals and the emotional problems of the clients get under control with the involvement of the divorce coaches. The IACP Professional Practice Survey, conducted between 2006 and 2010 provided first data indicating that almost half of all collaborative cases used some type of interdisciplinary process. Clients generally express satisfaction with the collaborative practitioners and the process itself. The process was mostly used by middle and upper middle class educated divorcing parents with children. The settlement rate was 86% with the majority of cases resolved within eight months or less. The factors that we identified as “top

difficulty factors” included lack of trust, extreme lack of empathy, unrealistic outcome expectations, little value perceived in the contribution of the other, power imbalance, one or both clients acting unilaterally and unrealistic process expectations. With these factors being identified as most challenging it is easy to appreciate how the involvement of other professionals, in particular divorce coaches and child specialists, is beneficial to the process. A lot of cases fall apart because of poor communication skills of the clients (and the lawyers do not remain immune from them) and a lot of challenges with meaningful discussions revolve around the emotions of the clients, especially when the focus of the discussion is the custody of their children. It is not surprising then that the presence of an interdisciplinary team resulted in greater client satisfaction with individual professionals.

Having regard to the growth of the collaborative family practice across the world in the last fifteen years the climate appears ripe for collaborative practice to emerge as a prevalent dispute resolution process in other types of disputes such as insurance claims, estate contests and business cases. The fundamental principles will still apply for the parties to commit by signing the Participation Agreement, to respectful settlement discussion with voluntary disclosure of material and relevant documentation and purposeful exclusion of the court process. Hopefully more and more individuals involved in conflict will prefer to choose this confidential and voluntary process to deal with their dispute instead of lengthier, more stressful and more costly litigation. By choosing collaborative approach empowering them to openly discuss their goals and interests, the parties will craft together an agreement that meets their needs. The process will result in a win-win solution for the parties involved unlike the litigation process which inevitably leads to a win-lose outcome.

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DERECHO DE VISITAS – DERECHO Y DEBER DE COMUNICACIÓN - CONFLICTOS POS DIVORCIO INTERFACE JURIDICO PSICOLOGICA

Lic. Oscar Vázquez

Abstract

The height of the psychological legal interface occurs in family law and particularly in visiting arrangements (contact and communication between parents and children). This is because it is the Reggio way of developing productive relationships. It is accomplished by mainly accepting others as they are, such that they both have value today in relation to the treatment of domestic violence and gender. The concept of man as an imperfect father and the woman as an imperfect mother are conditions which fosters the development of an image of healthy parental couple. The challenge for professionals involved in decisions that affect the daily lives of people as in the case of visiting arrangements, is to assume the responsibility to do. They consider not only the uniqueness of each human being, but also the children as an axis of communication with emotionally significant people. A Judges decision requires interdisciplinary support for the valuation of children resources to establish their evolving capabilities. The access of children to familiarly significant others is a human right, and as such, is a source of mental health for children. Psychologists working as part of the interdisciplinary teams of the courts are very important, and that their interventions must be tailored in the context of the child, family, and society. By this, they develop and mainly adapt to the context of the institution of attendance from which they obtain their expertise.

Keywords: Legal / psychological interface, family law

Resumen

El punto más álgido de la interfase jurídica psicológica se da en el derecho de familia en general y en particular en el instituto del régimen de visitas (comunicación adecuada entre padres e hijos) porque es la vía reggia para el desarrollo de vínculos productivos, en los que principalmente debe

darse la aceptación del otro tal cual es, que tanto valor tiene hoy día en relación al tratamiento de la violencia familiar y de género. La concepción del padre como un hombre imperfecto y de la madre como una mujer imperfecta son condiciones para el desarrollo de una imagen de pareja parental saludable.

El desafío para los profesionales involucrados en decisiones que influyen en la vida cotidiana de las personas como en el caso del régimen de visitas, es asumir la responsabilidad de hacerlo teniendo en cuenta la singularidad y desde que el eje de la comunicación con personas afectivamente significativas son los niños y no los adultos se produjo un cambio de paradigma al que los profesionales debemos adaptarnos. La decisión de los jueces exige cada vez más el acompañamiento interdisciplinario, para la valoración de los recursos de los niños en cada etapa de la vida a fin de echar claridad a la ponderación de sus capacidades progresivas. Un lenguaje claro que permita la lectura de los legos en la redacción de las conclusiones y que éstas sean expuestas.

El acceso de los niños a las personas familiarmente significativas es un derecho humano y como tal es una fuente de salud mental en los niños. Desde la psicología sabemos que el ocultamiento de las fuentes de frustración no permite el normal desarrollo de las personas, es por esto que es tan importante el trabajo de los psicólogos en los equipos interdisciplinarios de los juzgados y que sus intervenciones deben adecuarse al contexto, al contexto del niño, de la familia, de la sociedad en la que se desarrolla y principalmente adecuarse al contexto de la institución a la que asiste desde su experticia.

Palabras clave: Interfase jurídica / psicológica, derecho de familia

Introducción

Uno de los elementos más importantes de la interdisciplina en el ámbito jurídico lo constituye el tratamiento de los nuevos enfoques planteados por los avances en la ampliación de derechos para las minorías y los colectivos más vulnerables de la sociedad.

Uno de ellos lo constituye “el niño”, no la niñez, sino el niño. Principalmente a partir de la Convención de los derechos de Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes y su incorporación en la Constitución Nacional Argentina el niño dejó de ser un “incapaz jurídico” para pasar a ser un sujeto de derechos en función de sus capacidades progresivas. Es decir que puede y debe tener participación activa en los procesos que lo atraviesen en función de su edad y desarrollo.

El trabajo que aquí se presenta intenta mostrar el tratamiento de este concepto desde un punto de vista jurídico y las implicancias

interdisciplinarias que sugieren a raíz de su desarrollo por autores de doctrina jurídica de prestigio en Argentina.

Hacia el final se sugiere la responsabilidad de los profesionales de la psicología para desarrollar un tratamiento eficaz de las conductas abarcadas por la ampliación de derechos y su connotación psicossocial y sociocultural.

Derecho de visitas "*La denominación derecho de visita, en el ámbito jurídico familiar, no refleja todo el profundo contenido de ese derecho, que posee una trascendencia espiritual superior a lo material; importa la realización, mediante el trato y la comunicación, de importantes funciones educativas y de vigilancia*"⁵⁹.

Para Zannoni el derecho de visitas es el derecho de mantener comunicación adecuada con el pariente con quien no se convive. El caso más trascendente es el del progenitor que, por no convivir con el otro progenitor a quien se le ha conferido la guarda del hijo menor, conserva el derecho de "mantener adecuada comunicación" con el hijo, según dice el art. 264, inc. 2o, del Cód. Civil. Si bien la norma se refiere al caso de hijos matrimoniales, la misma solución corresponde acordar para el caso de padres extramatrimoniales. Como veremos con detalle en el capítulo correspondiente, el derecho de visitas le permite al progenitor retirar al hijo del domicilio donde vive, para mantener con él el trato más pleno, en un ámbito de privacidad, y no en presencia del otro progenitor. Aunque, como también veremos, los jueces ejercerán, a pedido de parte o del Ministerio Público, el necesario control para evitar que, en virtud de ese derecho, el progenitor ponga en peligro la salud física o espiritual del hijo.⁶⁰

Este derecho es denominado tradicionalmente "de visita", aunque la denominación no es del todo apropiada, pues – como se ha dicho – tal comunicación no debe realizarse ni necesariamente ni siquiera como regla general mediante la visita del padre al hijo, fuera de que el problema no concluye con el periódico contacto físico sino que se manifiesta en otros aspectos, como la vigilancia de la educación, el mantenimiento de correspondencia, etcétera. Por eso, el art. 264, párr. segundo, inc. 2, del Código Civil (texto según ley 23.264) alude correctamente al derecho de tener adecuada comunicación con el hijo.⁶¹ Y que además no soslaya la responsabilidad de supervisar su educación.

Según Makianich de Basset, este derecho basa su fundamento en elementales principios de derecho natural, en la necesidad de cultivar el afecto, de estabilizar los vínculos familiares, propender a su subsistencia

⁵⁹ Guastavino, Elías P., "Régimen de visitas en el derecho de familia", JA 1976-I-654

⁶⁰ BOSSERT, G. Y ZANNONI, E. *Manual de Derecho de Familia*. Buenos Aires, Ed. Astrea Depalma, 2004. p. 69.

⁶¹ BELLUSCIO, Augusto César. *Manual de Derecho de Familia*. Buenos Aires, Ed. Astrea Depalma, 2004. p. 367.

real, efectiva y eficaz; de tal manera que se procure el acercamiento y contacto con ambos padres sin excepciones (salvo las que por circunstancias especiales marca la ley). La autora insiste en el concepto agregando que es un derecho inalienable de los progenitores (padres) cuando la convivencia se fractura y que constituye no sólo un deber, sino más bien una función que pone de manifiesto el impostergable derecho del menor a mantener fluido el trato con aquellas personas que (bajo ciertas condiciones) contribuirán a su formación integral y que constituyen el tan mentado entorno significativo del niño como sujeto de derechos.

Para la Dra. Graciela Medina el vínculo de la criatura con los padres (ambos) contribuye a la constitución del aparato psíquico de aquél y la interacción permanente entre el niño y el adulto (madre y padre) proveen al hijo de modelos de resolución de sus necesidades físicas y psíquicas⁶², aunque es interesante subrayar – como la jurisprudencia lo muestra y demuestra – que la formación integral excede lo físico y psíquico, ya que además provee intercambios discursivos que permiten un mejor desarrollo en el ámbito social, a saber: formas de negociar en determinados conflictos que se presenten durante la vida y el desarrollo del infante, estilos de comunicación para la consecución de metas o los medios para lograrlos, desarrollo de nuevas habilidades sociales en función del contacto eficaz con su entorno, etc. También desde lo psicosocial aprender a tolerar lo que es diferente o lo que desconoce, desde lo espiritual aprender a perdonar y como corolario permitir y permitirse una nueva oportunidad ante las situaciones frustrantes de la vida y de este modo desarrollar recursos y habilidades que permitan encontrar canales alternativos y complementarios para resolver los conflictos, que tan importantes son hoy en función de la prevención de la violencia familiar y de género.

La Dra. Herrera⁶³ señala un importante precedente, que incluso se adelanta al fallo de la Corte IDH sobre el caso Atala Riffo⁶⁴, permitiendo “a

⁶² MEDINA, Graciela. *Daños y Perjuicios Derivados de la Obstaculización Injustificada del Derecho de Visita por Parte del Progenitor Guardador*. www.gracielamedina.com.

⁶³ HERRERA, Marisa. Filiación, adopción y distintas estructuras familiares en los albores del siglo XXI. En Ferreira Bastos, E., Dias, M. B. *A Familia Alem dos Mitos*. Del Rey, Belo Horizonte, 2008. p. 171.

⁶⁴ CIDH. CASO ATALA RIFFO Y NIÑAS VS. CHILE. Sentencia del 24/02/2012. La Corte resolvió en este caso que el estado chileno es responsable: por la violación del derecho a la igualdad y la no discriminación consagrado en el artículo 24, en relación con los artículos 19 y 1.1. de la Convención Americana, en perjuicio de las niñas M., V. y R.; por la violación del derecho a ser oído consagrado en el artículo 8.1, en relación con los artículos 19 y 1.1 de la Convención Americana en perjuicio de las niñas M., V. y R. y por la violación de la garantía de imparcialidad consagrada en el artículo 8.1, en relación con el artículo 1.1 de la Convención Americana, respecto a la investigación disciplinaria, en perjuicio de Karen Atala Riffo.

una madre lesbiana un amplio régimen de visitas no supervisado, destacándose que: Impedir un contacto adecuado entre la progenitora y su hijo, quien guarda hacia ella profundos sentimientos positivos, porque aquella es lesbiana, importaría desconocer el interés superior del menor contemplado en la Convención de Derechos del Niño y discriminar arbitrariamente a la madre por su preferencia sexual, en contra de lo establecido en toda la legislación antidiscriminatoria y fundamentalmente en lo dispuesto por el art. 19 de la Constitución.⁶⁵

Si bien las experiencias de las personas se van dando y son constituidas por las transacciones interpersonales, también es importante destacar que cada experiencia es singular, única y por lo tanto intransferible, de tal modo que “el ser humano social es individual y el ser humano individual es social”.⁶⁶

Así es que cuando aparece una obstrucción al derecho de visitas, se pone de manifiesto ni más ni menos que una situación de poder. Esto no es nada nuevo ya que habitualmente se escucha que los hijos pasan a ser un botín de guerra, sin embargo se desconoce bastante acerca de la dinámica y estructura de esta “guerra” que genera tal botín.

La guerra tiene dos frentes, uno de ellos está constituido por lo individual, por lo singular de la historia de dos seres que constituyen en un momento determinado una pareja/matrimonio y que durante su desarrollo establecen pautas de comunicación y estilos particulares de resolución de conflictos hasta – parafraseando al Dr. Belluscio – el desmembramiento de la guarda conjunta.⁶⁷ El otro factor corresponde al paradigma de establecimiento de roles estereotipados para el hombre y la mujer que, adjudicados por normas arcaicas, anacrónicas y hoy perimidas para el derecho y la justicia, sin embargo permanecen en el imaginario socio cultural de las personas generando conceptos que inocentemente o no, confunden, a saber:

- “el amor materno es una condición necesaria pero no suficiente”;
- “siendo indispensable la presencia de la figura paterna”.⁶⁸

Para la orientación filosóficamente humanista y existencial del presente trabajo, no es menor el calificativo de “condición” que se le adjudica al sustantivo amor materno⁶⁹, además sería arbitrario decir que la

⁶⁵ C. M. A. c. C. M. A., Cámara de Apelaciones en lo Civil y Comercial de San Isidro, sala I, 08/07/2002, JA 2003-I, 661 y LL 2003-F, 77, con nota de Ana María Chechile.

⁶⁶ GROSAN, C. Y MESTERMAN, S. Obra citada. p. 74. Citando a Humberto Maturana: *Biología del Fenómeno Social*.

⁶⁷ BELLUSCIO, A. Obra citada. p. 367.

⁶⁸ MEDINA, G. Obra citada. Citando a otros autores.

⁶⁹ Permítase esta digresión gramatical que responde a la mera necesidad de enfatizar la idea de condición necesaria del amor materno

frase descalifica a su complementario “amor paterno” sin embargo es altamente probable que no exista ni una sola referencia de tal tenor en toda la jurisprudencia (argentina, sudamericana, latina). Toda condición genera una sujeción ineludible, es por esto que en la mayoría de los casos la tenencia de los menores se adjudica por “norma” a la mujer, la madre y no es inocente la referencia a la doble condición.⁷⁰

Del mismo modo no deben abundar – si es que existen – referencias en los fallos a una tal “figura materna” complementaria de la multinombrada y referenciada “figura paterna”⁷¹, como se señalaba al principio, el lenguaje no sólo es una manera de mostrar situaciones, sino más bien que determinan los fenómenos a los que alude, cargándolos de un significado y una intencionalidad, es por esto que no hay que obviar el lugar que la sociedad le adjudica a varones y mujeres: la madre es la portadora natural del amor y el padre la figura de un género necesario para el soporte de la esencia familiar. Agudo aparece el Dr. Díez-Picazo cuando señala que “existe una predisposición en los hombres de Derecho a creer en la omnipotencia de la ley. Piensan que, incluso, si cambia la ley cambiará automáticamente la fisonomía de las relaciones familiares. Sin embargo, la ley es un medio escasamente idóneo para procurar cambios a nivel sociológico, en tanto no existan modificaciones en la conciencia social, o culturales, que permitan “consuetudinarizar” esos tipos de cambios estimulados desde la legislación. Como advierte el autor citado, los cambios sociales tienen sus propios factores genéticos, que son por lo general extrajurídicos, registrados a posteriori por la legislación”.⁷²

⁷⁰ El art. 206 del Código Civil dice que “los hijos menores de 5 años quedarán a cargo de la madre salvo causas graves que afecten el interés del menor. Los mayores de esa edad a falta de acuerdo de los cónyuges, quedarán a cargo de aquel a quien el juez considere más idóneo. Los progenitores continuarán sujetos a todas las cargas y obligaciones respecto de sus hijos”; en relación y a posteriori de la separación por sentencia firme. Aunque la jurisprudencia actual avanza sobre la vigencia de esta perspectiva, sigue en el texto del código actual hasta que se ponga en vigencia el nuevo código, prevista para enero de 2016.

⁷¹ FERRATER MORA, José. *Diccionario de Filosofía*. Buenos Aires, Sudamericana, 1951. El filósofo señala que “figura equivale en general a forma, perfil o contorno de un objeto y a veces su estructura. La figura se distingue de la forma en que mientras esta última se opone a la materia, la figura es el aspecto externo que presenta un objeto, su configuración. Aristóteles en ocasiones hace distinciones entre figura y forma, aunque a menudo las identifica.// La condición se define habitualmente como aquello sin lo cual lo condicionado no sería... se entiende en un sentido real, como aquello que hace que una entidad sea. La condición sería así equivalente a la causa... podría ser considerada desde dos puntos de vista: o como aquello que positivamente condiciona la existencia de algo o como aquello sin lo cual algo no sería.”

⁷² MAKIANICH DE BASSET, L. Obra citada. p. 290. Citando a Díez Picazo: Familia y Derecho.

La discriminación pone de relieve la marginación, de manera que resulta necesario un debate profundo de la sociedad actual respecto de los roles adjudicados a los géneros y el grado de libertad que las distintas instituciones sociales le conceden a las personas particulares para asumirlos y desarrollarlos más allá de los prejuicios replanteando el fundamento científico de ciertos imperativos desde lo sociológico, psicológico, antropológico y jurídico.⁷³

Taraborrelli manifiesta que actualmente nadie pone en discusión que existe derecho a visitar y a ser visitado, lo que implica que se trata de un derecho de doble titularidad, recíproco o correlativo. Entre sus características, además de la señalada, dicho autor refiere que es irrenunciable, imprescriptible y personalísimo, vale decir que está excluido de su ejercicio todo aquel que no sea su titular, pudiendo ser opuesto por su beneficiario a las personas que deban permitir el desarrollo de las visitas.⁷⁴

Es de destacar que no es un derecho absoluto, dado que según la Convención de Derechos del Niño incorporada por la ley 23.849, se considera que en todas las medidas concernientes a los niños se atenderá primordialmente al interés superior del niño⁷⁵ y que se velará por el contacto y adecuada comunicación con sus padres excepto cuando, a reserva de revisión judicial, las autoridades competentes determinen, de conformidad con la ley y los procedimientos aplicables, que la separación de los mismos es necesaria para tal interés superior del niño⁷⁶ preservando y protegiendo el bienestar y salud integral de los hijos menores⁷⁷.

Antes de pasar a las características del derecho de visitas resulta interesante repasar las palabras de Makianich de Basset cuando dice que el mismo “parece encuadrar cómodamente en la denominación de derechos altruistas, como prefiere Ferrare, para referirse a aquellos que no sirven precisamente al interés (exclusivo) del titular o investido de poder, sino al de

⁷³ Cabría preguntarse ¿por qué un padre viudo o casado es óptimo para ser “custodio” de sus hijos menores de 3 años y uno divorciado no? Para una reflexión más profunda es interesante leer: Roca, E. Obra citada. Prólogo de Luis Díez Picazo.

⁷⁴ MEDINA, G. Obra citada. p. 3. Citando a Tarraborelli, José. Régimen Jurídico del Derecho y Deber de Adecuada Comunicación entre Padres e Hijos (Aspectos Civiles y Penales), JA 1997-1, p. 869.

⁷⁵ Convención sobre los Derechos del Niño. Obra citada. Art. 1.

⁷⁶ Convención sobre los Derechos del Niño. Obra citada. Art. 9.

⁷⁷ Convención Americana de Derechos Humanos, Art. 19. Todo niño tiene derecho a las medidas de protección que su condición de menor requieren por parte de su familia, de la sociedad y del Estado. Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, Opinión Consultiva 17, de 28 de agosto de 2002, Solicitada por la Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos. Preferentemente los párrafos del 62 al 91.

otros y cuyo ejercicio no queda a su arbitrio puesto que deviene un deber ético frente a las personas subordinadas”.⁷⁸

Las características que hacen de este derecho más bien una función son las siguientes:

1. Es un derecho personalísimo y por tanto inalienable. Resulta por ello intransmisible e intransferible. Se concede para fortalecer las relaciones afectivas humanas entre el menor y el visitador.
2. Es irrenunciable, pues es de orden público, en la medida que está reconocido en función del interés familiar, que es la fórmula propia de tal orden dentro del Derecho de Familia.
3. Es recíproco. Es un derecho que tiene como contrapartida una obligación, dado el interés de los hijos en contar con la persona concreta, afectiva y espiritualmente activa de ambos padres.
4. Es relativo en función de un contexto y singularidad de persona, tiempo y circunstancia.
5. Subordinado al interés del hijo. La doctrina y la jurisprudencia así lo han entendido, aunque ha hecho especial hincapié en que el interés del menor no puede ser confundido con su voluntad.
6. Es imprescriptible y tampoco puede caducar, pues no hay norma alguna que así lo autorice.
7. Se concede al margen de la causa de disgregación familiar, cuando esta radica en la pareja parental o en cuestión ajena a la relación entre el visitante y el visitado.
8. Es modificable, conforme lo exijan las circunstancias.⁷⁹

Este es un derecho modificable; conforme lo exijan las circunstancias se puede revisar de manera tal que en estos casos adquiere particular relevancia la cláusula *rebus sic standibus*.⁸⁰ De tal modo que hay distintas vicisitudes en la dinámica del derecho de visitas ya que puede ser denegado, modificado, suspendido, suprimido y también restituido.

Parafraseando a Wagmaister, no hay que soslayar el derecho de ser abuelo, dado que “muchas veces por discusiones de diferente índole se pretende que el chico pierda su vínculo con sus abuelos, por ejemplo, y la ley también prevé que los niños tienen el derecho de estar con ellos. El código protege el derecho de estas visitas para que los niños, por peleas de adultos, no pierdan estos vínculos que son fundamentales”⁸¹ para su desarrollo cuando se trata desde las bases de la Convención de los derechos del niño la

⁷⁸ MAKIANICH DE BASSET, L. Obra citada. p. 83.

⁷⁹ MAKIANICH DE BASSET, L. Obra citada. pp. 85-88.

⁸⁰ CC. Art. 1050.

⁸¹ WAGMAISTER, Adriana M. Diario La Mañana de Neuquén. http://w1.lmneuquen.com.ar/08-08-11/n_sociedad3.asp

preservación de las raíces a través del contacto con su familia nuclear y la extensa.

La denegación implica la interrupción de la comunicación del niño con personas significativas para su formación integral, de manera tal que debe ser justificada por una grave amenaza contra la salud integral del menor.

La suspensión constituye una privación temporal o transitoria del vínculo entre los protagonistas del régimen de visitas y puede tener un lapso determinado o no. En caso de no estipularse un plazo, deberá pronunciarse nuevamente el juez para restablecer la medida anterior.

En cuanto al incumplimiento alimentario hay posturas diversas, opuestas e intermedias. Belluscio manifiesta que “tras superar divergencias anteriores, la doctrina y la jurisprudencia aceptaron el criterio de que las visitas en favor de los padres pueden ser suspendidas cuando éstos no dan cumplimiento a su obligación alimentaria -salvo que se deba a circunstancias ajenas a su voluntad, como su falta material de recursos unida a la imposibilidad de adquirirlos con su trabajo-, pues se trata de una obligación primordial sin cuyo cumplimiento no se puede pretender ejercer los derechos correlativos ni alegar un cariño cuya inexistencia se demuestra. Sin embargo, en los últimos tiempos ese criterio ha sido puesto nuevamente en duda sobre la base de que las visitas no sólo son un derecho de los padres sino también un deber cuyo cumplimiento está encaminado al beneficio de los hijos derivado de mantener trato con padre y madre”⁸²; Borda “por su parte, lamenta que las decisiones no se hayan estabilizado en torno a la suspensión (del régimen de visitas por incumplimiento alimentario), por cuanto resulta un remedio efficacísimo contra la mora del padre y un justo castigo para quien no cumplimenta el deber de alimentar a sus hijos. Sin embargo, tal decisión no sería aplicable en los supuestos en que el alimentante no es culpable exclusivo de la mora, o si la falta de pago no es deliberada pues obedece a motivos atendibles, o cuando la madre no activó el juicio por alimentos, o éste se encuentra paralizado sin que se hubiera fijado la pensión”⁸³ y Guastavino “entiende que la ley 21.040 relaciona directamente el derecho de visitas y las obligaciones alimentarias, de modo tal que la desatención de los deberes de asistencia, sea por incumplimiento doloso de la prestación o por colocar al alimentado en situación de peligro, justifica la suspensión del régimen de visitas”⁸⁴.

Grosman intenta una verdadera solución alternativa aconsejando una forma de abordaje institucional y terapéutico como un modo eficaz de

⁸² BELLUSCIO, A. Obra citada. p. 368

⁸³ MAKIANICH DE BASSET, L. Obra citada. pp. 166-167. Citando a Borda

⁸⁴ MAKIANICH DE BASSET, L. Obra citada. p. 167.

romper el círculo vicioso para promover el cumplimiento de una manera consensuada y motivando desde la construcción en lugar de malgastar energía en acciones judiciales que lejos de brindar una solución, por el contrario generan un alejamiento de la estructura profunda del conflicto. Es decir que “la suspensión de las visitas agrava el problema existente, que ya se evidencia con el incumplimiento alimentario revelador de una relación familiar alterada. Si ante tal situación se interrumpe el contacto con el hijo, no se hace más que agravar el problema existente y poner más distancia entre el progenitor y el menor. Se crea además, un terreno fértil para un deficiente crecimiento psíquico y emocional del niño y se acrecienta por otro lado, la irresponsabilidad paterna”.⁸⁵

La supresión asimismo, constituye una medida gravísima del derecho de comunicación al implicar la privación definitiva, aunque por las reformas introducidas a través de la ley 23.264, no es óbice de ser modificado por las razones expuestas anteriormente respecto de las características del régimen de visitas. Tal circunstancia es observable desde la aplicación por extensión analógica de los artículos 307 y 308 del Código Civil sobre el ejercicio de la autoridad paterna, ya que si bien existen causas⁸⁶ bien concretas y graves como para quedar privados del derecho, también y si se demostraran nuevas circunstancias que redundaran en beneficio del interés de los hijos, tal privación pueden dejarse sin efecto⁸⁷.

Conclusión

Para concluir es importante señalar que el ser humano no es un ser “natural”, sino más bien un ser “cultural”, que no es la ley o la norma jurídica la causa de la conducta humana, sino más bien su consecuencia. A medida que la conducta y el vínculo humano evolucionan, las normas que las regulan deben adaptarse.

Estamos viviendo una etapa de cambios en que la ampliación de derechos, la inclusión de colectivos postergados al acceso a justicia marca un punto de inflexión en la organización de la sociedad. Y tanto como sucede en la evolución ontogenética del ser humano, crecer es poder resolver situaciones más complejas, de ningún modo es simplificar.

El desafío para los profesionales involucrados en decisiones que influyen en la vida cotidiana de las personas como en el caso del régimen de visitas, es asumir la responsabilidad de hacerlo teniendo en cuenta la singularidad y desde que el eje de la comunicación con personas afectivamente significativas son los niños y no los adultos se produjo un

⁸⁵ MAKIANICH DE BASSET, L. Obra citada. p. 171.

⁸⁶ CC. Art. 307.

⁸⁷ CC. Art. 308.

cambio de paradigma al que los profesionales debemos adaptarnos. La decisión de los jueces exige cada vez más el acompañamiento interdisciplinario, la valoración de los recursos de los niños en cada etapa de la vida para echar claridad a la ponderación de sus capacidades progresivas. Un lenguaje claro que permita la lectura de los legos en la redacción de las conclusiones y que éstas sean expuestas.

El acceso de los niños a las personas familiarmente significativas es un derecho humano y como tal es una fuente de salud mental en los niños. Desde la psicología sabemos que el ocultamiento de las fuentes de frustración no permite el normal desarrollo de las personas, es por esto que es tan importante el trabajo de los psicólogos en los equipos interdisciplinarios de los juzgados y que sus intervenciones deben adecuarse al contexto, al contexto del niño, de la familia, de la sociedad en la que se desarrolla y principalmente adecuarse al contexto de la institución a la que asiste desde su experticia.

El punto más álgido de la interface jurídica psicológica se da en el derecho de familia en general y en particular en el instituto del régimen de visitas (comunicación adecuada entre padres e hijos) porque es la vía reggia para el desarrollo de vínculos productivos, en los que principalmente debe darse la aceptación del otro tal cual es, que tanto valor tiene hoy día en relación al tratamiento de la violencia familiar y de género. La concepción del padre como un hombre imperfecto y de la madre como una mujer imperfecta son condiciones para el desarrollo de una imagen de pareja parental saludable.

*“... todos los profesionales
(jueces, abogados, asistentes sociales y terapeutas familiares)
involucrados en los conflictos familiares
debemos trabajar juntos, intercambiando nuestros conocimientos,
habilidades y estrategias con el fin de ofrecer a la familia que sufre
un marco de contención en la situación de crisis.”*⁸⁸

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⁸⁸ WAGMAISTER, Adriana M. *El Acceso de los Niños a las Personas Familiarmente Significativas como Derecho Humano. Su recepción en la ley, la doctrina y la jurisprudencia*. En: La Familia en el Nuevo Derecho. Tomo II. Santa Fe, Rubinzal-Culzoni, 2009. P. 293.

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DISCURSIVE MECHANISMS OF LEGITIMIZATION: FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

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Abstract

This paper aims to introduce a framework for interdisciplinary analysis in history, political science and linguistics. When governments pursue a controversial foreign policy and are fully aware of the potential negative domestic and international reception, one of the tools to create consent with the policies is the use of the discursive legitimizing mechanisms. Inspired by Frankfurt school and critical linguistics the paper presents specific mechanisms that could be used for legitimizing problematic foreign policy strategies.

Keywords: United States, Foreign Policy, Legitimization, Critical Discourse Analysis

Introduction

Foreign policy strategy of any government in the world does not necessarily have to correspond with the contemporary zeitgeist in the domestic electorate or international community. The U.S. administrations, most prominently during the cold war era, considered the democracy promotion and also good governance in the world as an inseparable part of the foreign policy strategy. However, the United States consequently provided extended military and other assistance to authoritarian and non-democratic regimes. The U.S. political elites have been fully aware of the fact that such support and strategy towards authoritarian regimes as a whole would have been perceived highly excessive and illegitimate both domestically and internationally. It might be assumed that administrations had to invest some effort to create public consent with controversial foreign policy strategies.

The role of language in foreign policy analysis has already been studied by many prominent scholars. Constructivists, post-structuralists and others do not consider language just as a tool to describe or to facilitate a

communication. According to them language has also a performative force that could discursively contract the reality.

Sometimes the foreign policy strategy is considered so illegitimate by domestic and international audience that it has to be discursively adjusted to become acceptable. Language could be one of the extremely powerful tools to legitimize such foreign policy strategies. This paper aims to introduce a framework how to deconstruct the discursive mechanisms the administrations used for legitimization of own policies.

I.

The paper works with an assumption that the U.S. administrations have been creating images, initially consciously and later unconsciously (Yurchak, 2013), about the foreign authoritarian regimes, have used sophisticated linguistic mechanisms to enforce consent with the foreign policy strategy, to avoid accusation of hypocrisy and general criticism, and therefore have been discursively constructing desirable social consciousness about an allied authoritarian regime.

- Based on the assumption that language is not just a mean of communication, but it inherently includes a performative power to construct a reality (Berger and Luckmann, 2011), and drawing from the speech act theory (Austin, 1975), considering the reconceptualization within the IR theory (Onuf, 1989), the linguistic methods used by U.S. political elites could be deconstructed by performing a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2013; Wodak, 1989, van Dijk, 2008).

- If the foreign policy strategy found itself at risk of having lack of legitimacy, political elites could use various methods of legitimization through discourse. Inspired by four key legitimization strategies - authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization, mythopoesis - (Van Leeuwen, 2007), reconceptualization of mechanisms could be suggested to deconstruct the propaganda meta-model (Herman and Chomsky, 2011; Ellul, 1973) in the U.S. foreign policy discourse more accurately.

- To find an answer to the question how did the U.S. political elites discursively legitimized the foreign policy towards authoritarian regimes in front of its own electorate and international community, and thus created a public consent with the morally hazardous policy, main legitimization approaches could be suggested as follows:

- Legitimization through dichotomization. The discourse based on construction of “them” and “us” dichotomization is one of the most prominent legitimizing mechanisms (Rojo, van Dijk, 1997). Political elites discursively place their opponents into effectively negative light whose rogue characteristics allow using various appropriate measures.

- Legitimization through moralization (moral evaluation). Legitimacy could be enhanced by appealing to personal moral values very closely associated with “good” or “bad” dichotomization (Van Leeuwen, 1997). Metaphoric terms to attach value or goodness to the policy necessarily reflect the socio-historical discursive system which the legitimization operates in.
- Legitimization through authorization (expertization). Political elites refer to selectively determined expert community whose opinions are in accordance with desired discursively constructed reality (Reyes, 2011), adding credibility to morally hazardous foreign policy.
- Legitimization through demonization. Those individuals or nations with viewpoints different from desirable discourse could be described as immoral or destructive to inspire hatred. Discursive dehumanization could be suggested as legitimization mechanism as well.
- Legitimization through euphemization. Use of specific words or expressions to reduce the unpleasant connotation with the original meaning could enhance the policy legitimacy accordingly.
- Legitimization through exaggeration. The use of hyperbole in the text or speech is one of the linguistic tools the political elites could benefit from if the statement is essentially correct, but only to a certain degree (Cole, 1998).
- Legitimization through association. Political elites could often use an inductive fallacy that works with on the premises of first-order logic, providing the audience with the impression that characteristics of one individual or group are inherently characteristics of another. If premise $A = B$ and also $A = C$, therefore all $Bs = Cs$, which could represent fully irrelevant association.
- Legitimization through rationalization. Drawing from the political-cultural context political elites explain the policy as a „right“ thing to do and the administration implements the policy after the profound deliberation, which add more legitimacy than any rushed solution (Reyes, 2011).
- Legitimization through oversimplification. Foreign policy with its all social, economic, diplomatic and military aspects represents a complex structure difficult to be explained by political elites. Provision of general and simple answers to general audience could eventually cover some problematic particularities.
- Legitimization through stereotypization. The stereotyping is commonly used to instigate a particular stance within the target audience, to present the object of problematic foreign policy in a positive or negative light.
- Legitimization through emotionalization. Discourses that appeal on people`s emotions could significantly help to create a public consent with

any policy. Particular expressions and lofty slogans have the performative power to arouse irrational tendencies within the audience (Reyes, 2011).

- Legitimization through hypothetical futurization. Political elites could discursively construct the relationship between the past, present and future. The discursively enforced action now would allow avoiding the repetition of the negative impact of past events (Reyes, 2011).

▪ While the list of the legitimization mechanisms introduced above is not naturally exhaustive, it could be considered as an example of general consensus among authors dealing with discursive legitimization, critical linguistics and social psychology.

Conclusion

Thorough history the United States discursively attaches its foreign policy towards human rights and democracy promotion in the world. Due to various geopolitical, economic, security and other reasons the support of foreign authoritarian or dictatorial regime became an utmost imperative. The discourse therefore has to be adjusted accordingly to make the controversial foreign policy strategy domestically and internationally legitimate. This framework is meant to be a part of the complex effort to analyze and deconstruct the discursive mechanisms of legitimization the political elites have at their disposal in order to introduce a meta-model which could be utilized for upcoming legitimization strategies.

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LA ESTRATEGIA DE LOS PAÍSES SURAMERICANOS EN EL SECTOR DE LA DEFENSA EN EL NUEVO MILENIO

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Abstract

In the last years, several reforms in the defence sector of South America have been scheduled; and in some cases, those reforms have been executed. Two important regional institutions were created: The Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) and its Defence Council (CDS). These two organizations do not have decision power yet, but in 2008 and in 2012, they faced and solved a regional crisis. In 2008, the Colombian raid against FARC's group in Ecuadorian territory and the "coup d'etat" in Paraguay in 2012. In both cases, the CDS approved the measures of mutual trust, which represent a necessary step for future regional integration in this sector. It is important to analyse the diplomatic relations between these three countries involved in the crisis of 2008 (Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela). However, the main attention is dedicated to the analysis of the situation in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. These Countries represent three different strategies in the defence sector. Argentina faces a critical situation; first of all, there are no clear strategy to develop its defence sector. Second, this country has a constant lack of funds. Third, their armed forces have very old equipment. Brazil is the economic power of the region. The country has planned a big strategy to modernize its armed forces, but it does not have sufficient funds for financing all its programs at the same time. Chile, called the Israel of South America, has a clear strategy to develop its defence sector and it has adequate funds for its acquisitions. It is the only country in the region that respects the quality standards of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Keywords: Military spending, defense industry, arms trade, international relations, strategy

Resumen

En Suramérica se han planteado importantes reformas en el sector de la defensa en los últimos años y en algunos casos se han ejecutado. Por otro

lado, ha sido fundamental la Constitución de la Unión de Naciones Suramericanas (UNASUR) y de su Consejo de Defensa (CDS). Estas dos organizaciones, si bien no tienen todavía poder de decisión, han sido en las que los Estados se han enfrentado y resuelto las últimas crisis regionales. Por ejemplo, el ataque militar (*raid*) colombiano del 2008 en territorio ecuatoriano y el golpe de Estado en Paraguay en el 2012. En ambos casos, el CDS ha aprobado las medidas de confianza mutua, lo que representa un paso necesario para una futura integración regional en este sector. De una parte, es importante observar las relaciones diplomáticas entre los tres países involucrados en la crisis del 2008 (Colombia, Ecuador y Venezuela). Sin embargo, la principal atención se dedica al análisis de la situación en Argentina, Brasil y Chile, puesto que tienen tres diferentes estrategias en el sector de la defensa. Argentina atraviesa una situación crítica caracterizada por una estrategia casi inexistente y fondos que permiten únicamente la supervivencia de sus Fuerzas Armadas. Brasil, por su parte, es una potencia económica que tiene una estrategia muy clara, pero no posee fondos suficientes para satisfacer todos sus programas de armamento. Chile, llamado el Israel de Sur América, tiene una estrategia bien estructurada y con fondos adecuados para sus adquisiciones; este país es el único de la región que respeta los estándares de calidad de la Organización del Tratado del Atlántico Norte (OTAN).

Palabras clave: Gasto militar, industria de defensa, comercio de armas, relaciones internacionales, estrategia

Introducción

Cuando imaginamos el sector de la defensa, pensamos en los centros de mando, en las armas, en los sistemas de armas y estrategias, como si estos elementos no tuviesen impacto sobre nuestra vida cotidiana. ¿Estamos seguros que este sector es tan lejano como creemos? Podemos aseverar que los gastos militares son todos los costos que el Estado soporta para mantener el Ejército, la Armada y la Fuerza Aérea siempre en eficiencia, pagar salarios, efectuar el mantenimiento de los medios y de las infraestructuras, adquirir nuevos sistemas de armas y participar en la fase de investigación y desarrollo (SIPRI, 2014). En general, todos los países financian este sector con impuestos o con la creación de nueva deuda pública con consecuencias tales como una elevada deuda y tasación y un déficit en la balanza comercial, entre otras. Cuando se analiza el sector de la defensa, no se puede prescindir del estudio de la producción de armas y sistemas de armas. A pesar de ello, hablar de la industria militar no significa analizar simplemente las actividades de las sociedades que operan en un determinado sector económico. También, supone estudiar las interacciones financieras entre los

sectores público y privado (para la gestión en las bolsas de valores), las interacciones entre los bancos y los programas de armamento (para la financiación de estos últimos) y las relaciones diplomáticas entre los Estados (para empezar los programas de exportación de armamento).

Suramérica ha vivido una fase de desarrollo económico en los últimos 10 años, que ha permitido a muchos países de este continente comenzar nuevos programas para la modernización de su sector de la defensa y de esta forma actualizar las doctrinas de empleo de sus fuerzas armadas (International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2013).

En la región existen algunos puntos en común, entre los cuales cuatro son de interés para este estudio. Primero, todos los países vivieron un periodo de dictadura militar. Segundo, las dictaduras fueron, en general, sanguinarias y con un elevado número de desaparecidos, en particular, en Uruguay, Argentina y Chile. Tercero, las dictaduras fueron de derecha y organizadas por militares. Por último, estas experiencias dejaron una herencia importante para considerar en la actualidad, particularmente, en el sector de la defensa. Por ejemplo, las Fuerzas Armadas en Argentina han sido malqueridas durante un largo tiempo por la población. En la actualidad, no gozan de una buena reputación. Según expertos de ese país, la experiencia madurada durante la pasada dictadura (1976 – 1982) tiene un gran impacto sobre el presente. Después del fracaso en la guerra de las Malvinas, los dictadores fueron obligados a dejar el poder, por lo que la herencia económico – política fue desastrosa. En 1983, Argentina era un país políticamente aislado y con una situación económica precaria. En breve plazo, la crisis económica, las huelgas y la inflación récord, obligaron a los gobiernos, que necesitaban liquidez inmediata, a vender, o malvender, todo el complejo industrial de la defensa. La situación financiera fue desastrosa. El *crac* económico del 2001 fue producto de la incapacidad de los gobiernos democráticos de manejar en modo claro la economía del país. Actualmente, Argentina está muy cerca de nuevo del fracaso económico, porque no ha reconstruido su tejido industrial y no tiene estrategias claras para el desarrollo. La única solución ha sido la devaluación de la moneda nacional.

