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TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 5 Jerzy Mączyński, Łukasz Sułkowski, Michał Chmielecki,
Agnieszka Zajączkowska
**Longitudinal Studies on Traits and Behaviors of Polish
Managers**
- 19 Marcela Rebeca Contreras Loera, Urszula Zulawska
**Fisheries cooperative organization and sustainable
development in the rural community**
- 29 Jan Rek
**On certain limitations of the globalization discourse
in Poland: a cultural studies perspective**
- 51 M.C.María Estela Torres Jaquez, Marcela Rebeca Contreras
Loera
**Las organizaciones cooperativas: el proceso
administrativo como parte de la gestión directiva**
- 63 Fabiola Ponce Durán
**Reflections of intercultural communication from
the perspective of a foreign teacher**
- 71 Dorota Bochniak-Piasecka
**Cultural determinants in Chile – the land of great
ambitions**



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Longitudinal Studies on Traits and Behaviors of Polish Managers

Abstract: The main objective of our research was to compare followers evaluation of Polish middle managers in regard to their traits and behaviors, which are essential for leadership effectiveness, in the years of 2008/2009; 2010/2012; 2012 and during 1996/1997 under the GLOBE research project.

As was unexpected, our research results indicate the Polish middle managers under our follow-up study scored significantly lower than their counterparts investigated under the GLOBE study in 1996/1997 on Performance Orientation, Team Orientation, Humane Orientation, Integrity, Visionary and Inspirational Leadership Dimensions, and significantly higher on Autocratic Leadership style.

Our findings point to the conclusion that profound changes in political and socioeconomic systems in Poland, have shown little effects so far on managerial values and subsequent attitudes and behaviors. We postulate that deep changes in peoples' mentality are needed to generate beneficial changes in the societal and organizational values and succeeding attitudes and behaviors.

Key-words: middle managers, leadership effectiveness, behaviors.

Introduction

The main goal of our current research presented in this paper was to compare followers evaluations of Polish middle managers in regard to their traits and behaviors in the years of 2008/2009; 2010/2011; 2012 and evaluations from

the part of managers investigated during 1996/1997 under the GLOBE research project.

The Poland of today is facing an immense political and socioeconomic change, and is designing the suitable institutions and legislations that should be advantageous to a democratic system. Therefore we have assumed that there is a good reason to predict that the political and economic transformation in Poland should be beneficial for shaping organizational culture and managerial practices and values.

Method

The leadership measurements asked followers to assess their superiors according to seven traits that are presented below:

1. Performance Orientation: improvement oriented, excellence oriented, achievement oriented.
2. Team Orientation: group oriented, collaborative, loyal, consultative.
3. Humane Orientation: generous, compassionate.
4. Autocratic Orientation: dictatorial, bossy, elitist.
5. Integrity Leadership Dimension: honest, sincere, just, trustworthy.
6. Visionary Leadership Dimension: foresight, prepared, anticipatory, plans ahead.
7. Inspirational Leadership Dimension: enthusiastic, positive, morale booster, motive arouser.

In generating leadership traits and behaviors, the items were based on several existing leadership theories, as described by House, et al., [1997]. All scales developed in GLOBE study are based on extensive pilot study [see House, et al., 2004]. Questionnaire items developed in GLOBE project were translated from English to Polish, and after that translated back into English language. Back-translation was checked by the GLOBE coordinating team.

Analysis of Research Results

Research data analyzed in our paper concerning Polish managers investigated during 1996/1997 were drawn from extensive cross-cultural research under the GLOBE project, which was developed to study societal, organizational and leadership traits and behaviors through the use of multiple methods and at multiple levels of analysis [House, et al., 1997 a; b]. In turn research data concerning Polish managers studied in the years of 2008/2009, 2010/2011 and 2012 have been collected partly by the authors of this paper.

In the years of 1996/1997 two hundred seventy seven Polish middle managers completed the „Leader Attribute Questionnaire” developed by GLOBE research project. In the remaining years we have been able to conduct a follow-up study among 342 followers employed by several organizations located in different

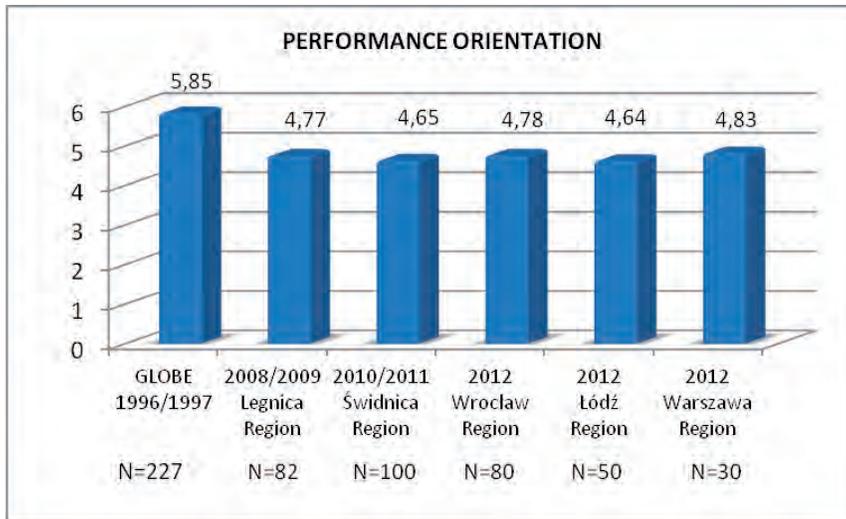
parts of Poland (including Legnica, Świdnica, Wrocław, Łódź, Warszawa). Followers of Polish middle managers, tested in those years, completed identical questionnaires as followers investigated under the GLOBE project.