En Chile, en cambio, el general Pinochet, después del golpe de Estado entendió que para poner en marcha al país era necesario ubicar expertos civiles y no militares en los lugares estratégicos (entre los cuales se destacan industria, finanzas, economía, explotación de recursos), puesto que la formación académica de los militares era específica para ejercer cargos en el sector de la defensa. Fue así que, con mano de hierro y a precio de un elevado número de víctimas, en Chile se construyó nueva infraestructura, se equilibró la balanza comercial, se incrementó la capacidad de extracción de materias primas (hoy Chile es el principal exportador de cobre del mundo) y se consolidaron todos los sectores de la economía.

Para valorar cuanto hemos dicho hasta aquí, basta observar lo que concierne a los gastos militares. La diversidad entre los *top spenders* de la región nos hace entender la fragmentación del cuadro. En primer lugar, Brasil tiene una gran cantidad de dinero para inversión. Sin embargo, no tiene capacidad de gasto y su planificación es deficiente. Por otra parte, Venezuela, debido al embargo impuesto por los Estados Unidos a la venta de armas con tecnología estadounidense, ha decidido importar armamento ruso, con lo cual aumenta su deuda externa y empeora su situación económica. Por su parte, Colombia, comprometida en una guerra civil desde hace 50 años en contra de las organizaciones guerrilleras y paramilitares (Costa, 2010), prefiere invertir gran parte de su gasto militar en adquisiciones de armas y sistemas de armas especializadas para las operaciones anti – guerrilla. En cambio, Chile, por su gasto militar, por la capacidad de planeamiento y por la calidad de su equipamiento, se ha ganado el nombre de Israel de Suramérica. Sus Fuerzas Armadas son las únicas en la región que respetan los estándares de la OTAN. Recientemente, este país ha firmado un memorándum de entendimiento con la Unión Europea (UE) para la participación en las misiones de paz bajo la égida de la UE. Por último, Argentina, el segundo país por extensión territorial en la región, tiene un gasto militar que solo permite el funcionamiento ordinario de las fuerzas armadas.

El sector de la defensa de tres de los países del norte de la región (Colombia, Ecuador y Venezuela), que en los últimos años han tenido y mantienen importantes controversias ideológico – territoriales, nos permite analizar de manera apreciable, las diferencias que encontramos en Suramérica. Estos Estados hacen frente a amenazas distintas de aquellas del resto de Suramérica, comparables con las de Centro América: narcotráfico, tráfico de seres humanos y de armas, pandillas y presencia de grupos separatistas. En particular, nos referimos a los acontecimientos políticos ocurridos en la zona en los últimos diez años. El 1° de marzo de 2008, tropas colombianas entraron en el territorio de Ecuador para atacar a un grupo de guerrilleros pertenecientes a las Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), que estaba en la zona de frontera. La administración Uribe ignoró los efectos que una acción como ésta podía provocar. En 48 horas, Venezuela denunció la invasión, envió diez batallones a la frontera y retiró a sus funcionarios diplomáticos de Bogotá. Por su parte, Ecuador cerró sus fronteras y movilizó el ejército. En un periodo muy breve, Uribe provocó la peor crisis regional desde la guerra de las Islas Malvinas (Falkland para los ingleses). La veloz intervención de los otros países de la región, una fuerte acción de la UNASUR y el cambio de la administración en Colombia permitieron reducir la tensión y abrir un diálogo entre estas naciones. A pesar de ello, la situación provocada a raíz de la invasión del 1° de marzo

aún sigue desplegando sus efectos. Después del contencioso con Ecuador, Colombia quedó aislada desde el punto de vista diplomático. Así es como Ecuador ha lanzado un plan para la modernización de sus Fuerzas Armadas y con los pocos fondos a disposición ha elegido a China como su principal proveedor de armamento. Por su parte, Venezuela, que está viviendo una grave crisis económica, también ha elegido a China como proveedor de armamentos, reduciendo así su dependencia del material ruso.

Adicionalmente, Juan Manuel Santos, que era Ministro de la Defensa durante el *raid* del 1° de marzo en territorio ecuatoriano fue elegido presidente en 2010; nombramiento que sorprendió a muchas cancillerías de la región, debido a los hechos recientemente ocurridos. Sin embargo, su hábil gestión ha permitido al país relanzar su acción diplomática. Santos fue reelegido para un segundo mandato en 2014, bajo la premisa de que la única vía para la pacificación del país es el diálogo con las FARC para iniciar negociaciones de paz.

Argentina, el gigante sin una estrategia clara en el sector de la defensa

Al estudiar con precisión y en profundidad las actividades desarrolladas por el sector argentino de la defensa, el primer elemento que se destaca es la voluntad de los expertos civiles de tomar el control de un sector que por largo tiempo ha sido manejado de manera errada solo por los militares. El retorno de la democracia no ha significado el control civil de las políticas de defensa, porque los militares y los civiles han infrascrito una especie de acuerdo tácito por medio del cual, los primeros renuncian a nuevos golpes y los segundos, en cambio, se abstienen de tomar el control del sector de la defensa. En Argentina, este acuerdo, que recibe el nombre de “actitud delegativa” (Gobierno de la República Argentina, 2010), duró hasta los primeros años del 2000 y es una de las razones por las que las Fuerzas Armadas han hecho uso errado de escoltas estratégicas y de material para efectuar el mantenimiento ordinario del equipamiento militar. Además, las acciones derivadas de este acuerdo han ocasionado la desarticulación del sistema logístico y la inversión sin una clara estrategia, puesto que se han adquirido armas y sistemas de armas de dudosa utilidad. Otra consecuencia de la “actitud delegativa” ha sido el aumento, sin control, del pago a los militares de alto mando y la destrucción de la base industrial de la defensa.

La crisis económica y la llegada de los Kirchner han modificado ciertos aspectos en el sector de la defensa; por ejemplo, se han propuesto reformas al ministerio de la defensa, se han efectuado cambios en la gestión de las fuerzas armadas; entre otros (Battaglino, 2011). Sin embargo, modificación no siempre significa mejoramiento. Los ministros en Argentina gozan de plena libertad de acción; en particular en el caso de la defensa, esta libertad permitió a la ministra Nilda Garré (entre diciembre de 2005 y

diciembre de 2010) plantear un cambio radical a su Ministerio. Bajo su mandato se tomaron decisiones importantes entre las que se destacan las siguientes; primero, la aprobación de una regulación que permite a los militares casarse sin pedir autorización a los superiores. Segundo, el comienzo de un camino de revisión del gasto para utilizar de la mejor manera posible los pocos fondos a disposición. Tercero, el lanzamiento de nuevos planes para la modernización de las Fuerzas Armadas. Cuarto, la reforma del sistema logístico. Quinto, la aprobación de las normas para el respeto de los derechos humanos en la fuerzas armadas. Sexto, la creación de una oficina para la denuncia anónima sobre abusos y faltas contra los derechos humanos; instrumento que no se debe subvalorar. De hecho, gracias a la denuncia de un suboficial se descubrió una red de espionaje creada por los altos oficiales de las Fuerzas Armadas que deseaban controlar las acciones de la ministra y de otras figuras del Estado.

Los ministros que sucedieron a Garré no han seguido la misma línea de acción y en consecuencia el Ministerio ha perdido toda su fuerza propulsora. Los planes aprobados que preveían la modernización del Ejército, la adquisición de un nuevo equipamiento para la Armada y la sustitución paulatina de todos los medios de la Fuerza Aérea han sido abandonados. A pesar de las grandiosas declaraciones de los ministros sobre el futuro de las Fuerzas Armadas, en la actualidad no hay hechos concretos que demuestren la ejecución de los planes de renovación. ¿Qué sentido tiene realizar mantenimiento extraordinario a los Tanques Argentinos Medianos (TAM) (International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2008), tanques de los primeros años 80, cuando los países vecinos tienen sistemas de armas más modernos como los Leopard I y II, tanques pesados de combate? ¿Cómo puede la Armada seguir haciendo compromisos de defender la soberanía de la nación con medios operativos de los años 60 y 70? La Fuerza Aérea Argentina usa los aviones que han sobrevivido a la guerra de las Malvinas. Estos medios son obsoletos y no pueden enfrentar las modernas amenazas a la seguridad de un país. Las Fuerzas Armadas Argentinas no necesitan anuncios, sino una fuerte modernización de los medios y de su organización interna para defender la soberanía de la nación y para estar a la altura de las Fuerzas Armadas de los otros países de la región.

Sin embargo, en Argentina las decisiones en el sector de la defensa, generalmente son tomadas sobre la ola de la emotividad y de la improvisación. A mitad de la década del 2000, se optó por nacionalizar de nuevo las industrias que se ocupaban de la producción en dicho sector. Esta decisión estuvo orientada a construir un polo industrial, que en el pasado había sido un orgullo nacional. Se debe recordar que en los astilleros argentinos, a mitad de los años 80, se empezó la construcción del primer submarino a propulsión nuclear de la región, que nunca se finalizó. Con el

retorno a la democracia, estas industrias fueron vendidas a especuladores que destruyeron las estructuras productivas, facilitando el fracaso de estas sociedades (Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional, Argentina, 2009). Por otro lado, el retorno bajo el control gubernativo no ha llevado a un relanzamiento de estas industrias; en otras palabras, la administración, al final de la década del 2000, aprobó un plan de reforma que no ha tenido efecto. Dicho plan contempla por una parte la financiación adecuada para el desarrollo del sector y por parte la planificación para las actividades de largo plazo. Si Argentina alcanza estos dos objetivos, las sociedades que se han nacionalizado volverán a producir bienes y servicios de elevada calidad en el largo plazo, de lo contrario sería otro derroche de la administración.

Sin embargo, no todo es un fracaso en el país, pues al gobierno argentino no le faltan los ejemplos positivos. Éste es el caso de la INVAP, empresa pública que produce radares y sistemas electrónicos de elevado valor añadido (Gobierno de la República Argentina, 2010). Su producción es apreciada en toda Suramérica y la calidad de sus productos aumenta rápidamente debido a que el gobierno no solo ha proyectado en el tiempo el desarrollo de esta empresa, sino que también ha financiado la sociedad en modo apropiado y ha firmado acuerdos con las universidades para crear polos de excelencia en todo el país (Suarez Jiménez et al. 2013). Entonces, ¿por qué no se hace lo mismo con las industrias de la defensa? Una respuesta es porque los argentinos no perdonan a los militares su pasado. Si el gobierno aprueba planes de modernización similares a los brasileños o chilenos, es altamente probable que en Buenos Aires la gente salga a la calle a hacer manifestaciones de descontento. Luego, ¿por qué el gobierno argentino sigue gastando casi 5 mil millones de dólares en promedio cada año? Sería mejor utilizar este dinero para la compra de nuevo equipamiento para la policía que ahora debe luchar con un narcotráfico en constante aumento.

Podemos llamar a Argentina “el gran ausente suramericano en el sector de la defensa”, porque es el país con la segunda extensión territorial en la región y con solo el cuarto o quinto presupuesto destinado a la defensa. Es un Estado con importantes reivindicaciones territoriales (Islas Malvinas y Sándwich del Sur), pero con deficiencia en el equipamiento de las Fuerzas Armadas que no permiten al país alzar el tono de la discusión para llevar al Reino Unido a la mesa de las negociaciones por la cuestión de las Malvinas.

Brasil, la potencia económico – militar de la región

Brasil es el país económica y políticamente más influyente de la región. Su economía está en rápido crecimiento, por lo que constituye un punto de referencia para todos los Estados Suramericanos. En el 2008, cerca de su litoral se descubrieron nuevos yacimientos petrolíferos, hecho que ha

impulsado al gobierno a empezar nuevos programas de adquisición en el sector de la defensa, ya sea para mejorar su proyección internacional o para incrementar la protección de sus riquezas (International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013; Ministerio de la Defensa de Brasil, 2008).

De forma más general, Brasil desea demostrar su estatus de potencia económica no solo con el crecimiento de su PIB, sino transformándose en una potencia militar con aspiraciones mundiales. Los dos últimos presidentes del país, L. Inácio Lula da Silva y Dilma Rousseff, ganaron las últimas elecciones gracias a los votos de la gente más pobre del país. Ambos pertenecían al mundo sindical; fueron considerados peligrosos criminales durante la dictadura. Durante su primer mandato, el Presidente Lula da Silva declaró la guerra a la pobreza reduciendo en modo sensible el gasto militar y ejecutando un gran plan social; sin embargo, no sucedió lo mismo durante su segundo mandato. Por su parte, la actual Presidenta Rousseff está más interesada en el estatus de potencia del país que en la lucha contra la pobreza. Según la clasificación de los países con mayor gasto militar, Brasil está entre la décima y décimo primera posición (SIPRI 2014). A pesar de la reducción en los programas sociales, este estado se presenta como la principal promesa de la región, pero es todavía el país del cual provienen los mayores riesgos en la estabilidad social.

En el sector de la defensa de Brasil, se han identificado tres ejes estratégicos: nuclear, *cyberspace* y espacial (Ministerio de la Defensa de Brasil, 2008). Para cada uno de éstos, se han creado centros especializados con equipamiento y fondos adecuados, cuyo objetivo final es el de garantizar el desarrollo tecnológico en Brasil. Ejemplos de sus estrategias son el programa para el submarino nuclear, el lanzamiento de los satélites para telecomunicaciones o la protección contra ataques informáticos (Republica Federativa do Brasil, 2012). Por otro lado, las Fuerzas Armadas del país están en el centro de los programas de modernización. Así, la reforma del ejército consiste en la ejecución de los planes para un nuevo despliegue de tropas y en la implementación de nuevos programas para la modernización de los medios (Ministerio de la Defensa de Brasil, 2008; SIPRI Arms Transfer Database, 2000 - 2014). Existen dos programas principales, el de modernización del tanque Leopard 1 – A1, elaborado por la firma alemana Krauss Maffei – Wegmann; y el de construcción de un nuevo vehículo para el transporte de tropas, llamado Guaraní, que será realizado por la empresa italiana IVECO en el complejo industrial de Mina Gerais

Otros proyectos, del ejército brasileño están relacionados con la protección de las fronteras y de la región amazónica. Para ponerlos en marcha se prevé la presencia del ejército en estas zonas y un crecimiento en la dotación de sensores que permita el control del territorio más aislado. Una

de las tareas más difíciles de la Armada es la de proteger la Amazonía Azul, una gran zona rica en recursos naturales. Para ello, se han lanzado programas (Ministerio de la Defensa de Brasil, 2008; Republica Federativa do Brasil, 2012) que permitan la creación de una segunda flota y la construcción de dos portaviones; la construcción de seis nuevos submarinos a propulsión nucleares, los primeros en Suramérica; la adquisición de nuevas unidades de superficie; y la modernización de los medios de los fusileros de la Armada y de la Fuerza Aérea. Además, la Fuerza Aérea ha aprobado planes (Ministerio de la Defensa de Brasil, 2008; Republica Federativa do Brasil, 2012) para la adquisición de un avión caza de última generación para sustituir los viejos Mirage; un nuevo avión para el transporte estratégico; nuevos helicópteros de combate y de transporte; nuevos vehículos aéreos no tripulados (*Unmanned Air Vehicles -UAV-*).

Sobre el papel, los objetivos de alcanzar y las actividades correspondientes parecen estar bien planteadas, pero la realidad es diferente. Brasil ha sido afectado también por algunas dinámicas típicas de la región que imponen una profunda diferencia entre lo planificado y lo ejecutado. El principal problema, en este caso, está en el alto número de proyectos aprobados y en la baja disponibilidad de fondos para financiarlos contemporáneamente. El ejemplo emblemático es el programa F-X2 para la adquisición de un caza de nueva generación, aprobado en el 2008. Este proyecto fue demorado, borrado y aprobado de nuevo, haciendo perder credibilidad al país. Fue solo hasta el año 2013 que la empresa sueca SAAB ganó el contrato. Otros programas de la Armada han tenido el mismo destino. Por ejemplo, Fincantieri, industria italiana, estaba en primera posición para ganar un importante contrato para la construcción de unidades de superficie. Sin embargo, fue cancelado a un paso de la meta (International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2012).

Brasil tiene excelentes industrias para la producción en el sector de la defensa. Además, la Federación de Industriales de Sao Paulo ha obtenido importantes reducciones de tasas, hecho que ha permitido a sociedades como EMBRAER convertirse en colosos regionales con aspiraciones mundiales (Suárez Jiménez et al. 2013). No es casual que esta sociedad esté desarrollando un avión de transporte estratégico que en el próximo futuro será candidato a sustituir la flota mundial de C-130. La administración Rousseff ha demostrado gran medida para el desarrollo tecnológico; de hecho, si una empresa extranjera gana un contrato en el sector de la defensa, no solo se debe empeñar en producir en territorio brasileño, sino que también debe capacitar los recursos humanos necesarios en el manejo de la tecnología (Red de Seguridad y Defensa –RESDAL- en América Latina, 2012).

Chile, el Israel de Suramérica

Chile, el pequeño Estado andino es muy respetado en el sector de la defensa. Este país tiene fuerzas armadas con un equipamiento de primer orden (International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2013; Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional de Chile 2010). Desde la guerra del Pacífico de 1883 en contra de Bolivia y Perú, en la que Chile ganó y conquistó las regiones más septentrionales de su actual territorio, este país ha dado prueba de sus capacidades militares. Sin embargo, por este motivo, las relaciones diplomáticas entre los estados involucrados en dicha guerra son deficientes hasta hoy.

Actualmente, en caso de guerra, la Armada y la Fuerza Aérea tienen la capacidad de garantizar el transporte estratégico, debido a las características geográficas del territorio nacional: angosto y con gran extensión longitudinal. (Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional de Chile, 2002; Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional de Chile, 2010). El Ejército Nacional está equipado con medios que no solo pueden resistir a un ataque, sino que con sus fuerzas acorazadas pueden garantizar flexibilidad y potencia (International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2008 – 2013; SIPRI Arms Transfer Database, 2000 – 2014).

Por otra parte, Chile ha hecho del “síndrome de acorralamiento” su razón de ser. Es así que siempre ha garantizado a sus Fuerzas Armadas medios de primer orden. (SIPRI 2005 – 2014). La Armada no necesita de un portaviones para proyectar su potencia, puesto que ha construido una gran red de bases e instalaciones que le permiten proteger y controlar todo el territorio nacional, desde la Antártica al Desierto de Atacama (Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional de Chile, 2010; International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2008 – 2013). Por su parte, la Fuerza Aérea tiene una flota de transporte estratégico moderna y eficiente, aviones caza F – 16 y UAV, que pueden controlar todo el espacio aéreo y defenderlo en manera eficiente y flexible (Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional de Chile, 2010; International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2008 – 2013; SIPRI Arms Transfer Database, 2000 – 2014).

Con respecto a los fondos para financiar el sector de la defensa en Chile, la Ley Reservada del Cobre asigna el 10% de los ingresos de la venta de este recurso a la adquisición de armas y sistemas de armas. Estos fondos están destinados extraoficialmente a este sector y a largo plazo, se corre el riesgo de crear problemas financieros y faltantes de caja al estado. En los últimos 10 años, se ha intentado modificar el sistema de financiación del sector de la defensa, con escaso éxito. Se ha preferido en cambio aumentar la flexibilidad en la utilización los fondos provenientes de la Ley Reservada del Cobre para efectuar el mantenimiento ordinario del equipamiento militar (Ministerio de la Defensa Nacional de Chile, 2010; SIPRI 2005 – 2014).

De otra parte, Chile tiene tres industrias que operan en el sector de la defensa: Fábrica y Maestranzas del Ejército (FAMAE), Astilleros y Maestranzas de la Armada (ASMAR) y Empresa Nacional de Aeronáutica de Chile (ENAER). Con estas sociedades, el país no sólo puede gestionar adecuadamente su parque de armamentos sino también ser un importante partner para los colosos de la defensa internacional como EADS, BAE Systems, EMBRAER etc. (Suárez Jiménez et al. 2013; FAMAE, 2008 – 2012; ASMAR, 2008 – 2012; ENAER, 2008 – 2012).

Conclusion

En este artículo hemos analizado la estrategia de los países suramericanos en el sector de la defensa. El concepto de estrategia es casi siempre asociado al mundo militar, pero en realidad está presente en nuestro vivir cotidiano. Entonces, ¿cómo se puede definir exactamente? Una explicación es la que presenta Edward N. Luttwak en su libro: “Estrategia: La lógica de guerra y paz”; según el autor, “el compromiso principal de la estrategia es ganar; su lógica establece quién será el ganador; sus métodos buscan definir cómo llegar a la victoria; y sus límites determinan las dimensiones de la victoria” (Luttwak, 2013, pag. 7). Esta afirmación puede parecer una explicación extremadamente militarista; sin embargo, en general, cuando nos equivocamos en una elección debemos pagar las consecuencias. Luego, establecemos una estrategia para transformar esta derrota momentánea en una victoria final. Es así que los estados adoptan decisiones o políticas, que pueden ser justas o equivocadas y con base en ello planifican las estrategias de desarrollo. El sector de la defensa, es por naturaleza sensible a las estrategias, por tanto necesita planificación clara y con fondos adecuados para su desarrollo a largo plazo.

En el caso de los estados suramericanos, ¿qué estrategia han adoptado para regular sus relaciones internacionales, particularmente con respecto al sector de la defensa? Una respuesta intuitiva consistiría en afirmar que cada país tiene su estrategia para el desarrollo de las fuerzas armadas; de esta manera los estados mantienen buenas relaciones con su vecinos. Esta afirmación era cierta hasta los primeros años del 2000, cuando las únicas organizaciones regionales eran el MECOSUR y la Comunidad Andina de Naciones (CAN). El objetivo principal de estas organizaciones era aumentar la integración económica. En los primeros años del nuevo milenio el MERCOSUR extendió sus actividades hacia el sector social y político. Sin embargo, el alcance de su intervención fue insuficiente. Por una parte porque no todos los estados suramericanos eran miembros de dicho órgano y por otra parte porque la región necesitaba de una organización que tuviese entre sus objetivos la plena integración en todos los sectores: económico, de defensa, político, entre otros. A raíz de estas necesidades empezaron las

discusiones para la creación de una organización en la que los estados buscaran respuestas a los problemas comunes, tales como el narcotráfico, la seguridad de las fronteras, la pobreza y el desarrollo económico. El resultado de las discusiones entre las cancillerías fue la institución de la UNASUR, organización que ha sido desestimada por muchos observadores internacionales desde su creación, pero que ha enfrentado y resuelto ya dos crisis con potencial riesgo de guerra en la región. Asimismo, la UNASUR ha creado nuevos vínculos de confianza entre los países miembros; por primera vez, los estados suramericanos empiezan a ver la región como un solo ente. Si se mantiene esta visión, será posible la creación de un bloque económico y geopolítico de importancia mundial.

De acuerdo con el tema tratado en este artículo, el rol del CDS es fundamental. A partir de diciembre de 2008, este órgano ha sido el encargado de aprobar las medidas de confianza mutua que prevén la presentación de un informe anual que contiene información sobre el gasto militar, las adquisiciones de armas y sistemas de armas convencionales, las políticas de defensa y el funcionamiento del ministerio de la defensa. El objetivo final es incrementar la transparencia en este sector y reducir las tensiones regionales.

Como se ha enunciado previamente, la región en la actualidad, enfrenta problemas y desafíos que pueden poner en riesgo su estabilidad, entre los cuales están el narcotráfico, la presencia de grupos armados y pandillas, y la inseguridad económica. Sin embargo, los estados tienen pleno conocimiento de la existencia de dichos problemas y están trabajando en su solución, tanto con la ejecución de acciones bilaterales como con acciones multilaterales. Tal es el caso del proceso de paz en Colombia que entre las dificultades que se han presentado sigue su camino. Entre los obstáculos en este proceso están el secuestro del general Alzate en noviembre 2014, las reparaciones económicas a las víctimas, la dejación de armas y la reubicación de los guerrilleros. Otros ejemplos de los problemas y desafíos que enfrenta la región son la pobreza y la difícil situación económico-política en Venezuela o en Paraguay. En este último caso, cabe resaltar la intervención de la UNASUR en el verano 2012, que evitó una evolución trágica del golpe de estado. Asimismo, el continuo diálogo entre Chile, Perú y Bolivia para una clara definición de las fronteras evidencia la voluntad de los países involucrados para encontrar una solución diplomática a una problemática delicada.

Suramérica ha alcanzado un nivel elevado de integración de los países y su crecimiento económico es indiscutible, la única excepción es Venezuela que se encuentra en una grave crisis económica. A pesar de los desafíos y problemas analizados, actualmente la región tiene la oportunidad de afianzar dicha integración y continuar el crecimiento económico.

Adicionalmente, si los estados siguen la actual política de integración regional es probable que Suramérica se transforme en una de las áreas más pacíficas del mundo, con elevados estándares de vida.

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THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE FROM PRAGUE TO HIROSHIMA: PEACE PSYCHOLOGY TOWARD A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD WITHOUT FIRING A SHOT

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Abstract

The 9/11 and the subsequent Afghanistan and Iraq Wars failed to meet the ardent but sincerest expectations of all the people in the world who longed for the world peace. The 20th century was characterized by the most tragic inhumanity of the never-ending wars: the two world wars and the subsequent Cold War: wars in Korea, Vietnam, central America and elsewhere. It was as if the two superpowers had displaced their conflicts to avoid a nuclear war erasing the human race. The height of the Cold War during the 1980s also brought about the nuclear disarmament movement by people across the globe while one of the two superpowers, an “evil empire” (Reagan,1983), was falling as best symbolized by the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989. During the disappearing of the “enemy” and the building of world peace in the early 21st century, the author argues, the only superpower has come to a standstill in leading the way to defeat the “new enemy” or win the world peace, not due to the lack of its military might, but because of its reckoning filtered through the Cold War, an old mindset proved wrong: “[M]oral leadership is more powerful than any weapon,” according to President Obama’s Prague speech, the Noble Peace Prize recipient in 2009. This research presents such variables as nationalism, nuclear politics, powerlessness and conscience. The author points to America’s declaration in Hiroshima of “no first-use of a nuclear bomb” as the way to world peace in the 21st century.

Keywords : Nuclear free world, peace psychology

Nuclear disarmament, politics and conscience, no first use
The American Conscience from Prague to Hiroshima:
Peace Psychology toward a Nuclear-Free World without Firing a Shot
War for Peace?

There is no such thing as war for peace except doublespeak (cf. Orwell, 1992; Herman & Chomsky, 1988). As best symbolized by the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars following the 9/11 attacks, the only superpower of the United States after the 20 century, the Post Cold War Superpower, seems to have been drawn into the quicksand of not only the longest and most expensive wars but also wars beyond Afghanistan and Iraq: Syria, Libya, Yemen, Iran and more.

While, it appears, most Americans do not want to assess if they won or are winning those subsequent wars after the 9/11 or whether or not they should strengthen the American military might much more and continue the wars for the world peace, the international community started viewing the U.S. itself as the threat to world peace.

According to a global survey conducted by the Worldwide Independent Network (WIN) and Gallup (2013), 24% of the 66,000 respondents across 65 countries viewed the USA as the greatest threat to world peace. The study found the sentiment was also strong to the following countries, but lagged considerably: Pakistan with 8%, China with 6%, North Korea with 5%, Afghanistan with 5%, Iran with 5%, Israel with 5% and Iraq with 4%. Among the American respondents in the same survey, Iran was viewed as the greatest threat to world peace at 20%. Afghanistan came in at second with 14%. 13% of the Americans viewed North Korea for the third nation as the most dangerous, but as many as 13% of the American respondents themselves viewed their own country as the greatest threat to world peace, as dangerous as North Korea(!)

This animosity perception toward the USA hardly changed last 10 plus years even during the Obama presidency. The threat from the US was rated most strongly among the respondents in The Middle East and North American countries affected by American military intervention, but others in Latin American countries such as Peru, Brazil and Argentina also viewed the US as the most dangerous country as well as our NATO partners (e.g., Greece and Turkey) and next-door American-allied nations (i.e., Mexico and Canada).

It is fair and safe to say that the first decade of the 21st century failed to meet their ardent but sincerest expectations of all the people in the world who longed for the world peace. For the 20th century was characterized by the most tragic inhumanity of the never-ending wars: the two world wars and the subsequent Cold War: wars in Korea, Vietnam, central America and

elsewhere. It was as if the two superpowers had displaced their conflicts to avoid a nuclear war erasing the human race.

Following the disappearing of the “evil empire” referred to the former superpower Soviet Union by the American President Reagan (1983), the only superpower US began the “new wars for peace” in response to the 9/11 attacks: The “Operation Enduring Freedom” took place to Afghanistan in 2001 and the subsequent 2003 “shock and Awe” bombing was inflicted on Baghdad. The wars meant “to deliver ‘incomprehensible levels of destruction’ and, in the process, shatter a society’s will to resist us, according to Harlan K. Ullman and James P. Wade, who described the concept in a 1996 Defense Department publication” (Koehler 2015).

Despite the longest and most expensive wars for the only superpower, the US, its allies of “coalition of willingness,” and their enemies, a nuclear bomb has not been used for peace (or for another war toward the end of the world!) yet by any side or any group, the foe or the friend.

It has been reported that the American obsession of the enemy image had been manufactured and conveniently employed during the Cold War in particular (see the entire volume of “The Image of The Enemy” in *Journal of Social Issues*, 45 edited by Holt & Silverstein, 1989). During the disappearance of the “enemy” and the building of world peace following the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989, then newly elected American President George W. Bush pointed out the three “axis of evil,” Iran, Iraq and North Korea, as the America’s new “enemies” in his State of Union Address in February 2002. He claimed that:

“...[North Korea] a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens... [Iran] aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom... [Iraq] continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax and nerve gas and nuclear weapons for over a decade...”

In order to prevent a Iraq’s nuclear attack on the US land and/or the lands of its allied-nations, the American “pre-emptive war” to Iraq began as if it had been the “war for peace.” Its consequence did bring about not only more casualties and harm (than even those from the 9/11) and extend more wars and chaos to other countries, which must have proved and confirmed that there is no such thing as war for peace (except doublespeak). And, it is not sure that the Cold War is over, observing “endless war is alive and ... bleeding”(Koehler, 2015) in the early 21st century of the post Cold War world in which the sole superpower seems to still pursue peace by means of its world-strongest military power: in other words, war for peace, its reckoning from the Cold War mentality.

From the study of the American nuclear disarmament movement during the height of the Cold War in the late 20 century, this paper attempts to shed light on politics and conscience toward world peace, one of the challenges in the 21st century.

Nuclear Disarmament and Peace Movement in the Cold War

The conflict between the two superpowers reached its peak in the 1980s following a series of events: President Reagan's proposal of the deployment of nuclear missiles to Europe (November, 1981); his speech of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire"(March 1983); the downing of KAL 007 by the Soviet (September, 1983); the ABC television network's showing the terrifying *The Day After* movie (November, 1983); and the other conflict provoking. They also brought about the nuclear disarmament movement by people across the globe, as best symbolized by the 1982 one million anti-nuclear march in Central Park, New York. Such world-wide citizens' concerns with the nuclear threats moved not only their political leaders but also scientific, academic communities toward world peace(e.g., White, 1986):

"Psychologists also began to devote serious attention to attitudes toward nuclear war, to the factors that shape these attitudes, and to the factors that lead people to become active in working toward nuclear disarmament. This new focus has been motivated by two forces in particular: the unbridled escalation of the arms race and growing concern of the American people for the mass destruction capacity associated with this escalation. Responding to this growing awareness of the nuclear threats, the New York City chapter of Psychologists for Social Responsibility held its first conference on the topic in February of 1983. Several of us from the social psychology program at SUNY[State University of New York]/Stony Brook attended the conference with the goal of linking up with other psychologists concerned with the prevention of nuclear war. At the conference, we discovered that several research projects on the subject of nuclear war were already underway. However, most of this research focused on attitudinal responses toward the threat of nuclear war (e.g., nuclear denial and despair). Although this attitudinal research is critical, we felt it was limited in that it did not focus on strengthen the disarmament movement and could not, therefore, help to prevent the very threat that was creating the denial and despair in the first place. Our role was clear: we would design a study to tap the psychological barriers to nuclear disarmament political action. If we could determine the psychological factors influencing level of participation in the disarmament movement, anti-nuclear activists and educators would be in a better position to politicize more people around the issue and, subsequently, to build a stronger

disarmament movement...”(Flamenbaum, Hunter, Yatani & Silverstein, 1985).

Several research had found the following variables as significant correlates with attitudes toward nuclear disarmament: nationalism and anti-Sovietism (Larsen, 1982), attitudes toward nuclear freeze (Fiske, Pratto & Pavelchak, 1983), moral responsibility and political efficacy(Tyler & McGraw, 1983), among others. Meanwhile, a national opinion survey conducted by CBS news and *The New York Times*) reported that 63% of the respondents agreed to “the question of a nuclear freeze is too complicated for the public to decide” (participating in the disarmament actions (Public Opinion Quarterly, 1982). Except the 1982 largest anti-nuclear movement, actually the disarmament movement remained small despite Americans’ high anti-nuclear attitudes.

The Stony Brook peace research group including the author conducted the survey study in the spring of 1984, as mentioned above, to find out (1) “intervening variables”(i.e., the psychological barriers) between strong concerns with the nuclear threat and weak anti-nuclear activities and (2) to strengthen citizens’ nuclear disarmament movement. The brief description of the study is as followed (see Flamenbaum et al., 1984 for more details):

Subjects: 374 college students, 214 females and 149 males, from three universities, a small, rural Catholic university, an inner-city large state university and a suburban large state university

Procedure: A 55-item questionnaire was constructed and filled out by each respondent. The questionnaire was designed to measure socio-demographic variables, attitudes toward disarmament, disarmament behaviors, and the four hypothesized mediators (intervening variables, in other words) of anti-nuclear sentiment and behavior: anti-Sovietism, feelings of powerlessness, knowledge about the arms race and nationalism. Three items were designed to tap disarmament attitudes, anti-Sovietism, feelings of powerlessness and nationalism. Knowledge about the arms race was assessed by a scale composed of 10 questions about nuclear weapons and their origins. Disarmament behaviors were assessed by a scale of 8 types of disarmament activities: signed petition, attended demonstration, wrote a letter to congressperson, wore a disarmament button, contributed money to a disarmament organization participating and the like.

Results

Although 78% of the respondents supported anuclear freeze and 65% supported nuclear disarmament, relatively few of them had engaged in political actions toward these ends.

More than half (54%) of the respondents had not participated in any disarmament activities; less than a quarter(21%) of them in one activity; 11% in two; 6% in three: and, 8% in more than three. Given the skewedness of the responses on the behavior scale, a statistical procedure that treated the behavior as a continuous variables was not justified. Therefore, the sample was divided into two groups based on the responses on the behavior scale: those who engaged themselves in no disarmament activities and those who were engaged in one or more of the listed activities.

The relationship between responses on the behavior scale and all other scales(treated simultaneously as continuous variables) was analyzed by means of discriminant analyses, so-called factor analysis, that would yield factors that differentiate or discriminate two groups. The three scales were found to own a discriminatory power to distinct between two groups, the one group of those respondents engaging themselves in non-nuclear activity and the other group engaging themselves in at least one or more nuclear disarmament activities: pro-disarmament attitudes, powerlessness and nationalism (see **Table 1**). It can be concluded that those who did not engaged themselves in any activity for nuclear disarmament had no or weak attitudes toward

Table 1.None vs. Some Pro-Disarmament Activities by All Respondents (N=364)

Wilks Lambda (Predictor scales that Discriminate between groups)

Attitudes toward disarmament	(p< .0001)
Powerlessness	(p< .0000)
Nationalism	(p< .0000)

Percentage of cases correctly classified	63%
Percentage of total variance explained by predictor scales	12%

nuclear disarmament, feelings of powerlessness and/or strong nationalistic sentiments. Those respondents with some disarmament activities can be said to have maintained strong anti-nuclear attitudes, strong self-efficacy (i.e., feelings of “less” powerlessness) and/or were less nationalistic.

Another analysis was made in order to see the factors that distinct between Low Activity Group, the group of one or two disarmament activities, and High Activity Group, the other one with three or more disarmament activities. The result presented three scales, pro-disarmament attitudes, nationalism and knowledge (see **Table 2**).

Table 2. Low vs. High Pro-Disarmament Activities by All Respondents (N=163)

Wilks Lambda (Predictor scales that Discriminate between groups)	
Attitudes toward disarmament	(p< .0570)
Nationalism	(p< .0004)
Knowledge	(p< .0007)
<hr/>	
Percentage of cases correctly classified	62%
<hr/>	
Percentage of total variance explained by predictor scales	10%

The analysis showed that it was the respondents' level of knowledge concerning the nuclear race and weapons that determined whether they would be engaged in low disarmament activity (one or two activities) or high disarmament activity (three or more actions).

Americans' Dissonance Over Nuclear Disarmament during the Cold War: Strong Anti-Nuclear Attitudes but Weak Anti-Nuclear Behavior

From the Japanese experiences of their attack on Pearl Harbor, the Pacific War, the subsequent America's atomic bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the World War II, it was my strong intriguing to see Americans' strong anti-nuclear sentiments but their weak anti-nuclear actions. Trained as a psychologist in three American universities, I was convinced that the Americans' dissonance over nuclear disarmament was unhealthy psychologically and politically as well. Discrepancy or inconsistency between attitudes and behavior is uncomfortable and this discomfort motivates people to do what they can in order to reduce the discomfort, or dissonance (Festinger, 1957). And, psychologically speaking, the feelings of uncomfortableness or discomfort is emotional expressions of guilt, shame (cf. Erickson, 1963) or compunction of conscience, otherwise. According to the theory does the attitudes usually change to be congruent with the behavior rather than the other way around (Festinger, 1963).

My strong intriguing was more or less resolved with the finding of the four factors through our research by the Stony Brook peace research group: pro-disarmament attitudes, powerlessness, nationalism and knowledge about nuclear arms race and weapons, among others:

"...These results have related theoretical and practical implications for the study of nuclear disarmament activities. Theoretically, the differences reported here between anti-nuclear activists and non-activists points out the complexity of the relation between political attitudes and behaviors. Pro-disarmament attitudes do not lead simply and directly to disarmament

actions. Rather, the effects of these attitudes on anti-nuclear behaviors are partially mediated through level of powerlessness, nationalism and knowledge. ...Practically, these results imply that if they wish to be maximally effective, disarmament activists and educators must devote attention to the role played by feelings of political powerlessness, nationalism and knowledge in predicting disarmament activism. Political powerlessness, nationalism and knowledge play a significant role in predicting disarmament actions even after the predictive power of pro-disarmament attitudes has been taken into account. The mediating role played by these three factors particularly important in light of the discrepancy between disarmament attitudes and actions---existing both nationally and in this study. In the study reported here, over 78% of the respondents supported a bilateral freeze, yet fewer than 46% engaged in even one disarmament action. Clear analyses of the social and political origins of excessive powerlessness, nationalism and knowledge are essential if this gap is to be narrowed”(Flamenbaum, Hunter, Yatani & Silverstein, 1985).

The last 20 years, since the 1985 study, were when I tried “to narrow the gap,” in the context of the “Challenges in the XXI Century” as this conference’s logogram, PIC 2015 in Argentina.

Along with the Arendt’s work (1966), the subject of powerlessness was studied as one of the origins of totalitarianism (Yatani, 1986) and pointed out as one of the psychological consequences derived from American individualism as the ideology (Yatani, 1992). The topic of nationalism was further examined as the confounding variable of anti-Sovietism through reviewing Americans’ attitude toward the Soviet Union from 1954 to 1988 (Yatani & Bramel, 1989). After the fall of Berlin Wall when the “enemy” (i.e., Evil Empire) disappeared, in other words, the notion was convinced to be true that the enemy is manufactured (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Yatani, 2013, 2012b, 2009, 2008, 2003). While teaching psychology, sociology and Japanese at a New York state college for over 20 years, America witnessed the declining of education as once called as “nation at risk” in 1983 and another discrepancy: children’s school performance decreased while their grades went up (Yatani, 1994). It has been quite paradoxical but challenging when a Japanese from the vanquished country in the WWI is a teacher and American children are his students in terms of “dissonance and behavioral changes” (Yatani, 2003, 2004, 2009c). Teachers’ social responsibility was always inspired and challenged in accordance with “a university’s role as critic and conscience of society” (Jones, Galvin & Woodhouse, 2000).

When a country is at war, according to the Festinger’s theory (1957), the citizens of the country are likely to support it attitudinally and behaviorally: it is quite uncomfortable for them to be against it, particularly

so when its government and national leaders encourage to defeat its/their enemy(e.g., nationalism reinforced by anti-Sovietism). During the Vietnam War, for example, many people who had anti-war attitudes obeyed the government, men to their draft orders, and became a part of the war. Another example of the 2003 Iraq War confirmed such behavioral changes of those who had opposed it before that “Operation Enduring Freedom” war began. Not merely the government but the mass media also marched with the military and reported the military might several thousand miles away from home to the living rooms at home: The new enemy was found or “manufactured” (cf. Herman & Chomsky, 1988). Remember that 87% of Americans between 18 and 24 did not find Iraq on a map, according to National Geographic survey just before the U.S. would go to war in 2002 (Kilian, 2002). Isn’t there any way in which attitudes and behavior would be consistent by changing the behavior instead of changing the attitude, contrary to the cognitive dissonance theory though? My thought or hypothesis must be or seems to be “wild” at least, but one concept, it seems, fits to this “audacity”: conscience. As best symbolized by the terms, “conscientious objector” or “conscientious objection,” he/she could maintain his/her anti-war attitudes and anti-war activities without feelings of uncomfortableness or discomfort when his/her country is at war while his/her conscience is universally shared with everyone else beyond national or cultural boundaries. Conscience could be play a powerful means for nuclear disarmament and bring a nuclear-free world” without firing a shot. With conscience, we can also reject the powerful doublespeak a “war for peace.”

The American Conscience from Prague to Hiroshima: Peace Psychology toward a Nuclear-Free World without Firing a Shot

After the WWII with over 60 million victims and two nuclear bombs (not one!) did the world put up the world peace and established the United Nations to solve international disputes or conflicts without military means. Hiroshima and Nagasaki pledged to “not repeat the error” on its cenotaph and Japan issued the “peace constitution” renouncing military solution of any dispute or conflict (e.g., its item 9) “given” the U.S. and its occupation allies. Germany created an exceptionally peace-oriented nation by its complete redemption of 6 million Jewish genocide.

During the Vietnam War, Martin Luther King Jr.(1967), after his “I have a dream speech,” made his anti-Vietnam War speech: “I come to this magnificent house of worship tonight because my ‘**conscience**’ (bold faced by author) leaves no other place. ...We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in

southwest Georgia and East Harlem. So we have seen repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. ...I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the people. ...This kind of positive revolution of value is our best defense against communism. War is not the answer. Communism will never be defeated by the use of atomic bomb or nuclear weapons. ...”

Here in Argentina in 1984, the writer and physicist Ernesto Sabato called **conscience** of Argentina presided over CONADEP (Comision Nacional sobre la Desaparicion de “Personas/ National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons” in English) that investigated the fate of those suffered forced disappearance during the so-called Dirty War under the military dictatorship in the 1970s. The result of the findings was published bearing the title Nunca Mas (“Never Again,” in English).

In the U.S. of the early 21st century was African-American Barack Hussein Obama elected as the first “black” American president in 2009. Less than six months of his presidency did he give an audacious presidential speech in Prague, the Czech Republic, bringing a “world without nuclear weapons” in the 21st century: “... It [the Velvet Revolution of the Czech Republic] showed us that peaceful protest could shake the foundations of an empire, and expose the emptiness of an ideology. It showed us that small countries can play a pivotal role in world events, and that young people can lead the way in overcoming old conflicts. And it proved that moral leadership is more powerful than any weapon. ...And as nuclear power—as a nuclear power, as the only power to have used a nuclear weapon, the United States has a moral responsibility to act. We cannot succeed in this endeavor alone, but we can lead it, we can start it. ...” (Obama, 2009).

“Yes, we can” to bring a world without nuclear weapons. The U.S. has been the sole superpower after another superpower collapsed 20 years ago. The “enemy” had gone unless new ones were “manufactured” since then. The U.S. is the world leader and must hold “moral leadership” (Obama, 2009) since it is that “only nuclear power to have used a nuclear weapon” (Obama, 2009) twice in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, not once. He and the world were impressed and inspired by the people of the Czech Republic who “helped bring down a nuclear-armed empire without firing a shot”(Obama, 2009) while they made the world “expose the emptiness of an ideology”(Obama, 2009). “Rules must be binding. Violations must be punished. Words must mean something”(Obama, 2009).

The world is eager to see a world with no nuclear weapons (let alone no more nuclear politics over war for peace) while more than three quarters of Americans have been always pro-nuclear freeze with strong anti-nuclear

sentiments, according to many national opinion surveys (e.g., Yatani, 1986, Yatani & Bramel, 1989). It is proposed that, with the America's collective conscience, the sole superpower show its moral leadership and that it declare no first use of its nuclear bombs. It is also proposed that such a declaration be made in Hiroshima—namely the American conscience from Prague to Hiroshima. It should be expected that Americans as well as the world would see the America's image as the world leader to world peace not the greatest threat to world peace shown in the results in their early 21st century.

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LECTADORES O DEMÓCRATAS CONSECUENCIAS DE LA DISTANCIA DE PODER PREVALENTE EN LA ORGANIZACIÓN LATINOAMERICANA

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Abstract

Several impediments to democracy in groups, organizations, communities, and nations in Latin America are discussed in this article. These roadblocks can be traced to the mental models prevalent in the Latin American cultures. The main conclusion is that the Latino tends to be closer to the socio-cultural conditions that favor dictatorships and undermine democracy. More concretely, democratization in Latin America is limited by many variables. Chief among them are: Timidity toward organizational and social change, parochialism, orientation toward the past, preference for the status quo, hierarchy, power distance, classism, sectarianism, authoritarianism, vertical decision-making structures, organizational rigidity, and low social synergy. These features permeate the political cultures in Latin American countries, as well as their managerial cultures. These cultural peculiarities represent serious obstacles to the democratic transformation of organizations and societies in the region. Important changes in values, attitudes, and behaviors (among individuals, organizations, communities, and even nations) are necessary to overcome the impediments discussed here.

Keywords: Power distance, Authoritarianism, Latin America

Resumen

En este artículo se discuten varios impedimentos a la democratización de grupos, organizaciones, comunidades y naciones latinoamericanas que pueden ser rastreados a los esquemas mentales de las culturas latinas. La conclusión básica es que el latinoamericano tiende a estar más próximo a las condiciones socio/culturales que favorecen la dictadura que a aquellas que facilitan la democracia. De manera específica, la democratización en América Latina es limitada por muchas variables, entre

ellas: una timidez pasmosa hacia el cambio organizacional y social, una actitud parroquial con relación al lo que pasa en el resto del mundo, y un apego al pasado que dificulta el desarrollo. Ésta es circunscrita por una adoración gravosa al statu quo, la jerarquía, la alta distancia de poder y el patriarcalismo. La democratización es coartada por el clasismo, la verticalidad en la toma de decisiones y la inflexibilidad organizacional. Ésta es restringida por un pernicioso sectarismo y un improductivo autoritarismo. Como colofón, la democratización en América Latina es confinada por su tímido abrazo a la sinergia social. Estas características permean tanto la cultura política como la cultura gerencial en el subcontinente. Actuando en conjunto y concomitantemente estas peculiaridades culturales del latino interponen serios obstáculos a la transformación democrática de sus sociedades y organizaciones. Profundos cambios en valores, actitudes y comportamientos (a nivel individual, organizacional, comunitario y hasta nacional) son recomendados para superar los escollos aquí discutidos.

Palabras claves: Distancia de poder, Autoritarismo, Latinoamérica

Introducción

Una expresión muy conocida en el parlante popular latino capta muy bien la interrogante expresada en la primera parte del el título aquí abocetado: *“prefiero ser cabeza de ratón que cola de león.”* En esta frase de uso habitual, la cabeza no se refiere al grado de autonomía y acción independiente que ello entraña, si no al patrimonio de poder, jefatura, supremacía que al interior del ratón otorga el hecho de ser su adalid. Aunque más pequeño el animal, esa preferencia no se refiere a la capacidad del ratón de esconderse con más facilidad para ser efectivo, si no a la relativa falta de autoridad que al interior del león significa el hecho de ser la cola: el último componente de su anatomía horizontal, el eslabón final en su cadena de potestad, el estrato más bajo de su jerarquía. Y no importa que el león “per se” sea más poderoso que el ratón, ni que el ratón sea relativamente más ágil; pues lo que irrita es el disminuido escalafón y la escasa dotación de soberanía que esa “cola insignificante” representa; frente al estandarte, el dominio, y el todopoderoso papel que siendo “la cabeza” de un ratón implica; aunque este pequeño mamífero no pueda hacer lo que “el rey de la selva” hace.

La máxima de referencia en el párrafo previo no tuviera consecuencia alguna si no resumiera la centralidad del fenómeno del poder para la cultura latina. Consecuentemente, vale mucho la pena estudiar el asunto desde una perspectiva profunda, en vez de dejarlo en el plano de la anécdota o la caricatura. Eso exactamente pretendemos hacer aquí. El propósito de este

escrito es discutir las consecuencias de la alta distancia de poder (que permea las culturas latinas) en su conducta organizacional.

Para empezar, es de rigor deslindar el tema, su cobertura geográfica, el concepto de organización, cultura, y las dimensiones culturales específicas que constituyen el meollo de este escrito. Cuando aquí usamos el constructo “América Latina,” nos estamos refiriendo al subcontinente desde México, Centro/Sur América y el Caribe, al margen de que sus habitantes hablen español, portugués, francés, italiano, inglés, o cualquier lengua pre-colombina o de otros litorales del mundo. La oración precedente encierra un peligro gnoseológico importante; pues a simple vista se nos puede acusar de homogeneizador artificial, al referirnos a las dimensiones aquí discutidas en el contexto de las culturas latinoamericanas como bloque. En consecuencia, nos permitimos aclarar que aquí no apadrinamos el concepto de “carácter nacional” o modal; si no que nos referimos a Latinoamérica como grupo cultural que muestra un sistema coherente de valores en materia de conducta organizacional, incluyendo la manera en que concibe y usa el poder. Y nótese que hemos usado el adjetivo “coherente” adrede; porque no nos referimos aquí a un sistema de valores uniforme o monolítico, si no relacionado. Para ser bien claros, somos los primeros en reconocer la enorme diversidad cultural del subcontinente; sin embargo, dentro de esa pluralidad se puede observar el sistema conexo de valores a que hacemos mención; y que nos permite tratar el tema del impacto de la alta distancia de poder en la organización latinoamericana sin pecar de simplismo ni homogeneización espuria de esta vasta región del planeta tierra.

Al usar el término “organización,” nos estamos refiriendo indistintamente a empresas, núcleos de la sociedad civil, grupos sin fines pecuniarios, instituciones de desarrollo, etc. Como analizamos aquí variables de conducta organizacional bien amplias, muchas de las representaciones que hacemos y de las determinaciones a que arribamos podrían aplicar también a otras entidades tales como el estado, el gobierno y la administración pública. En ese sentido, nos referimos a “la organización latinoamericana” en su acepción más amplia posible.

Cuando hacemos mención del concepto “cultura,” estamos platicando del conjunto de valores, normas y supuestos que le son comunes a un conglomerado humano; tal como un grupo, una organización, una comunidad o una nación. Portes & Smith (2008, p.104) dicen que “la cultura representa los elementos simbólicos que son cruciales para la interacción humana, su entendimiento mutuo y el orden;” agregando luego que ésta “es el ámbito de los valores y el conocimiento acumulado.” Los eruditos del tema siempre han sostenido que la cultura funciona como un río, con corrientes superficiales y otras más profundas. Las corrientes exteriores se pueden percibir con facilidad; pues se pueden ver, oír, palpar, o inferir con

relativa certeza. Las interiores son de difícil detección porque requieren de un esfuerzo mucho más peliagudo. La otra similitud que a menudo se usa, cuando del estudio de la cultura se trata, es la del témpano de hielo (“iceberg”) en el océano: su parte visible es usualmente más pequeña y menos influyente que su parte sumergida. Así también opera la cultura. Para escrutar esos cauces recónditos se precisa de conocimiento diferenciado, personas diestras y aparatos especializados. Así de escabrosa es la tarea central que aquí nos proponemos.

En otro orden de idea, la cultura está compuesta de dos elementos que unas veces se complementan y otras veces antagonizan. Éstos son el componente dinámico y el aparentemente estático. Ambos son de vital trascendencia para el análisis que hacemos aquí sobre el impacto organizativo derivado de los valores, normas y supuestos de las culturas latinoamericanas en lo relativo al uso del poder. El lado diligente de la cultura es el que reconoce los cambios y los asimila, los abraza para avanzar. Es el que provee funciones integradoras y adaptativas para nuevos valores, información, filosofías y experiencias.

En el caso del segundo elemento decimos “relativamente estático” deliberadamente; porque, al igual que Harrison (1985, p.166) creemos que “no hay nada completamente inmutable con respecto a la cultura.” Es más, creemos que ésta varía también con patrones similares a la manera en que lo hacen la sociedad, la naturaleza y el pensamiento; aunque el ritmo y velocidad de esa evolución no sean tan aparentes a los ojos de los observadores coetáneos. Sin embargo, existe un ángulo de la cultura que a simple vista aparenta ser inalterable. Como ironía entendible, esa parte aparentemente estacionaria de la cultura incluye aspectos primordiales y es la que solidifica la identidad de individuos y pueblos; la que hace a uno lo que uno es, culturalmente hablando. Ésta incluye los elementos de afinidad que unen a los miembros de un grupo determinado, la tradición, lo que se transmite y se recibe de generación a generación y permite identificar a un grupo de seres humanos y diferenciarlo de otros. Pero por otro lado, ésta contiene parte de lo que se vuelve obsoleto con el tiempo, lo que se anquilosa, lo que a veces dificulta el avance social, científico y/o personal. Esta parte cuasi-invariable de la cultura de un país, que no es mejor ni peor que la de otro país, es la que a veces presenta escollos al progreso; la que minimiza el valor de la exploración de nuevos horizontes, la que se opone a adoptar nuevas prácticas/técnicas; la que muchas veces evade, nulifica o diligentemente resiste el cambio. Las dimensiones culturales relacionadas con la alta distancia de poder que analizamos aquí forman parte de este lado aparentemente estático de las cultural latinoamericanas.

En consecuencia, los dos elementos de la cultura que a veces se contradicen y a veces se refuerzan mutuamente impactan de manera

trascendental la conducta organizacional. Si entender la cultura de una sociedad requiere de conocimiento profundo, igual de exigente es el entendimiento de la conducta organizacional. Esto así, porque la conducta organizacional tiende a ser un reflejo fiel de los valores, actitudes y comportamientos gestados al interior de la cultura. Los entendidos en la materia hablan de conducta organizacional como el conjunto de prácticas, estructuras, normas y dinámicas sico-sociales que tienen lugar en el contexto de una organización (al margen de su tamaño, naturaleza, nicho, o composición).

Los estudiosos del tema siempre han destacado que los comportamientos de los miembros de una sociedad determinada reflejan la orientación cultural de esa sociedad, dada la documentada interacción entre valores, actitudes y conductas. De acuerdo con Nadler (2002, p.18), un valor cultural es “lo que es deseable, implícita o explícitamente, a un individuo o grupo; lo cual influye la selección que éstos hagan entre modos, medios y fines de acción a escoger.” Las actitudes son “expresiones de valores y predisponen a una persona a actuar o reaccionar de cierta manera hacia algo” (Nadler, 2002, p.18). El comportamiento se refiere a “cualquier forma de acción humana” (Nadler, 2002, p.18). Como vemos, los valores (tanto individuales, organizacionales como culturales) juegan un papel de extraordinaria importancia en esta cadena cuyo último eslabón es el comportamiento, el accionar. Esto así, pues en el contexto organizacional, el despliegue de esos comportamientos en forma de competencias (técnicas, sociales, conceptuales, etc.), es lo que constituye el desempeño de una persona (líder o seguidor).

En este escrito intentamos escudriñar algunos de los impedimentos a la democratización de grupos, organizaciones, comunidades y naciones que pueden ser rastreados a los esquemas mentales de las culturas latinas. Además de usar la extensa experiencia personal y profesional del autor, para la escritura de este trabajo hemos utilizado ingredientes variados. Entre éstos se incluyen fuentes bibliográficas, investigaciones empíricas, ensayos de nativos de la región y extranjeros, escritos de opinión en múltiples disciplinas, reportes especializados, memorias, anecdóticos y prolongadas conversaciones con latinos dentro y fuera de sus países. En fin, hemos hecho un esfuerzo magno para alcanzar la máxima objetividad posible al confeccionar esta semblanza parcial del latino en su biósfera organizativa (pública y/o privada). Y queremos que ésta se interprete como eso: un esbozo tentativo del latino en su biósfera organizativa, nada más.

De manera específica, en este escrito analizamos las dimensiones relativas a lo tradicional/secular, jerarquía/igualitarismo, alta/baja distancia de poder, estructura de clases, toma de decisiones, patriarcalismo, identidad grupal, lo parroquial/lo cosmopolita, orden/flexibilidad, proclividad al

cambio y a la sinergia social. A seguidas empezamos por dilucidar el voraz apetito del latino por el poder.

Apetencia por el poder

El fenómeno del “poder” fue una vez descrito por Bertrand Russel como el concepto fundamental en ciencias sociales; equiparándolo con el concepto de “energía” en física (Bennis & Nanus, 1985, p.15). De manera más aplicada al tema que nos concierne aquí, Bradley (1999, p.32) define las relaciones de poder como “la capacidad de controlar patrones de interacción social.” Para Greenberg & Baron (2008), esa “capacidad” se refiere al poder que una persona posee de ejercer influencia sobre otra persona o grupo. El “proceso” de esa influencia es entendido como “liderazgo.” Pero el liderazgo como fenómeno de influencia no existe en un vacío. Éste existe en un ambiente en el que esa influencia, derivada de múltiples fuentes, es ejercida sobre un conglomerado de personas que aceptan y legitiman esa influencia; en otras palabras, unos seguidores que legitiman el liderazgo en un determinado contexto socio-cultural. Aquí nos interesa destacar el contexto de la sociedad latina.

En Latinoamérica, el poder se expresa de múltiples maneras. Con su larga distancia de poder, su patriarcalismo, su división clara de clases sociales y consciencia de rangos, en Latinoamérica se observa un respeto casi desmedido por la jerarquía y la autoridad absoluta en manos de líderes organizacionales, comunitarios o nacionales; ya sea en entidades gubernamentales, con propósitos pecuniarios, o sin fines de lucro. La inclinación latina hacia el poder personal esta tejida en su compleja madeja psicológica de tal manera, que se constituye quizás en uno de los más sólidos desafíos para la democracia organizacional. En los párrafos que siguen explicamos varios aspectos de esa vocación desmedida.

Usando los datos de varias encuestas mundiales de valores, Inglehart & Carballo (1997) clasifican los grupos culturales en la escala tradicional/secular-racional, que refleja el contraste entre los valores relativamente religiosos y tradicionales—generalmente predominantes en las sociedades agrícolas—y los valores relativamente seculares, burocráticos y racionales—que generalmente dominan en las sociedades urbanas e industrializadas. Inglehart & Carballo (1997) sostienen que las sociedades con valores tradicionales enfatizan la preponderancia de la religión, la obediencia a la autoridad, y estándares morales absolutos; mientras que las sociedades con valores seculares-racionales muestran preferencias por el método científico-racional, el reconocimiento de la autoridad con accionar independiente, y el apego a una práctica social flexible, tolerante. América Latina muestra áreas y países que pueden situarse en puntos distintos de esta escala de Inglehart & Carballo (1997), pero al igual que varios países de la

África subsahariana, sus valores se inclinan, por lo general, hacia la opción tradicional con islas de secularidad; sobre todo en las élites intelectuales y en sus metrópolis. Esta dimensión influye mucho el estilo de dirección al interior de la organización, la concepción de la membresía, el cambio organizacional y social, la toma de decisiones, la confianza entre supervisor y supervisados, los regímenes disciplinarios en el trabajo, etc.

Al centro de las prácticas autoritarias y la existencia de valores aristocráticos en las sociedades latinoamericanas está la dimensión denominada “orientación de poder.” Según Schmitz (2003) esta variable tiene dos opciones: orientación jerárquica e igualitaria. Una tipología similar propuso Meyer (2014) en su publicación un poco más reciente que la de Schmitz (2003). La primera es representada por un alto grado de aceptación de la estratificación en el grupo, la organización, la comunidad o la nación. La segunda la representa la poca tolerancia y la minimización de la estratificación social. Bangladesh y Myanmar son muestras de la primera categoría, mientras que Noruega y Suiza ejemplarizan la segunda. Debido a su historia, legado colonial y estructuras sociales, el latinoamericano prefiere la orientación jerárquica. Moran, Harris, & Moran (2007, p.392) describen a groso modo la simple ecuación de poder que se da en las culturas que privilegian la orientación jerárquica en desmedro de la orientación igualitaria: “en sociedades altamente jerarquizadas, los signos de respeto se pueden determinar tanto en el tono de voz como en la deferencia, denotando inferioridad o superioridad en la jerarquía. El patrón es el hombre [o la mujer] de poder o riqueza que obtiene la lealtad de aquellos con un estatus inferior. Éste puede ser el empleador, el político, el terrateniente, el prestamista, el comerciante. El autoritarismo no permite ningún cuestionamiento. El patrón lo sabe todo y es todopoderoso.”

Aunque existen en América Latina muchísimas excepciones y varios tratadistas reportan muchos ejemplos de lo contrario, con más frecuencia de la deseada por muchos, la estructura jerárquica en organizaciones de trabajo en la región incluye un estilo autocrático a todo lo largo de la dirigencia de su pirámide. Y usamos el término “pirámide” a plena conciencia, pues esa figura geométrica es frecuentemente reproducida en el organigrama formal y en la práctica operacional de muchas organizaciones en el subcontinente, como reflejo de los valores autoritarios de muchas de sus sociedades. Aunque resaltan la existencia de excelentes organizaciones dirigidas por líderes altamente competentes en Latinoamérica como en cualquier otra parte del mundo, Osland, DeFranco, & Osland (1999) destacan que en la parte superior de esa pirámide en organizaciones altamente jerarquizadas casi siempre hay un jefe que dirige a sus subordinados, el equipo gerencial y los mandos medios de manera autoritaria. Este estilo de dirección usualmente se ramifica hacia los segmentos gerenciales subalternos, imprimiendo el

carácter autocrático a la totalidad de la organización, con todas las consecuencias operativas que ello implica. Observaciones en América Latina indican que este fenómeno es bien frecuente en la administración pública, pero existe también con sus mismos efectos infaustos en organizaciones del sector privado, filantrópicas, religiosas, de la sociedad civil, etc.

Las estructuras altamente jerarquizadas traen consigo una amplia gama de dificultades que tienen nefastas consecuencias para la democracia, tanto a nivel de sociedades como a nivel de organizaciones. Osland et al (1999) también destacan que en América Latina, como resultado de la verticalidad extrema de esas organizaciones pobremente lideradas, la comunicación tiende a ser en una sola vía (de arriba hacia abajo), con subordinados que actúan de manera sumisa, son lentos en cuestionar a sus superiores inmediatos, y generalmente le dicen al jefe lo que éste quiere oír. Los frutos organizacionales de estas redes verticales apuntan, obviamente, hacia disfunciones importantes; por ejemplo, información proveniente de la base de la organización pocas veces llega a los que toman decisiones en la cúspide, los jefes que cometen errores al tomar decisiones raramente reciben retroalimentación acerca de lo certero de estas decisiones para evitar los mismos errores en el futuro, y la aparentemente constante puja competitiva endógena destruye los esfuerzos para lograr objetivos comunes.

Distancia de poder

En términos casi idénticos a la disyuntiva jerárquica/igualitaria, Hofstede (1980 y 1983) desarrolló una escala que va desde baja hasta alta “distancia de poder;” esto es, el grado en que las desigualdades de poder son toleradas o tomadas como naturales en la sociedad. En sociedades de baja distancia de poder el rango es usualmente decidido en función de los logros del individuo, y las desigualdades entre superiores y subordinados tienden a ser minimizadas. En las sociedades de alta distancia de poder las desigualdades entre superiores y subordinados son la norma y se observa mayor aceptación de la coerción, la dominancia excesiva, el privilegio atribuido y el poder personalizado. De acuerdo con Bjerke (1999, p.22), “mientras más estratificada es la sociedad, más obvias son las desigualdades y menos las interacciones entre los diferentes estratos.” Según Bjerke (1999), Suecia es una muestra de lo primero; y según Cabrera & Carretero (2005), España de lo segundo.

Un botón de muestra de cómo la alta distancia de poder se manifiesta con más crudeza en América Latina lo constituye el área del ingreso por segmentos sociales. De acuerdo con Klinger Pevida (2011), diez de las quince naciones del tercer mundo donde las desigualdades son más profundas, se encuentran en Latinoamérica. La misma fuente destaca que el 20% de la población más pobre de la región recibe apenas el 3.5% del

ingreso, en tanto el 20% más rico absorbe el 56.9% del ingreso total. Citando cifras del Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, Klinger Pevida (2011) sostiene que el sistema político de América Latina refuerza la reproducción de la desigualdad con un sistema fiscal asimétrico que carga más el consumo que el ingreso, con lo que se penaliza más a los que menos reciben.

En América Latina, ya sea por herencia ibérica o por desarrollo autóctono, esa distancia de poder es bien amplia. Ésta hace prosperar el autoritarismo, el totalitarismo, el absolutismo, algunos privilegios, rangos y símbolos de estatus como algo natural en la sociedad y la organización. Según Osland et al (1999), en Latinoamérica el poder es una mercancía de mucho valor que es flagrantemente desplegada por líderes; los cuales no tienden a guiarse, generalmente hablando, por los mismos estándares de conducta que rigen a los demás. Esta acentuada distancia de poder afecta la forma en que el latinoamericano concibe y usa el poder, dirige a sus seguidores, delega, empodera, se comunica con los demás, toma decisiones, entre otras variables. Esto repercute inmensamente en la concepción e implementación de iniciativas democratizadoras tanto en la política como en la empresa y la sociedad civil latina.

En el mismo tenor de las dimensiones anteriores, Bjerke (1999) trata los temas de la estructura de clases en la sociedad y de la centralización en la toma de decisiones en la organización. En algunas sociedades la estructura de clases es relativamente vaga, existen unas cuantas clases sociales reconocidas como tales, la movilidad social es bien dinámica, y el estatus de los individuos no está, necesariamente, relacionado a su condición de clase. Por el contrario, en otras sociedades la estructura de clases es bien distintiva, con una clara estratificación, con poca movilidad social entre los distintos estratos, y donde el estatus de los individuos tiende a estar vinculado a su condición de clase. En este segundo escenario, se da la formación y prominencia de valores aristocráticos en las sociedades, lo cual imprime un determinismo clasista a las relaciones entre individuos.

En el primer escenario brevemente descrito más arriba, la estatura social de los líderes organizacionales está vinculada primariamente a su posición de dirigente y su ascenso en el rango no necesariamente tiene conexión con su origen de clase. Trampenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998, p.105-120) llaman a ése el escenario dominado por el logro y el rendimiento. Por el contrario, en el segundo escenario la estatura y estima del líder tiende a derivarse primordialmente de su origen de clase y el rango organizacional tiende a ser secundario en ese sentido. Trampenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998, p.105-120) llaman a ése el escenario dominado por el atributo social. La Europa nórdica es un ejemplo de lo primero, mientras que la India con su decadente sistema de castas es un ejemplo de lo segundo. En nuestra

apreciación y la opinión de muchos estudiosos, América Latina está más próxima al Océano Índico que al Mar Báltico en esta variable.

Mientras en otras regiones del mundo la etnicidad mayormente determina diferencias individuales, en Latinoamérica esas diferencias las determina fundamentalmente la estructura de clases. Por ejemplo, el clasismo penetra las sociedades latinas con la misma intensidad que el etnonacionalismo primordial, constructivista o instrumentalista ha caracterizado la región europea de Los Balcanes y el centro de África. Aunque no se manifieste con la crudeza de la relación entre los “brahmanes” y “los intocables” en la India, según Moran et al (2007, p.391) “en América Latina, como sociedad estratificada, el trabajo que uno hace está directamente relacionado a la clase social a la que uno pertenezca, alta o baja.” Ese fenómeno determina en América Latina, como lo destacan Mendoza, Montaner & Vargas Llosa (2007, p.334), un “rechazo clasista a las actividades manuales;” mediante el cual las clases altas, generalmente hablando, dejan el trabajo manual a cargo de las clases más bajas.

El clasismo es una fuerza psicológica tan poderosa, que puede incluso anular el valor de uno de los rasgos culturales más hermosos del latino: su simpatía. Y es que, como valor cuasi-universalizado en América Latina, la simpatía se expresa con mucho más holgura de manera horizontal (entre estratos sociales iguales), encontrándose con dificultades de expresión en la medida en que se crucen fronteras inter-clases. Osland et al (1999) certeramente establecen que el clasismo latinoamericano, con su énfasis en rígidas divisiones de clases aumenta la distancia entre gente de diferentes estratos. Por tanto, el clasismo explica por qué la simpatía es más probable que se observe entre miembros de su propia clase social y un poco más improbable desde una persona de clase alta a otra de clase baja.

Afortunadamente, en las últimas décadas se han observado tendencias sociales esperanzadoras llamadas a modificar en parte el panorama clasista latino y su tendencia a la exclusión social. Por ejemplo, Moran et al (2007, p.391) sostienen que, aunque “el latino nace con un sentido de clase definido...los dos grupos (muy ricos y muy pobres) están dando paso a una clase media creciente y mas afluente.” Similar tendencia observa Castañeda (2011) en el caso específico de México. La esperanza es que, como muchos científicos sociales han predicado, la emergencia de una creciente clase media venga acompañada de evoluciones paulatinas que posibiliten una mayor movilidad y sinergia social, participación ciudadana y democratización de naciones, comunidades y organizaciones. En el caso latinoamericano, la vocación democratizadora de esas clases medias también está por verse.

Poder decisorio y patriarcalismo

La toma de decisiones por diferentes niveles organizacionales también ofrece una ventana para observar las relaciones de poder en una sociedad. Según Meyer (2014) en algunas sociedades todas las decisiones importantes son tomadas por la alta jerarquía, mientras que en otras culturas se incorporan otros niveles medios y bajos en estas decisiones; lo que permite una participación más amplia de la membresía organizacional en ese proceso. El estilo decisorio en el primer caso tiende a ser autocrático (se espera que el mando tome las decisiones sin consultar los subordinados), mientras que el segundo tiende a ser más democrático (se espera que el mando consulte a los subordinados antes de tomar decisiones). En el caso latinoamericano, la toma de decisiones tiende a ser centralizada, lo cual es consistente con las dimensiones precedentemente analizadas.

Como en varias culturas orientales, en Latinoamérica se evalúa positivamente a jefes autocráticos que supervisen de cerca a sus subordinados, que disciplinen con mano dura, que tomen muchas decisiones sin consultar a la membresía, etc. Esta generalizada expectativa en cuanto al proceder del líder es refrendada y legitimada por la membresía organizacional, y forma parte de la cultura gerencial de la misma manera que la autocracia forma parte de la cultura política latinoamericana. En ese sentido, cuando el subordinado es promovido y asume responsabilidades de dirección, tiende a reproducir la misma conducta autoritaria bajo la cual fue socializado, formándose un círculo vicioso de dominio-sumisión-dominio, difícil de romper al menos que un cambio paradigmático en los esquemas mentales de líderes y seguidores facilite esa ruptura. Este tema lo abordó Paulo Freire (1975) al explicar que el “oprimido” se convierte en “opresor” cuando tiene la oportunidad y las circunstancias se lo permiten; perpetuando así ese aspecto de la cultura de la autocracia cuyos efectos son altamente dañinos para la democracia y el cambio organizacional.

Otro aspecto relevante para entender la forma en que el latino percibe y usa el poder tiene que ver con la prominencia del patriarcalismo que, al igual que en Afganistán, en este subcontinente es bien obvia en la medida que se interactúa con su gente o uno se adentra a conocer a fondo su “modus vivendi.” Basado en estudios empíricos en varias naciones, Hofstede (1980, 1983) desarrolló un modelo que contempla una escala para las dimensión que él llamó “grado de masculinidad/femineidad.” Esta escala se refiere a la medida en que los valores dominantes en la sociedad son agresividad, dinero y cosas materiales; no el interés en la gente, la calidad de vida, etc. El latinoamericano logra altos puntajes a favor de la masculinidad. Esta inclinación impacta la manera en que los latinos reaccionan a objetivos sociales como la igualdad de géneros, violencia doméstica, preservación ambiental y sus expresiones a nivel organizacional, como son la igualdad de

oportunidades, la minimización o supresión de techos promocionales para las mujeres, la eliminación del acoso sexual, la mejoría de la calidad de vida de la empleomanía, etc. Otras ramificaciones de esta predilección son la manera en que el conflicto es manejado en esta región del mundo, la reticencia del latino para aceptar el concepto de igualdad de géneros y embarcarse en proyectos de democratización en organizaciones, comunidades y naciones.

Una estampa que agrega explicación a la masculinidad latina es su pronunciado nivel de machismo que, por lo peculiar, ha sido objeto de mucho estudio y a la vez ha sido caricaturizado al extremo. A menoscabo de la asertividad, el latino tiende a pendular entre la pasividad y la agresividad en su interacción cotidiana. Algunos comportamientos organizacionales de éste pueden ser rastreados a su perfil pasivo. El machismo es, quizás, la estampa más palpable del perfil agresivo del latino. Según Moran et al (2007), el machismo representa el ejercicio crudo del poder personal del varón sobre la mujer, y se relaciona con la virilidad, la acción, el atrevimiento y el deseo de conquistar. El macho es agresivo, corajudo, poco sensitivo, con mucha fortaleza que sobrepase al sexo femenino, por lo menos en el ámbito público; ya que al macho le importa mucho ser visto como tal. Sin embargo, observaciones cuidadosas y vivencias en Latinoamérica demuestran que aun guardando un bajo perfil y una prudente distancia de la fachada pública del macho, la mujer en la mayoría de los casos controla el hogar, la prole y hasta su esposo. Como lo destacan Moran et al (2007), en la medida que la mujer latina se educa, ejerce una carrera y logra ciertos niveles de emancipación, su rol histórico en la familia y la sociedad, relegado casi exclusivamente a su condición de esposa y madre, ha ido cambiando. El pragmatismo, los cambios en los mercados laborales y la lucha por igualdad de géneros han ido mermando gradual pero consistentemente el patriarcalismo ancestral latinoamericano, y se espera que esta bienvenida tendencia se acrecente en el futuro inmediato.

Identidad grupal: Los de dentro y los de fuera

En casi toda organización humana existe el fenómeno del “grupo propio” y el “grupo de fuera.” Esta dinámica se manifiesta en cualquier sociedad del mundo y consiste en: a) la existencia de un “grupo propio” que recibe tratamiento preferencial; y b) un “grupo de fuera” que es tratado con hostilidad y desconfianza. Según Osland et al (1999), en culturas individualistas tienden a tratar a la gente de manera consistente, sin privilegios particularizados, porque en esas sociedades la gente se ve a sí misma como miembros de un grupo propio mucho mas grande. Citando a Hsu (1971), Osland et al (1999) destacan que la gente en culturas individualistas escoge sus grupos propios, mientras en culturas colectivistas la membrecía la dicta la tradición. Las sociedades latinas son bastante

colectivistas a nivel de la unidad social básica (en este caso, la familia extendida); pero ese colectivismo primario se reduce gradualmente en el marco de la organización, la comunidad y la nación.

Por su fuerte vinculación filial, su parroquialidad, su respeto a la tradición, y la elasticidad que éste imprime a su familia extendida, el latino prefiere el “grupo propio” en su manera de tratar a los demás en la organización. Esta característica nunca debe ser subestimada cuando de palanquear redes, manejar la política o prosperar en los negocios se trata. El grupo propio aprovecha la sinergia que se crea al sumar habilidades, pericia, información y recursos en el marco de una red pre-dispuesta de manera natural a la colaboración, la ayuda y la solidaridad mutua. En este sentido el latino se asemeja mucho al chino. En la cultura china, las relaciones y las conexiones (“guan-xi” en mandarín) son vitales para la supervivencia y el éxito empresarial. El “guan-xi” chino consiste en una serie de redes interconectadas, cuyo papel en el éxito de una empresa va mucho más allá del papel que una red normal juega en el ambiente de negocios en el occidente (Bjerke, 1999). En América Latina se da un fenómeno muy parecido en lo que respecta a las relaciones personales entre organizaciones y empresarios, ya sean formales o informales; siendo esto una manifestación de la incidencia del “grupo propio” en los negocios. Algunos otros aspectos funcionales del grupo propio tienen que ver con la cohesión intra-grupo que estos imprimen al equipo de trabajo en Latinoamérica, el espíritu competitivo inter-grupo que enfatizan, y la lealtad grupal que acrecientan.

Por el otro lado, la existencia de grupos propios crea serios problemas para la democratización y el desarrollo organizacional al crear, entre otros flagelos: parcialidades en la membrecía, estereotipos de los miembros del grupo ajeno, sesgos en la evaluación del rendimiento, errores en manejo de recursos humanos, discriminación en la asignación de tareas y funciones, tratamiento desdeñoso a miembros del grupo de fuera, inconsistencia en los regímenes disciplinarios, devaluación de la meritocracia, creación de feudos e islas de poder, subordinación de los objetivos generales de la organización a aquellos del grupo propio, construcción de barreras a la colaboración inter-grupal, etc. Esta dinámica también refuerza comportamientos nocivos como el clientelismo, el partidarismo, el sectarismo, el desdén por constituyentes no partidarios, el favoritismo politiquero, y el menosprecio de los mecanismos que aseguren transparencia en la gestión pública y el comportamiento ético en la empresa. Todos estos fenómenos pueden ser observados, en mayor o menor medida, en la organización latinoamericana.

Lo parroquial y la percepción del orden

Una variable que impacta las estrategias descentralizadoras en América Latina tiene que ver con la forma en que el trabajo y las

organizaciones se estructuran. En su modelo de variables, Schmitz (2003), explora el concepto de “estructura” a través de dos opciones: orden (ambientes en los que se valora la adherencia a las reglas, regulaciones y procedimientos); y flexibilidad (ambientes en los que se valora la improvisación, el riesgo, la innovación, y se tolera la ambigüedad). En este caso no estamos disertando sobre actitudes individuales, si no de variables que tienen que ver con la organización en su totalidad. En este aspecto, la huella del liderazgo, la membrecía y el clima organizacional determina la escogencia entre las opciones propuestas por Schmitz (2003).

A pesar de que en varias índoles el latino aparenta ser anárquico e indolente (como en el seguimiento a las disposiciones de tránsito, limpieza de los espacios públicos, preservación del ambiente, etc.), en el marco de esta dicotomía postulada por Schmitz (2003) éste prefiere el orden. El orden, en este tenor, no se refiere al ordenamiento ambiental y virtudes cívicas, si no a la preferencia por “el estado de cosas” y el precedente. La inclinación latina por las reglas burocráticas (a contraposición de altos grados de libertad de acción en la gestión administrativa) rema en contra de la corriente democratizadora; toda vez que ésta requiere de la sagacidad aventurera y a veces de la improvisación y experimentación que la flexibilidad estructural facilita. Definitivamente, la adherencia obcecada a lo convencional corta las alas a la creatividad que usualmente acompaña las inventivas democratizadoras.

Una escala que tiene mucha relevancia para el estudio de la actitud hacia la democracia como práctica organizacional es la que formuló Merton (1980), en la cual líderes y comunidades pueden ser analizados en una gradación que va desde lo parroquial hasta lo cosmopolita. De acuerdo con Merton (1980), los individuos y comunidades cosmopolitas muestran una mentalidad amplia y sostienen una actitud abierta hacia el mundo; mientras que los guiados por lo parroquial muestran una mentalidad cerrada, orientada hacia lo local, en la que prosperan con facilidad los prejuicios y actitudes de insularidad.

Por la velocidad glacial con que los cambios sociales y culturales ocurren en esta parte del mundo, la leve debilidad asertiva, la alta evitación de la incertidumbre, la baja tolerancia a la ambigüedad y la notable timidez ante el riesgo observada en individuos y organizaciones, los latinos nos parece que están más cercanos a lo parroquial que a lo cosmopolita. Y esto tiene grandes consecuencias para los experimentos democratizadores. Ello tiene que ver con la “ceguera periférica” que Oppenheimer (2010) atribuye a los latinoamericanos en lo relativo a su lento aprendizaje de otras regiones y países en condiciones socioeconómicas similares a los países latinoamericanos. Castañeda (2011) destaca esta variable en el caso Mexicano en particular.

Este instinto parroquial empuja al latino hacia el sectarismo, la negación de lo foráneo por el hecho de serlo, el chauvinismo y el atomismo. Por otro lado, éste debilita la formación del capital social de sus naciones, erige barreras a las creaciones tecnológicas en comunidades tradicionales, construye impedimentos a los intercambios globales; y explica, en mayor medida, ciertos fenómenos sociales contemporáneos como la baja inversión en educación, investigación y desarrollo que se observa en muchas naciones latinoamericanas, con contadas excepciones. En un plano aún más gravoso, el esquema mental de lo parroquial fomenta el etnocentrismo y el etnonacionalismo. Todos estos flagelos presionan en la dirección contraria a la democracia y la innovación, tanto en la gestión pública, como en la competitividad comercial.

Proclividad a la sinergia social

Una variable de estrecha relación con la previamente discutida es la predisposición de algunas culturas a aprender unas de otras, compartir experiencias, y multiplicar el efecto del trabajo colaborativo. Todo esto tiene que ver con lo que Benedict (1934) describió como “sinergia social.” La palabra “sinergia” viene del griego e implica un proceso dinámico de adaptación y aprendizaje, acción conjunta y recíproca, en la cual el efecto total es mayor que la suma de sus partes operando independientemente. Ésta empieza entre individuos y en una concatenación creciente se extiende a organizaciones, comunidades y naciones. Algunas sociedades exhiben más sinergia que otras en la manera en que construyen las relaciones entre sus componentes internos (etnias, clases, regiones, géneros, ideologías políticas, etc.). Por razones ampliamente entendibles, a los países mono-culturales se les hace menos difícil encontrar los puntos comunes que facilitan la sinergia que aquellos con más multiplicidad cultural al interior de sus fronteras.

Haciendo acopio del trabajo de Ruth Benedict (1934) y otros tratadistas de las ciencias sociales y conductuales, Moran, Harris, & Moran (2011, p.234-5) presentan una comparación entre países de alta y baja sinergia. Según Moran et al (2011), los países de alta sinergia se distinguen por su énfasis en cooperación para el bien común, su empeño por el desarrollo de su potencial humano, su conspicua preferencia por un orden social de no-agresión, la promoción del desarrollo individual y grupal por parte de las instituciones sociales, y un liderazgo organizacional que comparte con los demás en mancomunidad. Siempre de acuerdo con Moran et al (2011), en estos países que exhiben alta sinergia la gente tiende a ser benevolente, amistosa, generosa; y sus héroes tienden a ser altruistas y filantrópicos.

En esos países de alta sinergia, los sistemas de creencias (religiosos, filosóficos, etc.) tienden a ser reconfortantes, enfatizando el amor al prójimo;

las élites se preocupan por combatir la pobreza, y la reciprocidad mutua es evidente en las relaciones entre los ciudadanos. En el ambiente de trabajo, esos elementos de virtudes cívicas observados en la sociedad “at large” se traducen en comportamientos de ciudadanía organizacional bien positivos. Entre éstos se encuentran la cortesía, voluntarismo, comportamiento cooperativo, disponibilidad para ayudar en momentos en que se requiera, actitud positiva ante la vida, el trabajo y el prójimo, etc. Estos elementos son de carácter discrecional y generalmente están fuera del sistema formal/legal de evaluación del desempeño en la organización de trabajo; aunque repercuten en éste de forma positiva.