1. Performance Orientation

Under the GLOBE project, performance orientation is defined as the extent to which organization encourages and rewards innovation, setting high standards, challenging goals, and performance improvement.

The differences between compared groups of managers on Performance Orientation are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Differences between Polish managers of 1996/1997, 2008/2009, 2010/2011 and of 2012 on Performance Orientation.



Our research data displayed in Figure 1, indicate that Polish managers investigated in 2008/2009; 2010/2011; 2012 according to their followers demonstrate lower level of Performance Orientation than managers estimated under the GLOBE project in 1996/1997. It may appear that newer generations of Polish managers demonstrate weaker motivation to improve their work performance and develop their potentials.

Based on the GLOBE research results, societies whose members express strong Performance Orientation, value education and learning, accentuate results, set high performance goals, and value taking initiative [House, et al., 2004].

David C. McClelland [1987] introduced the concept of need for achievement, which was defined as a tendency to do better all the time. He noted that

organizational members with high need for achievement tend to achieve satisfaction from progressive work improvement, prefer to work on tasks with moderate chances of success, assume personal responsibility for their activities, look for frequent feedback, search for knowledge on how to perform work better, and are in general innovative.

GLOBE findings on Performance Orientation practices, proved that performance oriented societies are more economically prosperous. Measures of economic health used by GLOBE, found strong and significant correlation with three scales: „economic prosperity(correlation=.573, $p<.001$), public support for economic prosperity(correlation=.547, $p<.001$), and societal support for economic prosperity(correlation=.367, $p<.05$, House, 2004, p.254)”.

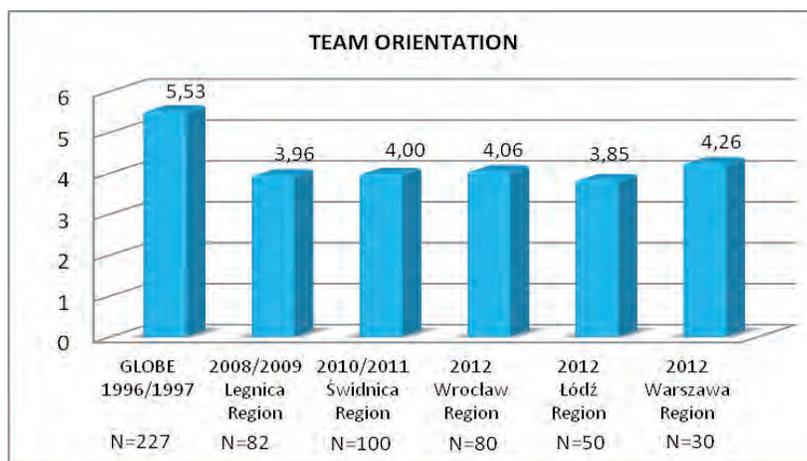
It is worthwhile to mention, that Hofstede and Bond [1988] proved that „Confucian Dynamism” was significantly correlated with economic growth among 22 nations under study. Their description of „Confucian Dynamism” has a great deal in common with McClelland’s need for achievement and GLOBE’s Performance Orientation lending support for the argument that societal and organizational practices that encourage achievement orientation are solution to economic and business development and success.

2. Team Orientation

Team Orientation is a leadership attribute that emphasizes effective team building, cooperation, loyalty, consultation and implementation of common goals by team members.

Figure 2 presents the data concerning differences between Polish middle managers studied under the GLOBE study and our follow-up investigation.

Figure 2: Differences between Polish managers of 1996/1997, 2008/2009, 2010/2011 and of 2012 on Team Orientation.



From the results presented in Figure 2, it can be clearly seen that Polish middle managers investigated in the years of 2008/2009; 2010/2011 and 2012, in comparison with managers studied under the GLOBE project, score significantly lower on team orientation. It can be concluded that managers investigated under our follow-up study express lower consideration towards followers interests and views.

In the GLOBE research it has been found that team-oriented leaders tend to emphasize mutual interests rather than differences. Explain the importance of cooperation, between team members for shared organizational goals, as well as individual objectives. Encourage team members to exchange information and elicit additional ideas, and help each other.

Diverse studies provide ample evidence that leader’s skills in team-building are highly relevant for strengthening followers identification with the organization’s mission and managerial effectiveness [Peters and Austin, 1985; Tichy and Devanna, 1986].