En el orden de idea contrario, según Moran et al (2011), los países de baja sinergia son marcados por bajísimos niveles de cooperación, altísimos niveles de agresión y antagonismo, arreglos sociales centrados preponderantemente en el individuo, y una inveterada vocación a “perder o ganar.” En estos países, las élites toleran o ignoran la pobreza, permiten la explotación y exclusión de sus minorías y actúan de maneras que facilitan la perpetuación del subdesarrollo económico. En estas culturas, la gente desarrolla con facilidad prejuicios de inseguridad y desconfianza, e idealiza como héroe a la persona poderosa con desmedida ambición material. Los sistemas de creencias (religiosos, filosóficos, etc.) tienden a ser punitivos, infunden temor. Los poderosos en estas sociedades tienden a humillar psicológicamente a los desheredados del poder y la fortuna. Odios raciales, pugilatos clasistas y privilegios de rangos abundan en estos países de baja sinergia; lo mismo que la violencia, la intolerancia y la venganza. La ciudadanía, en estas circunstancias, tiende a tornarse defensiva, paranoica, temerosa del cambio, celosa y hostil. Las virtudes cívicas citadas en el párrafo anterior, en estos ambientes brillan por su ausencia o carencia; y su traducción al nivel de la organización es, correspondientemente, mucho más difícil.

Para ilustrar estas dos categorías de pueblos, nosotros sostenemos que Japón es un buen ejemplo del primer grupo. Moran et al (2011) sostienen que Suecia también lo es. Nótese que estas dos naciones poseen gran homogeneidad cultural. Por el otro lado, nosotros postulamos que la Republica Democrática de El Congo es un arquetipo del segundo grupo. Moran et al (2011) sostienen que Irak también lo es. Nótese en el grupo de baja sinergia que éstas son naciones culturalmente heterogéneas. Los altos niveles de desarrollo humano y avances científico-tecnológicos en los primeros puntualizan la conclusión de Moran et al (2011). Las desgarradoras guerras civiles, el auge del etnonacionalismo militante y los prolongados conflictos intestinos la aquilatan en los segundos.

A nuestro modesto entender, América Latina se puede colocar en una escala más cercana a Irak y El Congo que a Suecia y Japón. Esta apreciación

la sustentamos en varios indicadores, a saber: a) la existencia de estructuras sociales semi-feudales heredadas de los poderes coloniales europeos y mantenidas históricamente por las élites criollas; b) el pillaje histórico de sus recursos perpetrado por colonialistas y neo-colonialistas (ver Galeano, 1997); c) el carácter excluyente de su crecimiento económico; d) las patentes diferencias entre los centros urbanos y la ruralidad, e) los numerosos conflictos de clases (armados o no) en la mayoría de sus países; f) la fuerte incidencia de fenómenos altamente nocivos como la corrupción administrativa, la polaridad partidarista, la criminalidad, el narcotráfico; g) la exclusión económica de las mujeres y muchas comunidades indígenas; h) la visible apatía de las masas hacia la participación ciudadana y el ejercicio de virtudes cívicas; e i) la documentada dificultad del latino para el trabajo en equipo. Comprensiblemente, esta baja sinergia en Latinoamérica impacta de manera negativa la democratización; pues engendra resistencia a iniciativas originadas por el estado, desconfianza en los gobiernos, cinismo contra el liderazgo empresarial, incredulidad en las instituciones sociales fundamentales y desesperanza en la población. La traducción de estas consecuencias a niveles de la organización y la comunidad son igualmente nefastas.

Actitud de valoración al cambio

En el campo de estudios comparativos del desarrollo organizacional, mucho esfuerzo ha sido invertido en inquirir acerca de los mecanismos mediante los cuales la membrecía organizacional resiste, cumple o regaña-dientes o se compromete con el cambio. Resulta que, en este aspecto, las dinámicas, desafíos y oportunidades en el marco de la organización se asemejan bastante a las que ocurren en el marco de las sociedades en general. Todo eso apunta a que el vínculo común en ello es el hilo de la cultura.

La investigación del fenómeno desde el ángulo de estudios culturales comparados ha determinado inequívocamente que algunas culturas muestran una actitud de valoración del cambio y la innovación más pronunciada que otras. Las primeras son proclives a éste, lo enfrentan como necesidad ineludible y diseñan mecanismos para aprender a vivir con él; mientras que las segundas erigen barreras y hasta lo resisten, valorando más la estabilidad, la tradición, el statu quo. Usualmente, las culturas que aprecian fuertemente la renovación creen que el mejoramiento del presente es mandatorio, son orientadas hacia la acción, abrazan lo nuevo y actualizado, miran el crecimiento en los negocios como una virtud; y definitivamente aceptan el cambio, llegando incluso a creer que lo pueden planear y/o controlar. Por el otro lado, las culturas que valoran animosamente la estabilidad tienden a resistir el cambio; y algo que se salga mucho de lo familiar tiende a ser visto con malos ojos, hasta prueba en contrario. Bjerke (1999) pone como ejemplo

de las primeras a la cultura estadounidense y de las segundas a la cultura árabe.

Históricamente, América Latina ha mantenido una orientación al orden establecido, un respeto por la tradición y una apetencia por la gradualidad que nos obliga a colocarla más cercana a la cultura árabe que a la estadounidense en esta dimensión. Oppenheimer (2009) y Castañeda (2011) coinciden en destacar esta característica general de Latinoamérica. Esta baja proclividad del latino hacia el cambio tiene grandes implicaciones a nivel de la organización de trabajo.

El retraimiento latino hacia el cambio (planeado o no) impacta enormemente la democratización, toda vez que ésta entraña la necesidad de evoluciones mentales y actitudinales de mucha trascendencia. De acuerdo con Whetten & Cameron (2007, p.79), esta variable es extremadamente importante porque en la medida que el ambiente en el que se desenvuelven las organizaciones “continúe siendo más caótico, más tentativo, más complejo y más sobrecargado de información, la habilidad de los individuos para procesar información está, por lo menos en parte, constreñida por la actitud de estos hacia el cambio.” Afortunadamente, muchos observadores atisban tendencias que preludian variaciones en los esquemas mentales del latino: condiciones económicas cambiantes (vaivenes en bolsas de valores, fluctuaciones en tasas de cambio, incertidumbre en intereses bancarios, índices de inflación, oferta y demanda impredecible en bienes de consumo, etc.) y condiciones comerciales globalizadas en un ambiente de competitividad abierto, están transformando a Latino América en una región un poco más flexible, más imaginativa y más adaptativa que lo que ha sido en el pasado.

Conclusion

Cuando empezamos este artículo nos planteamos una gran interrogante que tratamos de encapsular en la primera parte de su título: ¿Dictadores o demócratas? Habiendo analizado en detalle once dimensiones relacionadas con el uso del poder en la organización latinoamericana, la respuesta a ese cuestionamiento inicial es que el latino tiende a estar más próximo a las condiciones socio/culturales que facilitan la dictadura que a aquellas que facilitan la democracia. La traducción de esa conclusión del plano político al gerencial explica, en parte, la prevalencia del autoritarismo en la organización latinoamericana, con sus variadas manifestaciones a diferentes niveles jerárquicos.

En la introducción decíamos que la cultura opera como un río (con algunas corrientes conspicuas y otras insondables) o como un témpano de hielo en el océano (donde la parte visible tiende a ser más pequeña que la escondida bajo la superficie). En este trabajo no nos hemos quedado

escarbando tímidamente la cubierta del agua, si no que hemos hurgado las corrientes recónditas y esas partes soterradas por debajo de la fachada, para llegar a estas inferencias en relación con las dimensiones aquí estudiadas.

En la extensa discusión precedente hemos concluido que la democratización de grupos, organizaciones, comunidades y naciones en América Latina es limitada por muchas variables, entre ellas: una timidez pasmosa hacia el cambio organizacional y social, una actitud parroquial con relación al lo que pasa en el resto del mundo, y un apego al pasado que dificulta el desarrollo. Ésta es circunscrita por una adoración gravosa al statu quo, la jerarquía, la alta distancia de poder y el patriarcalismo. La democratización es coartada por el clasismo, la verticalidad en la toma de decisiones y la inflexibilidad organizacional. Ésta es restringida por un pernicioso sectarismo y un improductivo autoritarismo. Como colofón, la democratización en América Latina es confinada por su tímido abrazo a la sinergia social. Actuando en conjunto y concomitantemente estas características culturales del latino interponen serios obstáculos a la transformación democrática de sus sociedades y organizaciones.

El panorama descrito en el párrafo anterior podría parecer tétrico, pero el objetivo estratégico de esta exploración no ha sido perpetuar el pesimismo con respecto a las dimensiones estudiadas. Todo lo contrario. El propósito ha sido destacar las dificultades a la democratización; para, armados con el realismo de haber reflexionado introspectivamente al respecto, estar mejores equipados para superar esas trabas.

Obviamente, otros tratadistas (y desde otras perspectivas que se nos hayan escapado a nosotros) podrían estudiar el fenómeno y llegar a determinaciones distintas. Pero del análisis precedente se desprende que para impulsar la democratización de la organización en América Latina se precisa de un trabajo profundo de cambios culturales en cada una de los valores, sistemas de creencias y motivos profundos estudiados aquí. Y eso es extremadamente difícil, pero absolutamente necesario. Esto así por el peso de las tradiciones arraigadas en el subcontinente, fruto de sus culturas.

La tradición es quizás la expresión más evidente del lado figuradamente estático de la cultura, al cual nos referimos en la introducción. Ésta provee una explicación de por qué y cómo las cosas son como son, además de descifrar por qué y cómo deben continuar. Lo habitual provee reforzamiento psicológico a la forma de vida de una sociedad. Según Moran, Harris, & Moran (2007, p.15), la tradición “puede expresarse en la forma de costumbres no escritas, normas, tabúes;” y puede, en efecto, programar a los individuos en cuanto a lo que se considera “conducta apropiada, qué valorar, qué evitar, qué des-enfatizar, etc.” (Moran et al, 2007, p.15). Los autores antes-citados insisten que la tradición provee a la gente con marcos mentales y tiene una influencia poderosa en su sistema moral para evaluar lo que es

bueno, malo, correcto, equivocado, deseable o indeseable. Pero, trátase de una cultura tribal o nacional, una subcultura política, organizacional o gerencial, las tradiciones “deben ser re-examinadas regularmente para confirmar o des-confirmar su relevancia y validez,” según acotan Moran et al (2007, p.15). En consecuencia, creemos que el tiempo de re-examinar algunas tradiciones en América Latina (por ejemplo, las once dimensiones estudiadas aquí y otras más) hace rato que llegó.

Afortunadamente las culturas cambian; y la historia humana está repleta de ejemplos en ese sentido. Esto se ha debido a la cara diligente de la cultura que también mencionamos en la introducción; la que, en un paralelismo dialéctico, se opone a su faz aparentemente pasmada. Ese lado dinámico es el que enriquece la cultura particular de un grupo, organización, comunidad, país con inéditos ingredientes; el que permite, procura y fomenta la renovación, la exploración de diferentes horizontes, la novedad. Esto aplica a todos los campos del saber y quehacer humanos. Ese componente abierto de la cultura es el que se ha acomodado al tránsito de un modo de producción a otro a través de la historia social del mundo, desde el trueque primitivo, la economía mercantil simple, el esclavismo, el feudalismo, hasta el desarrollo capitalista contemporáneo y los distintos experimentos post-capitalistas que algunas sociedades han conocido. Este elemento expansivo y de vanguardia es el que ha impulsado la curiosidad, la experimentación, la investigación, el florecimiento científico y tecnológico en general. Esta faceta abierta es la que ha hecho desarrollarse el arte en todas sus expresiones. En otras palabras, esta parte permeable de la cultura ha sido el motor del avance socio-económico de la humanidad.

Este artículo ha sido escrito con fe en esa parte adaptativa de la cultura. Creemos que ésta engendrará cambios en los esquemas mentales que favorezcan la democratización de la gobernanza, el desarrollo del capital humano y la potenciación competitiva de grupos, organizaciones, comunidades y naciones latinas. El más alto potencial en ese sentido reside en las nuevas generaciones de latinos que han empezado hace rato a desaprender valores, normas y supuestos obcecados de las culturas latinas; y sobre todo, han empezado a deshacerse de varios lastres históricos que hemos desmenuzado aquí.

Cónsono con lo antes dicho, creemos que para promover la democratización en América Latina se necesita cambiar en varias direcciones relacionadas con los rasgos citados más arriba. Se necesita abrazar el cambio, mirar hacia el mundo, aprovechar mejor la sinergia social. Se apremia reconocer que la incertidumbre es inevitable, que la ambigüedad debe ser tolerada, que el control interno es más provechoso para el progreso, y que la flexibilidad beneficia el desarrollo del capital humano de la nación. Se precisa superar los vestigios pre-capitalistas que atan al latino al pasado y

limitan su avance social y tecnológico. Se urge mirar más hacia el porvenir que hacia el pasado, imprimirle al cambio la urgencia que éste requiere, y definitivamente ampliar el horizonte estratégico del latino. Se requiere incrementar la asertividad, la confianza en las instituciones y en los demás, darle bienvenida al universalismo e impulsar el trato igualitario a todos los constituyentes sin apego a lealtades personales o políticas. Se apremia impulsar una cultura organizacional que privilegie el logro y la práctica democrática en familias/grupos/comunidades/naciones. Se necesita vencer el autoritarismo y mejorar sustancialmente la educación, para promover el pensamiento crítico, la efectividad individual y colectiva en la producción y seguir potenciando la complejidad cognoscitiva del latino, para alejarse gradualmente de los valores absolutistas y excluyentes que traban el avance organizacional y social.

Se precisa de muchas otras cosas para impulsar la democracia organizacional en América Latina. Desde el pequeño ángulo del cual nos ha tocado examinar el tema, las de más arriba son nuestras conclusiones. Sabemos que superar estas barreras derivadas de la cultura es una tarea espinosa, bravía, y de larga data. Pero creemos que el cambio social y cultural es perfectamente posible; y que la democratización es parte vital de esa metamorfosis. Por tanto, nos adherimos a las corrientes de pensamiento que creen en el cambio y en las disposiciones individuales que lo hacen posible.

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PROMOTING RESILIENCY TO ADDRESS FEAR AND TERRORISM CHALLENGES IN THE XXI CENTURY

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Abstract

The methodology in interpreting the cause of fear from terrorist attacks and natural disasters is a probabilistic risk that faces the citizens of the United States and other nations for modeling critical requirements for threats and unlawful acts (Spiker & Johnston, 2012). These elements are measured based on behavioral patterns using historical events collected for interpreting outcomes and the emergences of specific knowledge following terrorist attacks and natural disasters actions involving 21st century (Spiker & Johnston, 2012). This framework is based on the National Strategy for Homeland Security addressing four (4) factors: a) prevents and disrupt terrorist attacks; b) protect the American people, our critical infrastructure, and key resources; c) respond to and recover from incidents that do occur; and d) continue to strengthen the foundation to ensure our long-term success (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2014). This study will evaluate the operational areas by addressing long-term actions implemented to interpret the cause of fear from terrorist attacks and the overall effectiveness within each factor (Cronin, 2010).

Keywords: Aviation, Fear, Terrorism, Resiliency, Challenges

Introduction

The methodology in interpreting the cause of fear from terrorist attacks and natural disasters is a probabilistic risk that faces the citizens of the United States and other nations for modeling critical requirements in threats and unlawful acts (Spiker & Johnston, 2012). These elements are measured based on behavioral patterns using historical events collected for interpreting outcomes and emergences of specific knowledge following terrorist attacks and natural disasters actions (Spiker & Johnston, 2012). This indicates the theory of interpreting methodologies that addressed factors

in situational judgment and uncertainty of terrorist attacks and natural disasters scenarios based on influences (Spiker & Johnston, 2012). In interpreting the cause of fear from terrorist attacks and natural disasters, the evolution of terrorism is assessed by understanding modern day attacks (Weisselberg, 2008). This interpretation will help to evaluate the following attributes:

- How do terrorists utilize fear as a weapon? Has this changed since the attacks on September 11, 2001?
- How is the threat of a nuclear, biological, chemical, or radiological attack more or less likely to cause fear and panic in the American citizenry than an attack using a more traditional weapon?
- Is the United States less fearful of attack and more resilient since 9/11?

In interpreting these terrorism-related cases, the possible influences by modeling the evolution in a proactive approach based on actions of the past decade helps to explore the cause long-term success in homeland security practices via terrorist attacks and natural disasters (Abrahms, 2011). This framework is based on the National Strategy for Homeland Security addressing four (4) factors: a) prevent and disrupt terrorist attacks; b) protect the American people, our critical infrastructure, and key resources; c) respond to and recover from incidents that do occur; and d) continue to strengthen the foundation to ensure our long-term success (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2014). This study will evaluate the operational areas by addressing long-term actions implemented to interpret the cause of fear from terrorist attacks and the overall effectiveness within each factor (Cronin, 2010).

Terrorists Utilizing Fear as a Weapon: The Evolution of Terrorism Since 9/11:

In embracing threat awareness, the fear component using historical events and the impact in the modern day era has created and transformed the foundation of homeland security practices (Lowther, 2009). These practices are deployed to manage risk and ensure long-term success that supports the homeland security principles, structures, and institutions (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2014). This approach supports and ensures long-term success is evaluated by recognizing and categorizing cases that may identify potential threats and factors (i.e., prevents and disrupt terrorist attacks; protect the American people, our critical infrastructure, and key resources; respond to and recover from incidents that do occur; and continue to strengthen the foundation to ensure our long-term success) (Weisselberg, 2008). In interpreting the cause of fear from terrorist attacks, the impact faced in the evolution of terrorism since September 11, 2001, federal

investigators interviewed more than 15,000 persons of interest (Weisselberg, 2008). All of these factors are militated in connection to activities that the investigator associated with terrorism (Weisselberg, 2008). Based on figure one (1) below, these findings between September 11, 2001 and March 2007, reported that 4,394 people were prosecuted from these investigations (Weisselberg, 2008). As a result, the U.S Department of Justice convicted over 2,973 people associated with terrorism activities and over 410 matters are still pending based on this report (Weisselberg, 2008).

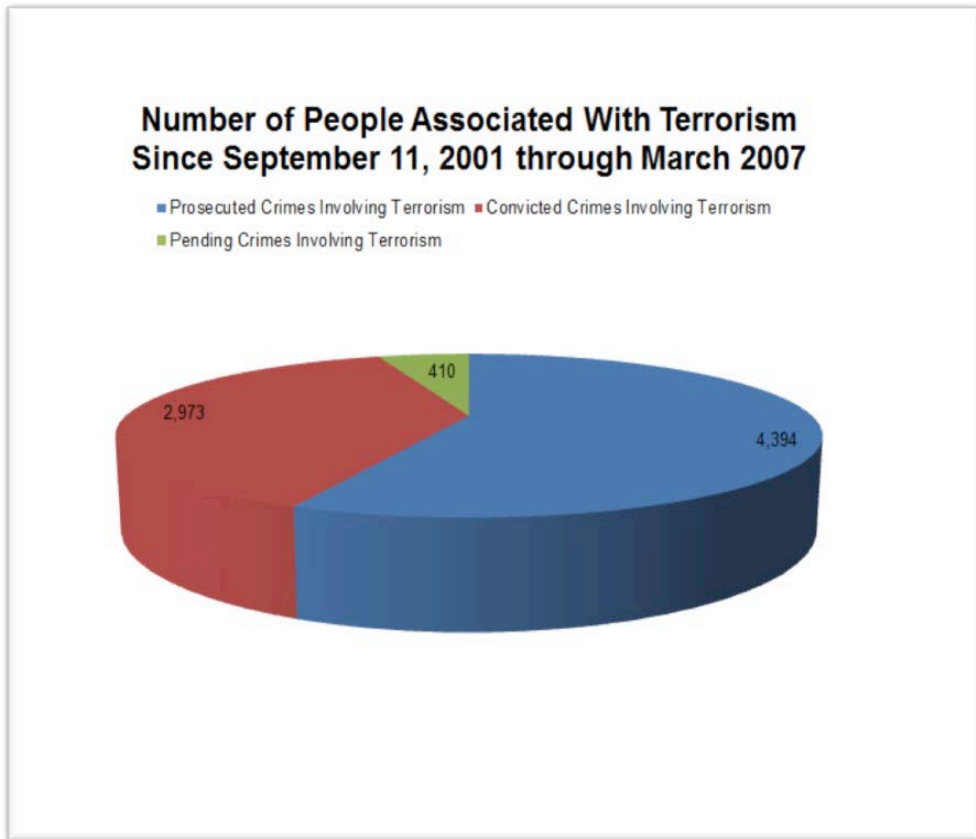


Figure 1. Pie chart of criminal terrorists’ activities and the relationship connected within modeling the potential factors faced in homeland security between September 11, 2001 and March 2007. Adapted from “Terror in the courts: Beginning to assess the impact of terrorism-related prosecutions on domestic criminal law and procedure in the USA,” by C.D. Weisselberg, 2008, *Crime Law and Social Change*, 50, p. 29. Copyright 2008 by the Institute for Scientific Information

This interpretation provides an evaluation for crimes that were associated with terrorism after 9/11 and the potential fear connected to future attacks. These findings included crimes that were associated with terrorism in areas such as – passport and marriage fraud, money laundering, drug smuggling and the purchase of weapons of mass destruction (Weisselberg,

2008). In categorizing and identifying these entities, the interpretation causing fear from terrorist attacks are ways of assessing the evolution in terrorism exercised on an international level using historical data brought against high threat that faces homeland security infrastructure (Weisselberg, 2008). This is key to modeling factors by evaluating potential targets and long-term goals to construct related crimes – whether the mission is to become citizens via passport and marriage fraud or funding attacks via money laundering and drug smuggling (Weisselberg, 2008). The quantity and quality of evidence associated with homeland security attacks activities are essential to the decision making process in identifying and determining alternative methods to fight against terrorist activities by evaluating potential fear factors in a modern day security practices (Abrahms, 2011). However, a systematic study is necessary to ensure consistent and valid reason of terrorism using methods in interpreting potential fear factors and assessing the evolution of potential connections (Lowther, 2009). This framework design will allow ways to address and interpret counterterrorism tactics and strategies in order to eliminate risk and support homeland security practices (Cronin, 2010).

Modern Day Terrorist Attacks and the Potential Cause of Fear on the American Citizens

The threat of a nuclear, biological, chemical, or radiological attack has become a fear critical to counterterrorism efforts than an attack using a more traditional weapon due to the potential long-term risk and number of people affected. Terrorism has a long history and highlighting different factors of historical events that involves counterterrorism methods, which continues to address posed threats taking various forms (Stevens, 2005). Noted by Stevens (2005) counterterrorism efforts are on a broad array of preventive measures in addressing terrorism in various platforms. The evaluation of 9/11 and potential affect modern day terrorist attacks (e.g., nuclear, biological, chemical, or radiological) will cause elevated fear and panic in American citizenry than an attack using a more traditional weapon helps to identify examine the various factors. These factors (i.e., prevents and disrupt terrorist attacks; protect the American people, our critical infrastructure, and key resources; respond to and recover from incidents that do occur; and continue to strengthen the foundation to ensure our long-term success) are adopted by the National Strategy for Homeland Security addressing modern day security challenges (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2014). The challenges faced homeland security practices in the wake of the terrorist attacks regarding September 11 and subsequent events (e.g. the anthrax outbreak) have identified the required relationship involving cause of fear from terrorists (Wise & Nader, 2002). These challenges

directly affect American citizenry and the economic due to potential risk. In highlighting the terrorist attacks regarding September 11 and subsequent events (e.g., the anthrax outbreak), the estimated reductions by major sectors are indicated in the table below.

Major Sectors Affected By 9/11	United States (million 2006\$)
Air Transportation	35,343
Other Transportation	2,336
Finance, Banking & Credit	15,909
Security Brokers	710
Insurance	1,059
Other Business Services	8,866
Hotel & Restaurants	35,476
Entertainment	5,206
Other Sectors	6,068
Total	110,972

Table 1. Economic Impact of the 9/11 attacks and the United States estimated cost due to output reductions of major sectors. Adopted from “The economic impacts of the September 11 terrorist attacks: A computable general equilibrium analysis” by A. Z. Rose, G. Oladosu, B. Lee, & G. B. Asay, 2009. *Peace Economics, Peace Science, & Public Policy*, 15(2), pg. 10. Copyright 2008 by EBSCO Industries

This table provides elements in interpreting the cause of fear from terrorist attacks and the economic impact of 9/11 attacks as it relates to psychological, societal, environmental, and other quantifiers (Rose et al., 2009). Rose et al., (2009) explained the major quantifiable impact within 9/11 attacks linkage stems from the fear factor and amounts to \$111 billion for major sectors. In using this interpretation, the cause of fear using a modern day approach exposes the entire nation to a collective trauma of unprecedented magnitude (widespread media and press coverage) immediately affected communities versus the traditional approach (Chu, Seery, Ence, Holman, & Silver, 2006).

Future Implications: United States Resiliency since 9/11

The formation of the Department of Homeland Security was based on the historical event of September 11, 2001 and eleven days after the terrorist attacks – President George W. Bush appointed Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge as the first Director of the Office of Homeland Security in the White House (Lowther, 2009). The Homeland Security Act of 2002, created the

Department of Homeland Security (DHS) integrating into a single unified entity (Kemp, 2012). This was a paradigm shift into the 21st century and the creation was implemented through the integration of 22 different Federal departments and agencies (Department of Homeland Security, 2014). These future implications are addressed on related terrorism cases using measurable factors by improving decision making practices aiming to bridge the gap within governmental practices and nation awareness to migrate the cause of rearm from terrorist attacks (Spiker & Johnston, 2012). This creates a fundamental approach in measuring the behavioral patterns using historical events and the collection of outcomes directly related to the assessment faced in interpreting the cause of fear from terrorist attacks and natural disasters within the 21st century (Spiker & Johnston, 2012).

Conclusion

In interpreting the cause of fear from terrorist attacks, the decision making process in identifying and determining alternative methods to fight against terrorist activities are essential to related activities and potential risk factors (Abrahms, 2011). Understanding the influence factors by assessing the evolution of terrorism help prevent potential risk on a global scale using transnational information as a national concern (Spiker & Johnston, 2012). This will address probabilistic risk that faces the citizens of the United States and other nations through communicating approaches based on technology innovation in this modern day era (Spiker & Johnston, 2012). The systematic approach helps to streamline the decision-making process by investigating counterterrorism strategies by preventing and disrupting terrorist attack using governmental entities (e.g., the Department of Defense, the Department of State, and the Department of Homeland Security) for a resilient framework (Street, 2011). In examining the resiliency since 9/11, the modern day era of homeland security practices supports the revolutionizing of America's homeland (Weisselberg, 2008). DHS mission is to prevent, protect against, mitigate, respond to, and recover from the threats and hazards that pose the greatest risk to homeland operations (Department of Homeland Security, 2014). The mission addresses resiliency using the National Strategy for Homeland Security requirements based on operational practices within a modern environment (e.g., prevents and disrupt terrorist attacks; protect the American people, our critical infrastructure, and key resources; respond to and recover from incidents that do occur; and continue to strengthen the foundation to ensure our long-term success). This mission supports the fundamental practices and the perspective that has re-sharped the intelligence community in assessing the relevant methods and roles through improving the data collection process by

promoting resiliency to address fear and terrorism based on posed threats and hazardous findings (Agrell, 2012).

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ECONOMIC TRANSITION IN CHINA AND RUSSIA

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Abstract

Two of the most profound economic events of the past few decades were the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and the rapid emergence of the market economy in China. The paths of economic transitions in the two communist countries have been distinct. China's transition away from state socialism is generally considered a success while Russia's is not. Why did China have a better transition away from a communist economy than Russia? This study compares and contrasts the evolution of the Chinese and Russian economic reforms over the past few decades. It examines many differences and a few points of similarity. Differences include initial conditions and political leadership as well as external economic environments. Nevertheless, despite Russia's ongoing economic difficulties, both countries have made substantial progresses in their moves from communism to capitalism. The two countries are currently converging on a similar economic model of state-led development.

Keywords: Economic Transition, Shock therapy, Gradualism, Market Economy

Introduction

The economic reforms in former Soviet Union and China in the late twentieth century have raised questions as to how each country has handled transitioning away from communism. Russia and China each have a unique history, but both countries established command economies following their respective communist revolutions based on the idea of Karl Marx. Those revolutions established the Communist Party as the dominant force in the political and economic life of both countries. The Russian revolution of 1917 produced a communist dictatorship under Vladimir Lenin and, later, Joseph Stalin and others. The Chinese revolution of 1947 also resulted in a communist dictatorship under Mao Zedong. At the heart of the communist ideology was a state ownership of capital and land. Therefore, Russia had

been under a planned economy for nearly eighty years whereas Chinese had experienced a planned economy for about thirty (Marsh, 2005).

The collapse of Soviet communism was rapid and unexpected. In 1991 the Soviet Union broke into several newly independent states, the largest of which is the Russian Federation (Russia). The immediate reason for the collapse was political: a clumsy, failed attempt of old-line communists to take control of the government. However, a number of economic problems, some stemming directly from the failures of central planning, contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union. In 1991, Russia pursued a rapid and radical transformation to private property and free markets. It is called "Radicalism," or "Shock therapy," and it achieves irreversible reformations. In 1992, Russia concluded that its political apparatus, particularly the Communist Party, was an obstacle to economic reform and political reform (democratization) was needed. In contrast, China's market reforms began far earlier in 1978 in a piecemeal, experimental, and gradual manner called "Gradualism," or "Controlled transition" (Sachs and Woo, 1994). China sought economic reform under the strong direction of its Communist Party. It understood that the upsetting the political system would generate endless debate, competition for power, and ultimate stagnation and failure in economic reforms. Unlike Russia, China feels that communist dictatorship and a market economy can be compatible. China has preserved its state-owned enterprises while simultaneously encouraging the creation of competing private enterprise.

China has increased its economic standing in the global world exponentially since beginning its market reform in the late 1970s. In contrast, Russia's economy has seemingly declined since its transition to a capitalism in the early of 1990s. Therefore, it is widely acknowledged that China has been vastly more successful than Russia in its transition from a planned socialist economy to a market economy. Scholars on this subject mainly focuses on two primary causes of the different outcomes. The first is the policy choice taken by the governments. The other is the initial conditions of the countries. In order to find the determining factor and larger role in the relative success of China and relative failure of Russia, this study compares and contrasts the evolution of the Chinese and Russian economic system and process of economic transition in the countries over the past a few decades.

Initial Conditions

The initial conditions at the beginning of economic transition in China and Russia were very different. The incentives and constraints created by the initial conditions had a direct effect on the outcomes of economic transition in China and Russia. These initial conditions of the countries may

be divided into three general categories of difference: economic structure, political condition, and foreign influence.

Economic Structure

At the onset of its transition in the late 1970s China was still underdeveloped and overwhelmingly agricultural. About 70% of Chinese population were peasants. It had a small and uncompetitive industrial base and minimal scientific capacity. China struggled with the problem of excess population relative to the available land, resulting in the availability of cheap labor. China was relatively resource poor. China's GDP per capita was only \$150 compared to Russia's \$3,427 at the onset of transition in China and Russia (World Bank, 2015).

Table 1: Table1. Economic Structure in China and Russia: Employment by Sector (%)

China			Russia		
Year	Agriculture	Industry & Construction	Years	Agriculture	Industry & Construction
1978	71.9	15.8	1991	12.9	42.3
1995	53.4	22.7	1994	14.9	37.9

Source: Maddison, *Chinese Economic Performance in the Long Run*, 1998; OECD, *Economic Surveys: The Russian Federation 1995*, 1995.

Unlike China, by the late 1980s the Soviet Union was a military superpower competing with the United States. Russia was a mature industrial economy with an educated labor force and a world leader in science and technology. Only less than 15% of Russian population worked in agriculture. Russia faced a declining population and chronic labor shortage despite its rich natural resources. Russian economy was traditionally controlled by large central ministries while Chinese economy was controlled by regional governments (Sachs and Woo, 1994). This may provide an explanation as to why enterprise managers in Russia accumulated enough power to overshadow the central leadership while the Chinese leadership remained strong. Russian agriculture was heavily centralized and inefficient, characterized by costly giant state farms and tiny peasant plots. Because of the heavily industrialized structure of the Russian economy, labor was overly specialized and difficult to reorganize. On the other hand, China's rural labor force did not face this problem during the economic transition. (Sachs and Woo, 1994).

Table 2. Corruption Index in China and Russia in 1996-2005

Year	Country	Rank	CPI Score (1-10 scale)
1996	China	50	2.43
	Russia	47	2.58
1997	China	41	2.88
	Russia	49	2.27
1998	China	52	3.5
	Russia	76	2.4
1999	China	58	3.4
	Russia	82	2.4
2000	China	63	3.1
	Russia	82	2.1
2005	China	78	3.2
	Russia	126	2.4

Source: Transparency International, *The global coalition against corruption*, 2008.

Corruption was a debilitating factor for both countries, acting as, a drag on efficiency and a turn-off for foreign investors (Rutland, 2008). According to Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index, based on surveys of international businessmen, Russia was ranked to 126th out of 159 countries surveyed in 2005, with a score of 2.4 out of 10, while China was seen as less corrupt, ranked 78th with 3.2. The situation is unchanged since 1998, when Russia ranked 76th out of 85 with 2.4 and China 52nd with 3.5. Its practice is so commonplace at both high and low levels that bribery and clientilism seem to be the glue holding the political system together (Sun, 2004). The character of corruption in China shifted after 1992 as marketization took root and the role of connections (*guanxi*) diminished (Sun, 2004). Leaders in both Moscow and Beijing claim that battling corruption has been a top priority, but their actions have barely made a dent in the problem (Rutland, 2008).

Political Condition

Like quite different economic conditions, the political evolution of the two countries prior to 1980 was also very distinct although both Chinese and Russian elites saw the need for reform. Although the Communist Parties of both China and Russia were similarly structured with centralized bureaucratic rule, noted by a large Party apparatus and a close state/party administration, there were important differences in the system. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was rebuilding in the wake of the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), which had seriously damaged its organized coherence, governing capacity, and popular legitimacy (Åslund, 1995). This event left

much of the administrative capacity of China in shambles (Woo, 1994). Deng Xiaoping, a dedicated reformer, removed his competitors from power right after Mao's death in 1976. Therefore, there was no longer a struggle nor any alternative centers of power in China. This strong leadership was necessary to carry out economic reforms as it helped prevent potential reformation short-circuiting by the party bureaucracy as they seek to advance their own interests. Unlike Russia where power was decentralized in the hands of a few middle ranked party bureaucrats, the middle ranks of the CCP were governed by parallel rule where government officials are supervised by party committees (Shirk, 1993). Moreover, the CCP established "Party groups" that took over the job of administering the government and supervised enterprise managers. This practice helped to prevent the enterprise managers from hijacking reforms to their advantage. Thus, the CCP avoided the fate of its Russian comrades. The CCP, unlike Russia in the 1990s, never let big businesses take over politics..

The initial political conditions in Russia were relatively not conducive to successful reform. In the Former Soviet Union, power was spread through the top bureaucracy with too little power in the hands of the top leadership to make effective reforms. Much of the economic power rested primarily in the enterprise managers who had enough room to act autonomously (Åslund, 1995). The Soviet Union had experienced 20 years of stability in 1964-1982 under General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. He delegated much of the political power down to the industrial ministries and regional party secretaries. Thus, much of the real political power rested in the hands of the *nomenklatura*, not in the leadership. This period also produced rising corruption, bureaucratic ossification, economic stagnation, and a number of costly foreign policy adventures, such as the invasion of Afghanistan and a renewed arms race with the US. In the 1985, Gorbachev started reforms very similar to those of Deng Xiaoping. It was a state-led slow transition to the market that starts with letting small businesses operate privately. The paths of China and Russia, however, diverge as Russia accelerates in the early 1990s.

While China avoided the breakdown of economic coordination because of its strong government, the result of the partial reform in Russia was the breakdown of economic coordination (Murphy, Shleifer and Vishny, 1992). Consequently, the Soviet elites were disbanded, forcing economic reform in Russia to be accelerated. The ruling Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was divided between pro-Union and anti-Union politicians. The Communist Parties of the Soviet republics had been relatively autonomous by the late 1980s. Their leaders wanted more independence as the economy was still centrally planned by Moscow. This separation led to the August 1991 coup when the heads of three Soviet

republics unilaterally removed Gorbachev, the Soviet Union's elected president, from power. Those were the heads of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus - the same republics that founded the Union. When the Soviet Union collapsed, the new central government did not have much choice in the policy it could pursue. The workable gradual reform could not be applied to the newly formed Russia. The designers of the Russian market reforms aimed at destroying opposition inside the elite. They called it "separating the economy from politics." The opposition groups were called "red executives" who run Soviet plants and farms. They were former Communist Party members seeking to retain centralized control over the economy. They eventually had been removed from decision making. Therefore, the split in the Soviet elites eventually led to rapid economic changes that eventually failed to preserve existing linkages within the Soviet economy.

Ironically, the quality of Russian democracy arguably peaked in 1990-1991, the last year of the Soviet Union. In 1992-1996 politics settled down into an ugly standoff between a reformist president and an opposition-dominated parliament, and after 1996, the level of competition steadily eroded from election to election (Rutland, 2008). According to Freedom House (2005), the most well-known democracy index based on the level of political rights (PR) and civil liberties (CL) using a 1-7 scale, with 1-2 being "free" and 6-7 "not free," Russia was ranked as "partly free" with a 3 for PR and 4 for CL from 1993 through 1997. However, Russia's grade slipped to 4/5 in 1999 and 5/5 in 2000-2003. Finally, in 2004 Russia was relegated to the category "not free" with a 6 for PR and 5 for CL. Contrastingly, there has been less variation in the political climate in China, especially since 1989. Freedom House scored China a 7/7 from 1972 through 1977 when it jumped to 6/6. In 1989 it slipped back into 7/7 and stayed there until 1998, when it rose to 6 for civil liberties and 7 for political rights. Freedom House has kept that score for China through today.

Table 3. Political Rights and Civil Liberties in China and Russia in 1975-2000

Year	Political Rights in China	Civil Liberties in China	Status	Political Rights in Russia	Civil Liberties in Russia	Status
1975	7	7	Not Free	7	6	Not Free
1980	6	6	Not Free	6	7	Not Free
1985	6	6	Not Free	7	7	Not Free
1990	7	7	Not Free	5	4	Partly Free
1995	7	7	Not Free	3	4	Partly Free
2000	7	6	Not Free	5	5	Partly Free
2005	7	6	Not Free	6	5	Not Free

Source: Freedom House, *Freedom in the World Country Ratings: 1972-2006*, 2006.

Foreign Influence

China and Russia commonly relied on external integration as a key driver of their economic transition. However, their experiences with foreign countries diverged. Foreign investment in China was important in the success of its development (Kotz, 2001). China had a surplus of labor in the late 1970s, the same time that Hong Kong and Taiwan were experiencing a shortage of low wage workers. Their geographical proximity and shared culture allowed for China to integrate Hong Kong and Taiwanese supply chains, building up their industrial sector. China not only emerged as a leading source of low cost labor in the region, but also opened the way for special economic zones near Taiwan and Hong Kong. These successes helped make China's reforms successful (Sachs and Woo, 1994). Capital from Japan and the United States to China also developed skills in transportation, electronics, and tourism. Foreign investment was substantially changed from only \$7 billion in 1991 to \$25.76 billion. China also had a small foreign debt at the time of transition (Nolan, 2004, 184). China's economic regeneration was led by an explosion of manufacturing assembly plants in coastal locations, importing components and raw materials and exporting manufactured goods to foreign markets, and tapping into its seemingly limitless supply of cheap labor.

On the other hand, the uncertainty that ran throughout the Russian political sphere affected foreign investment and aid at the time of economic transition growing. In contrast to the Western response to the Baltic States, the West did not provide Russia enough aid to ensure that full economic liberalization stood on a firm financial foundation (Åslund 2000). To make matters worse, political collapse also led to a collapse in trade. Because of the 1990s slump and the breakdown of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) trading bloc, Russia's share of world trade fell from 3.4% in 1990 to 1.5% in 2000, recovering slightly to 1.8% in 2005. In contrast, China's trade has tripled in every decade, upgrading its share in world trade from 0.8% in 1978 to 7.7% in 2005. Furthermore, Russia was deeply in debt at the time of transition growing from 10% of GDP in 1990 to 33% of GDP in 1995 to 95% of GDP in 2000 (Rutland, 2008).

Unlike Russia, the Chinese relied on an influx of foreign direct investment (FDI), while keeping portfolio investors at arm's length. China attracted an annual average of \$12 billion FDI 1985-1995, rising to \$78 billion in 2006 (Huang, 2003). Russia averaged only \$1.3 billion FDI per year 1985-95 and \$12.5 billion in 2006, while experiencing an annual outflow of capital far in excess of those figures (Rutland, 2008). China also preserved tight controls on capital flows. The Chinese Yuan (Renminbi) was convertible on a current account, but not on a capital account. It was pegged to the dollar after 1995, at a rate equal to about 25% of purchasing power parity (PPP). Thanks to these controls, China has maintained its cheap labor

advantage and has prevented the speculative capital inflows and outflows that have devastated other developing economies. China rode out the 1997 Asian financial crisis largely unscathed (Rutland, 2008, 13). In contrast, Russian reformers largely followed Western advice to pursue external liberalization because IMF credits were conditional on such policies (Stone, 2004). Russia lifted many capital controls in 1992-1994 and dollars flooded in, forming a parallel currency for most of the 1990s (Rutland, 2008).

Table 4. Foreign Direct Investment (net inflows) in China and Russia (million dollars)

Year	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
China	57	1,659	3,487	33,787	38,399
Russia	N/A	N/A	N/A	2,065	2,714

Source: The World Bank Group, *Data and Statistics: Quick Query*, 2009.