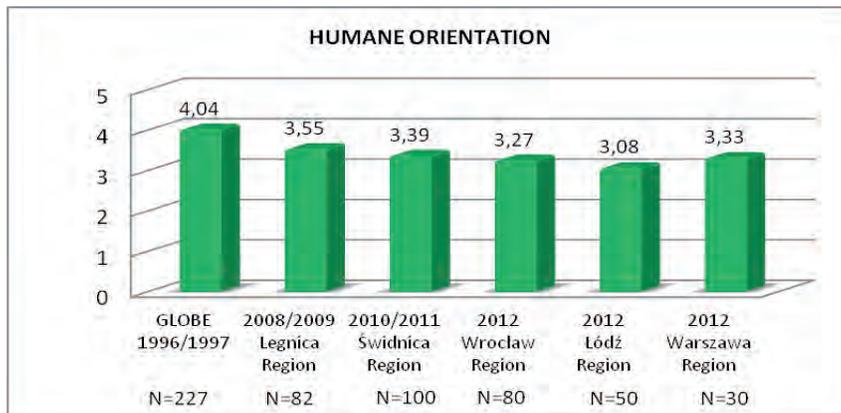
3. Humane Orientation

Humane Orientation can be defined as the degree to which society or organization encourage and rewards people for being generous, altruistic, friendly, caring and kind to others.

„Humane Orientation is operationalized as the degree of concern, sensitivity, friendship, tolerance, and support that is extended to others at the societal, organizational, and leadership levels” [House, et al., 2004, p.595].

Figure 3 displays the data related to differences between Polish middle managers investigated under the GLOBE study and our follow-up investigation.

Figure 3: Differences between Polish managers of 1996/1997, 2008/2009, 2010/2011 and 2012 on Humane Orientation.



Our research results presented in Figure 3, indicate that Polish managers, from the point of view of their followers, investigated under the follow-up study display lower level of humane orientation than Polish managers studied under the GLOBE project.

As viewed by the GLOBE study, highly humane-oriented behaviors are concerned with expressing care, nurturance, and help to others, while low humane orientation imply encouraging self-interest and lack of consideration to other people. Humane orientation of managers is closely related to the economic, physical, and psychological well-being of their followers.

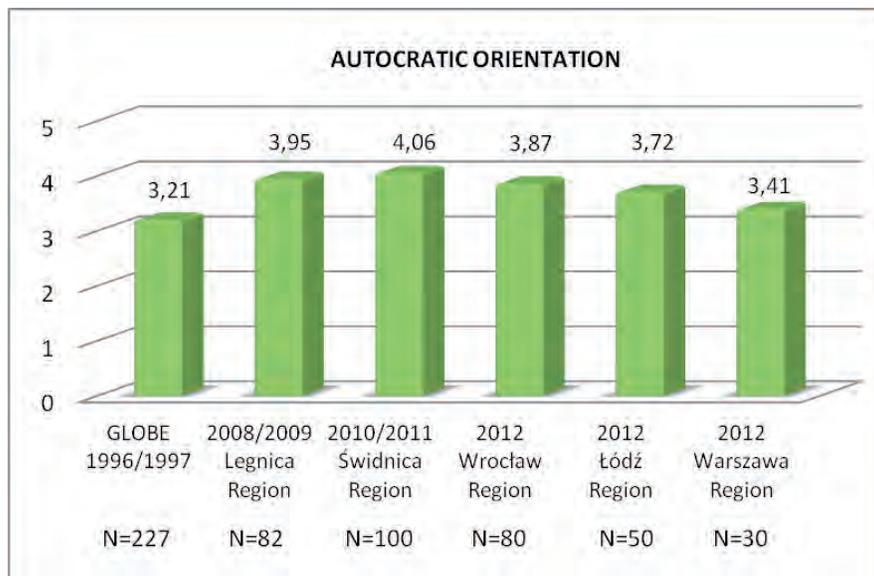
As revealed by the GLOBE study results, the more an organization value Humane Orientation, the higher the members of that organization rate Participative Leadership style as a desired attribute and the lower they rate Autocratic Leadership behavior as essential factor for being effective [House, et al., 2004; Mączyński, et al., 1994; Mączyński, 2001; 2002].

4. Autocratic Orientation

Autocratic leadership attribute, under the GLOBE project is defined as being dictatorial, bossy and making decisions in a command manner.

The differences between analyzed groups of middle Polish managers are shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Differences between Polish managers of 1996/1997, 2008/2009, 2010/2011 and 2012 on Autocratic Orientation.



From a comparison of the results presented in Figure 4, it can be easily seen that Polish middle managers investigated under the follow-up study score higher on Autocratic dimension than middle managers investigated in 1996/1997 under the GLOBE project.

It is worthwhile to mention that the GLOBE results revealed that Polish managers were expected to behave more often in a highly autocratic manner than their western counterparts [Szabo, et al., 1997]. Some of the research data from the GLOBE project indicate that Polish managers report that their followers tend not to question their superiors, but instead significantly more often pointed to their superiors as the authority responsible for dealing with on-going work events and making organizational decisions. On the other hand western managers report that followers in a situation where there is disagreement with their superiors express a tendency to question their orders rather than obey them [Szabo, et al., 1997].

It should be noted that the current situation in Poland is vastly different from the circumstances that prevailed under previous system. There is no longer such a strong tendency to apply coercion as a means for obtaining managerial control. As a consequence employees nowadays have much more power and a concurrent expectation that their views will be asked for and will be taking into consideration. In other words, managers should no longer function effectively by applying traditional autocratic leadership style. Polish organizations of today need more participative managerial practices compatible with human resources conception [Mączyński, 1998].

5. Integrity Leadership Dimension

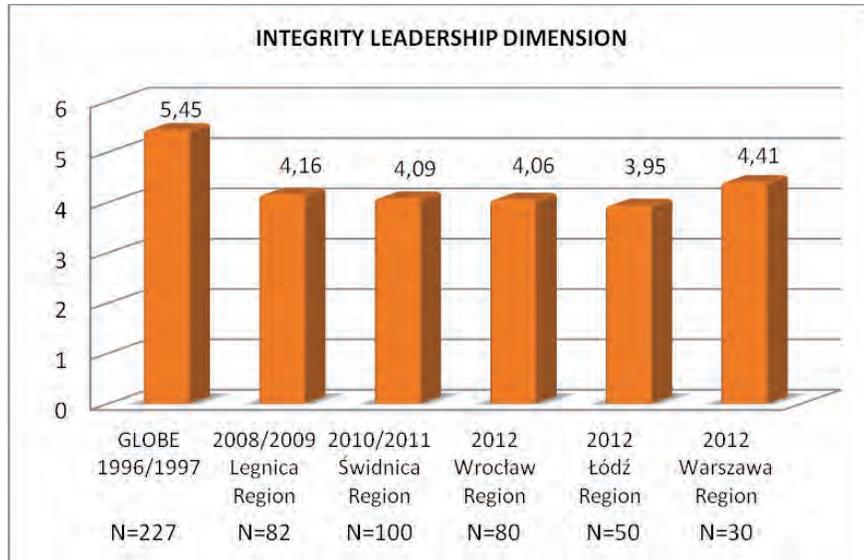
Integrity as leadership attribute within the GLOBE project is defined as being trustworthy, just, honest and sincere.

Figure 6 reports the differences between analyzed groups of Polish middle managers on Integrity Leadership Dimension.

From a comparison of our research results displayed in Figure 6, it can be concluded that Polish middle managers investigated under our follow-up study score significantly lower on Integrity Leadership Dimension, than their counterparts studied in 1996/1997 under the GLOBE project.

Leaders with high integrity have insight into the needs, interests, and values of their followers, and are able to arouse strong emotions and identification with organizational goals. High integrity leaders are likely to set an example through their own behavior for followers to stimulate enthusiasm and effort. Through this process such a leaders are able to exert substantial influence on the satisfaction and motivation of their followers. According to Yukl „subordinates are usually more satisfied with a leader who is friendly and helpful, shows trust and respect , and demonstrates concern for their needs and feelings” [Yukl, 1994, p.446].

Figure 5: Differences between Polish managers of 1996/1997, 2008/2009, 2010/2011 and 2012 on Integrity Leadership Dimension.



Followers of high integrity leader have a feelings of trust, admiration, respect and loyalty towards the leader, and they are willing to do more than they were expected to do. Followers are more aware of the importance of the goal outcomes, and are willing to devote their own self-interest for the sake of the organization.

6. Visionary Leadership Dimension

Under the GLOBE project Visionary Leadership is characterized by the following terms: foresight, anticipatory, prepared, intellectually stimulating, future oriented, inspirational. Cultural future orientation is the degree to which a society or organization encourages and rewards future-oriented behaviors such as planning and delaying gratification.

An important aspect of visionary leadership is envisioning the future, providing long-term direction and articulating it to followers. Thomas and Greenberger[1995] concluded that the ability to create vision is to some extent dependent on future-time perspective characterized by the leader. A leader who is focused on future orientation is willing to direct his energy toward the future.

Figure 6 displays the differences between compared groups of Polish middle managers on Visionary Leadership Dimension.

Figure 6: Differences between Polish managers of 1996/1997, 2008/2009, 2010/2011 and 2012 on Visionary Leadership Dimension.



The data presented in Figure 6, show substantial evidence of differences in mean score on Visionary Leadership between compared groups of respondents. Polish middle managers investigated on our follow-up study display significantly lower level of visionary leadership attribute than their counterparts studied in the years of 1996/1997 under the GLOBE project.

GLOBE study discovered that future-oriented practices are positively correlated with societal health and general satisfaction [House, et al., 2004, p.316].

Hofstede and Bond [1988] postulated that „Confucian Dynamism is, in essence, a „dynamic”, future oriented mentality”, as opposed to a static oriented mind-set. Hofstede [1991;2000] concluded that a long-term orientation is essential for a high tendency to save while a short-term orientation results in a tendency to enjoy leisure in the present time and emphasize only immediate concerns of the people.