Thus, at the beginning of economic transition, the initial conditions in China and Russia were very different. China had a more decentralized economic and political structure, a much larger share of agriculture in total employment, and a much lower level of economic development. These reasons simply meant that China had a much higher potential to achieve a faster growth rate after transition, irrespective of its execution. Conversely, initial conditions and especially political collapse in Russia stymied its economic transition. Nevertheless, despite their different starting points and heading in different directions, the two countries are now converging on a similar model of state-led development in the face of common global challenges and opportunities (Rutland, 2008).

Table 5. Reform Paths in China and Russia

	<i>Sequence</i>	<i>Pace</i>	<i>Initiative</i>	<i>Spirit</i>	<i>Western advice</i>
Russia	Politics First	Rapid	Top-down	Shock therapy	Strong influence
China	Economy first	Gradual	Middle-up	Controlled transition	No influence

Source: Rutland, P. (2008).

Debates on Policy Choice

There is the contrast in paces of reforms in China and Russia. The conventional wisdom is that China has followed a gradual path since 1978, while Russia has embraced shock therapy in 1992. The Chinese were burned by a century of failed efforts at radical change and were thus philosophically committed to incrementalism (Fewsmith, 2001). In contrast, Moscow had grown tired of decades of incremental change, and the crisis conditions of early 1992 seemed to leave Boris Yeltsin with no option but to embrace radical reform (Gaidar, 1990). Because of the different initial conditions, Russia adopted the neoliberal transition strategy (NLTS: radical economic

reform) while China used a state-directed transition strategy (SDTS: gradual economic reform).

Some Western scholars doubted the efficacy of the NLTS from the start. They argue the radical economic reform explains why Russia collapsed economically in the several years following transition. As the evidence of severe transition difficulties in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the Newly Independent States (INS) mounted, the amount of the critics grew. However, the critics have mainly drawn from the margins of mainstream economics. The NLTS is popular with mainstream Western economists because they assume that private property and free markets are the optimal economic institutions, that privatizing property and freeing markets from state control is always desirable, and that this process should happen as quickly as possible (Kotz, 2001).

The critics on the radical economic reform insist that this type of transition strategy has a disastrous effect in the case of Russia in the short term for several reasons: 1) taking apart the old centralized system before an effective market system is ready leads to economic chaos; 2) fast liberalization following a tightly controlled economy results in a vicious cycle of inflation that is hard to contain; 3) tight fiscal and monetary policies to contain this result in depression and prevent the restructuring and modernization of industry; 4) a fully-open trade policy exposes domestic producers to superior foreign competition before they are ready to compete; and 5) in the absence of a legitimate wealthy class, control of state assets is gained by a minority of individuals - with little short term, easily measurable gain for society.

China, on the other hand, kept a dual system of prices under which state enterprises had to provide a certain quality of output at the lower plan price with an output above that level sold at the market price. Central planning was not immediately dismantled, but was retained for the state sector although it relaxed over time. While China welcomed foreign investment, it protected its domestic market considerably. In summary, rather than seeking to directly convert its state-owned, planned economy into a private, market-based one, China used it as a base for launching a new, non-state, market-based sector (Kotz, 2001).

Nevertheless, mainstream scholars in Economics have proved largely impervious to the apparently impressive China/Russia contrast as well as to the arguments of the critics of the NLTS. A good example of the reaction of mainstream economics to the China/Russia contrast was found in the World Bank study, *From Plan to Market*, which seeks to provide a comprehensive analysis of the experience of economic transition (World Bank, 1996). This study provides a window into the reaction of mainstream economists to the uncomfortable China/Russia contrast. Considering the Chinese example,

they state the need to privatize is not equally urgent in all settings. Slower privatization is viable. However, the study quickly adds that slower privatization is not necessarily optimal suggesting that if China had immediately privatized, its growth rate would have been even higher than they achieved. Despite its documentation of China's remarkably rapid transition growth, and of the severe depression experienced by Russia and other CEE and NIS countries, this study avoids drawing the most obvious conclusion. It does so by 1) downplaying the severity of Russia's economic collapse; 2) attributing the differential China/Russia records to different initial conditions rather than different transition strategies; and 3) suggesting that China's impressive achievements occurred in spite of, rather than because of, its different strategy (World Bank, 1996).

Conclusion

Market reform began earlier in China than in Russia, and it was based on "Gradualism" rather "Shock therapy." The key elements of China's economic reform were decollectivization of agriculture, establishment of township and village enterprises, price reforms, establishment of privately owned urban enterprises, creation of special economic zones, development of support and control institutions, and corporatization of state-owned enterprises. Since the beginning of market reform, China's real output and per capita income have grown at average annual rates of 9% respectively. Nevertheless, the Chinese economy faces remaining problems of incomplete property rights, under-development of financial institutions, lack of full integration with the world economy, and great unevenness in regional development.

The former Soviet economy collapsed under the pressure of declining economic growth, poor product quality, a lack of consumer goods, a large military burden, and agricultural inefficiency. Russia has committed itself to becoming a capitalistic market economy since 1992. Ingredients in its transition from central planning to markets include: 1) creating private property and property rights, 2) removing domestic price controls, 3) promoting competition, and 3) opening the economy to international trade and finance, and 4) ending inflation. However, Russia's transition to a market economy has been accompanied by declining output and living standards, increasing income inequality, and social costs such as corruption, organized crime, rising alcoholism, and reduced life expectancy.

In the case of Russia, a bad and messy transition meant an almost certain collapse during the 1990s as was also the case for all other NIS and CEE countries, who adopted the same model. However, when looking at the big picture, the Russian economy has finished going through the predicted transition pain. Although Russia still faces difficult economic times, it has

made substantial progress in its move from communism to capitalism. It has rebounded strongly and consistently over the last 10 years and is set to continue to do so. It will come close to China over the next 25 years, but current estimates are projecting its GDP to overtake those of UK, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Canada, and even Japan during that period.

Though the policy choice of China and Russia did contribute to relative success of the economies, this study argues that the initial conditions were the determining factors in the relative success of China and relative failure of Russia. In addition, it is impossible to separate the initial conditions of the countries from the policy choice because the policy choice was the consequence of the initial conditions. Therefore, there are cleaner and more complete explanations for why Russia's and China's economic transitions resulted in such vast differences. Most of that can be summed up by a vastly inferior transition strategy in the case of Russia and China's significantly more favorable initial conditions for growth at time of transition.

China and Russia have taken different paths in their transition to market systems. It may seem that China's path of dictatorship and gradualism is superior economically to Russia's path of swift transformation to capitalism. While Russia has suffered years of declining output and income, China has experienced very high rates of economic growth. However, we must not be too hasty in reaching this conclusion. The disorder arising from Russia's abrupt transition to democracy and capitalism may be in the past, placing Russia in a stronger position than China to succeed in the future. The Communist Party's dictatorship in China may or may not last. History suggests that economic freedom often creates demands for political freedom, free elections, and so on. Is China's period of disorder still to come? Or is a gradual path toward political reform by Chinese Communist leaders working again?

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SOCIAL WORK IN THE RURAL AREA FROM DOLJ COUNTY, ROMANIA

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Abstract

After 40 years of communism and after other 25 years without communism, the social work in Romania tries yet to take back its place. A foray into the history of the modern social work in Romania illustrates the rupture brought by the intrusion of the political regime in the evolution of the social work profession and the difficulty of the rebuilding its identity in this country. The rural area is the most affected by this situation, so the article includes the results of an evaluation aiming the communication skills of the people who have responsibilities as social worker according to the job description, but they are not qualified social workers. This research was conducted in 2013 in about a third of the rural localities from Dolj County. The analysis of the relevant legislation, of the statistical information on the present situation of the qualified social workers in the rural areas and the interpretation of the findings of this research led us to the conclusions that suggest the need for major improvement of the state of facts.

Keywords: Social work, rural area, unqualified social workers, skills

Introduction

Romania, like other Eastern European countries had a communist regime. During this period, which lasted 40 years, many things have changed dramatically development, including social work system. The interwar progress that it placed in on an ascendant path were annihilated and it shall started from scratch. Thus, after 25 years from the regime change, the central place that should have the social worker in this system is not recognized. Unqualified persons, that haven't the necessary skills, occupy many social workers' jobs, especially in rural area, where are meeting the most acute social problems and severe poverty. This situation is analyzed for the Dolj county, Romania.

An evaluation of the communication skills of these persons with responsibilities in social work employed in rural public administration was made in a particular context. The direct observation of 34 people divided in

two groups, and the comparison between the two lots of subjects, one observed before and other observed after a communication skills training, revealed that practical experience not replaces the initial social work education.

In the context of the social problems from rural area, the need of qualified and very well prepared social worker is more actual than ever.

A short social work history in Romania

Making a brief foray into the history of social work it is seen that in Romania this area was developed in the same rhythm as in Western European countries. In first Christian centuries was meeting mutual aid and charity / philanthropy, in Medieval era appeared social welfare institutions were founded by the wealthy, including the prince, the head of the country, for help orphans, poor people, disabled, elderly or sick people, especially near the Monasteries. Many monasteries founded special places for those vulnerable groups. By example in 1704 was at work the first hospital, “Colțea”, with 24 beds. In 1775 is founded “The Box of the Charity (Mercy)”, an arrangement similar with the fee for poverty from England, 1601.

The first law about the protection of the children is enacted in 1780, and in 1831 is promulgated the first law about the social work institutions. From this moment, the state assumes responsibility in the protection of the disadvantaged people. In the year 1881 is mentioned the first social services belonging to the Bucharest City Hall. The second half of the 19th century is distinguished by many attempts to make laws and social services for blind people, many achievements in the social work of the children.

The first social insurance appeared in German in 1883 (sickness insurance), 1984 (accident insurance) and 1989 (old and disability insurance), followed by England in 1911 and Romania in 1912, when appear the first laws of the social insurance for accidents, invalidities, and old age.

The interwar period was the most flourishing in the evolution of the social work in Romania. In ‘20 are putting the foundations of the specialized social services system. In 1929 is founded the first high school of social work by university level, named “Princess Helen”, in the same year began publication of the “The Social Work Review” (until 1944).

In 1936 is done the first Census of the social work units. A number of 521 units were identified, of which 50 were public institutions and 471 were private. These units had few assistants, the most of which being capable to assist fewer than ten persons. The year 1938 is marked by the first Congress of Social Workers in Bucharest, organized by the Romanian sociologist Dimitrie Gusti, the most prominent figure in evolution of the social work profession. He conceived a social work system based on a scientific social

work founded on his and his colleagues social research. The network of the social work institution was developing, offering social services to a very large category of population, especially in the urban area, including the delinquents, homeless, and with great emphasis on the family.

After the second War, in Romania was a complex social work system, with a social worker to 30000 people and as academic achievement of the profession we notice the appearance in 1962 of the first schoolbook of social work methods, authors Ioan Matei and Henri Stahl (the ex-students of Dimitrie Gusti). Unfortunately, at that moment the social work was already eliminated from the university since 1952, becoming undergraduate level. In 1969 are eliminated all social work schools and the profession of social worker was removed from the classification of occupations.

The nonprofit sector, that was very developed, as it can be observed from the statistic of the social services providers, is almost totally destroyed. There remain only two NGOs: one for the deaf, and one for the blind.

This was the result of the ideology that premises that the socialist society is perfect: no poverty, no social problems. The need of social work does not exist, because the problems can be resolved by politic and bureaucratic and administrative measures. In this connection, the disabled people, the elderly and the abandoned children are put in institution by very big capacity: hundred of beneficiaries, and isolated from society. The number of children in institutions was very big: approximately 100,000 children were in institutions in 1990, as estimated. As positive points of that period we notice the very large universal benefits: medical assistance, benefits for children and for the families with many than three children, free of charge education at all levels and very high level of work occupation of the people.

After the fall of the communism, after the revolution of December 1989, higher social work education was re-established and with small steps was set up a modern system of social work, with a legislative frame based on international and European recommendations, with governmental institution organized at national, county and local level.

Every modern social work system is characterized by three essential elements: human capital, formed by the social workers and other professional staff, beneficiaries, including assisted people from different vulnerable groups being in situations of risk, socially disadvantaged, and the social context formed by the legislative frame, the institutional network, the social support measures like social services and benefits. (Buzducea, 2009) Despite the progress recording in the domain, especially in what means the social context, this system has many difficulties, the main important in our opinion being the lack of qualified social workers at all its levels. In other words, the human capital of the social work system is deficient.

In 2004 was enacted the law about the statute of social worker, and according with this law was establish one year later the National Collegium of Social Workers (NCSW or CNAS, in Romanian language) and was approved The Ethical Code of Social Worker. According to the law, a person can be social worker in Romania if he has social work qualification at university level and he is member of NCSW, having the notice to exercise the profession.

Between 1990 and 2004, unqualified persons occupied many social workers' jobs. This law, 466 from 2004, obliged all those people to complete their social work education and became real social workers. But this thing did not happened. This people occupy yet that work place from specialized social services and public administration.

Dolj county and rural social work in Romania

The practice of social work in the rural area setting is different from the practice in urban setting. 45% of Romanian population lives there. According with Pugh and Cheers, five are the criteria for analyzing the differences between rural and urban area: geography, demography, economy, political and structural dimensions and community. (Pugh and Cheers, 2010, p. 3) All of these criteria affect the social work too and shape it a specifically character.

The people of the villages has their own lifestyle, modeled by the geographical landscape, the main occupations, like agriculture – plants cultivation and animal breeding. The natural resources are important and the transportations infrastructures are poor. The access by information is more difficult for village people because the costs, not for the geographical conditions, Dolj having fields and hills as main land shapes.

With a surface by 7414 squarekilometers and a population of 688,885 inhabitants by 1st January 2014, Dolj is a Southwestern county, the 8th from the 41 counties of Romania, by the criteria of population. Since 1990, the county population was diminished with 11 percents, in comparison with the decrease of the entire country population that was 8%. The percent of rural population represent 46%, a lower percent than in 1990, when was 52.7. Only 26% from the population of active age live in rural area. The number of the children is very reduced and the population is more aged than in urban area. The ruralization and feminization of aging are very know phenomenon in Romania. The external migration was more significant in rural area. The youth go to the cities or in other countries to find a job. These demographical aspects are characteristic to all rural localities.

The rural economy is based on agriculture and offers fewer opportunities for decent wins. The living cost is expensive, the paid work is very rare, the unemployment has high rates and many people are dependent

by welfare benefits, like social aid and family allowance. Dolj occupies the first place as number as beneficiaries of social aid (14,310 in September 2014, according the statistic of Ministry of Labor), and on one of the first places as percents of beneficiaries form the total population.

If we discuss about the political aspects, we must underline that the funding for public services are based on taxes collected from the community, that may have a very small number of inhabitants, without considering the needs of specific social services. The result is a very few social services in the area when is the great need of them. On the other hand, as shown by International Federation on social workers, “many rural communities are left out of the mainstream of national development. The main policy issue for social workers therefore, is to ensure that those who are directly affected by change are involved in the decision-making process.” And this is an important skills required to the social worker.

The social problems from rural area are deep: poverty and extreme poverty, Roma minority, domestic violence, child abuse, the exploitation of the child labor, culture of the powerless and dependency of social benefits, absence of infrastructure and public transportation, higher rates of the unemployment, fewer opportunities to win enough money for a decent life, higher vulnerability to human trafficking, higher rates of alcohol use, school abandonment, lack of social and medical services. By the chronic social problems are added other linked by the incapacities to meet the needs, like the inadequate access to social and medical services.

This is the landscape in which the social worker acts. In a village, everyone knows everyone, and they are involve together sometimes in any works in agriculture (by example the harvest). This facts shape a unique appearance of the problems faced by the rural population and their needs for social work interventions. A social worker form a rural area is often more isolated from other social workers (Lohmann and Lohmann, 2008, p. 12). He needs to, know how to weave together formal and informal resources to meet needs and support people” (Lohmann and Lohmann, 2008, p. 14). Often is underlined the great importance of the implication of the social worker in community development.

According to the principle of decentralization of decision making that was discuss in the earlier 1980 (Ritala-Koskinen and H. Valokivi, 2006, p.3), in Romania the municipalities are responsible for organizing and developing social services at the local level like fitting the demands of laws and national standards to the local practices. The municipalities must have also an active role in identifying social problems and finding innovative solutions. It sounds good, but the local public administration is not prepared, has neither the financial, neither the human resources to respond by those problems.

A report of a very large research classified Dolj County on the least place regarding the numbers of the staff from social services who had specialized education. (Ministerul Muncii, 2011, p. 236). Dolj has 111 localities, with one big city (Craiova, 306,000 inhabitants), 6 small towns and 104 rural localities. Only Craiova and other three rural localities have qualified social worker employed by municipalities, as results from the records of the NCSW.

Subordinated to county council, The General Direction of Social Work and Child Protection (GDSWCP or DGASPC, in Romanian language) is the main provider of social services from county, and the only public provider who has qualified social workers, but neither those aren't enough. The first net in taking new social cases are usual the social work direction from city halls. Sometimes, especially the child abuses are referred directly GDSWCP, particularly if those people live in the capital of the county, Craiova, where is the headquarters of this institution.

The social workers from city halls shall make an initial assessment of the social case before referral to the specialized social services from GDSWCP. Same informal discussions with social workers from GDSWCP shows that the persons with responsibilities in social work from city hall from rural area frequently copying old reports forgetting to change the data about their beneficiaries: the children have the same age from one year to another, people with disabilities have the same living conditions and the same deficiency etc. the lack of specialized professional training is the main cause.

Methods and sample

In June 2013, an international NGO, who implements programs in the child protection domain in Romania, has organized a training for 30 persons, employed in 30 city halls, having social work responsibilities, according to the job description, but not being qualified social workers. Wanting to know the level of the knowledge, the attitudes and the skills of the participants after this training, the staff asked me to evaluate only their communication skills, but no initial assessment was made.

The utilized method was the direct observation, and the instrument was an observation sheet. My responsibility was to apply this instrument and summarize the evaluation results in a report. As observer, I went to the home of one assisted person in June 2013 with each of the 17 evaluated persons with responsibilities in social work from 17 rural municipalities. The persons were selected after the criteria of availability in the mentioned period.

In November 2013, the NGO staff intentioned to start one other training with a new group from other 30 rural localities. They asked me to make the same evaluation, by this time the aim being both the assessment of

the subjects before the training and the comparison with first sample. The question was if this continuing social work courses are efficient for those persons or not. The selection criterion was in this case the receptivity of the majors by the offer of the NGO to train the persons with social work responsibilities for free, manifested through the positive response to the phone call.

The same method and instrument were utilized, in the same way, having other 17 subjects of research, working with legal agreement in a rural city hall, and having social work responsibilities, but without a social work qualification. Currently they are named “persons with social work responsibilities”.

The observation sheets were completed respecting the anonymity of the observed people, and numbered randomly at the end of data collection, because the research objective was evaluating the effectiveness of training on the profession and not the individual assessment of participants. Each of the observed ones went to the home of a beneficiary to perform an assessment or monitoring visit of a client, and conversations with beneficiaries were conducted in the presence of the observer. In one case the meeting taking place at the town hall.

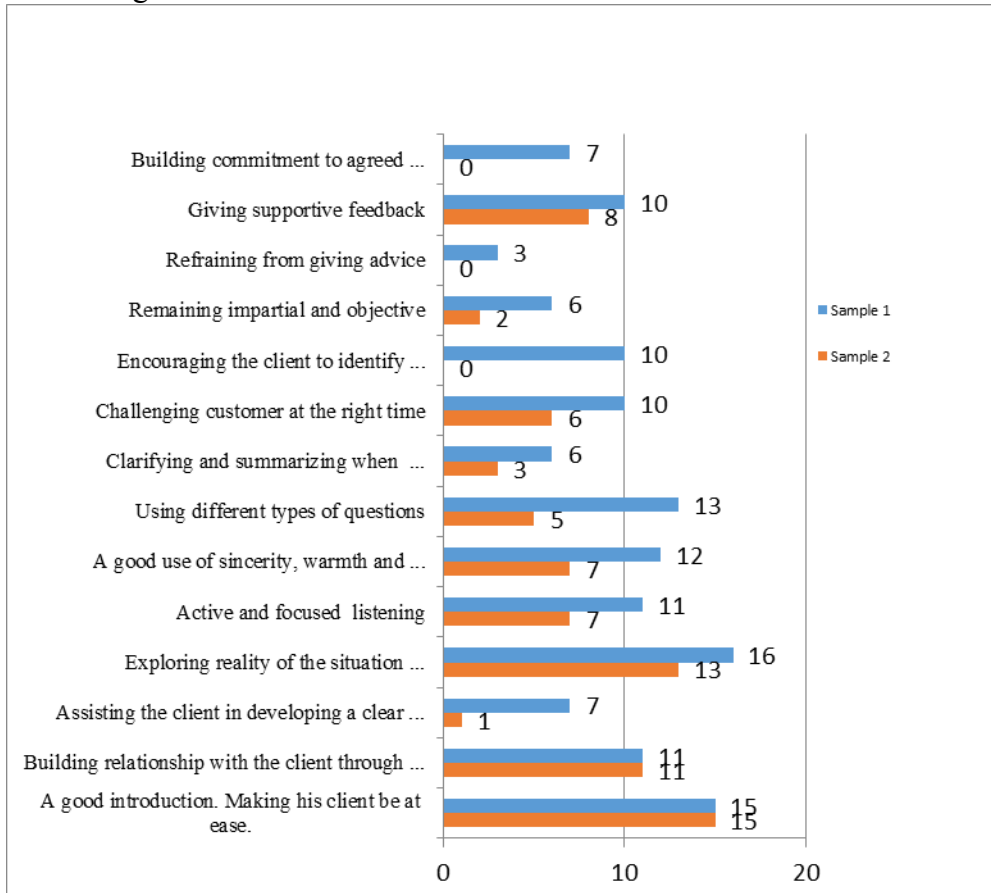
The observed items are in the next table. For every item must be recorded examples that shows the fulfillment of the criteria, as what done or said the observed persons.

Evaluated items through observing practice
A good introduction. Making his client to be easy.
Building relationship with the client connection and understanding
Assisting the client in developing a clear plan of action
Exploring reality of the situation faced by customer
Active and focused / concentrated listening
A good use of sincerity, warmth and empathy
Using different types of questions
Clarifying and summarizing when connecting and understanding
Challenging customer at the right time
Encouraging the client to identify the alternative options
Remaining impartial and objective
Refraining from giving advice
Giving supportive feedback
Building commitment to agreed actions

The results

Fig. 1 illustrates the relative frequencies of the responses to each question in the two groups. It is obvious that the frequencies are higher in most items in the first sample, consists of people who participated by the training. Only two items have the same frequency in both groups: 15 of the

participants in the research were able to do a good introduction: they greeted, introduced himself, introduced the observer, they summarized the purpose of the visit and the role of the observer (to a lesser measure) and 11 of them showed signs that connects to the interlocutor.



This result is not surprising, because people with social work responsibilities work in small communities where everyone knows everyone. Moreover, those beneficiaries of social aids interact at least 4 times on every year with this person. Unfortunately, in November group, in addition to these two skills, has been identified very often only the ability to explore the reality of the situation with the client (n = 13). I considered that the person has the skill to explore the reality of the client's situation if it is capable to address him aimed questions, about his problems, concerns and needs and manages to give an answer to at least one invitation from the client. I haven't found persons that were capable of exploring into the deep, after a plan established before, the situation of the client.

For the June sample, by one-half ($n = 8$) of the subjects had been check from 9 to 14 items, and the other half ($n = 9$) between 0 and 7 items. Two people showed all the 14 behaviors pursued (one of them being qualified social worker) and at one of the subjects I couldn't check any of the items previously established in the observation sheet. This one went to the home of a beneficiary because he has received an address sent by the General Direction of Social Work and Child Protection from another county, aiming the reintegration of two children being at that moment in the care of that specialized public service, the father of minors being imprisoned, and his mother lived in that village from Dolj. The visit went like this: after greeting them, our subject told her directly that the institution from county X asks again if she wants back her children, and ended with the question-conclusion: "You don't want them. Do you?".

I distinguished a weaker use of some communication skills like: asking different types of questions ($n=5$), focused and active listening ($n=7$), clarifying and summarizing ($n=3$), manifesting empathy ($n=7$), keeping impartiality, objectivity ($n=2$), refraining from giving advice ($n=0$). I rarely found subjects capable of challenge the client at the right moment. ($n=6$)

If in the sample I observed in June I found them rarely, in the new lot the next abilities are missing: assisting the client in developing a plan of action ($n=1$), encouraging the client in identifying some alternative options ($n=0$) and building the engagement in agreed actions ($n=0$).

By analyzing the obtained results, we observe that the difference between the mediums of the 2 lots is 1,59 (the November sample - 4,59 checked items per subject, the June sample - 6,17 checked items per subject), is big if we analyze it in relation with the level of the 2 obtained average. Given that they are already low (the total number of checked items was 14) I think that the period of time needed for all the subjects to develop typical skills of this profession remains significant.

As it was observed, the subjects are capable of making a good introduction and connecting to the beneficiary, fact that happens, I think, because they know each other, interact frequently and have cordial interpersonal relations, the level of the interpersonal communication skills is low, and the skills based on co-responsibility and co-participation of the beneficiary in the realization of intervention plans and assuming the gets near 0 in the second lot.

For some items identified as having low frequency in the first lot, too: Assisting the client in developing a clear plan of action ($n=7$), building engagement to the agreed actions ($n=7$), clarifying and summarizing when connecting and understanding ($n=6$), remaining impartial and objective ($n=6$), refraining from giving advice ($n=3$), in the second lot they were almost unseen (see figure 1)

I can conclude that the formation programs can ameliorate the situation, especially in the sphere of some communication skills like active listening, using sincerity, warmth and empathy and can make the subjects be aware of the importance of the co-participation and co-responsibility of the beneficiary (to build plans together, to consent to agreed actions, to encourage identifying alternative options). Yet I have a restraint based on the fact that the participants of the course know what we were expecting from them so that they were capable of selecting the cases to go to visit, so that they can allow them to prove some abilities. Complex cases were often chosen, families with many children, problem children, and maternal assistants. As a difference, the subjects in the November lot have chosen the cases which were the most accessible, a part of them being just beneficiary of social help (not understanding the request to make evaluation and monitoring visits, not knowing what will be observed or simply not usually making this kind of visits, and just making the social investigations for giving social benefits, some of them being made right in the office, not outside). In the subject's point of view, these cases only need social help; as a result they don't have the perspective of a more elaborated exploration of the situation or realizing a plan of action.

Most of the observed subjects recognized that in general they don't make monitoring visits because of the lack of time and because: "I am not a social worker, I don't really know what to ask them". In some of the city halls the social work responsibilities are distributed to more persons (maximum 4 persons), the city hall employees on different jobs receiving as supplementary tasks one or more of the responsibilities linked to family allowance, social aids, aids for heating their home during winter time, management of the task linked to disabled people and their personal assistants, mail with GDSWCP and monitoring the cases of foster care, reports of social assessment in case of divorce.

For some of the observed subjects is not clear what means monitoring the case. They don't have a plan or some indicators to observe, and this lack of structure of their discourse is saw be the clients. The worker hasn't a defined aim of his visit, or don't clarify with the client. By example he make a monitoring visit, has in his mind any aspects to observe, but he don't communicate them to the client, switches from one subject to another and gives the impression that he still searches for something, or he is coming only in a friendly visit or, on the contrary in an inspection.

The most parts of the subjects think that they are those who must resolve all of their client's problems and help them financially. Some of them act as a kind of teachers of their clients and treat them like some ignorant and disobedient children. They are disappointed and surprised that although "I told them to do," the clients did not.

The system of giving social benefits is heavy, based on many papers, and if some electronic data bases were managed properly they won't be needed. In my opinion, these kind of measures diminish the importance of the work in their own farm. The eligibility criteria are translated as *To receive you mustn't have*, not as it is correct: *Who doesn't have can receive*. On the other side, because of the social benefits being the only measure of social work given and the only one which the local authorities are obliged to give, the social worker tends to consider that he must give these benefits whenever he find a difficult situation, or that this is his role in the city hall, that this means social work.

Sometimes were made remarks such as: "In theory everything is nice, here things are different," "The classes are good, but not really help us", which may reflect the fact that subjects do not understand the role and importance of using techniques. Those people don't have that vital professional background and don't understand the role of the social worker in the community and in direct relationship with the customer.

I mark a positive point that particularly impressed me by the most of the subjects: their sincere interest for beneficiaries, their very close, familiar way to interact with them, and a good knowledge of community issues.

Limitations

The author made not the instrument of this research. The aim of the research was not to describe the rural social work in Dolj County, but a secondary analyzes releave aspects by his type. The items were selected by the trainer conform the curriculum of the course, and the skills followed to be formed by that training, the subjects of this being "Methods of communication and interviewing" and "Work with difficult families". They are not exhaustive, but include the most important communication skills for the social workers. The assessment, planning and social work intervention skills were not the subject of the research, so the image is not complete. Despite this, some items reached tangential this kind of skills and the made observations suggest that they belong in very low measures to the participants. "Exploring reality of the situation faced by customer" is not necessary a communication skill, but a way to collect data for an assessment or for monitoring. "Assisting the client in developing a clear plan of action" and "Encouraging the client to identify the alternative options" are counseling skills, but the discussions between the subjects of the research and the clients shown that the "specialists" don't have a plan, don't think about planning an intervention or the only plan was to see if the clients can obtain more welfare benefits.

Conclusion

Even if there's a major need at the local authorities level, awareness of the importance of social services can be made only by implementing some measures to promote them and through persons who know what does giving social services mean. At the moment, both are missing. The main resource of social work is the social worker, with his skills, knowledge, abilities and deontological values, but his access in the city hall is restricted by blocking the vacant jobs and through the absence of any laws that protect the profession.

The measures needed for raising the level of the quality and efficiency of the measures of social work in the rural area would be, in my opinion: unlocking the vacant jobs in the city halls; protecting the social workers' jobs: there must be a social worker post in every city hall or a social worker for a few rural localities, or the city hall can buy the services of an independent social worker; lobby for approving the law on evaluating the community needs, so that the projection of the social benefits will be made in a realist way, according to the community needs without a overlap and gaps in the social services network; implementing the law upon the quality of the social services (impossible to realize without the precedent two actions, this probably being the reason why they delay it for more than an year); encouraging the involvement of the NGOs in providing social services in the areas which cannot be covered by the public sector.

Quoting other authors, Ritala-Koskinen and Valokiv (2006, p. 7) shown that the social work has two traditions. First of them is client or case work and group work orientation and the second structural social work and community work orientation. In the rural social work, a single professional must combine both of them. He must be able to work directly with vulnerable persons and groups, but and be able organizing and managing services and processes, be able initiating and coordinating community development actions. „Assessment and development processes both in individual life situations and structural matters are core functions of social work.“ (idem) These central skills are obtained by training and practicing. Without an initial social work professional education, no practice will built alone skills like these. The idea that the community as a whole is the client of the rural social worker must be present all the time. Without this idea, is lost and the prevention, and it creates the premises for chronicizing the problems.

The development of the social work profession and to rural social work practice is a major need in Romania. The employment of qualified social workers in both rural and in specialized social services is essential in achieving this desideratum.

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CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON BLACK FAMILY THEORY: A REVISED ABC-X MODEL FOR UNDERSTANDING BLACK FAMILY STRESS AND BLACK FAMILY STRENGTHS

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Abstract

Based on a study of Black corporate managers and their families it was discovered that existing models of family stress were incomplete, or inadequate in their ability to help us understand the nature of stress for these families and how that stress is managed, and, the coping resources available to these families with which to do so. Existing models are limited for Black families in that they do not take into account the pervasiveness of racism in the life experience of these families, nor do they include the traditional/historical strengths for survival of black families that can function as crisis meeting resources. An alternative conceptualization of McCubbin and Patterson's (1981,1982,1983) Double ABCX Model, a revision of Reuben Hill's (1965) ABCX Model, incorporating racism, and, the five traditional Black family strengths identified by Robert Hill (1971) is suggested. It is argued that the inclusion of racism in understanding the nexus of Black family stress and the traditional Black family strengths that enable Black families to cope with the stresses associated with work would be most useful. Discussion of differences by race and sources of stress with emphasis on Black families, and examples of the persistence of racism for Black corporate families will be provided. Discussion of the uses and value of traditional Black family strengths, including examples, will be given. Black corporate families are defined as a subset of Black upper middle to upper class families whose life experiences are similar to those of other Black same class families.

Keywords: Black families, family stress models, ABC-X, Black family strengths, racial stress

Introduction

In this second decade of the third millennium race persists as a powerful barrier to greater achievement and full equality for Blacks, including those in the middle and upper middle classes. Had William Julius Wilson not been such a brilliant scholar and writer, and had America not been so anxious to hear that class (a more palatable notion) and not race was a more salient determinant of Black life chances, we might not have been distracted from the significant prevalence of the importance of race. Consequently, the prevailing paradigm and zeitgeist in social science disciplines regarding the study of African Americans have been to explore the plight of the Black underclass and Black poor and in so doing continue to ignore the experience and dilemmas of the Black middle and upper classes.

Excepting the work of Toliver (1998) McAdoo (1996), Staples (1994), Willie (1991) and a few others not withstanding, there is a serious void in the research literature on Black middle and upper class families. In fact, any stable and healthy Black family type of any class for that matter is virtually invisible. This begs some important questions. Was Robert Hill's (1971) *Strengths of Black Families*, more than 40 years ago, a lie? Billingsley (1968) in his *Black Families in White America* nearly half a century ago presented Black families as resilient family structures. What happened to these functional family structures in the literature since?

Despite the dire needs of the poor and black under class, it seems foolhearty for social science to neglect and ignore the more stable models of black family life.

Models of wellness might be developed from these more stable functional families to proscribe for less healthy families. Also, because Black middle class families too have their problems and issues to deal with, they are deserving of research focus like any family group or type. This paper attempts to address this void in the social science literature.

The gains of the Civil Rights Movement enabled a small number of African Americans to work toward and acquire an increase in their allocation of social, political, and economic resources. This contributed to the growth and development of the Black middle and upper classes. The progress and experiences of this group however remains daunted by the persistence of racism in this society.

This paper focuses on the persistence of racism as a major source of stress in the daily experience of African American corporate managers and their families, a special case among African American middle and upper class families. It also points to the importance of Black historical cultural strengths for dealing with the stress that these families encounter. The importance of understanding the impact of stress on all families, African American included, how they function, and their overall well-being has been

supported by the somewhat extensive body of literature focused on families and stress. However, in the case of African American families, examination of the existing models of family stress finds them to be incomplete and less than adequate 1) in their ability to help us understand the nature of stress and stress density for these families and how that stress is managed, and, 2) in identifying the coping resources available to these families with which to do so. In the following pages I will attempt to explore the pervasiveness of racism in the day to day and life experience of black corporate managers and their families. By reason of this pervasive influence I will argue for the inclusion of racism as a constant variable in models of family stress for black families. I will also explore the presence and function of the traditional Black family strengths and suggest that these resources be included as a constant variable in family stress models used to understand African American families.

The questions central to this discussion include the following: what are the sources of stress for Black corporate managers and their families? How does racism function as a stressor for these families? What are some of the resources that Black corporate families have for dealing with stress? How do the traditional Black family strengths function for these families?

Let us begin with a brief examination of selected research on stress.

Social Science Research and Family Stress

Social scientific inquiry focused on the phenomenon of stress and the family has ensued now for more than half a century. Most notable among scholars who took up this gauntlet is Reuben Hill whose ABCX model (1965), which has its roots earlier in the literature (Hill 1949), represents a major attempt in the field of family studies to provide a conceptual framework within which to understand how families define and respond to stressful situations.

In Hill's model, A (the stressful event) interacts with B (the family's resources for coping with such events) and C (the family's definition of the event). The nature of this interaction produces X (the crisis; p.32).

In their study of families in crisis, Parad and Caplan (1965) elaborated on what Reuben Hill had described as a family's "crisis meeting resources," that is, the B component of the ABCX model. They took into account "family lifestyle... value systems, communication networks, and role systems; intermediate problem-solving mechanisms... the family lifestyle in action; and the need-response pattern... the way... the family... perceives, respects, and satisfies the basic needs of its individual members" (p.57, emphasis in the original).

McCubbin and Patterson (1981, 1982, 1983) further evolved Reuben Hill's ABCX model, developing what they called the double ABCX model,

which takes into account the ripple effect caused by the initial stressor and the response to it, and accommodates the possibility of multiple stressors impinging on a family. They assess the nature of these stresses and the resources and modes a family has for dealing with them. Both the ABCX and the double ABCX model are widely used today.

The Double ABCX model has been used in application in a variety of ways to a broad range of substantive issues and questions in the social science. Hamon and Cobb (1993) use the model in a qualitative assessment of older adult's experiences with their children's marital dissolution. The Double ABCX model was used to frame the particular stresses encountered and the resources enlisted to combat them.

Orr, Carmeron and Day (1991) used the model in their work with families with mentally retarded children. They examined the relationships among the particular variables through the method of path analysis. Their examination and application suggested perspectives on increasing the effectiveness of available resources.

Plunkett, Sanchez, Henry and Robinson (1997) used the model in their research on children's post-divorce adaptation. They integrate the literature on children and divorce into the specific components of the model. The model functions as a framework for the experiences of these children as discussed in the literature, informing decisions regarding therapeutic interventions in post-divorce adaptation.

In a study using both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, Volker and Striegel (1994/1995) used Hill's ABCX model to aid in the understanding of how parents manage stress and grief after the loss of a fetus or child due to miscarriage or stillbirth. They assessed gender differences, and the role of bonding of mothers and fathers with the fetus while in utero.

Cameron and Iverson-Gilbert (2003) used Hill's model as a major part of the theoretical basis of survey data collected from more than 300 clergy they focused on the relationship between stress from the professional role and the clergy's personal and family life. Their study examined the demands of the profession, social support, and perception of stressors created by the professional role.

Xu (2007) employs Hill's model to understand culturally diverse families. His specific focus was on families with young children with disabilities. He contended that the model can be useful in empowering these families.

Despite the broad range of problems to which this model has been applied it is limited in the comprehensiveness of its explanatory ability. In the case of each of the aforementioned studies inclusion of cultural particulars in the context of both resources for coping and stressors would

significantly enhance the power of the model to enhance our understanding of how families experience the phenomenon under study.

These studies of families and stress share an important feature: They all regard stress as an interactive rather than a static phenomenon -- a process rather than an event. That is to say, a family does not experience stress in a vacuum but rather in a social ecology of timing, various resources, and possibly other stressors. Researchers have taught us much about the complex nature of stress. However, the theories they have generated tend to be limited in that they apply to a specific setting, institution, or social group or category, thus failing to take into account that the lives of individuals span a number of different settings and roles, and that experiences in one setting necessarily influence those in another. Until recently, few studies, for example, have considered the mutual impact of stress at home and in the workplace. (Apter, 1994; Cameron and Iverson-Gilbert 2003; Hammer, Saksvik, Nytro, Torvatn, and Bayazit 2004; Hanks and Sussman, 1990; Henderson 2014; Kofodimos, 1993; Korunka 2015; Krouse and Afifi, 2007; Secret and Spring, 2002; Toliver, 1986; Voydanoff, 1980; Voydanoff and Kelly, 1984.)

It had been noted by Piotrowski, Rapoport, and Rapoport (1987) that while social scientists link the social institutions of family and the economy, family and work are still frequently treated as separate spheres. Only recently, in the past four decades, have we begun to see family and work linked together in research across the social science disciplines. Black corporate managers experience stress in the workplace (workplace stress), and, they and their families experience a type of stress secondary to their connection to corporate employ (family work-related stress), due to the nature of corporate work and the demands that it places on managers and their families. For example, relocation, time spent away from home due to long work hours and out of town business travel, are all potential sources of family work-related stress. (See Toliver, 1998; and Piotrowski et al, 1987 for fuller discussion). While there is only a limited body of research that focuses on black managers and stress, the source of stress for these managers and their families supports the idea that the area of work and family are decidedly linked. Furthermore, racism has been identified as a major source of both workplace stress and family work-related stress for managers and their families. (See America, 1978; Davis, 1955; Davis and Watson, 1982; Dickens and Dickens, 1982; Fernandez, 1975, 1981; Irons and Moore, 1985; Jones, 1986; McAdoo, 1979; Nixon 1985a, 1985b, 1985c; Staples and Johnson, 1993; Toliver, 1998).

The Literature on Racialized Stress

There is a new and growing body of literature in both the social sciences and biomedical research on racialized stress. While the study of racism is not new, the focus on racism as a major source of stress in the lives of African Americans and its impact on their physical health and psychological well-being is proliferating.

Included in this research and literature, Landrine and Klonoff (1996) measure racial discrimination and its negative physical and mental health effects on African Americans. In their research they administer the Schedule of Racist Events (SRE) to a population of African Americans. Their findings include the revelation that African Americans put up with racial discrimination almost constantly, and that racism has a negative impact on their physical and mental health.

Feagin (1991) examines anti black discrimination in public places against blacks in the middle class. He suggests, "the importance of the individual's and the group's accumulated discriminatory experiences for understanding the character and impact of modern racial discrimination" (p. 101), pointing to the importance of viewing any individual racial stressor as part of a context of racial stress.