Organizations that value future orientation, reveal a tendency to endorse the effectiveness of Visionary Leadership. Visionary leaders have the ability to inspire and motivate followers to work hard in order to achieve organizational goals.

7. Inspirational Leadership Dimension

Under the GLOBE project, Inspirational Leadership reflects the ability to inspire, to motivate, to encourage, to built confidence, and to expect high work performance from the part of followers.

The last Figure(Number 7) displays the differences between compared groups of Polish middle managers on Inspirational Leadership Dimension.

Figure 7: Differences between Polish middle managers of 1996/1997, 2008/2009, 2010/2011 and 2012 on Inspirational Leadership Dimension.



Results presented in Figure 7, indicate that Polish middle managers studied under our follow-up study display significantly lower level of Inspirational Leadership attribute than their counterparts investigated in the years of 1996/1997 under the GLOBE research project.

Based on the GLOBE research results it can be concluded that an Inspirational Leadership behavior is concerned with an attempt to develop enthusiasm and commitment by arousing strong emotions pertaining to followers needs, values, dreams and ideas. Inspirational leadership behavior may appeal to followers desire to be important, to feel useful and take advantage of their skills, to accomplish worthwhile organizational objectives, to perform an exceptional task, to be a member of outstanding team, or to participate in an fascinating and inspiring effort to perform tasks better.

To be able to articulate suitable inspirational appeals, the leader should have insight into the values, expectations, and fears of the followers or team to be influenced. The effectiveness of an inspirational leadership behavior also depends on the leader's communication skills, such as the ability to use creative ideas, and employ suitable voice and gestures to generate enthusiasm, excitement and motivation [Yukl, 1998].

Conclusion

In summary, our overall purpose in this paper was to compare followers evaluation of Polish middle managers in respect to their leadership attributes,

in the years of 2008/2009, 2010/2011, 2012 and during 1996/1997 within the GLOBE research project.

Our findings with respect to attributes associated with leadership effectiveness are largely consistent, in our follow-up study, across the years of investigation and regions of Poland under the study. At the same time data collected in our follow-up study differ significantly with the results received under the GLOBE investigation.

It was surprising and to some extent unexpected that new generation of Polish middle managers investigated in the years of 2008/2009, 2010/2011 and 2012, among other aspects, disclosed substantially less negative attitude towards autocratic leadership attribute than did their counterparts investigated under the GLOBE project in 1996/1997.

Based upon our research data, it could be concluded that the more autocratic leadership style is applied towards followers, there is less opportunity to manifest humane orientation, team orientation, integrity, visionary and inspirational leadership attributes in organizational practices.

It has been internationally accepted that managerial leadership style is influenced by the concept of national culture which is labeled "Power Distance". Based on a survey of 116 000 employees in 40 countries, Hofstede defines this construct as "the extent to which a society accepts the fact that power in institutions and organizations is distributed equally [1980, p.45].

High power distance is dysfunctional since it discourage members of the society or organization from debate and voicing of divergent views. Asking questions may be regarded as criticizing and blaming, and therefore may not be allowed. In contrast within the low power distance societies, the flexible distribution of power is expected to reinforce entrepreneurial innovation, broader participation in decision making, and to restrain the abuse of power and corruption.

Relatively high levels of power distance in Poland are also in line with results of studies conducted by Sułkowski [2008; 2009], who suggests that through the use of empowerment techniques one could awaken initiative and responsibility for one's own life. According to Sułkowski "Evolutionary research may be used to interpret sources of behaviors connected with power and to show possibilities of limiting some dangers" [2009, p.67].

Within the GLOBE research, we found that societies who score lower on Power Distance practices and values tend to be more economically prosperous and competitively successful, enjoy higher levels of societal health, and human development [House, et al., 2004, p.556].

We have assumed that the current circumstances in Poland are vastly different from the situation that prevailed at the time when our original

data were collected in 1996/97 under the GLOBE project. That's why we have speculated that profound changes in social, economic and organizational arrangements in Poland should diminish Power Distance in organizational practices, and lead to more negative attitude towards autocratic managerial behaviors from the part of newer generation of Polish managers.

Our research results clearly show a resistance to immense political and socioeconomic change. Organizational practices in Polish organizations remain relatively autocratic. Interpreting our findings in this light leads to the conclusion that profound changes in political and socioeconomic systems are not sufficient factors that would have the power to modify organizational values and subsequent practices and behaviors. It would mean that deep changes in the mentality of people are needed to generate beneficial changes in the cultural values and succeeding attitudes and behaviors [Hofstede, 1980; 1991; 2000; Martan, 1993; Mączyński, et al., 2010].

It should be emphasized, that progressing autocratic managerial practices may produce unfortable situation for Polish organizations, and would become dysfunctional for organizational survival and development. This leads to the conclusion that in order to cope successfully with the current worldwide economic crisis, Polish managers would have to acquire such values and managerial behaviors, which would favor, among other aspects, application and development of human capital and potentials of their followers.

We hope that potential benefits resulted from our research on leadership traits and behaviors may have significant implications for improving managerial performance. Conclusions drawn from our findings might be helpful, among other aspects, in selection and placement of candidates for managerial positions and formal management training programs.