Likewise, Carroll (1998) suggests that blacks experience an abundance of stress in day to day life merely as a result of being African American. That is, the societal reaction that they experience on a daily basis is racialized. Cockerham (1990) tests the relationship between race, socioeconomic status, and psychological distress in his work. Referring to African Americans, Derrick (1997) states that, "racism can also endanger our physical and emotional health". Krieger and Sidney (1996) in a comparative study of black and white adults found racial discrimination to have an adverse effect on blood pressure in some African Americans. David R. Williams (1999) found that everyday pervasive though mundane forms of discrimination have a more damaging effect on health than do major forms of racism, such as job discrimination. William's suggestion that everyday stresses can be more damaging than stressful major life events is consistent with other research findings. Dr. Harold W. Jordan, Chair, says, "... slavery is still evident in this country because of the shackles of racism, which is the primary source of stress for Black." (Jet, 1996). Dr. Robert Davis, past president of the Association of Black Sociologists, says that blacks face more stress than whites because blacks must put forth extra effort in the work force in order to prove themselves just as capable as their white colleague." Davis goes on to say, "Stress is heightened for Blacks as they move into the corporate world." Thompson and Dey (1998) suggest that racism imposes an emotional and physical cost on the health and well-being of African American college and university faculty. Sue et al 2007, shed light on the

pervasive stress of racial microaggressions in everyday life. According to Dr. Thomas Parham, a Past President of the Association of Black Psychologists: "It is always the oppressed person who will experience more stress than the oppressor." Parham believes that Blacks experience more stress because of their oppression by Whites.

An Alternative Conceptualization of Stress for Black Corporate Managers

Earlier in this chapter some conceptual models of the stress phenomenon were explored. We have also identified some of the typical sources of stress for corporate managers, further identified additional sources of stress unique to the experience of Black managers and their families, and have discussed the proliferation of research on racialized stress. If we use the double ABCX model (McCubbin & Patterson 1983), which is more satisfying than competing models for the earlier stated reasons, as a framework for reviewing stress for corporate families, the makeup of the components of the model should differ sharply due especially to racism and cultural factors for Black versus white managers and their families.

Specifically, the elements contained in Components A (the stressor) and B (the family's crisis-meeting resources) will be different. Differences in family situation, coupled with racism and tokenism, build a different stress component A for Black workers. But also, component B will be built differently, including especially traditional Black family strengths and other support systems.

Juxtaposed to a model for white corporate families, a model for Black corporate families would contain a stress Component A in which "family work-related stress" (the stress that families experience secondary to manager's connection to corporate employ) is outweighed by "workplace stress" (stress the manager experience in the workplace). A major factor in this reverse tipping of the scale whereby work problems overshadow family problems is the added key element of racism, which interacts with both types of stress. Further, because of the impact of racism, the nature of work and family problems is different between Whites and Blacks. And, finally, the family's crisis-meeting resources, Component B, would include elements unique to the cultural traditions of black families versus those of the American mainstream. We will explore the presence of racism as a Component A element in the lives of black corporate managers and their families. We will also look at identifying sources of strength that include traditional black family strengths, which would be included in Component B. Thereby, we will be revising and further specifying the double ABCX Model. In the next section we will turn our attention to family strengths.

Social Science Research and the Strengths of Black Families

Historically, the tone of social science literature suggests that black families and strengths is an oxymoron. Much of that literature until recent decades has been highly pejorative, focusing on family disfunctions, with little attention to family strengths and wellness. Since the 1970's scholars like Allen (1978, 1986); Barnes (1985); Davis (1995); Gershenfeld (1986); Greene (1995); Hill (1971, 1997, 2003); H. McAdoo (1988, 1993); J. L. McAdoo (1993); Peters (1978, 1981); Staples (1994); Staples and Johnson, 2004; Taylor, Jackson, and Chatters, 1997; Taylor, Leashore, and Toliver (1988); Toliver (1998); and Willie (1988, 1991b) replaced the overridingly negative view with a richer and often more positive view of Black family life and culture, moving the literature in the direction of greater balance.

Noted historians and social science researchers have talked of the existence of certain cultural traits or Black family strengths that have been key to the survival of blacks in the United States from the past to the present (see Blassingame, 1972; Genovese, 1972; Gutman, 1976; Hill, 1971). Some have argued that these traits are carryovers from African tradition (Nobles, 1974a, 1974b). Others have suggested that they are cultural adaptations that served as survival skills in the context of U.S. society (Gutman, 1976; Toliver, 1982). Whatever their origins, such strengths have been shown to exist and they are, to some extent, unique to Black families. (Henderson, 2014; Hill 1971, 1997, 2003; Toliver 1998).

Robert Hill (1971, 1997, 2003) identified five traits that facilitated the survival, development, and stability of Black families: strong kinship bonds, a strong work orientation, adaptability of family roles, a strong achievement orientation, and a strong religious orientation. Although Hill asserted that his list of strengths is not exclusive to Black families, nor is it exhaustive of the total list of strengths that Black families possess, he contended that the historical experience of racism has rendered the significance of these qualities unique among Blacks: "The particular forms that these characteristics take among black families should be viewed as adaptations necessary for survival and advancement in a hostile environment" and should, therefore, be identified as Black family strength" (Hill, 1977, p.4).

These are the strengths brought to the corporation - or at least the seeds of them, by the Black manager. How, when, or if they are called into play, and the particular form in which they manifest themselves, will be in response or reaction to the conditions of the corporate environment. That is to say these strengths serve as a repertoire of fluid responses available to bolster as needed. The strengths developed in childhood will be further developed in articulation with and reaction to experiences in the workplace. Many of these strengths are values orientations and values often are called on

to surface or may be solidified, reinforced, and transformed through social interaction.

The Case for an Interactive and Culturally Contextualized Model of Family Strength

A few researchers, most notably Robert Hill, regard Black family strengths as survival adaptations. While his model may appear stagnant in its allusion to a monotypical black experience, his work remains highly applicable and is refreshing to the extent that it suggests a relationship between the strengths a people possesses and the experiences that they have encountered.

There are several useful and valuable classic models of general family strengths and well being. (See Curran, 1983; Hall & King, 1982; McCubbin & McCubbin, 1988; Otto, 1962, 1975; Sawin, 1979; Schultz, 1991; Spanier, 1976; Stinnett, 1983; Vance, 1989). These models define the concept of a strong family, identify the traits of healthy families, develop typologies of resilient families, and explore marital strengths and quality, and family strengths for prevention. They are informative in terms of understanding the strengths of any category of family, including Black families. And, Hall and King's (1982) is specific to Black Families. However, they are temporally static in terms of the importance of historical context and are usually devoid of reference to cultural context. They do not take into account the historical development and transmission of strengths, or the cultural context out of which they emerge and to which they are culturally relative. This is important because cultural factors can influence how a potentially stressful event is interpreted and what resources might be available for coping. Models should accommodate cultural context in these two ways. Robert Hill (1997) describes strengths as, "... cultural assets that are transmitted through socialization from generation to generation..." (p.48). Hill's description supports the importance of culture and the importance of history in viewing strengths as transgenerational.

Many though not all of these models view family needs as universals and therefore assume the existence of a universal set of family strengths that will assist all families. Existing models tend to ignore cultural differences that will affect what an individual family needs. They do not consider the sociocultural milieu in which any given family system is embedded.

What is needed, then, is a more culturally specific approach to the study and definition of family strengths. This is certainly not to say that the existing approaches are not important. Rather, I am suggesting the need to add to these models by way of incorporating into them the traditional Black family strengths. This would enhance their ability to help us understand how

stress is managed, and, the coping resources that are available with which to do so. There are similarities among families; however, there are also vast differences in background, experiences, preferences, and needs that must be taken into account to effect a more meaningful discussion of family strengths.

Methodology and Sources of Data

This research focuses on the sources of stress and strengths of Black corporate managers and their families. Data were collected on the basis of in-depth personal interviews and written questionnaires with 191 corporate managers and 102 of their spouses, most of whom were wives. Most managers were employed in middle and upper middle management positions and either lived or worked in the New York Connecticut - New Jersey tri state area. A few selected respondents were from major metropolitan areas beyond these geographic boundaries. Respondents were drawn with one exception from 8 Fortune 100 companies. Respondents were selected from among these, the most financially successful companies in the U.S., in an attempt to build a sample that included some of the best, brightest, and most successful in corporate America. All respondent families by virtue of the employment status and income of the husband and/or wife (manager) can be described as middle or upper middle class. The term "corporate family" is being used to designate a family that has one or both heads of household employed in management in a major corporation.

This research was conceptualized as an exploratory study. A qualitative approach to the study of Black corporate families was taken in an attempt to eke out the sentiments and views of managers, and their families in their own voices. Furthermore, it has been indicated elsewhere that there is only a limited body of research in the field of family studies in which qualitative analysis has been employed, (see Ambert, Adler, Adler, and Detzner, 1995), and an even more limited amount of research on African American families using qualitative methodology (See Demos 1990). The mode of analysis chosen for this research therefore speaks to this limitation in social science research on African American families.

Racism as a Source of Stress in Black Corporate Families: *The Evidence*

In this study, workplace stress -- not only of the type experienced by corporate managers of all races and ethnic groups, but a stress created by the elements of racism and tokenism was commonly reported. Both individual and institutional racism, sometimes subtle, sometimes not, constitutes additional sources of stress for Black managers. Respondents stated that the experience of racism continues to be an inescapable part of being Black in corporate America. My findings-- that the workplace is a major source of

stress for Black employees-confirms the findings reported in the limited literature that exists on Black corporate workers. Other studies also identified racism as the root cause of much workplace stress (See Fernandez, 1981).

Racism was experienced by respondent managers in this study in a number of ways. Of the total sample of managers (N=191), 138 respondents stated that they were better educated than their White counterparts, and all but five reported that they were more experienced than Whites employed at the same level. Black women also made these assertions comparing themselves with White women. Many felt that they would be further along in their companies if they were White, and that race had been an impediment to their upward mobility in the corporate world. When asked the question directly, "Does racism persist in corporate America?", all responded with a firm or emphatic "yes". In the following paragraphs four problem areas identified are selected to illustrate the persistence and prevalence of racism for black corporate families and their individual members.

Racism or sexism

Black women in the corporate world face issues and dilemmas of racism and sexism. A question sometimes raised to these women (and about these women in social science circles) is, "Which is the bigger problem; racism or sexism?" One respondent talked about being Black and female in the corporate workplace. Her responses epitomize those of others of her sex and race in this study.

Question: What problems do you as a Black female corporate manager have that other managers do not have? "I think being a woman means you have to work harder to prove yourself. As a Black woman, it's only compounded by that fact. So, I do find that I have a certain standard of performance and it means putting unnecessary pressure and stress on myself because I want to excel. I don't want to make mistakes. Everybody makes mistakes, but you feel a lot more vulnerable when you do versus someone else. I think that you do have to work harder than your white male counterparts."

Question: Does sexism exist in your company?

"Yes, although it's not always blatant, but one would have to be incredibly naïve to say that it didn't."

Question: Which is the greater problem: racism or sexism? "Racism (emphatic response). I don't feel that there is the commitment or the interest in promoting minorities in my company or in most others. We tend to get to middle management, some a little above that, and that's generally where we plateau. We have no Black officers in the company and we do have one woman."

Question: Do you feel you have advantages over White women in the workplace because you are both female and Black? "No (emphatic response)."

In short, racism was seen the more potent stressor.

Relocation

Relocation, often a stressful event for families of any race or ethnicity, can render especially stressful experiences for Black families. This is so because of racism. The racism experienced by the manager in the corporate world often spills over to his or her family and their life experiences and concerns. While families may hope that their experiences with racism in the new community with prejudice, harassment, and differential treatment would be few, unfortunately, often times this was not the case. Most respondents had stories of experiences with racism, mild or severe, to share.

One middle-aged woman said, "I am so tired of people ringing my doorbell and asking me if the lady of the house is in." (They presume that she is the maid.) Another woman told of her next door neighbor's comments about her and her husband being so industrious based on their observation of the couple cutting the lawn and taking in the trash cans after trash collection. These usual activities for middle class homeowners were seen as remarkable activities for Blacks.

A woman ordering meats from the butcher shop reading from her shopping list ordered a particular cut of meat. When she was told that they were out of her selection she made another. The butcher told her that she had better check on that first because the two were very different. She asked him with whom should she check. He replied, "The lady that you are shopping for." She was outraged as she was shopping for her own family from her own list.

These everyday incidences of racism experienced in one's community were pervasive. The added element of racism made relocation for these families especially stressful. Racism was identified by managers and their spouses as a major source of concern.

Childrearing

Parents stress over protecting their children from racism. Since slavery they have exercised parental projective care parenting in anticipation of those pejorative experiences, especially experiences with racism, that their kids will need to be prepared to face. The data provide evidence that these fears are still well-founded today.

Many of the families in this study pointed to recent incidents of racism that their children had experienced. Although primarily reported among teenaged children, five and six year old also had such experiences.

Parents who relay their stories speak of their children's feelings of hurt, anger, shock, and disappointment, as well as their own in turn.

One respondent mother talks of her child's hurt feelings when she is not invited to a classmate's birthday party, when it appeared that all of the other children in the class were. The birthday girl told the youngster that her mother said that she could not invite her. The excluded youngster is the only Black child in the class.

One manager talks of his son's prep school experience of being called, "nigger" When the son engaged in a fist-a-cuffs with the name caller, the school was outraged at such violent behavior and sent for the Black teen's parents. The manager/father told the school that he had instructed his son to defend himself against such an assault in this way. The assistant headmaster, making no mention of the wrongness of the name-calling, much less offering an apology, said that the father would have to rescind his teachings or the son would be expelled.

Another manager tells of his children's shock at the family being denied lodging at a motel (allegedly there were no vacancies) only to witness a vacancy being found for a white family just moments later. The children were hurt by such a lack of unfairness. The parents used the experience as a teaching opportunity to instruct their children about racism and discrimination, and how to deal with same. Children's encounters with racism were prevalent in the childrearing experiences of Black parents.

Marginality and its dilemmas

Racism in our society which has afforded differences (limitations) in opportunity for blacks versus whites has often frequently relegated Blacks to lower positions in the occupational status hierarchy. In turn, the societal expectation that Blacks will only be found in low status positions and not those of higher status has emerged. Confusion arises on all sides when members of groups who typically occupy low status positions rise to high status ones. For example, when a Black man rises to the position of high level manager in the corporation does one treat him as a Black or as a manager? In turn, how does he interpret the responses received from others. When asked if he feels he is treated differently in the corporate work environment because he is Black, one manager responds: "Although I'd have to say yes, I must admit that at times it's hard to tell. Sometimes I walk into a meeting with people who are junior to me in the company and I'm not sure if they are responding to me as they do because I'm Black, because of my position, or both."

Furthermore, the manager is faced with the dilemma of trying to decide in which instances should s/he participate in the corporation as a Black versus as a manager. The dilemma is further confounded by sex for

Black female managers. Marginality will persist so long as such dilemmas exist in the minds of the marginal individual or in those of the people with whom s/he interacts.

The managers interviewed felt strongly that racism persists in the corporate world. Most felt that because racist attitudes persist they are treated differently by others in the corporation because they are Black, and even those who had achieved high levels of success in the corporate world felt that they would be further along in their careers if they were white. Many felt that they and other Blacks are not fully integrated into the corporate environment because of the race biases still held by many Whites. While confident in their abilities to perform successfully on the job, they remain insiders on the outside of the corporate world. This fact of their day-to-day work lives contributes to Black managers' work-related stress.

Although its nature has changed in recent decades, racism persists in the corporate workplace. Institutional racism may occur more often, though individual racism persists in our society. Both serve as sources of stress for Blacks in corporate America. Not only in the workplace, racism is part of the family's experience. It is confronted in communities, neighborhoods, and in schools, and is stressful for both adults and children.

The Nature of Racism

This treatise is in no way definitive in what it explores in terms of the pervasiveness of racism as a source of stress for middle class African Americans. It looks at racism on only one level. The indicators of racism included here involve racism of a more direct and personal type. However, in order to fully appreciate racism and its effects in the lives of lack Americans a more macro analysis is needed. This would enable us to point to the numerous ways in which the nature of social arrangements within the various social institutions and structures of this society, because they are permeated by racism, render a plethora of social experiences, for Blacks that are stressful. e.g. The imbalance in the mate selection pool and the shortage of viable African American heterosexual mates for successful Black females due to racism in educational and hiring opportunities for Black men. As a result Black women angst over their inability to fulfill themselves in accordance with the social prescriptions of the roles of wife and mother. eg.2 Blacks in the process of relocation in accordance with corporate expectations experience social isolation as these moves take them to albeit "nice" but all White neighborhoods and communities. They stress over new sources of friendship within culture, where to secure personal services for Blacks (hair care, etc.), and how to maintain access to various other forms of Black cultural capital. We might call these the macro level effects of racism.

Historical Black Family Strengths and Black Corporate Families

Because of the historical and cultural significance of the five Black family strengths identified by Hill I suggest that they be used as a criterion for assessing the success and well being of Black corporate families. These are not the only strengths to be found among these families (or other Black families for that matter), but they do play a key role in the life experiences of these families and assist them in managing their sources of stress.

To briefly illustrate the functionality of these traditional family strengths we will summarize how each of them is operationalized in the case of middle class corporate families. While many of the behaviors included in these illustrations are not unique to Black families, the point that I wish to emphasize here is that these strengths function as a historical context into which these experiences should be located. These strengths of experience provide a context for viewing how Black corporate families experience corporate demands on the family and the corporate family lifestyle.

Strong Work Orientation

One of the difficult to avoid demands of corporate employ is the reality of long work hours and corporate travel. However, such demands are consist with the historical pattern of Black fathers frequently holding more than one full time job to support their families. Many men and women in the sample reported this to be the case with their own fathers. The demands of the corporation in this regard then are not new for them.

A strong work orientation therefore was expressed across multiple generations and their value for and engagement in long hard hours of work. Of 191 managers 158 reported working late at least once per week. One hundred forty six did so more frequently; 84 said that they worked late four to five nights per week. All worked jobs that required out of town travel at least four times per year. Some (N=84) traveled out of town on company business every week. Managers of both sexes viewed their out of town travel and long work hours as a means to their enhanced family lifestyle. All of the wives reported that they were always or almost always understanding of their husbands time away from home due to company demands. Male managers supported their wives testimony in this regard.

Adaptability of Family Roles

Historically and for economic and cultural reasons black families socialize their children to be role flexible in the sense of taking on the role responsibilities of various family members. The term as it is used here is not confined to gender roles. Out of necessity as well as choice, Black couples historically have played less traditional roles as wives shared in the bread-winning function and husbands in childcare functions. Seventy percent of

respondents came from families in which women worked and continued to work. It is important to note that during the era in which many of the respondents were children it was still a non traditional behavior for U.S. women to work in the paid labor force, although this was not unusual for black women who often worked outside of the home out of economic necessity.

Both husbands and wives reported varying degrees of role flexibility in their own lives. Sixty-seven wives (N = 98) reported that husbands shared in female traditional household chores occasionally to often. About half of the husbands said they only engaged in traditionally male typed household chores (e.g. yard-work, household repairs) but about one fourth had regular responsibility for non male typed responsibilities (e.g. cooking and childcare). Few (18, N=98) reported anything approaching an equal sharing of domestic responsibilities. There was very little difference by age in any of the above behaviors. Of the wives, 89 assumed their husbands' household chores if job responsibilities prevented husbands from performing them at a frequency of sometimes too often. Wives seemed to exhibit greater role flexibility although husbands too exhibited the behavior.

One might conclude that male managers in particular can perform their jobs without worry about domestic responsibilities as they can feel assured that their wives will carry their load. For managers whose career and continued occupational success requires large amounts of time away from home, role flexibility is an essential support or strength within the family.

Strong Achievement Orientation

Given the history of racism in the U.S., one might assume successful blacks in this society to be above average in terms of the talents and skills and level of personal drive that they possess. This assumption is confirmed in this study of Blacks in corporate America, who have what is necessary for high level achievement and then some.

All but three of the respondents were college educated and, in fact, many reported that they were better educated than their white counterparts (138, N=191). Because many of their parents had expected them to go to college, they grew up with this goal already set for them. They firmly attested to having been encouraged in their educational pursuits by their parents, especially their mothers. As one manager said, "I owe a lot to my mother's push!"

Nearly all respondents (187, N=191) described their achievements in education, job, and income as greater than those of their childhood peers. They attributed their greater success to the fact that they are "self starters" -- they are hardworking; aggressive; highly motivated; personally driven; committed to excellence; desirous of success, monetary rewards; and willing

to seize opportunities. Most of the respondents (186, N = 191) aspire to further promotions within or outside their present companies. Their attitudes are best captured by one manager's response to the question, "Are you aspiring to further promotions or upward career moves within or outside of your company? He responded with determination and enthusiasm, "Always!".

Strong Religious Orientation

Beginning in childhood and on into adulthood religion plays a vital role in the lives of black Americans (see Henderson, 2014; Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990). In this study religion was assessed on the basis of three criteria: a family history of religious involvement, rates of church attendance, and self assessments of religiosity. Findings were consistent with the literature regarding the importance of religion among Black Americans.

As children, all respondents (100%) and their spouses attended church on a weekly or more frequent basis All but a few, on a scale of responses ranging from very often to never, responded that they now attend church sometimes to very often. Only four respondents said rarely or never. In three quarters of the families, the children also attend church. In those families where parents and children attend church, most do so together as a family The rate of church attendance was higher for managers with children than for those without children.

When asked, "Do you consider yourself to be a religious person?," all but three responded "yes". The group of non-church goers and those who reported themselves as being religious persons were not mutually exclusive. That is, some of those respondents who reported rare or no church attendance still considered themselves religious. Not attending church did not necessarily indicate a lack of religious belief. A possible explanation for this finding may lie in the fact that as children they were involved in the church, were brought up in the belief that religion was important, and were steeped in Christian values. Even within the group of infrequent or non-churchgoers, many indicated that Christian values influence how they live their lives and that they instilled these values in their children.

Strong Kinship Bonds

Strong kinship bonds were assessed along several dimensions. In terms of frequency of communication, on a 5- point scale, ranging from very often to never, most (153, N= 191) described their communication with family members residing outside of the household as very often to often. For most (148, N=174), communication was at least once per week. Visiting patterns could generally be described as frequent. Visits were more frequent with more geographically proximate kin and were as often as daily to a few

times weekly. Those who lived within 75 miles of relatives visited on an average of approximately once a month. Despite the distance in those cases in which it prevailed, relatives had frequent communication with one another.

Having achieved middle class status, with six exceptions, managers do not receive financial support from their kin, although most had when they were students (101, N=155). On the contrary, many now gave financial support to relatives. While relatives sometimes provided managers and their families with childcare, they were more likely to provide support of a psychosocial nature. Mothers were most frequently cited as a source of support. Support networks were described as reciprocal though not necessarily in kind. Many described their families as "close-knit" and considered their support to be very important in their lives.

Respondents expressed the importance of family and the type of involvement that they have with their spouse and children in the ways in which they spoke of their families. Parents appear to be highly child oriented even in reconstituted families. Fathers were highly involved with their children. Managers and their spouses spoke warmly of one another, and their words suggested a sense of pride in one's spouse. Both practically and ideologically all respondents highly valued their families. This is consistent with the literature on family support among Blacks. (See Jayakody, Chatters and Taylor, 1993; Stack, 1996; Taylor 1990).

Managers and their families in this study exhibited numerous strengths supportive of their family well being. They talked of the stresses that they had to cope with and the sources of strength that help them manage their stress. Support was found to varying degrees for the importance of all five of the traditional black family strengths (strong work orientation, adaptability of family roles, strong achievement orientation, strong religious orientation, and strong kinship bonds) identified by Hill.

Making the Connection Between Strengths and Stresses

It seems apparent that Hill's (1971) five traditional Black family strengths function to strengthen and support African American families in a general sense. That is to say, they are not stressor specific, each working to directly combat a particular type or source of stress. But, rather and perhaps more importantly, these strengths function to promote general family health and wellness and bolster the family and its ability to manage stress whatever its nature or source. So, in the case of Black corporate families, possessing these five strengths better enables them to cope with their stresses which include those stemming from racism and the myriad of problems related to race and the corporate experience and lifestyle inherent in marginality and tokenism, childbearing, and relocation concerns. The net effect of these

strengths is that they potentially affect an individual and family that can handle racism because of the power of these strengths to foster high levels of self esteem, a willingness to work hard and to be successful even in the face of adversity, an assurance that others (family members) are pulling with you and are willing to help you carry out your role functions if necessary, and a belief in the good in humankind. The five strengths manifest these elements in the individuals in families that possess these strengths.

Because of the importance and persistence of these black family strengths as operative in the resolution of stress, it is argued that they be identified and incorporated in models of family stress such as the double ABCX Model (Component B), (McCubbin and Patterson, 1983). These cultural strengths function as resources allowing the family to cope with the various crises of racism (Component A). These strengths are resources for combating the stresses that black families in corporate America face.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to point to the inadequacies of the existing models of family stress, most notably the Double ABCX Model, in understanding stress and strengths in Black corporate families, a subset of Black middle class families. The author contends that these models are limited for Black families in that they do not incorporate the element of racism as a source of stress, nor the traditional historical Black family strengths identified by Robert Hill, as constant variables. On the basis of data collected from Black corporate managers and their families, support was found for the pervasiveness of racism as a source of stress in the day to day experiences of Black corporate families, consistent with the literature on racialized stress. Also found was support for the existence of the historical Black family strengths among these families.

It is the author's view that so long as racism persists in the U.S., this fact of life for Black Americans must be included in any model that assesses stress or we will not fully understand the nature of stress for Black families. In addition, the importance of historical, cultural capital in understanding the strengths that a family has for combating stress must be embraced, as it is a potent resource within the family's coping and combative repertoire against the stresses that it will face.

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CHANGING FRAMES: ENGAGING MULTIPLE IDENTITIES IN CULTURAL CONFLICTS

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Abstract

Border cultures, like Gloria Anzaldúa's Chicano community, provide a unique opportunity to examine the amalgam of two distinct cultures. While attempting to validate both Mexican and U.S. national identities, it is essential to examine the importance of individual and group identities. The article uses a sociological approach to examine the conflict between cultures. How can the people of these two nations create a shared identity? How can cultural intelligence¹ improve international relations?

Keywords: Chicano, identity, cultural intelligence, borders

Introduction

In the title of her book *Borderlands La Frontera*, Gloria Anzaldúa introduces us to the dual identity of the Chicano. During her early years with her family and community near the Texas border, she was primarily immersed in Mexican culture. Later experiences with those outside her community reshaped those identities and created new ones. The ongoing formation of her self-perception was significant in her writings for the Chicano movement.² Her book is a valuable tool for learning about identity creation and transformation in the Chicano community.

The Chicanos were birthed out of over 100 years of turbulent interaction between Mexico and the United States. Numerous border conflicts and migratory movements forged a new existence that is both Mexican and American. Despite improvements in the relationship between these two countries, there remains a need for growth. As evidenced by the American public's response to Mexican immigration, fear of the "other" still has an innate hold. One often thinks of the relationship between Mexico and the United States as governmental. I suggest this characterization is too impersonal, as elected officials reflect their constituency when they create United States' policies. A more comprehensive examination necessitates a look at the connection between the people of the U.S. and Mexico. According to 2006 estimates, there were over 11.5 million Mexican

immigrants in the United States, accounting for over 30 percent of the total immigrant population in the nation (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2009). Since then, the number has only continued to rise. These migrants have settled beyond the United States Southwest, with large populations in other regions of the country.

Unfortunately, the encounters between citizens of the U.S. and Mexico suggest a breach in understanding between the two cultures. The historical and cultural backgrounds of the two groups are such that without proper education misunderstandings and distrust are likely to be the norm. We, the citizens of Mexico and the United States alike, must understand how we differ and where we converge to bridge the chasm of “otherness” and build a shared identification. This end will be founded upon a mutual understanding of what it means to be Mexican and what it means to be American. To envision this concept, the text will first examine how identity motivates action, then it will expand the motivational concept of selfhood to a national level and propose an answer to the question, “How does culture contribute to the unification of a nation?” The Mexican American War (1846-48) affords an opportunity to examine the conflict between U.S. and Mexico national identities as well as how their overlap caused the birth of the Chicano culture. Finally, we will look within Gloria Anzaldúa’s description of evolving and duplicitous Chicano character for ways that conflicting identities coexist.

My Identity Made Me Do It

Burke and Stets described identity as an “agent of action”, expressed in emotional, cognitive, conscious, and unconscious ways. For example, Anzaldúa consciously crafted her narrative centered on her identities as a woman, a lesbian, and a Chicana. However, she may have unconsciously processed symbols based on her identities as well. Burke and Stets define the function of identity as a moderator of perceptions in relation to our self-meanings. By controlling the meanings it perceives, identity tries to minimize discrepancies with how we see ourselves (Burke & Stets, 2009).

Maintaining selfhood is an ongoing process, which observes the flow of meaning. Burke and Stets’ Identity Theory bases the process of maintaining selfhood on four repeating steps. The individual’s identity standard defines acceptable patterns of behavior. For example, the criterion for masculine or feminine varies by culture. Perception creates input, which the mind compares and attempts match up with the memory of the standard. When a person receives an “error message”, representing behavior outside acceptable limits of their standard, they set out to minimize the disparity. For example, if a man perceives his tone is too feminine, he will adjust the tone to match his definition of masculinity. According to Identity Theory if no

course of action will correct the disparity, the individual may become upset, because they are unable to validate their place in their community. The amount of distress corresponds directly to the amount of variance from the identity standard (Burke & Stets, 2009). Although she felt a strong sense of belonging to her people, Anzaldúa defied traditional³ Chicano gender roles and left home to actualize her sense of self.

Instead of ironing my brothers' shirts or cleaning the cupboards, I would pass many hours studying, reading, painting, writing. Every bit of self-faith I'd painstakingly gathered took a beating daily. Nothing in my culture approved of me. *Había agarrado malos pasos* [I had taken bad ways]. Something was 'wrong' with me. *Estaba más allá de la tradición* [I was beyond tradition] (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 38).

According to Social Identity theory, groups form distinctiveness, reduce uncertainty and contribute to a sense of self-worth (Tint, 2010). Conversely, individual members reinforce the oneness of the group (Burke and Stets, 2009). The many identities of the individual can contradict each other. The conflict between Mexican and United States national identities is exemplified in Anzaldúa's inner turmoil as the two vied for dominance within her Chicano self.

There is a part of me—the Shadow-Beast. It is a part of me that refuses to take orders from the outside authorities. It refuses to take orders from my conscious will, it threatens the sovereignty of my rulership. It is that part of me that hates constraints of any kind, even those self-imposed. At the least hint of limitations on my time or space by others, it kicks out with both feet (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 38).

Anzaldúa describes the perpetual conflict between her identities. Regardless of her apparent antipathy for white American culture, her writing bears a striking independent tone that could be attributed to her U.S. identity. The challenge for Anzaldúa was to find a way that her independence could exist in a collective society.

Unified by Legacy and Consent

While Anzaldúa chose to relinquish aspects of Chicano existence in favor of her individualism, many choose to do the opposite. They will sacrifice or suppress elements of their personality that conflict with their national identity standard. In a speech delivered in Paris in 1882, Ernst Renan defined a "nation" as people or inhabitants in a land with a desire to live together. Without popular consent it would cease to exist (Renan, 1996). Thus, individual decision and will are paramount to the nation. One individual without the collaboration of another is powerless to affect change in his society. However, nationalism is born when people band together in support of "attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf

of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation’” (Smith, 1991, p. 73). As demonstrated by their campaign to influence their citizens to associate themselves with the newly revolutionized Mexican identity, the Mexican government recognized the importance of Renan’s definition of nation. In their nationalist campaign following the 1910 Revolution, their goal was to create a shared “Mexican” culture (Smith, 1991).

Gloria Anzaldúa recognized the dominant influence of culture on beliefs. “We perceive the version of reality that it communicates.” Surface actions of a community are visible evidence of their culture; however, underlying these behaviors are the subtle identities that motivate these practices. Culture is like a pair of tinted spectacles. By switching glasses, or changing cultural perspective, we can see how viewing the world according to a different set of criteria can produce different perceptions of the same event. Octavio Paz summarized the relationship between culture and identity:

Civilization is a society’s style, its way of living and dying. It embraces the erotic and the culinary arts; dancing and burial; courtesy and curses; work and leisure; rituals and festivals; punishments and rewards; dealings with the dead and with ghosts who people our dreams; attitudes toward women and children, old people and strangers, enemies and allies; eternity and the present; the here and now and the beyond. A civilization is not only a system of values but also a world of forms and codes of behavior, rules and exceptions. It is society’s visible side—institutions, monuments, works, things—but it is especially its submerged, invisible side: beliefs, desires, fears, repressions, dreams (Paz, 1991, p.359).

Tradition and power perpetuate each nation’s culture. Citizens either band together in support of nationalism or rebel. In order to maintain peace, nations with overlapping borders (industrial or migratory) face the challenge of validating the other nation’s uniqueness without invalidating their own. The greatest disparity between identities produces the most violent conflict. For example, in the years prior to the annexation of Texas, the U.S. negotiated peacefully with Great Britain to establish the current U.S. northern border without invalidating the independence of the United States. However, the U.S.’s other identity of expansionism conflicted with Mexico’s newly formed sovereignty.

Two Stories of One War

Research has shown a strong correlation between memory and identity. Memory is not a precise phenomenon. Each person and society will build their own history of events based on their shared trauma. Asking someone to forget about the past is like asking them to forget who they are (Tint, 2010). The narratives surrounding the Mexican American War reflect

the nationality of the storyteller. Key events and transparent statements from each side contextualize modern day Mexican and U.S. relations. They reveal facets of both national identities and how their intersection created the Chicano identity.

Conflict over Texas territory lead up to the Mexican American War (1846-48). The Spanish, and later Mexican, government needed a barrier to protect the people from attacks of the indigenous tribes of North America. By granting permits to American citizens under clear stipulations, they believed they would be protecting the northern cities of Mexico as well as developing wild frontier land. Within a few years, the presence of many illegal settlers led Mexico to suspect a United States takeover of Texas territory (Chávez, 5-6). Lorenzo de Zavala, *Viaje a lost Estados Unidos del Norte de América*, warned of the American influence:

Ten thousand citizens of the United States move into Mexican territory every year... Along with their industriousness, these settlers and merchants bring their habits of freedom, thrift, hard work, their austere customs and religion, their individual independence and their republicanism...

[The North American colonists] will be incapable of submitting to the military regime and ecclesiastical government which unfortunately still hold sway in Mexican territory, despite the republican-democratic constitution. They will propose what institutions ought to govern the country, and they will want them to be... a reality (Libura, Moreno and Márquez, 2004, p. 21).

As Zavala predicted, the Protestant settlers of Texas eventually rebelled against the Mexican army and overcame them. However, the treaty that Santa Anna signed under duress was quickly annulled, resulting in several years of skirmishes. With good reason, Mexico predicted that the United States would attempt to annex Texas. In a letter to Waddy Thompson dated August 23, 1843, José María Bocanegra warned that the Mexican government would consider the act of annexing rebellious Texas as declaring war on Mexico (Libura, Moreno and Márquez, 2004, p.303).

Despite the warnings of the Mexican government, U.S. Congress passed the mandate for annexation in 1845. The U.S. Manifest Destiny mindset fed the desire to expand the nation with little concern for the current occupants of coveted territories. President Polk sent an ambassador with the intent to purchase modern day California, Nevada and New Mexico, and to move the border of Texas from the Nueces River to the Rio Grande. Not long after Mexico refused to sell, the United States declared war (Chávez, 2007). Not everyone in the United States government supported the war or its unbridled expansionist goals. Albert Gallatin, Senator from Pennsylvania, wrote:

It has been demonstrated that the republic of Texas had not a shadow of right to the territory adjacent to the left bank of the lower portion of the Rio Norte; that, though she claimed, she never had actually exercised jurisdiction over any portion of it; that the Mexicans were the sole inhabitants and in actual possession of that district; that, therefore, its forcible occupation by the army of the United States was, according to the acknowledged law of nations, as well as in fact, an act of open hostility and war; that the resistance of the Mexicans to that invasion was legitimate; and that therefore the war was unprovoked by them, and commenced by the United States (Libura, Moreno and Márquez, 2004, p.303).

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the war in March 1848. As a part of the treaty, Mexicans living in the disputed territory became United States citizens. The California Land Act of 1851 formed a three-person committee to inspect all Mexican land grants. Owners were required to prove that the land was theirs within two years or forfeit it. Some of the Mexican inhabitants resisted the oppression with force. Others used peaceful methods, such as mainstreaming Mexican holidays. Since the United States did not grant settlers full citizenship, the Mexican community created *mutualistas*, groups which supported collective identity and provided benefits such as funeral and disability insurance (Chávez, 2007). In 1853, the Gadsden Purchase added an additional 29,142,000 Mexican acres to the United States. However, this purchase did not end all border disputes between the two countries (Chávez, 2007).

American Settlers and Divine Right

During the years leading up to and following the Mexican American War, U.S. national identity was steeped in the idea of Manifest Destiny. This concept originated from a statement written by John L. O'Sullivan, an Irish-English New York immigrant:

The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship of the Most High-the Sacred and the True. Its floor shall be a hemisphere-its roof the firmament of the star-studded heavens, and its congregation of an Union of many Republics, comprising hundreds of happy millions, calling no man master, but governed by God's natural and moral law of equality, the law of brotherhood... For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen... (Stephanson, 2009, p.25)

Manifest Destiny assumed that expansion of democracy would improve living standards in the western hemisphere and would be welcomed

by the indigenous citizens of other nations. Less than 100 years after the American War for Independence, O'Sullivan considered the United States as the opposite of Europe. Instead of the monarchies, which fought amongst themselves for power, the United States signified his ideal of "peace, rationality, and freedom" (Stephanson, 2009). O'Sullivan could not imagine other nations being disinterested in the U.S. version of "freedom". The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 alliterated the United States preoccupation with its "new" form of government and declared itself the protector of the western hemisphere. One reason this unenforceable principle germinated in the American mind was other world powers chose not to prove it wrong. Meanwhile, America pushed the western border further into the "frontier" (Stephanson, 2009). In the end, Manifest Destiny metastasized into a "divine right" for the United States to "liberate" any land it wanted. It served as a powerful political rallying point in elections just prior to the Mexican American War (1846-48).

Somos (We Are) Mestizos

Within the first 50 years of its independence from Spain, Mexico lost over half of its land to the United States. During this time tumultuous time, Mexico was trying to establish cohesion within the country. To solidify its control of the country following the Revolution of 1910, the government needed to establish what it meant to be a Mexican citizen. To accomplish this, they launched a grand nationalist campaign. Artists like Diego Rivera, Siqueros, and Orozco were commissioned by the government to paint murals that exemplified the history of Mexico. This was a surface display of a deeper Mexican identity campaign. Diego's painting in the *Secretaría Educación* was designed to include all of the people of Mexico; however, the campaign was specifically centered on the *mestizo* (Legras, 2008). *Mestizos* are the descendants of Indian and Spanish civilizations, which first overlapped during the Spanish conquest (Clausen, 2007). Authors such as Vasconcelos, hailed the mixed nature of Mexican ancestry as the source of its greatness. His argument could be carried to the extreme logical conclusion that everything should be mixed, including the existing native populations. The indigenous who would not integrate impeded progress. After the Revolution, the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) sought to revitalize the image of the *mestizo* as the "true Mexican". Through their alliance with the intellectual community, the PRI espoused the view that the only path to Mexican power was as a Spanish-speaking, united Mexican culture (Clausen, 2007).

The major failure of the movement was its treatment of the indigenous. Languages and cultures of the unassimilated Indian were viewed as impediments to the modernization of the country. Authors like Batalla,

recognized the legitimization of the *mestizo* as important; however, he believed it was wrong to place the *mestizo* culture above all others (Clausen, 2007).

Since the Revolution of 1910, national identity has been a central theme in Mexican thought. Authors such as Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes significantly contributed to the movement (Classen, 2007). In his book *El laberinto de la soledad* [The Labyrinth of Solitude], published in 1950, Paz identified the Revolution of 1910 as an extension of “nationality to races and classes which neither colonialism nor the nineteenth century were able to incorporate into our national life (Paz, 1991, p. 175).” Paz described Mexicans as “willing to contemplate horror”; lovers of myths, legends and fantasy; and practitioners of social communion with fiestas and special emphasis on social contact (Paz, 1991, p.23-24). Ironically, the primary thrust his text centered on was the concept that Mexicans are solitary creatures. He does not imply that they are inferior but different and isolated from other nations. Paz attributed Mexicans’ keenness for privacy on the need for protection from outsiders. He even identified the manliness of Mexican speech as another form of protection. “The Mexican *macho*—the male—is a hermetic being, closed up in himself, capable of guarding both himself and whatever has been confided to him.” As for a woman, Paz claimed she cannot be alive until “someone”, meaning man, awakens her. This deprives her of her own selfhood, intellect, and will.

...woman is never herself, whether lying stretched out or standing up straight, whether naked or fully clothed. She is an undifferentiated manifestation of life, a channel for the universal appetite. In this sense she has no desires of her own... The Mexican woman quite simply has no will of her own. Her body is asleep and only comes really alive when someone awakens her (Paz, 1991, p. 175).

Although it could be argued that Paz’s book was merely eloquent propaganda, the text reflects the dominant discourse of the day, coinciding with PRI policy. As such, it opens a window into Mexican culture following the 1910 Revolution. Octavio Paz also reflected on his visit to the United States and the people he encountered. While his conclusions were framed from a Mexican point of view, his observations are worth mention. The Americans he met were self-assured and confident. Americans actively campaigned for reform to the current system while still embracing it as a whole. He believed this was in part due to citizens of the United States believing that their nation would endure despite negative circumstances. Americans believed their world could be perfected. This resulted in a willingness and desire to work long hard hours. Paz considered Americans as realists with a sense of humor and an enjoyment of fairytales and detective stories (1991). Although his book was written 50 years ago, U.S. pop culture

still lauds these genres today. Paz's writing illuminates a few of the contrasts between Mexican and U.S. identities. From the Mexican American War of 1846-48 to the present, these identities have often been at odds in one form or another.

When Two Worlds Collide

Due to their colonial history, both Mexico and the U.S. have a plethora of immigrant origins. Leading up to the war between the two in 1848, the U.S. was heavily populated with those who identified with northwest Europe or Africa, while Mexico's immigrants identified more with Spain or Africa. The intersection of these two "melting pots" formed the Chicano culture. As Anzaldúa's narrative tells us, their existence has been fraught with rejection from both of its parent civilizations.