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Fisheries cooperative organization and sustainable development in the rural community

Abstract: Fishing cooperatives are located in areas characterized by basing its economy on natural resource use. This representation suggests the need to implement practices that contribute to economic, social and ecological region.

This paper presents preliminary results of research aimed at identifying the impact of fishing cooperatives in sustainable development of the region. The collection of data was conducted through observation and semi-structured interviews.

The findings suggest that in Sinaloa there are fishing cooperatives facing problems resulting from overfishing, overcapacity of fishing fleets, increased fishing population and poaching, the unclear definition of fisheries property rights and fisheries management, among others. Even though, the government provides support to solve them but they are insufficient.

From the above it is concluded that the situation of the fishing cooperatives and the communities where they operate, has become a social problem that cannot be solved without the participation and involvement of stakeholders and is required to form a common front to improve economic, social and environmental development by joining efforts with the government and the people of a community.

Key words: Cooperative, organization, sustainable development.

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Introduction

Cooperatives are organizations that are identified to be located, many of them in areas whose economies are based on the use of renewable resources such as fisheries and agriculture, among others. This representation suggests that these organizations have the need to implement practices that focus on environmental care, however it is recognized that it can be difficult mainly because of the investment required and the lack of funds they own.

The integration of economic, social and ecological objectives is part of the daily work of cooperatives. On the one hand represent avenues for cooperation, collective action, building and strengthening the community and on the other hand operate as facilitating partners in partnerships that span local and national organizations in both the public and private sectors. This helps in promoting equitable participation, both in the pursuit of reducing inequality as the benefits of sustainable development of communities.

Sustainable development requires productive organizations that have a high level of performance regard to economic, social and environmental services that provide to local regions. Organizations also have different strengths, priorities and directions in regard to managing complex production systems, the development of human capacities, equitable distribution of costs and benefits and support sustainable community development.

One of the main economic activities taking place in Sinaloa is fishing, which is the productive activity related to the extraction of marine elements, which involves the extraction of natural resources. Historically, fishing was a major livelihood of mankind, becoming a shifter and productive mobilization that contributes to job creation and the development of areas that have these resources.

The cooperative fishery production is the organization where people come together to engage in fishing, joining forces to improve their production and enhancing the scope of their work. In Sinaloa, this type of organization is emerging as a development alternative for people in rural communities because it offers a way to organize your work.

The fishing cooperative, its definition and characteristics

The definition of cooperative involves the integration of various elements such as the association of individuals, solidarity, mutual interest, self-help, shared effort, among others. For Garcia [1999] in regard to the nature of cooperatives, comparative law has already considered the corporations and civil societies. On the other hand, González [1984] considers that this company is given by the ideas of equity and mutual aid, by eliminating the middleman, seeking nonprofit, obtain and distribute directly and pro rata among the

partners, extra-capitalist benefits, while Rojas [1982] notes that through these organizations is possible to abolish the profit and the wage system, and Gonzalez [1973] indicates that it is not for profit but to ensure social and economic improvement of its partners.

In Mexico, the rule governing the act of cooperatives is the General Law of Cooperative Societies, which represents the New Law published in the Official Journal of the Federation (in Spanish, *Diario Oficial de la Federación*, DOF) on August 3, 1994 and published with the latest reform in the DOF on August 13, 2009. In this Act, the cooperative is defined (Article 2) as a “form of social organization composed of individuals based on common interests and on the principles of solidarity, self-help and mutual aid, in order to meet individual and collective needs, through the economic activities of production, distribution and consumption of goods and services.”

Internationally, the International Cooperative Alliance [2011] notes that the cooperative is an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through a common organization jointly owned and democratically controlled.

As the work they do, there are different types of cooperatives: consumption, production and savings and loan. In the case of fisheries cooperatives, they are placed in the group of production cooperatives as they are: “those whose members come together to work together in the production of goods and / or services, providing their personal work, physical or intellectual. Regardless of the type of production that are involved, these companies may store, preserve, transport and market their products “[LGSC, 2009, Article 27] and to operate they only require their legal constitution [LGSC, 2009, Article 31].

Sustainable development and its regulation in Mexico

Regulations, relating to sustainable development in Mexico, have worked to establish a legal framework to coordinate policy issues related to environmental problems and sustainable use of natural resources, considering these standards and their implementation to become mechanisms useful to preserve the environment and natural resources of the country.

Mexico’s constitution establishes environmental dispositions in Article 27 (current legal system), which refers to the conservation of natural resources. Escobar [2010] says that the first environmental legislation in the country was in March 1971 when it enacted the Federal Law to Prevent and Control Environmental Pollution, this Act was operated by the General Health Council, as it had the necessary powers to enact measures to prevent and combat environmental pollution.

Afterwards was published, in 1982, the Federal Law of Environmental Protection. Later, in 1988, was published the General Law of Ecological Balance

and Environmental Protection, in which are included the legal elements of environmental management of pollution of both, the environment and the sustainable use of natural resources, and the establishment of control and security measures in order to guarantee the right of citizens to live in an adequate environment [Escobar, 2008].

Additionally there are other laws that regulate the behavior that affects the environment such as the Wildlife Act, the Forest Act, the National Property Act ordering the Federal Maritime Zone, National Water Act, Act sustainable development of sugarcane, Law of sustainable rural development, climate change General Law, Law for the sustainable use of energy, General Law on Sustainable Fisheries and Aquaculture, among others.

The official Mexican standards (NOM) play a key role on the environment as a tool that allows the jurisdiction to establish environmental requirements, conditions, procedures and permissible limits that have to be observed in the different regions and terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems for the use of natural resources [Flores, 2008].

Sustainable development in the fishing cooperative from Sinaloa

The Council for the Development in Sinaloa [CODESIN, 2011] states that there are three key factors that reveals the social importance of the fisheries sector for the country: 1)Fishing is a food supply, 2)the fisheries sector is a generator of work, 3)fishing is generating revenue for the national economy.

Sinaloa is a state with a strong presence in national production of fish and has thousands of fishermen that depend on the sector, while they have made this fishing into a food supply for the country, and has shown to be an activity generating income for its population.

Historically, Mexico has been in the top spots as fish producer in the world, being the North Pacific fishing region most important in volume and value.

Legal framework of fisheries in Mexico

In Mexico, the development of fishing is regulated by the General Law of Sustainable Fisheries and Aquaculture (LGPAS) 1992 (latest revision published DOF 07/06/2012) and its Regulations. Additionally, various NOM's facilitate the implementation of the Fisheries Act, and specifies the requirements for fisheries (management measures such as the closure, fishing licenses, marine protected areas, restrictions on size and specifications of vessels and equipment, limited entry of new fishermen, total allowable catch quotas, etc.³). The Act establishes the National Fisheries Chart as a means of regulating the exploitation of species [Article 32].

³ Between 1993 and 2005 there were 31 additional NOM's for sea fishing and 3 more for aquaculture. The National Fisheries Chart is updated frequently, most recently in 2006.

Before this Act⁴, between 1948 and 1992, some high-value species (shrimp, lobster, and abalone) and some government support were reserved for the exclusive use of cooperatives [Juarez, 2007]. As of the 1992 Act, rights were canceled and fishing concessions are granted to private and social agents (duration of 5-20 years and up to 50 years for aquaculture). The OECD [2006] notes that, because of this change, the industry has changed, mainly due to the privatization of the fishing fleet.

For the management of fisheries legislation, it was created the SAGARPA (Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, Rural Development, Fisheries and Food) from 2001, after the change was made in the Federal Civil Service Act [November 30th, 2000] where the modification originated SEMARNAP to SEMARNAT (Secretariat of Environment and Natural Resources) shifting the fisheries subsector to SAGARPA. This was for the purpose of performing a functional management that would promote the national environmental policy.

Sinaloa

Sinaloa is located in the northwest side of the country, with an area of 58,092 km². It has an area of 656 kilometers of coastline in which the fishing industry is developed, which stands for job creation and self-employment, the opportunity to export and foreign exchange as well as regional development factor.

In the area of coastal lagoons, there are 12 bays, 29 wetlands, 2 lakes, a creek and a river mouth. There are 62 fishing communities, recorded about 42,000 workers directly involved in the sector, of these 74% is dedicated to capture fish and aquaculture and the rest to other fisheries activities. There is a large number of vessels of which about 93% are engaged in coastal fisheries and the rest to the fisheries of high seas.

Regarding the fishing cooperative sector, in Sinaloa there are 140 cooperatives with over 4,000 boats, 2,500 permits and 15,000 fishermen. The cooperatives are grouped into more than 10 cooperative federations⁵ (in 2000 there were 3 and 2011 are 11).

Fish production is mainly of shrimp, oysters, pau mule, clam, mullet, grouper, sea bass, squid, tuna, kingcroaker, dogfish and shark. The marketing of fishery products is aimed at domestic and international market. Shrimp is the main export species, shipped mainly to the U.S. market.

⁴ Between 1925 and 1986, Mexico enacted seven fishing laws: the first three focused on securing permits and concessions to users, the following two stimulated investment and the remaining two to the technological improvement of the fleet to increase production.

⁵ Federation of Cooperatives: An organization in which all, or at least a large part of its members are cooperatives at regional, national or international level and whose purpose is to represent and defend the interests of the cooperatives.

The fisheries cooperatives in the center of Sinaloa

The investigation was placed in 16 cooperatives operating in the center area of Sinaloa, in the fishing camps: Las Aguamitas, Las Arenitas, El Castillo, Altata, El Tetuán, Las Puentes and El Robalar, which concentrate their activity in the capture of various marine species.

This activity is subject to the rules established in the Fisheries Act (LGPAS) and the Regulations of the Fisheries Act. These cooperatives are composed of rural population for whom this activity is their main means of subsistence.

According to interviews with the directors of the cooperative societies, the main activity carried out is the catch of shrimp, crab, clams and some species of scale. Considering the shrimp catch as the most valuable for cooperatives.