We have a tradition of migration, a tradition of long walks. Today we are witnessing *la migración de los pueblos mexicanos* [the migration of the Mexican people], the return odyssey to the historical/mythological Aztlán. This time, the traffic is from south to north.

El retorno [The return] to the promised land first began with the Indians from the interior of Mexico and the *mestizos* that came with the *conquistadores* in the 1500s. Immigration continued in the next three centuries, and, in this century, it continued with the *braceros* who helped to build our railroads and who picked our fruit. Today thousands of Mexicans are crossing the border legally and illegally; ten million people without documents have returned to the Southwest (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 33).

As Anzaldúa's text indicates, Mexican immigration to the United States has spanned centuries. In fact, it is the longest-running labor migration in the world. Prior to the Mexican American War, one hundred thousand Mexicans were settled in what is now California, New Mexico and Nevada. After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the land these Mexicans owned became part of the territory of the United States (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2009). Since then, economic and political trends have stimulated waves of immigration. Mexicans account for over 30 percent of the thirty-seven million immigrants in the United States (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2009).

As we saw with individual character, perceptions that do not align with identity standards cause uneasiness until they can be resolved. When discrepancies cannot be resolved, an individual, or in this case a group, may react emotionally. Immigration policy influences national identity by defining the criteria for citizenship (Fraga and Segura, 2009). As a result, we see highly emotional and entrenched responses to proposed immigration reform. Some in mainstream United States culture fear their way of life will be invalidated by the presence of another. While civilizations cannot coexist without affecting each other, cohabitation does not necessitate one will erase

or replace the other. When considering immigration reform, it is essential to consider the affects on identity of both native born and naturalized citizens.

The Chicano is Born

The U.S.-Mexican border *es un herida abierta* [is an open wound] where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds. And before a scab forms it hemorrhages again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country—a border culture. Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them*. A border is a dividing line, a narrow strip along a steep edge. A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 25).

Anzaldúa identified the border as a place where a new culture is conceived. In her story, the whites of the Southwest considered the dark skinned inhabitants of the region as “aliens” despite many being legitimate American citizens. Cross and Gore in their Cultural Models of the Self-Theory posit that two ethnicities can be “alive” in one person. For some, the longer they live in the new culture the more dominant it becomes. For others, cultures take turns. For example, a Mexican American student displayed this type of “frame switching”. While at school, he spoke English; however, at home, he would “be Mexican again”, evidencing the possibility of a dual Mexican and American self (Cross & Gore, 2003).

For Anzaldúa, the first time she “saw” whites was in high school. “Until I worked on my master’s degree I had not gotten within arm’s distance of them. I was totally immersed *en lo mexicano*, a rural, peasant, isolated, *mexicanismo* (1987, p. 43).” Mexican and American identities are not mutually exclusive; however, to have both, an individual must feel accepted by both. Isolating immigrant groups can keep them from identifying with their new nation for generations. In Anzaldúa’s story, Pedro, a U.S. citizen, was deported. Although he was a fifth generation American, he was unable to speak English (1987, p. 26).

The Rise of the Chicano

A Mexican American is “a citizen or resident of the U.S. of Mexican birth or descent.” The term Chicano is sometimes used interchangeably; however, it also applies to a political movement, which had its biggest push during the 1960s and 70s among U.S. college and university students (Rochín and Valdés, 2000). In some ways, Chicano character is the synthesis of the Mexican and American; however, the unique circumstances surrounding their existence in the U.S. has evolved them into a new culture in their own right. Because Chicanos have often found themselves discriminated against, they have even more need to band together. One of the

greatest concerns regarding the Chicano identity is the fear that their children will be Americanized, effectively wiping out their heritage and disconnecting them from the family (Blea, 1992).

For Anzaldúa, her Chicana personality was based on the resistance of the Aztec woman. Although the Aztecs were a patriarchal society, Anzaldúa believed that the women struggled for a voice. “The Aztec female rites of mourning were rites of defiance protesting the cultural changes which disrupted the equality and balance between female and male, and protesting their demotion to a lesser status, their denigration.” In a similar fashion, the Chicano culture expects the woman to be subservient to the man.

If a woman doesn't renounce herself in favor of the male, she is selfish... For a woman in my culture there used to be only three directions she could turn: to the Church as a nun, to the streets as a prostitute, or to the home as a mother. Today some of us have a fourth choice: entering the world by way of education and career and becoming self-autonomous persons. A very few of us (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 39).

A group centric culture has taught the Chicanos to support the community before looking to individual needs. Primary identity was first as a family role, last as an individual. Since Anzaldúa chose to spend her time studying, reading or painting instead of caring for the family (ironing her brothers' shirts), she was deemed “lazy” and selfish.

In Chicano culture, respect is reserved for the leaders in the community such as grandparents or fathers. Women are usually at the bottom of the power structure and garner little affirmation. Rules enforce the ethnic group's structure. Some communities allow no room for deviance, which Anzaldúa described as anything “condemned by the community” (Anzaldúa, 1987).

Anzaldúa recognized that identities shift over time in cultural, historical, and situational contexts. Throughout her various experiences, Anzaldúa's self slowly evolved. Some of her identities were more dominant at times than others. Although her language, culture, and history varied from dominant U.S. culture, she found unity in difference. This constituted a new identity through what Yarbrow-Bejarano called a politics of articulation. Although people may not share the same natural identification, they can create a shared narrative (1994). For example, a person not of Mexican ancestry could support the Chicano movement, because they identify with the narrative of injustice. Anzaldúa's new *mestizo*, or Chicana, has the ability to recognize her dual identity and accept it (Yarbrow-Bejarano, 1994). She took responsibility for finding a way to integrate her identities in a peaceful way.

La frontera o Borderlands: A New Perspective

How can we use the concept of *coexisting identities* to improve the relationship between Mexican and U.S. cultures? Since identities naturally resist change, it typically requires long periods of time to produce even subtle changes; however, the research of Burke and Stets found four sources of change. First, situations can disrupt meanings in a way that the individual cannot counter. Second, when conflicting identities are activated at the same time, the individual is forced to choose one over the other. Third, due to circumstances and human nature, actions will not always be consistent with the identity standard. Finally, negotiation and the presence of others can result in taking the role of others and adapting for mutual verification (175-176). To produce improvements in U.S. and Mexican relations, this is the type of sociological change we need to see. It requires a move away from ethnocentrism toward greater cultural sensitivity.

Based on the principles of identity formation, there are three actions that each society could take to develop its understanding of the other. Childhood cultural surroundings and modeling create the first stage of character formation. Children need exposure to other cultures at a young age. Teachers have the responsibility to model acceptance of other ethnic groups, as well as to present students with opportunities to learn about them. The second method of identity formation is direct socialization or training. In U.S. society, citizens are trained to think from an American perspective. To increase cultural intelligence, intentional training needs to highlight the dynamics of culture and how a Mexican/U.S. frame might vary the perspective of the same event. To prepare students for an increasingly global world, cultural intelligence training should occur prior to post secondary education. Finally, reflected appraisals, how a person thinks others define him or her, influence how a person sees himself or herself. For example, if a student believes they are considered bright and hard working, they are likely to attempt to maintain that perception. In the example of Chicana women, their culture told them they had three options. Only a few brave women like Anzaldúa were able to challenge that standard.

Modeling, direct socializing, and reflected appraisals imply specific and actual policy changes that could be made, as well as necessary steps in education reform. By looking at the conflict from a sociological perspective rather than political or economical, the heart of the issue remains centered on the people of each nation, their identities, and their relationships. While education and policy reforms may be more all encompassing, individuals can look for ways to create a positive dialog between different cultural backgrounds. In his article on Conflict Transformation, Paul Lederach stated,

While rarely explicitly addressed, identity shapes and moves the expression of conflict. At the deepest level it is lodged in the narratives of

how people see themselves, who they are, where they come from, and what they fear they will become. It is also deeply rooted in their relationships with others (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 17).

Lederach suggests that one transformational practice is to develop the ability to perceive ipseity and relational elements of a conflict and engage them. Finding a place where people can respond to the others identity without reacting is the main challenge (2003). Successful dialog will not merely focus on finding a solution but also on building common ground. Due to the slow changing nature of selfhood, this is likely to be an ongoing learning process. Additionally, Lederach posits that there are more ways to learn about identity and deepen relationships than face-to-face interaction. For example, music, sports and shared work on community parks, etc. offer the opportunity to build a shared existence based on a shared activity and interest. While cultural festivals do not offer an opportunity for ongoing dialog, they create a safe and fun place for families to experience other cultures (2003).

Conclusion

As we saw with isolated, Chicano, border communities, continuing the pattern of isolation between ethnic groups will only lead to more distrust of the “other”. Anzaldúa calls for a reckoning of her three cultures: white, Mexican and Indian. “... if going home is denied me then I will have to stand and claim my space, making a new culture—*una cultura mestizo*—with my own lumber, my own bricks and mortar and my own feminist architecture.” In the United States, there has been fear that Mexican immigrants will challenge what it means to be an American; however, research shows that each individual has multiple identities. In addition to personal identities, such as wife, son, or aunt, there can be dual cultural identities such as Irish, German, Italian, or Mexican American. If the people of the U.S. and Mexico learn to accept each other’s culture, the metamorphosis of the United States will continue as it always has as an immigrant nation. Each group influences the other and in the end makes it stronger.

People innately look at the world from the viewpoint of their cultural identity. By understanding the composition of an alien character, we can interpret a situation from one perspective, then put on another pair of tinted glasses and look at again. Different identities produce different perceptions. Being aware of the difference allows us to interact with cultural intelligence and address our identification needs as well as those of others.

Footnotes

¹Cultural Intelligence (CQ): “defined as the capability of an individual to function effectively in situations characterized by cultural diversity” (Ang and Van Dyne, 2008).

²Chicano movement: A Mexican American is “a citizen or resident of the U.S. of Mexican birth or descent.” The term Chicano is sometimes used interchangeably; however, it also applies to a political movement, which had its biggest push during the 1960s and 70s among U.S. college and university students (Rochín and Valdés, 2000).

³Traditional Chicano gender roles refer to a male dominated society that expects women to be centered on work at the home.

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COMMON PERCEPTION OF CHINESE COOPERATION IN AFGHANISTAN

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Abstract

In the article I will try to define Chinese macro-strategy in investing in Afghanistan. Then, analyzing data collected on the field with an interview, I will try to examine Afghan perception of Chinese presence. After data analysis I will try to establish if Chinese strategy is useful to the picture that China wants to show of its presence in Afghanistan and what are the possible correction for making it much efficient.

Keywords: Afghanistan, China, reconstruction, post-NATO intervention

Introduction:

China is strongly present in Afghanistan from 2002, just after the fall of *taleban*. China, without any military involvement either in ISAF or “Enduring Freedom “, took immediately part in a team of nation to rebuild Afghanistan. China participated to all the International meetings on Afghanistan (Bonn 2001, London 2006, Paris 2008, The Hague 2009, Bonn December 2011). China also hosted in Tianjin the Istanbul Ministerial Process, the major regional meeting between Afghanistan and its neighbors in 2014, assuming an higher profile in shaping the future of Afghanistan (Zhao, 2015).

China motivation in staying in Afghanistan can be considered through two possible interpretations. The first is the realistic interpretation (based on the assumption that China is attracted just by the Afghan resources), the second is security-leaded interpretation (improve Afghanistan security and disrupt terroristic groups linked with extremist groups operating in China to create a solid economic cooperation).

During my last mission in Afghanistan (March-October 2011) and thank to two of my collaborator that collected interviews for me (between September 2012 to December 2014) I realized a collection of Afghan perception of China intervention at various level (population, regional government, Kabul governmental). The interview submitted is composed by three simple and direct questions: What do you know about China presence

and initiatives in Afghanistan, do you think they are useful to Afghanistan too or just for China? What you think about Chinese presence: is it going to enrich Afghan and its population (in any way) or not? Do you think China presence in your country is it going to increase in future and you think is this a positive or negative factor? We submitted interview to a number (4873 subjects) of population in the provinces of: Herat, Kabul, Helmand, Badghis and Kandahar.

In the article I will try to explain the main motivations of China permanence in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and, analyzing the data collected on the field, asses if there is correspondence of analysis and what perceived from population. I will try to demonstrate if China joined its objectives with a positive perception of its soft power or a negative one and to delineate what could be the better adjustments to do to its staying in the area for better achieving its goal to maintain its soft-power picture. Afghan perception of China presence is fundamental for three main reasons. First of all Afghanistan is facing an intensive democratization process based also on ethnic integration. A negative perception of China presence could feed tension among ethnic groups, some of them more opened to integration with Chinese people, some of them are more narrow. A second motivation for which a positive image of China it's really important in country's future is that a negative picture could be used by extremist groups to strengthen their positions. Looking to China point of view we find the third reason for considering common Afghan perception of Chinese presence so important. China is basing its international policy on the soft-power concept of peaceful rise and to be seen as an hegemonic/imperialist power in a first impact scenario for international public opinion (as it is Afghanistan of post-NATO intervention) could have a really negative impact on its image. In some areas (as emerging from interview) China interest in resources exploitation and economy in general find the direct concurrence of Iran (strongly present in Herat and Farah provinces with FDI in particular) (Zonis, 2015). Soft-power field will probably where there will be major competition between Iran and China to obtain particular relations with Afghan economy of post-war period.

In my analysis I will try to assess if China presence in Afghanistan is really based on soft-power, and explain in which cases this is successful and in which not. I will try as well to define what could be better improvements for this strategy and so what we should expect from PRC on the next years.

I.

At the end of military intervention in Afghanistan China has become the third country for volume of investments. Since 2010 China started to increase investment in Afghanistan. In 2013 China presence in Afghanistan

can be assessed in a total of: 2,9 billion of USD invested in mineral sources extraction and 400 million of USD invested in energy production (mainly exported to China)^{viii} China's most notable efforts include a \$3.5 billion project for the development of the Aynak copper mine in Logar Province and all the infrastructures (transport and electricity-generating facilities) (Heritage Foundation, 2015). That is the largest foreign direct investment in Afghanistan's history. Investments in mines have been realized under the aegis of Afghan Ministry of Mines Wahidullah Shaharani. China's biggest part of investments are concentrated in mines and facilities regarding them.

By the 2015 NATO withdraw from Afghanistan it has almost completed but Afghanistan is still not self-sufficient and, as reminded by Afghan officials in various occasions as President Ashraf Ghani did on 18 September 2014. Afghanistan also signed on 30 September 2014 for the permanence of 9800 US soldiers and 2000 NATO soldiers.

China presence can be considered essentially through two factors: realistic, and based on security motivation.

The first factor is motivated by the China needs of power and natural resources. This factor is especially highlighted by China investments in mines and oil plant. Afghanistan has abundant non-fuel mineral resources, including a wide variety of minerals ranging from copper, iron, and sulfur to bauxite, lithium and gold. China invested in copper mines like Mes Aynak in Logar Province and Aybak in Samangan and is looking for new, available resources sites (Downs 2013).

The second factor of PRC presence in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is to create economic and political conditions to avoid a future reborn of an extremist government (like *Taliban*) in Afghanistan. Political stability will be required for economic stability of Afghanistan and would give to China a more reliable partner in economic relationships. In effect China and Afghanistan border for few kilometers but that border has been a chokepoint for passage of Islamic extremists (Ramannullah, 2010). China presence in Afghanistan is largely motivated by Chinese Communist Party concern over the stability of Xinjiang Region. That region, in Turkic definition named "East Turkestan" is the biggest threat to the stability of China coming from inside, while Afghanistan can be considered as the most impellent threat from outside. During *taleban* regime Afghanistan became a reliable safe haven for extremist coming from Xinjiang and a base for "East Turkestan" organizations. The *Taliban* were the spiritual agitator and material supplier for "East Turkestan" extremists. There are not yet certain indicators on how many extremist fled from China to Afghanistan to find a safe haven or to be trained and to fight in Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001 and from 2001 to current day but they seems to be around thousands. So, as natural, any kind of interpretation has to take in consideration economic

motivations: first one as just resources exploitation or (second one) as the try to build a stable and reliable economy to cooperate with. The last interpretation is also the broader one and provide a more complete view of Chinese policy. In fact, in this vision China considers primarily the importance of its presence in Afghanistan as a stabilizing element to keep on exploit afghan mineral sources and, at the same time, is aware that giving chances for an economic development to a friendly government is going to reduce extremist fall-out in the country.

So the second explanation, sustained also by an amount of bibliography (Gries, 2015, Keller & Rawsky, 2015, Yuan, 1999, Breslin, 2010, World Bank 2010) is the most complete and probably the best to be taken in account trying to examine the perception of Chinese permanence in the area. Mechanism of increasing the presence and increment investments motivating them with a safety explanation too is important also in the building of Chinese smart power. China is asserting in its international relations to be a power in a 和平 发展 (peaceful development) starting from Hu Jintao Era. All the new Chinese Diplomacy is based on that concept of Peaceful Power and so it's really important for PRC that every kind of Chinese foreign action is justified with peaceful motivations.

Following this interpretation of Chinese behavior in the Islamic Republic is deeply linked to Afghan perception of China presence. In fact, as explained in the introduction, a bad perception of Chinese presence by Afghans could increase the risk of worsening the governance and increase extremism. A negative view of China behavior in a first media impact situation as post-NATO Afghanistan is could also seriously damage the Chinese peaceful power general picture (Wo-Lap Lam, 2010).

I collected data during my last ISAF mission deployment in 2011 and thank to some my colleagues employed in Afghanistan in 2012, 2013 and 2014. We started to interview people from September 2011 (when Chinese presence in Afghanistan was already shaped) until 2015.

We managed to interview three officials from Kabul government, 13 people from Regional Government of Herat and 4873 subjects from population of the following provinces: Herat, Kabul, Helmand, Badghis and Kandahar. For clear cultural reasons around 90% of interviewed people were men. The difficulties that I faced in the field to interview women were bypassed (when it was possible), asking the elder representing the community or to a relative to be means of communication between female interviewed and interpreter. Shortage of women interviewed is mitigated from the not primary role that they have in Afghan political world. Unfortunately in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan women have still not a substantial equality of rights with men and in terms of policy and public opinion influence men's point of view is much more relevant.

For the officials interviewed (central and regional governments) out of a total of 16, six were from Hizb-ut Tahrir Party (a really strong Islamic party), two represented the Wahadat Islami (another Islamic semi-radical force), four from Jumhuri Afghanistan (a Republican moderate forces) and four (in Herat provincial government), were part of regional movement. I tried to give the larger picture I could of the various movements, taking in account difficulties and obstacles in interviewing people.

Ethnic issue is also a first importance aspect, Afghan ethnic composition is based in two main groups: Pashtun (43% of population) and Tajik (around 16%), five less numerous (Hazara, Uzbek, Aymak, Turkmen, Baloch) and a large number of minorities (Pashai, Nuristani, Arabs, Pamiri ecc.). Traditionally Pashtun, a fierce population based on tribal uses and particular code of behavior (*pashtunwali*), are against ethnic integration and foreign presence is often seen as an interference in their tribal world. From Pashtun we should expect a negative judge on Chinese presence. Instead Tajik are more opened to integration and developed a more inclusive way of life, e.g. percentage of Tajik employed in State administration is higher compared to Pashtun. In my sample for interview I tried to respect ethnic percentage but that was possible just for Herat and Kabul (in the other areas, being already a good result to be able to interview people, I chose to take in consideration all the data collected).

As a general consideration, sample interviewed are not proportionally corresponding to ethnic/genre of Afghan people composition but, considering the particular difficulty of the area I decided to elaborate them in any case.

For all the interviewed people we proposed just three simple questions:

1) What do you know about China presence and initiatives in Afghanistan, do you think they are useful to Afghanistan too or just for China?

2)What you think about Chinese presence: is it going to enrich Afghan and its population (in any way) or not?

3)Do you think China presence in your country is it going to increase in future and you think is this a positive or negative factor?

I will examine first the answers given by officials from Kabul central government.

China presence and initiatives in Afghanistan: do you think they are useful to Afghanistan too or just for China?	Useful for both: 3	Useful just for China: 0	
Chinese presence: is it going to enrich Afghan and its population (in any way) or not?	Enrich, especially economically: 3	No: 0	
China presence in your country is it going to increase in future and you think is this a positive or negative factor?	Yes, positive: 2	No: 0	No, negative: 1

Data referred to officials from Central Government of Kabul interviewed on the field in 2011-2015.

In examining first and second part of data we must take in account the political faction and the corruption problems emerged in Afghanistan especially in regional governments. Majority of interviewed are part of Islamic parties this could influence in a negative way the judgement of Chinese presence (as China is formally a communist state), despite of this the officials opinion is strongly positive. We should consider even corruption problem. Corruption, as recognized from Afghan government itself it's one of the biggest problem of Afghan governance. Corruption in the country has really become impressive especially from 2010. In every kind of interpretation of officials declaration we should take in account that people interviewed could be involved in bribery linked to concession to Chinese Companies. Corruption could influence decision of conceding sources exploitation to China and the opinion about Chinese presence in the area. Anyhow the article it is not really interested in motivation of opinion released but in understanding what is the real opinion of Afghan people about Chinese presence (Gombert, Binnendijk and Lin, 2014) .

The officials opinion of Chinese activities in the country is really positive and 2 of them are already thinking that China investments are going to increase in the nearest future and they hope so for Afghan economy. This particular situation could be result of a corrupt regime, but it's anyway a good result for Chinese image and soft-power.

Second part of data concerns regional governments, they are really partial because we were able to collect data just from Herat region (for logistic and security reasons).

China presence and initiatives in Afghanistan: do you think they are useful to Afghanistan too or just for China?	Useful for both: 11	Useful just for China: 2	
Chinese presence: is it going to enrich Afghan and its population (in any way) or not?	Enrich, especially economically: 9	No: 4	
China presence in your country is it going to increase in future and you think is this a positive or negative factor?	Yes, positive: 8	No, positive: 1	No, negative: 4

Data referred to officials from Regional Government of Herat interviewed on the field in 2011-2015.

Data shown in the second table start to differentiate the view of Chinese presence, in particular we can notice this from answers to the second question. Four officials out of 13 from Herat Government think that economic investment of PRC in Afghanistan they are not going to enrich their country, at least economically. Some of them think that Chinese presence is a good deterrence for insurgency or a less incumbent to NATO forces, but they don't think is an economical positive factor in this moment. This point is particularly important by the fact that has emerged from officials of a Regional Government. The fact could imply that Regional Governments are less touched by corruption related problems than Central regarding resources allocation and exploitation. This could happen because mines and mineral resources exploitation are generally allocated at Central political level by Ministry of Mines. A second cause for the slightly worse opinion of China presence could be the Iran influence in Herat area. Iran borders Afghanistan for 940 km, touching provinces of Herat, Farah and Nimruz. Iran is really involved in Afghanistan reconstruction and strongly interested in post-war Afghanistan economy, either for economical motivations and for religious/cultural motivations (Zonis, 2015). In fact Shi'a religion watch with a particular attention Afghanistan and will try to influence the new Islamic Republic particularly to avoid dangerous Sunni manifestation like Arab influence and *taleban* phenomenon. Iran invested in realizing an hospital in Herat and a power plant in Farah and both population gather economic advantages from borders exchanges. Iran, after the end of Iran-Pakistan pipeline project in 2013-2014 (for which project invested an huge amount of economic resources), has tried with its influence, to colder

the project for TAPI pipeline, a concurrent pipeline supposed to cross Afghanistan starting from Turkestan for proceeding in Pakistan and India.

While Iran is trying to pose obstacles to TAPI project China is strongly sustaining it. In fact China is trying to insert in the project a branch heading to its hub port in Pakistan (Gwadar) and it's also supporting it's special ally Pakistan. Actually Beijing has a special alliance with Islamabad lasting from 1951, renewed through the years and renewed as Nawaz Sharif was elected as Prime Minister in 2013 (Magnani, 2012). So we can't avoid to consider confrontation of Pakistan (Sunni Islamic Republic) with Iran (Islamic Shi'a Republic and stronghold of Shi'a), and, in doing this consider that China position will probably be always supporting Pakistan (Ebinger, 2015). Pakistan government needs a moderate government in Afghanistan, preferably with a majority of Pashtun in administrative charges. First condition is necessary to have a safe neighbor with a good economy to cooperate with. While second aspect would be best option to create stability and conditions of governance in the Northern territories named Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). These regions (inhabited by fierce Pashtun tribes) are nominally controlled by Pakistan, but ruled through a tribal system (similar to *pashtunwali*) by Pashtun, and frontier line is not a real border but much more a communication area between Pashtun populations. To have a moderate and friendly Pashtun government in Afghanistan would mean for Pakistan to have a better control of its FATA (Shah, Busha, 2015). For these motivations China and Iran are at the present concurrent with their presence in Afghanistan and, again, one of the better strategy to win the game can be convincing Afghan population of their more friendly role (compared to the other).

When we pass to take in exams data collected from population of Herat we have a bigger amount of people interviewed and in these cases I decide to register also the number of people that didn't want to answers to one or more questions.

China presence and initiatives in Afghanistan: do you think they are useful to Afghanistan too or just for China?	Useful for both: 427	Useful just for China: 516		Prefer not to answer: 301
Chinese presence: is it going to enrich Afghan and its population (in any way) or	Enrich, especially economically: 329	No: 563		Prefer not to answer: 352

not?				
China presence in your country is it going to increase in future and you think is this a positive or negative factor?	Yes, positive: 212	No, positive: 227	No, negative: 124	Yes, negative: 363 Prefer not to answer: 318

Data referred to Herat province population interviewed on the field in 2011-2015.

Total number of Afghans interviewed in Herat province is 1244, a lot of them didn't want to answer to one or more questions giving various motivations. Percentage of people refusing to answer is around 25%, common population is still too influenced by the fear of insurgents to answer freely to the question and in some cases ignore completely the subject. Second case happens in Herat province because Chinese presence is really weak compared to provinces as Kabul or Mazar I Sharif. As shown from various indicators, Herat province there is a stronger presence of Iranian enterprises than Chinese enterprises (Committee on Foreign Relations US Senate, 2013). Anyhow Herat population examined shows a less positive vision of Chinese presence respect to the officials point of view and we can see that more than 50% consider it a negative factor or at least useless from the economic point of view. It should be highlighted in particular the answer on the fifth column of the third question: 363 Afghans out of 1244 interviewed in Herat province believe that Chinese presence is going to increase in future and see this as a negative factor.

After Herat I will examine data collected from population of Kabul: the capital.

China presence and initiatives in Afghanistan: do you think they are useful to Afghanistan too or just for China?	Useful for both: 473	Useful just for China: 299		Prefer not to answer: 155
Chinese presence: is it going to enrich Afghan and its population (in any way) or not?	Enrich, especially economically: 449	No: 237		Prefer not to answer: 241
China presence in your country	Yes, positive: 374	No, positive: 137	No, negative: 216	Yes, negative: 96

is it going to increase in future and you think is this a positive or negative factor?				Prefer not to answer: 104
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Data referred to Kabul province population interviewed on the field in 2011-2015.

In Kabul province population interviewed is more supportive of China and Chinese initiatives in Afghanistan, in fact we can highlight the positive vision of a future bigger involvement of China in the area for 354 people out of 927 interviewed. Near the capital population can express more freely their opinions without fearing insurgents threatening and we can deduce this from fact that just 17% of population interviewed in Kabul province prefer not to answer. Better vision of China presence and more supportive attitude to Chinese investments can be assessed as a result of a better knowledge of Chinese presence. In fact Chinese presence in Kabul is one of the biggest in Afghanistan due to the mineral complex of Mes Aynak. Probably we can deduce (without prejudice) that a great part of negative perception of Chinese perception is due to scarce knowledge of their effective actions in Afghanistan.

Then we can examine data coming from Helmand province, one of the most troubled from 2010 to current days.

China presence and initiatives in Afghanistan: do you think they are useful to Afghanistan too or just for China?	Useful for both: 403	Useful just for China: 251		Prefer not to answer: 391
Chinese presence: is it going to enrich Afghan and its population (in any way) or not?	Enrich, especially economically: 417	No: 237		Prefer not to answer: 391
China presence in your country is it going to increase in future and you think is this a positive or negative factor?	Yes, positive: 326	No, positive: 128	No, negative: 137	Yes, negative: 70 Prefer not to answer: 384

Data referred to Helmand province population interviewed on the field in 2011-2015.

In the Helmand province, place of one of the strongest insurgent presence from 2010 to current days, we find a percentage of people refusing to answer running around 37%. Even if population is feared of contact with western people there is a good consideration of Chinese presence, e.g. the answer to the question “Chinese presence: is it going to enrich Afghan and its population (in any way) or not?” for 427 people is “Yes, especially economically”, 391 refuse to answer and just 237 say “No”. Among people interviewed there is a good perception of Chinese investments and investors especially if compared to Herat province. In particular Chinese presence is seen as a good economical factor for helping the Afghan development.

We can find data similar in Badghis, a poor province located in Northeastern part of Afghanistan (North of Herat).

China presence and initiatives in Afghanistan: do you think they are useful to Afghanistan too or just for China?	Useful for both: 396	Useful just for China: 281		Prefer not to answer: 301
Chinese presence: is it going to enrich Afghan and its population (in any way) or not?	Enrich, especially economically: 403	No: 274		Prefer not to answer: 301
China presence in your country is it going to increase in future and you think is this a positive or negative factor?	Yes, positive: 377	No, positive: 117	No, negative: 133	Yes, negative: 50 Prefer not to answer: 301

Data referred to Badghis province population interviewed on the field in 2011-2015.

Data collected in Badghis are really similar to those of Helmand apart from people refusing to answer (that are less: around 30%). We could interpret this tendency noting that the province is far away Iranian influence (compared to Herat) even if there aren't any mines in the region and Chinese influence is limited to commerce of goods (cars and other). In general in Badghis too there is a good consideration of Chinese presence and for example 403 people out of 978 thinks that Chinese presence is positive and it is going to enrich the country.

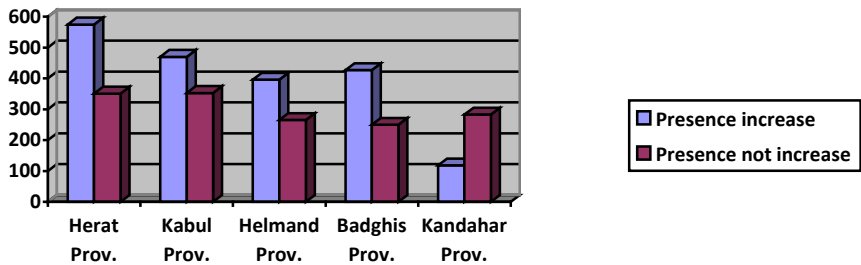
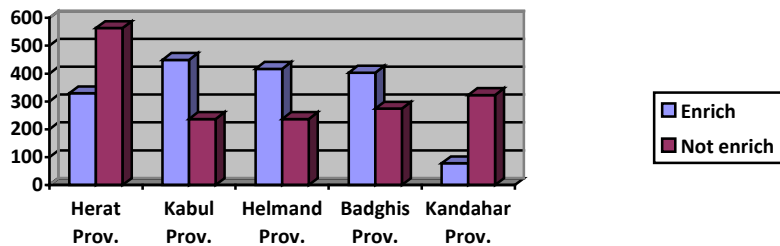
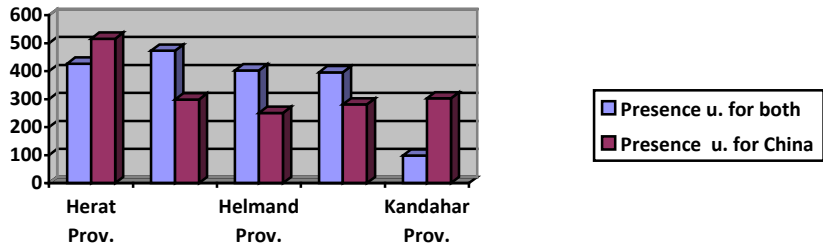
At the end we can check data coming from Kandahar province, in the South of the country.

China presence and initiatives in Afghanistan: do you think they are useful to Afghanistan too or just for China?	Useful for both: 98	Useful just for China: 303		Prefer not to answer: 278
Chinese presence: is it going to enrich Afghan and its population (in any way) or not?	Enrich, especially economically: 78	No: 323		Prefer not to answer: 278
China presence in your country is it going to increase in future and you think is this a positive or negative factor?	Yes, positive: 75	No, positive: 151	No, negative: 132	Yes, negative: 43 Prefer not to answer: 278

Data referred to Kandahar province population interviewed on the field in 2011-2015.

In this case we witness a complete falling of trust in Chinese investments and presence. First of all we have to preface that 40% of people interviewed prefer not to answer: an huge number, huge especially when compared to other provinces. Fear manifested by population is probably caused by the historical role of Kandahar as an insurgency strong point. Mistrust of Chinese influence takes common people interviewed to declare in 323 (out of 679 interviewed and 278 refusing to answer) that China is investing in Afghanistan just for its proper benefit (they are 80% of people answering to the question). There is an enormous diffidence toward China and Chinese policy. In Kandahar province there aren't mines or other particular signs of Chinese presence but we can't explain with just this lack of knowledge the 80% of negative perception. Diffidence and mistrust have probably ethnic origin, in fact Kandahar is principally inhabited by Pashtuns. As explained above, Pashtuns are a fierce tribal population of this country, following Tajiks for percentage in Afghanistan have a really strong and narrow cultural system called *pashtunwali*. *Pashtunwali* code is really strict and probably it causes a scarce integration with foreign people, particularly, in this case, Chinese. In correspondence with Pashtun ethnic group we collected more negative data about Chinese involvement in Afghanistan.

With the same data I produced a series of three graphics (one for each question) which highlight immediately the differences among the five provinces (in term of people accepting to answer and positive/negative answers):



Analyzing data we saw a tendency to consider Chinese presence more positively in the higher classes: officials in Kabul and Herat provinces have a better opinion compared to common people. The scarcity of knowledge of Chinese reality could take less instructed people to the common error of considering China (a formally communist State) as directly linked to old USSR. We shouldn't forget the invasion of Afghanistan by a communist regime that occupied with violence the region from 1979 to 1989 and left it

in a Civil War. This can be one of the motivation for the difference of opinions in the different samples.

Assessing common people opinion in various provinces we noticed a vision becoming more and more good starting from provinces with scarce Chinese presence to provinces with a bigger amount of Chinese investments. For example we noticed a worse opinion in Herat (where there is a really low Chinese rate of investments) than in Kabul. This perception has been confirmed also during interviews: people not knowing Chinese initiative treated them with particular diffidence.

Conclusion:

This analysis of Chinese interests, policies, and Afghan perception in regard of the economic exploitation of Afghan sources needs a fundamental preface to better understand Běijīng behaviors. It is what discussed in first part of the article: Chinese motivations of presence in Afghanistan. China knows that its presence in Afghanistan is a stabilizing element to keep on exploit afghan mineral sources and, at the same time, is aware that giving chances for an economic development to a friendly government is going to reduce extremist fall-out in the future (Liu, 2002). Běijīng has positioned itself as supportive of Afghanistan's long-term stability and prosperity though essentially civilian and limited political, economic, and diplomatic assistance. It has also been careful to remain on good terms with the Kabul authorities without offending the Pashtuns.

China's interests and policies toward Afghanistan generally agreed with Islamabad's desire to improve relations with Kabul, and to prevent excessive U.S. pressure and incursions on Pakistani sovereignty. We have also to remind traditional friendship between China and Pakistan to maintain which both countries are always trying to have same policy in Central Asia (especially with Kabul).

To maintain this policy and its general foreign policy Běijīng needs to be seen as a peaceful power and to improve its soft power. So the perception of Chinese presence by Afghan people it is object of primary importance either to avoid future increase of political instability and to increase first Chinese foreign policy leverage: soft power.

Analyzing data on the one hand we have seen that good opinion on Chinese presence largely depends on knowledge that Afghan can have of Chinese investments and (naturally) from economic benefits that they can obtain (in fact in the areas nearer Chinese biggest facilities and installations opinion were more positive than in the others). On the other hand we notice that where there is scant knowledge of Chinese economic activity or a more narrow cultural system (like *pashtunwali*) we find a bad conception of Chinese policy. My main conclusions so is that to improve its influence in

stabilizing Afghanistan China needs to diversify its investments in type and in geographical location. Also could be really useful for China to work in spreading its culture among Afghans like it did in Pakistan.

For same motivations could be interested to conduct a research specifically on this aspect: “How knowledge of Chinese presence can influence positively Afghan perception of Chinese investments?”

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EXPLORING CHALLENGES OF TRANS-DISCIPLINARY RESEARCH: AN AUSTRALIAN CASE STUDY

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Abstract

If multidisciplinary research is described as ‘additive’ and interdisciplinary work as ‘interactive’, then a trans-disciplinary project might be best characterized as ‘holistic’. The \$10 million Australian research program *Securing Australia’s Future* (SAF), runs from 2012 to 2016. The aim of the SAF program is to develop evidence-based findings to support public policy-making. The program includes a number of projects that are clearly interdisciplinary in nature. In each case, the research makes use of a conceptual model to link theoretical frameworks from several disciplines. This approach has already been usefully applied across studies as diverse as scientific and cultural diplomacy; economic competitiveness; and shale gas production. One of the latest studies in the SAF program is concerned with sustainable urban mobility. In this case, it might be said that the aim is more than interdisciplinary. The ambition is to develop new conceptual structures beyond discipline-specific views. In other words, the study aims to be trans-disciplinary. The paper describes the unfolding plan for delivering such a trans-disciplinary study; identifies critical components of an holistic approach; and proposes methods for evaluating the relative success of the project.

Keywords: ACOLA, Australia, trans-disciplinary studies, sustainable urban mobility, research management

Introduction

Both interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary research typically involve collaboration between investigators or scholars from different disciplines. In one definition⁸⁹, what distinguishes the one from the other is

⁸⁹ Choi BC and Pak AW Multidisciplinarity, interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity in health research, services, education and policy *Clinical and Investigative Medicine* 2006 Dec

the fact that while interdisciplinary work makes use of a conceptual model to link or integrate theoretical frameworks from those disciplines, the trans-disciplinary approach seeks to “integrate natural, social and health sciences in a humanities context”⁹⁰ and thereby transcend all the traditional boundaries.

Take the simple example of a woman walking across a footbridge over a deep chasm, on her way from one village to another: something one might see happening in a rural area anywhere in the world. An interdisciplinary study could make use of, for instance, principles of architecture or building science, engineering, public health, sports medicine and social behaviour to understand how the woman negotiates the bridge. We will learn the size of the bridge, its load-bearing capacity, the formulas used to determine the strength of beams, cables and ropes. The study might explore the bio-mechanics of an active mode of transportation; energy expended and the balance of exercise and diet. And we may learn something about how frequently the woman makes the journey and what the economic implications are.

A trans-disciplinary approach would also want to understand *why* the woman might be crossing that bridge; what the crossing says about her personal beliefs and values; what the journey signifies to her; and what it could mean to the people on either side. Clearly the trans-disciplinary approach is likely to lead to a richer understanding of what is taking place, possibly even a universal understanding, common to many cultures.

But the difficulty is this: trans-disciplinarity extends beyond the exact sciences into the realm of art, literature, poetry and even spiritual experience. Trans-disciplinary work is therefore complex, contestable, often culture-specific and inevitably messy. It involves “an acceptance of the unknown, the unexpected and the unforeseeable.”⁹¹

ACOLA manages projects that aim, in one way or another, to build such conceptual bridges. The purpose of this paper is to describe a major Australian interdisciplinary research program and then to use one of the twelve projects of that program as a case study, to explore some of the challenges of the trans-disciplinary approach.

⁹⁰ *ibid*

⁹¹ Holistic Education Network of Tasmania, www.hent.org/transdisciplinary.htm (14 Jan 2011)



Arunachal Pradesh, India *tectonicablog.com*

The research program securing australia's future (saf)

In June 2012 the Australian Government announced a project called *Securing Australia's Future* (SAF), a \$10 million investment in a series of strategic research projects selected by the Prime Minister's Science, Engineering and Innovation Council (PMSEIC⁹²) and the Chief Scientist. Coordinated by the Australian Council of Learned Academies (ACOLA), Australia's four Academies⁹³ began collaborating to deliver evidence-based interdisciplinary research in support of policy development.

Securing Australia's Future is a response to global and national changes and the opportunities and challenges of an economy in transition. Maintaining the status quo is not seen as an option. The topics ACOLA investigates have discrete problems to be explored, but they are also multifaceted, crossing a range of related matters and interconnecting with social, cultural, scientific, economic, technological and governance factors.

Managing this program for ACOLA has thrown up many significant challenges for the Secretariat. Those were reported on at the *1st Annual International Interdisciplinary Conference*, held in Ponta Delgada in 2013.⁹⁴

The *SAF* program was conceived as a series of interdisciplinary studies that would produce findings. These findings might then serve as the basis for policy recommendations from the Chief Scientist to the Australian Federal Cabinet. The policy environment that prevails in Canberra varies

⁹² In 2014, the Australian Government announced the Commonwealth Science Council, to replace PMSEIC

⁹³ Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, Australian Academy of the Humanities, Australian Academy of Science, Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering

⁹⁴ de Vos Malan, J *Collaboration, Knowledge and the Trans-disciplinary Manager: Helping interdisciplinary research projects to flourish* European Scientific Journal (June 2013)

with changes in Government and the Government has already changed once since the program began. Enough to say that at present ACOLA reports are delivered into a conservative political culture based on the ideals of neo-liberalism. The widespread view of scholars is that neo-liberalism is not a positive environment for the humanities.⁹⁵ The confusion of market values with ethics has led to all sorts of contradictions⁹⁶ and a situation where too many policy-makers know “the price of everything and the value of nothing”⁹⁷, as Oscar Wilde wrote.

To return to the analogy of the woman crossing the footbridge from one village to another: there may be some purpose in understanding her journey through an (however-multi-disciplinary) economic-rationalist lens. Yet, in the words of Joseph Stiglitz, “the power of markets is enormous, but they have no inherent moral character”.⁹⁸ The deeper understanding of the journey that might include the answers to: *why?* and *what-does-it-signify?* and *how does it add to the quality of people’s lives?* – those will come only with a trans-disciplinary approach.

The sort of projects ACOLA undertakes are very complex⁹⁹. They include understanding a sustainable future for agriculture, on the driest continent on earth; engaging young people in mathematics, science and technology – the *hard* stuff – rather than just fashion and celebrities; maximizing Australia’s relative proximity to the booming economies of Asia, in ways that will last longer than the current demand for Australian raw materials; and deciding whether or not hydraulic fracking is safe *enough* that the benefits outweigh the risks. These are often what are called ‘wicked problems’. Apart from requiring multiple, innovative solutions that can be modified as the problem evolves, they also demand engagement and consultation with citizens and stakeholders in policy-making and implementation: the complex, contestable, messy ‘human factor’.

⁹⁵ Sukys, PA Dehumanizing the Humanities: Neoliberalism and the Unethical Dimension of the Market Ethic Forum on Public Policy Spring 2009; Hyslop-Margison, EA and Leonard HA Post Neo-Liberalism and the Humanities: What the Repressive State Apparatus Means for Universities CSSHE Vol. 42, no. 2 (2012)

⁹⁶ Duménil D and Lévy D The Nature and Contradictions of Neoliberalism CEPREMAP-CNRS (10 May 2005) <http://www.jourdan.ens.fr/levy/dle2002c.pdf>

⁹⁷ Bill Shorten MP, Leader of the Opposition, Interview at Shepparton (3 Feb 2014): “The problem with the Abbott Government is they know the price of everything and the value of nothing...”

⁹⁸ Stiglitz, JE The Price of Inequality: How Today’s Divided Society Endangers our Future (2012)

⁹⁹ <http://www.acola.org.au/index.php/projects/securing-australia-s-future>

Specific case study: sustainable urban mobility project

The formal project summary reads in part as follows: “Projected urban expansion and the residential expectations of many Australians, are raising acute questions relating to the planning and provision of social, economic and physical infrastructure, with mobility and accessibility at the centre..... This project will synthesize cutting-edge research on alternatives, which look at optimising the transport system for lower emissions within and between innovative urban infrastructures, and will examine effective ways to counter the institutional and cultural obstacles to transformational change”.¹⁰⁰

To understand the context in which this project arose, it is necessary to highlight three different concepts:

- The phenomenon of urbanization and its impacts
- The concept of the ‘smart city’
- The growing international interest in ‘sustainable urban mobility’ planning

Global urbanization¹⁰¹

We have been establishing large and permanent human settlements since the time that agriculture first became stabilised. There were early cities in Mesopotamia, Syria and Anatolia. In the first millennium BC, the Greeks created the original city-states and the notion of ‘citizenship’ arose. There were ancient cities in Africa, the Americas, Europe and Asia. Wherever humans assembled a surplus of resources, a city arose: to defend itself and to trade with others. Cities demand infrastructure and we have been fitting and re-fitting the built landscape ever since. Not all of these cities succeeded. Natural catastrophe – including fire, flood and volcano (Pompeii), war (Troy) and even divine intervention (Sodom and Gomorrah) have destroyed cities.

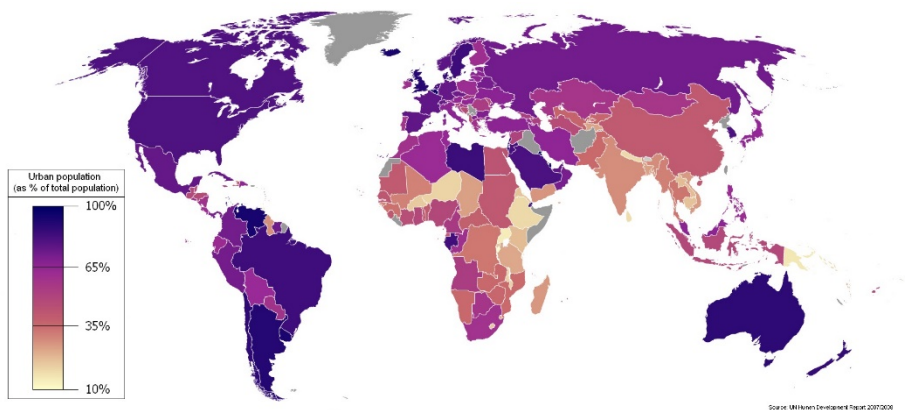
In modern times, the scale and speed of urbanisation has reached unprecedented levels across the world. ‘Megacities’ are often defined as metropolitan areas with a population of more than 10M. In 1950, only New York would have qualified as a megacity. There are now 33 of these worldwide. Together, they are home to 600 million people, or nearly 10% of the world population. Most megacities are in the northern hemisphere in Asia, North America and Europe. However, there are 3 in Africa (Cairo, Kinshasa and Lagos) and 3 in South America (Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Buenos Aires). Within the next eleven years, it’s expected that Asia alone will have another 5 megacities.

¹⁰⁰ *Securing Australia’s Future – Sustainable Urban Mobility* <http://www.acola.org.au>

¹⁰¹ Kleeman, Grant et al *Pearson Geography* 8 (2013)

It's been calculated (by Karen Seto of Yale University) that if the population increases to add another 3.2 Billion people by 2100 and those people are accommodated mostly in 1-million person cities, then we will need to build a new 1 million-person city every 10 days throughout the twenty-first century.

So, whereas two hundred years ago, only 3% of the world's population lived in cities at all, the figure will soon be 60%. Clearly urbanization is here to stay.



World urbanisation in 2005 UN Human Development Report 2007/08

Impacts of this trend

The most rapid rates of urbanisation are in developing countries. For many people, life in the city has not lived up to the expectations that attracted them in the first place.¹⁰² At least 1 Billion (or 14%) of the world population lives in shantytowns or informal settlements on the fringe of cities. In 15 years time, we expect the number living in shanties and slums of all kinds to double. This ongoing shift of people around the world has major consequences for family life, rural economies, carbon emissions and water consumption. Urbanisation has provided an escape from rural poverty for many, but also led to disastrous changes in quality of life for others.

The uneven impact of urbanisation is just one of the major transitions that are characteristic of our time identified by Aromar Revi, Director of the Indian Institute for Human Settlements¹⁰³.

¹⁰² World Health Organisation www.who.int/ceh/indicators/informalsettlements.pdf

¹⁰³ Revi, A Video presentation to the *Cities in Future Earth Conference*, Canberra (8 Dec 2014)



Soweto, South Africa (pop 2 million) *Matt-80* Tondo, Manila (after 2012 fire) *AFP/Getty*

Others include changes to demography, health patterns, education, livelihoods and energy.

Australia

Settlement in Australia has followed its own rules. Estimates of the Indigenous population prior to European settlement range between 300,000 and 1,250,000. It is agreed that European colonisation had a disastrous effect on the Aboriginal population, through frontier violence and the impact of new diseases.¹⁰⁴ In June 2001, the Australian Bureau of Statistics estimated the total resident Indigenous population to be 458,520 or 2.2% of the population. Aboriginal settlement or at least areas-of-association may once have been as widespread and diverse as illustrated in the map shown at figure 1. But Indigenous people, as elsewhere in the world, sat very lightly on the landscape in environmental terms. Since the eighteenth-century, a different pattern of industrialised settlement has emerged and the 23 million people who live in Australia today are heavily concentrated. As shown in Figure 2, 76% of the population lives on less than 10% of the land.¹⁰⁵ This is a continent roughly the same size as the United States or 150% the size of Europe. Some 20% of the continent is technically desert and another 70% is what we call ‘outback’ or ‘the bush’.

¹⁰⁴ Australian Government Director of National Parks
[http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/tourism/uluru/downloads/Aboriginal population statistics.pdf](http://learnline.cdu.edu.au/tourism/uluru/downloads/Aboriginal%20population%20statistics.pdf)

¹⁰⁵ *A Greater Australia: Population, Policies and Governance* CEDA (2012)

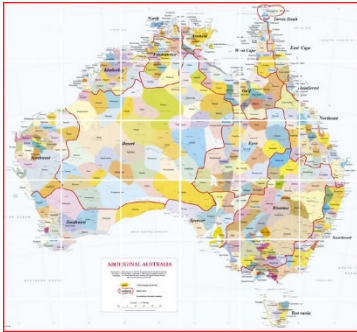


Figure 1 David R Horton

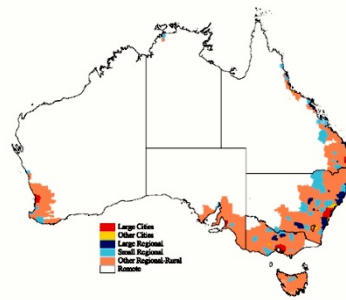


Figure 2 ABS (1995)



Outback Australia Brian Voon Yee Yap Melbourne, Australia (pop 3.7 million) Mark Smith

Australia has no megacities. We have five state capital cities with populations of between 1 and 4M and three capital cities with considerable smaller populations. Our cities rate high on measures of liveability, but they have environmental footprints that are not sustainable.¹⁰⁶ Buenos Aires, for example, is placed only slightly below Australian cities on the liveability index, but with a considerably lighter ecological footprint (2.5 Ha/cap instead of 7.6 Ha/cap)¹⁰⁷.

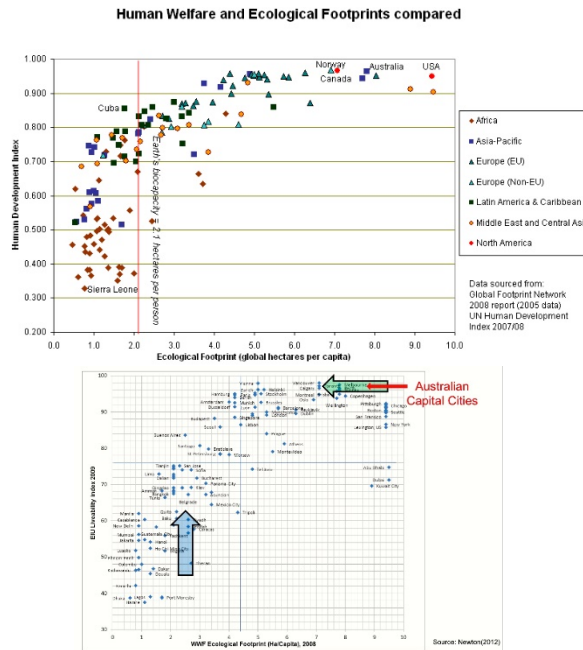
What characterises the five larger Australian cities – and what they share with megacities - is their sprawl. Population density may be only 20% of the average European city, but both Sydney and Melbourne stretch over areas four times larger than comparable European cities¹⁰⁸. Sydney (with not quite 4 million people) covers an area 97% that of London (9.5 million people). Melbourne (pop. 3.7M) is already 135% the area of Paris (pop. 10.8M).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ UN Human Development Index Global Footprint Network (2008)

¹⁰⁷ Newton P *Challenges and prospects for a sustainable development transition of Australia's cities* (2012) presented at *Cities in Future Earth* conference (Dec 2014)

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/largest-cities-area-125.html>

¹⁰⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_urban_areas_by_population



UN Development Programme and Global Footprint Network Peter Newton (2012)

This sprawl has consequences for water quality, air quality and ocean cleanliness. And of course, it has major consequences for transport. And perhaps we should remind ourselves that while the trend is overwhelmingly towards urbanisation, we never leave the rural areas behind. The countryside that surrounds our cities (and the people who live there) remain essential as providers of food and other resources, including water catchment, which make urban life possible. The same applies to rivers and oceans. For many cities, nearby marine, estuarine and fresh water resources are vitally important for fishing. We're told that it's possible that the Australian population may double in this century.¹¹⁰ We're going to have to become a lot smarter about how our cities develop and to learn to think long-term.



Connie Sue Highway, Nullarbor Plain *Gazjo*



Road Train, NT *Thomas Schoch*

¹¹⁰ Australian Bureau of Statistics Media Release 26 Nov 2013



Sydney *Torsten Blackwood/AFP/Getty*

Goldcoast, Queensland

marty.vdh

The ‘Smart City’

The growing pressures on large and small cities around the world have encouraged a number of responses. In one view, a city with a population of around 800,000 is seen as the ideal ‘liveable’ city; big enough to bring people together in ways that ensure that the whole is greater than the constituent parts, but not so big that congestion and pollution diminish the quality of life.¹¹¹ Certainly the technology of the twenty-first century is increasingly making decentralisation feasible, apparently even favouring the concept of ‘metros’¹¹² of sustainable scale, rather than large cities. But whether we are dealing with a smaller city, a metro or a megacity, the ideal is that it should be a ‘smart city’.

In the digital infrastructure sphere, this means seeking more efficient ways of managing the built environment. Ideas that stretch from ‘green’ buildings, designed to minimise their environmental footprint, to the creation of intelligent transport networks have contributed to the concept of the ‘smart’ city. The idea has captured people’s imagination and cities are using technology to help manage traffic congestion, to police the streets, to allocate resources on the basis of real-time evidence and even to deliver education packages.

To illustrate the extent to which digital technology has become a part of our urban landscapes: a 2011 survey estimated that there were 1.85 million CCTV cameras operating in the United Kingdom, the purpose ranging from traffic management on motorways to crime prevention in shopping centres and anti-terrorism surveillance in public spaces. The report calculated that on a typical day, the average person would be seen by 70 CCTV cameras.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Bolleter, J Urban Design Research Centre, UWA ABC *Catalyst* (4 Dec 2014)

¹¹² A ‘metro’ or metropolitan area comprises one or more urban areas with satellite cities, typically defined by commuting patterns

¹¹³ *CCTV Image Security Newsdesk* <http://www.securitynewsdesk.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/CCTV-Image-42-How-many-cameras-are-there-in-the-UK.pdf> (Winter 2011)



Greater Los Angeles Toffel

Mumbai Reuters

There are many other examples, including the Metropolitan Tokyo Traffic Control Centre; the traffic management system in the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles¹¹⁴; the system used to monitor shipping at the Municipal Port Authority of Rotterdam; and in Spain, Santander's use of sensors to dim street lights when they're not required and to signal when rubbish bins need to be emptied.

A workshop hosted in December 2013 by the Brookings Institution and ESADE Business School of Barcelona¹¹⁵ identified prerequisites for success in 'smart' city planning, including an economically-driven, technology-focused vision that embraces productivity, inclusivity and resilience; government reforms to implement the vision; a balance between project scale and risk tolerance; stronger networks and improved communication tools

And of course, technology and behaviour are deeply interlinked. The Internet, free Wi-Fi and good coffee make it possible to use a café in place of an office. That flexibility in turn influences the general demand for urban transport.

The largest engineering venture in Europe at present is the Cross Rail project: a 118-kilometre railway that will include ten new stations. The crucial part of the line involves tunnelling through central London, creating a route expected to handle up to 24 trains per hour. The builders anticipate that Cross Rail will transport 200 million people per year, many of them making a switch from road transport to an environmentally sustainable railway. What is ironic though is that the cost of housing in London is now so high that, along with many of the people who are needed to deliver essential services to the city, the 10,000 people currently building Cross Rail can no longer afford to live in the city.¹¹⁶ Perhaps the new line will facilitate their daily commute

¹¹⁴ *Sensor System Activated to Help Speed Traffic Flow* Los Angeles Times (27 Sept, 1995)

¹¹⁵ Brookings Institution/ESADE *Getting Smarter About Smart Cities* (April 2014)

¹¹⁶ John Finnigan, addressing the *Cities in Future Earth Conference*, Canberra (8 Dec 2014)

to and from work.

Irregular migration

The use of new infrastructure and technology to better serve the built environment is just one aspect of city life. At the opposite end of the conceptual spectrum is the question of who lives in these cities and from where do they come? According to the US Department of Homeland Security¹¹⁷, an estimated 2.8 million illegal immigrants lived in California in 2011, making up about 7.5% of the population. This would mean that more than 700,00 people live ‘illegally’ in Los Angeles County, which has a recorded population of 10 million.

Anna Triandafyllidou, author of the *Clandestino Project Report* published by the European Commission estimated that by 2008, 1.9 to 3.8 million irregular foreign immigrants resided in the territory of the EU27,¹¹⁸ which has a population of 500 million. Clearly there are many challenges involved in planning effectively for urban life.



Canary Islands UNHCR

‘Sustainable Urban Mobility’ Planning

A city is about buildings, open spaces, products, services, information, transport, energy, food, waste and water, all the things we need to be people. To be sustainable it’s not only these resources we need to consider, but also how we source these; the way in which we construct infrastructure, what we do with it, the ways in which we behave and how we govern ourselves.¹¹⁹

Cities have to face the reality of climate change in a number of ways. Firstly the construction of cities has contributed to climate change, by reducing forestation and wetlands. Secondly, cities now serve as amplifiers of climate change through the phenomena of urban heat islands and carbon emissions, which on a large enough scale have the capacity to influence the weather above and near cities. Finally, of course, cities are being impacted

¹¹⁷ <http://www.laalmanac.com/immigration/im04a.htm>

¹¹⁸ Triandafyllidou, A *Clandestino Project Report* European Commission (2009)

¹¹⁹ After Chris Ryan, Victorian Eco-Innovation Lab, University of Melbourne *City Systems are Socio-cultural-physical-technical: you can’t deal with one without the other* address to the *Cities in Future Earth Conference*, Canberra (8 Dec 2014)

by climate change: by drought, bush fires and floods linked to extreme weather events. The size, the function and the built forms of our cities are all factors in this.

A ‘Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan’ is a strategic plan designed to satisfy the mobility needs of people and businesses in cities and their surroundings for a better quality of life. The idea of ‘Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans’ has gained considerable momentum in recent years. Encouraged by the European Commission, many cities across Europe are working to integrate this concept in their daily transport planning practices.

Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans (SUMPs)¹²⁰ involve a different approach to planning from the more traditional. Above all, the aim is planning for people and the guiding purpose is to help achieve a better quality of life. In some European countries, it is the largest cities that are responsible for rising to the challenge, even though there may exist no national guidance. The site at www.eltis.org provides a rich variety of examples of plans developed for large and small cities.

Outside Europe, there are cities engaged in planning of their own within a sustainability framework. These include small, medium and larger cities and examples are Bogota, Durban, Portland, Singapore, Sydney and Tel Aviv.

Pascal Perez of Wollongong University has developed what he calls the *Factor 8 Conundrum*.¹²¹ What happens, he asks, if we have to accommodate double the number of people in our cities, with half the resources and the aim of providing twice the liveability? It turns out that this is achievable, at least in theory. But it won’t be so or won’t be sustainable without major behavioural change.

Particularly since the failure to reach agreement on how to effectively address climate change at Copenhagen in 2009, many cities have begun to act without waiting for countries to agree on national targets. This seems to foreshadow a sense that future sustainability planning might have to take place at a new tier of government.

Aromar Revi¹²² speaks of the tensions between national, regional and local governments as one of the global dichotomies that require resolution. It’s a train of thought that might lead us to ask: where does the power reside now and into the future to bring about transformative change? If international agreements are impossible and national policies fail us, can we

¹²⁰ *The State-of-the-Art of Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans in Europe* (Rev. Sept 2012) www.mobilityplans.eu

¹²¹ Perez, P *The Factor 8 Conundrum: How will cities meet the needs of twice today’s population with half today’s resources while providing twice the liveability?* *Cities in Future Earth Conference*, Canberra (8 Dec 2014)

¹²² Revi, *A op.cit.*

devolve the power, so as to respond to climate change and develop sustainable plans at a more local level instead?

At this *1st Pan-American Interdisciplinary Conference*, perhaps the most important international example of a mega-city planning for its own sustainable future is just outside this building on Avenida 9 de Julio. In a 2012 report titled *Indicators for Sustainability: How cities are monitoring and evaluating their success*¹²³ one can find a useful set of case studies from cities in Europe and the Middle East; Asia and Australia; Africa and the Americas. The report sets out to summarise the key sustainability indicators these cities are using and the frameworks employed to track those indicators. It offers a toolkit to support cities that are in the process of identifying which sustainability indicators they can use to accurately reflect the progress of their sustainability plans. The only mega-city included in the study is Buenos Aires, though in this case it is the central area of the city, with a population of 2.9 million that is dealt with, rather than metro Buenos Aires (pop. 12.7M).



Avenida 9 de Julio, Buenos Aires

Buenos Aires

“The City of Buenos Aires has a unique plan for sustainability. Unlike other cities that have umbrella strategies or goals, Buenos Aires has adopted individual action plans to reach a common sustainable future”¹²⁴

These action plans include a twenty-year climate action plan, a plan for energy efficiency in public buildings, a plan for sustainable mobility; a pedestrian priority policy and plans for water, sanitation and air quality management. In 2008, Buenos Aires formalized the creation of its Technological City to make the city a global ICT hub. In 2014, Buenos Aires won the *10th Annual Sustainable Transport Award*, in recognition of all these initiatives.

At the heart of the transport thinking in this city are

- Priority of the public transport program

¹²³ *Indicators for Sustainability: How cities are monitoring an evaluating their success*
Sustainable Cities International, Canadian International Development Agency (2012)

¹²⁴ *Ibid*

- Exclusive bus lanes
 - The implementation of Metro bus (bus rapid transit system)
 - The introduction of a better bicycle program
 - The pedestrian priority program; and
 - The integration of different types of transports
- To contrast that, a brief view of the largest Australian city, Sydney.

Sydney



Central Park building in Sydney Ann Jones

In 2011, the Australian Government released the country's first National Urban Policy.¹²⁵ The policy addressed productivity, sustainability, liveability and governance. It established short-term and long-term goals for the Council of Australian Governments (COAG), the vehicle whereby State governments interact with the Federal government. Two years later, the Federal government changed and several State governments have changed since. The effect is that the only national guidance that Australian cities might have had in the area of sustainability planning has been put back on the shelf.

This is worrying, because Australia is a first-world country with a third-world population growth profile. By 2060, the population is expected to double. Yet the only city with something approaching a sustainability plan is Sydney (though the discussion of many of the key aspects of SUMP planning is certainly underway in Melbourne).

Sydney was founded in 1788, though radio carbon dating suggests the Sydney region has been inhabited by Indigenous Australians for at least 30,000 years.¹²⁶ The 26 square kilometre inner city includes close to 200,000 people, as opposed to metro Sydney, which is home to 4.5 million. Sydney is considered by many to be the financial and economic hub of Australia. Based on the number of people employed, the largest economic sectors in

¹²⁵ *Our Cities, Our Future: a national urban policy for a productive, sustainable and liveable future* Dept of Infrastructure & Transport, Australian Government (2011)

¹²⁶ Attenbrow, Val (2010). *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the Archaeological and Historical Records* UNSW Press

Sydney include property and business services, retail, information technology, and health and community services.

In 2006 the City of Sydney initiated actions to develop the *Sustainable Sydney 2030* plan. The plan has three pillars: it aims to make Sydney green, global and connected.¹²⁷ Within the vision are 10 targets, broken down into objectives and specific actions. Once again, integrated transport, a local network for walking and cycling as well as transit routes connecting the various parts of the city feature in the sustainable transport thinking. Indicators include increasing trips to work using public transport; increasing active transportation (meaning cycling, walking, jogging, scooters, roller-blades); and addressing quality of life by ensuring that every resident is within a ten minute walk of fresh food markets, childcare and health services, as well as leisure, social, learning and cultural infrastructure.

The fact that the National Urban Policy is no longer on the Government’s policy agenda and the focus in the Sydney Vision on local, state and federal government linkages serve to highlight one of the most important challenges facing sustainable urban mobility planning in Australia and that is governance.

Traditional Transport Plans		Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan
Often short-term perspective without a strategic vision	Strategic level / vision	Including a long-term / strategic vision with a time horizon of 20-30 years
Usually focus on particular city	Geographic scope	Functional city; cooperation of city with neighbouring authorities essential
Limited input from operators and other local partners, not a mandatory characteristic	Level of public involvement	High, citizen and stakeholder involvement an essential characteristic
Not a mandatory consideration	Sustainability	Balancing social equity, environmental quality and economic development
Low, transport and infrastructure focus	Sector integration	Integration of practices and policies between policy sectors (environment, land-use, social inclusion, etc.)
Usually not mandatory to cooperate between authority levels	Institutional cooperation	Integration between authority levels (e.g. district, municipality, agglomeration, region)
Often missing or focussing on broad objectives	Monitoring and evaluation	Focus on the achievement of measurable targets and outcomes (=impacts)

¹²⁷ *Sustainable Sydney 2030 – The Vision* cdn.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au.s3.amazonaws.com

Historic emphasis on road schemes and infrastructure development	Thematic focus	Decisive shift in favour of measures to encourage public transport, walking and cycling and beyond (quality of public space, land-use, etc.)
Not considered	Cost internalisation	Review of transport costs and benefits also across policy sectors

The State-of-the-Art of Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans in Europe (Rev Sept 2012)
www.mobilityplans.eu

The ongoing ACOLA project in the intersecting fields of urban transportation, energy consumption and city planning serves as an example, a case study of how a problem that stretches across engineering, economics, human health, patterns of social behaviour and political decision-making can be approached.

The acola saf08 project plan

The ACOLA *Sustainable Urban Mobility* Project began life as a proposed study of low emissions transport for Australia in the 21st century. That proposal was put through a scoping procedure¹²⁸ that has become one of the most important project tools in the SAF project selection process. The scoping phase makes use of experts from across the academic disciplines and asks these questions:

- What is the most useful scale at which to approach the problem?
- Can the problem be framed in a way that will demand a truly interdisciplinary approach?
- Can the proposed project be completed within available resources of time and money?
- Will the project lead to evidence-based findings that will be useful for public policy-making?
- Is this an area in which ACOLA can offer a valuable contribution?

In this case, the scoping panel decided early on that the challenge of low emissions transport could more usefully be seen as part of a broader set of issues including the facts that:

- Australia has almost no oil refining capacity left
- Australia has recently abandoned motor-car manufacturing
- The Australian bio-fuel industry is still in its infancy (20% that of

¹²⁸ For the importance of a preliminary scoping procedure see Tait J, Williams R, Bruce A, Lyall C *Guidelines for Interdisciplinary Researchers and Research Managers* SUPRA (1999) and Lyall C, Meagher L *A Short Guide to Troubleshooting some Common Interdisciplinary Research Management Challenges* ISSTI (Aug 2008)

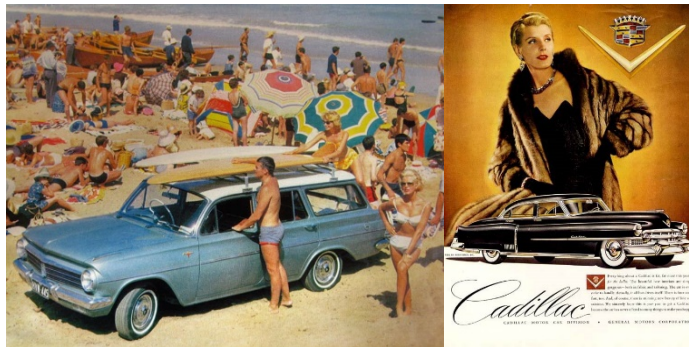
Canada or 1.5% that of Brazil)

- Very few areas of the country are well-served by public transport
- The idea of the motorcar as the ultimate freedom machine is still alive and well for many people in Australia¹²⁹.



Road network Australian Government Rail network Australian Government

The project was now re-framed as one in which fuel, transport and urbanisation would intersect and the project was soon tied into the concept of sustainable urban mobility. However, the ACOLA project is not setting out to develop a plan for any particular city, but rather to study the concept across all the Australian cities. The first step in this process is, of course, the recognition that the *status quo* is not sustainable. ‘The *status quo* is not sustainable’ – it takes no more than four seconds to say those words and yet, in Australia as elsewhere in the world, we are still struggling to accept their meaning more than four decades after we first heard them.



Holden (1964) Manly Library

¹²⁹ Abbott T *Battlelines* (2009) “...even the “humblest person is king in his own car....In Australia's big cities, public transport is generally slow, expensive, not especially reliable and still a hideous drain on the public purse. Mostly, there just aren't enough people wanting to go from a particular place to a particular destination at a particular time to justify any vehicle larger than a car, and cars need roads.”

The ACOLA Expert Working Group begins to ask ‘what must we do to make things sustainable?’. The project started by commissioning three principal studies in the fields of technology, social issues and public health and safety.

Technology Study¹³⁰

The study includes an overview of current trends in transport **activity**, a review of technological **developments** expected in the next 25 years and a study of the transport sector as a consumer of **energy**. Energy production and consumption in Australia are examined in depth and consumption within the transport sector is a main focus. The report then looks at the implications of Australia’s critical **dependency on auto-mobility** (including self-directed vehicles and vehicles powered by renewable energies). At this point consumer preferences, public behaviour and government policies in respect of the provision of transport infrastructure are introduced.

Social Study¹³¹

The report summarises key trends and ‘drivers’ in urban travel patterns, pointing to:

- A large increase in car use in the last 40 years in all Australian urban centres and in regional towns
- A large proportion of all trips remain short at around 7.5 km
- Modest decreases in car-use for work trips and corresponding increases in public and active transport use
- A remarkably slight density gradient away from the core of Australian cities (meaning that in many middle and outer suburban locations the market exists for improved levels of public transport service)
- Significant growth in employment in health and education services in suburban locations, offering an opportunity to start ‘clustering’ suburban destinations for public transport planning
- Increasing suburban congestion during weekends, when dispersed travel for multiple purposes is at its greatest

¹³⁰ Singleton, D and Pender, B *Securing Australia’s Future: Sustainable Urban Mobility: Technology Study* ACOLA (MS)

¹³¹ Stone J, Taylor E, Cole A, Kirk Y *Securing Australia’s Future: Sustainable Urban Mobility: Social Study: Barriers and pathways to sustainable urban mobility in Australia* ACOLA (MS)

- Significant proportions of peak period travel for taking children to school; as well as other suburban travel for ‘chauffeur’ older people
- Developer-led housing markets of most new affordable homes on the urban fringe, creating a growing imbalance in sustainable transport choice
- The first signs of emerging changes in public attitudes to car-based mobility, as particularly younger people chose not to own a car

Health study¹³²

This report has examined how land use and transportation decisions impact on public health and considered potential solutions to transport-related health issues. The report suggests that a sustainable transport system, which maximises health and wellbeing outcomes, will be one that prioritises the safety, accessibility and convenience of active transport over motorised transport. This could have significant direct health benefits through:

- Increased physical activity, including facilitating older adults to remain active as people age
- Reduced respiratory illness from reduced transport-related air pollution
- Reduced mental and physical health issues associated with transport noise.

This approach could also have indirect health benefits, such as:

- Reduced levels of obesity and chronic diseases associated with limiting physical inactivity and sedentary behaviour
- Contributing to mitigating the environmental and health impacts of climate change.

However, as evidenced by this report, to encourage active modes of transport requires a re-think in the way that cities are built and the way that transportation decisions are made in Australia. It will require prioritising walking, cycling, public transport and freight movements, over private motor vehicle use. It will also require integrated transportation and land use planning.

It’s a common understanding that transportation choices are shaped by, and have implications for, many policy sectors. This involves all levels of government in Australia, particularly state and local government. Several of these studies emphasise that it is vital that sectors across and between levels of government work together in an

¹³² Giles-Corti B, Eagleson S, Lowe M *Securing Australia’s Future: Sustainable Urban Mobility: The Public Health Impact of Transportation Decisions* ACOLA (MS)

integrated way to create urban environments that support healthy and sustainable transport.

Economics study

The fourth and final leg of the ACOLA project is an Economics Study¹³³ that was commissioned to complement the first three studies, with a view to understanding the financial implications of different strategies and the risks involved. The Economics Study set out to embrace not only the traditional cost-based approach to different types of infrastructure projects (road freight v. rail freight, for example), but also the deeper social and environmental costs of significant step-changes to urban mobility and the cost of failing to act.

The Economics Study investigates both macro and micro-economic aspects. It draws attention to the challenges involved in responding to declining rates of urban productivity growth. The background to this is a growing body of opinion in Australia that the country's population boom disguises real economic concerns. "The extra 400,000 or so people a year is the reason Australia has not had a recession for 23 years and it's why GDP growth is now around 2.5 per cent. On a per capita basis, Australia's economic growth is among the weakest in the world, and per capita consumption growth is zero. In other words, population growth is the only reason it looks like the economy is growing."¹³⁴ The Economics Study explores links between urban productivity, transport and other infrastructure investment and housing affordability. It draws on data from the National Institute of Economics and Industry Research to illustrate the contribution that planning and transport infrastructure can make to high-tech industry expansion.

At the micro-level, the Economic Study highlights a range of market failures associated with urban transport, including the negative impacts of traffic congestion, greenhouse gas emissions, air pollution and social exclusion – or what is often called 'transport poverty'.

Barriers to achieving change

The project brief recognised early on that there was a need to examine ways to counter the institutional and cultural obstacles to transformational change. Too many times, excellent plans have been developed for various aspects of urban life only to gather dust on a bookshelf. It is too early still to be able to identify the key findings of this project that will be reported to the Chief Scientist since report writing is still

¹³³ Stanley J and Brain P *Sustainable Urban Mobility: Economic Perspectives* ACOLA (MS)

¹³⁴ Kohler, A *Infrastructure deficit puts us on a road to nowhere* [The Drum](#), ABC (30 Jan 2014)

under way. But given the evidence gathered so far, it will be surprising if the following broad areas, thrown up by the studies already completed, aren't included:

Politics

Clarity is required as to who will take responsibility for what? Cities can work together to great effect in response to the challenges of urbanisation and climate change. But the scale of change required is such that they will need the support of national governments to be able to achieve the sort of transformative change that is called for. Government at all tiers will also need to involve the corporate sector. Australia will need to confront the democratic deficit, ensuring that politicians and others who are compromised are not involved in planning decisions.

Planning

A farsighted, transparent planning process is required, one that provides the certainty essential to build confidence and attract investors. Ideally, planning will take place on a precinct or even metropolitan basis, rather than individual projects. Australia needs to confront and solve the planning deficit, ensuring that contemporary planning tools are maximised; that decentralised development is considered; that infill development replaces city-fringe developments and that existing public transport is maximised.

Some buildings, precincts and cities are already exploring removing themselves from the main distribution grids, recycling their own water and waste and generating their own energy.

'Transit Oriented Developments' (TODs) are characterised by multi-modal transport planning, prioritising active modes of transportation and public transport above private vehicles. The aim is safe, walkable and cycle-friendly neighbourhoods, people-focused developments connected to frequent and reliable transit services.

'Rapid Transit' systems are essential for sustainable cities: a high-capacity public transport operated on an exclusive right-of-way. In Australian cities, this will mean elevated rail.

Technology

At present, the Australian transport sector is the largest end user of energy and one of the most inefficient in the world. Fuels derived from oil, a non-renewable source, represent 90% of that energy. By 2030, Australia will find itself with no refining capacity and a very serious energy security risk. The country will be entirely dependent on imported motor vehicles and at the mercy of the international oil market.

The large-scale utilization of Australia's abundant and diverse clean energy resources faces a number of barriers. Shifting regulatory and approval processes, relatively high upfront capital costs, limited Australian capital markets and long distances of transmission and distribution are all impediments. However, the most serious challenges may be the lack of familiarity with renewable energy technology; the lack of sustained government commitment to supporting Australian innovation; and the unpreparedness to meet the post-automobile age. These factors will ensure that Australia becomes an importer of transport technology, whatever that form may be.

Economic factors

Failure to effectively address major contemporary issues is not only short sighted; it carries a series of significant economic costs. The growing Australian infrastructure deficit; decreasing urban productivity; green house gas emissions; traffic congestion; social exclusion (as affected by housing affordability, transport and urban form); and chronic disease associated with sedentary behavior all have a price.

The evidence suggests promoting (particularly high-tech) agglomeration economies with appropriate public transport capacity; supporting precinct scale urban renewal, with good radial and circumferential accessibility; improving access for outer urban residents to areas of employment concentration; supporting freight and logistics movements through key trunk demand corridors and major freight hubs; supporting strong and sustainable neighbourhood communities; and providing informed choices for people to consider during the planning process.

Behaviour

The pressures of urbanisation are clearly amplified by the challenge of climate change. We need to begin the transition to more localised patterns of living if we are to maintain the social and economic fabric of sustainable urban life.

Behavioural changes are hard to bring about and happen over 25 years cycles. Certainly most of the generation now entering adulthood has a much better grasp of the sustainability challenge than much of the older generation.

The automobile is fundamentally inconsistent with the environmental, social and economic rationales for a compact city. The point of 'peak car' may already have passed – meaning that the belief in the personal freedom provided by the automobile has finally been

defeated - not by fuel costs or traffic congestion, but by the difficulty of finding city parking.

Public transport powered largely by electricity in conjunction with cycling and walking will be key components of future urban mobility. Habits, convenience, perceptions of safety and a lack of alternatives all continue to create demand for motorised 'self-directed vehicles'. The local provision of appropriate transport infrastructure and flexibility for travellers using inter-modal transport is essential in encouraging changes in behaviour.



Banksy graffiti Photo: Peter Drew

Environment & Wellbeing

Australia's ongoing fascination with the automobile at the expense of active modes of transportation is a contributing factor (as in the United States) to the obesity epidemic. The potential health benefits of walking and cycling are significant. Encouraging active transportation and choices in favour of public transport are closely tied to the provision of appropriate infrastructure, perceptions of safety and 'walkability' and the design of neighbourhoods.

Behind all of this sits one of the great unspoken issues of the twenty-first century: the limitations of GDP as the measure of all things. From that springs the concept of prosperity without growth, a 'prosperity' decoupled from wealth; a redefinition of what contributes to human wellbeing. As Tim Jackson, Joseph Stiglitz and others have argued¹³⁵, endless growth is a ridiculous notion on a planet with finite resources, particularly when some human activities are actively undermining the planet's life-support systems.

An Australia of 37.5 million by 2050 will need entirely new social and economic strategies if the country is to be more than a crowded, impoverished littoral surrounding an expanding desert.

¹³⁵ Jackson T, *Prosperity Without Growth: The transition to a sustainable economy* (2009); Stiglitz J *op cit*.

Quite apart from the ACOLA project, which will of course focus on the issues in Australia, there are two important international sources of information to mention. There is a major report prepared by UN-Habitat or the United Nations Human Settlements Programme. The title is *Planning and Design for Sustainable Urban Mobility: Global Report on Human Settlements 2013* and its available on line. This 317-page document is the single most comprehensive study found to date of the global picture. What makes this study particularly important is the fact that it deals also with the developing world, not just the challenges facing wealthy cities.

The second document to draw attention to is *Guidelines: Developing a Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan*, produced in 2011 by Rupprecht Consult for the European Union. That report is available on line from <http://www.mobilityplans.eu>. It is quite literally a step-by-step guide to producing a sophisticated sustainable urban mobility plan for any urban environment.

Conclusion

Is the acola project successfully crossing over into trans-disciplinarity?

It seems the answer has to be yes. To return to the original definition by Choi and Pak of trans-disciplinary work, the ACOLA project is certainly “*seeking to integrate natural, social and health sciences in a humanities context*”. But to go back to the image of the woman crossing the cane bridge in Arunachal Pradesh in India, the ACOLA project team¹³⁶ is still making that conceptual journey and the project will not be complete for some months yet. It is too early to say exactly how the story will end. Yet, as a trans-disciplinary research venture, the ACOLA project *is* working.

Between 2010 and 2014, ACOLA conducted a series of studies into the processes of interdisciplinary research. This ended last year (2014) with the publication of a report titled *Making Interdisciplinary Research Work – Evaluation Framework and Report*.¹³⁷ The evaluation framework developed for interdisciplinary projects is available on the ACOLA website.

The report details 15 criteria identified and tested, ranging from context and methodology to stakeholder roles and succession planning. In some respects, the current *Sustainable Urban Mobility* project is revealing new critical components of a successful project; in other respects it is highlighting the deep significance of components already identified, by

¹³⁶ The Expert Working Group comprises: Dr Bruce Godfrey FTSE (Chair), Prof Bruce Armstrong FAA, Prof Graeme Davison FAHA FASSA, Prof Brendan Gleeson FASSA

¹³⁷ <http://www.acola.org.au> [tab: Making Interdisciplinary Research Work]

ACOLA and by other researchers.¹³⁸ The four components to emphasise as critical for trans-disciplinary work are:

- A rigorous project **scoping** process
 - The strength and depth of the **leadership** group; their respect for one another; and their willingness to collaborate
 - The capacity for all to work with serious **ambiguity** during the project
 - Keeping a clear eye on the **target audience**
- The extent to which ACOLA is successful in those components in particular will serve as evaluative measures for this trans-disciplinary project as a whole.

ⁱ The definitions of each discipline is from Wikipedia. These definitions are slightly different than ones used in textbooks (which also differ from one another) and other places. However, it provides a consistent framework for use in this paper.

ⁱⁱ Management is the function that coordinates the efforts of people to accomplish goals and objectives using available resources efficiently and effectively. Management comprises planning, organizing, staffing, leading or directing, and controlling an organization to accomplish the goal.

ⁱⁱⁱ Economics is the social science that studies economic activity to gain an understanding of the processes that govern the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services in an economy.

^{iv} Psychology is an academic and applied discipline that involves the scientific study of mental functions and behaviors. Psychology has the immediate goal of understanding individuals and groups by both establishing general principles and researching specific cases.

^v Sociology is the academic study of social behaviour, its origins, development, organisation, and institutions. It is a social science that uses various methods of empirical investigation and critical analysis to develop a body of knowledge about social order, social disorder and social change.

^{vi} Philosophy is the study of general and fundamental problems, such as those connected with reality, existence, knowledge, values, reason, mind, and language.

^{vii} Anthropology is the scientific study of humans, past and present, that draws and builds upon knowledge from the social sciences and life sciences, as well as the humanities.

¹³⁸ Most notably Repko AF *Interdisciplinary research: Process and theory* 2nd edition (2012)