Regarding the capture process, the interviewees indicate that to start the fishing activity, first they have to perform rehabilitation on their boats (better known locally as “pangas”), engine repair and rehabilitation and construction of nets and cast nets to be “ready to fish”, the equipment they use are boats with outboard motor with different power 90-115HP.

From the above, it is identified that cooperatives in the center of Sinaloa develop the coastal fisheries in a diversified and characterized way by performing non-mechanized operations, using gear with sustainability criteria, according to the characteristics of the fields.

The fishing activity in the cooperative and sustainable development

Managers of cooperatives comment that shrimp harvesting takes place during periods established by the federal government through the National Commission of Aquaculture and Fisheries (Conapesca), that decision is taken based on the research and technical review by the National Fisheries Institute (Inapesca)⁶.

The main purpose of the establishment of closure is to protect the different species of shrimp of the Pacific Ocean, in the case of Sinaloa, is looking out for crustacean reproduction and recruitment of new generations. The above takes place prohibiting the capture of all species existing of shrimp in marine waters under federal jurisdiction in the Pacific Ocean (including the Gulf of California and estuarine lagoon systems, marshes and bays of the states of Baja California Sur, Sonora, Sinaloa, Nayarit, Jalisco and Colima). Based on studies by Inapesca, the shrimp ban period for the area is the month of March to September each year.

⁶ Conapesca: A SAGARPA administrative entity created in 200, who is responsible for the management, coordination and development of policies regarding the use and sustainable exploitation of fisheries and aquatic resources. The Commission is supported by the Inapesca, which conducts scientific and technological research and provides advice on the preservation, reforestation, promotion, cultivation and development of aquatic species.

According to the interviews, managers of cooperatives indicated that decisions on the closure period in recent years have been without consultation of fishermen, because they usually indicate the start date of capture does not match what they identify depending on the size of the shrimp fishery fields.

The members of the cooperatives indicate that sometimes the start date is already late, due to the shrimp has less time in the bays or estuaries, which causes it to move out to the sea, where large vessels are favored with shrimp size larger than those captured in their communities. In other situations the marine biologist's samples shed little commercial product sizes of shrimp, so several cooperative agreements auto closed down for several days in hopes the species size and scope to develop larger.

For their part, the authorities claim that the agreements to start catching shrimp are formalized with the participation of the productive sectors and coastal seas, with the support technician from Inapesca. This contradicts the information provided by interviewees.

Interviewees added that in the case of large vessels, they generate further damage to the environment as they are entrepreneurs who develop the activity of catching shrimp with minimal care and at the end of the capture period, they leave the area without the minor interest in the conditions they leave the capture spaces, while they stay because it is the place where they live.

The cooperative members say the shrimp catch level has been changing over the years, as the operation has caused them problems in both the shrimp growth and yield of capture and production. The partners say some of the causes of the slow growth of shrimp are due to problems of pollution, disease and exploitation by large companies.

In relation to the actions taken by government agencies to boost the fishing and environmental protection, Conapesca implements various support programs for fishermen, as engine replacement project, voluntary retirement program and shrimp boats national program of inspection and surveillance and satellite monitoring system.

In turn Inapesca has conducted studies through the Regional Centers for Fisheries Research (CRIP) for the production and exploitation of species, which have helped maintain and improve production levels, generating economic and social benefits for the fisheries sector.

Among the proposals that the directors of the cooperative societies pose, is the proposal to Conapesca, about the reseeded of shrimp larvae in the Pacific coast, in order to recover this species that has been lost in the last four or five years due to climate change and other natural and human phenomena that has generated a sharp decline in production of the crustacean.

According to the fishermen, it is necessary to implement a program to prevent the waste of their catch to end up in the sea contaminating and affecting

larval production, but the authorities claim that these actions must be of the producers themselves, as they must worry about keeping marine species. On the other hand the authorities recognize the need to protect the environment, as experience has shown them that otherwise there is a risk of losing their main source of employment and therefore their main source of income.

Even as the biological potential of the region is very high, there are several factors that threaten the area. Some we highlight are the considerable increase of settlers in the region, which leads to over-exploitation of natural resources in the area, the fishing camps and activity has caused a gradual deterioration of the aquatic flora and fauna, fishing involves talking about overfishing, waste, improper fishing techniques, pollution by oil and gas waste and a lack of education on the use of resources.

The eventual character of shrimp fishing in the fishing cooperatives of Sinaloa implies that members face the dilemma of deciding what to do during the six months of closure. A period in which more than 10,000 fishermen become unemployed and in that sense is recognizes that while the capture of this species represents a high value market, currently the revenue generated by the catch levels are not sufficient to meet the needs of families that depend on this activity during the year.

To address this situation, the government offers temporary alternatives as inspector surveillance and other support. In this regard, note that the cooperative's members indicate the failure of the authorities, as they promote support for projects that never receive, and added: "The government announced state support for housing, scholarships, pantries, productive projects, paving, and anything came here", "it was worthless the time in the long lines made to sign in", "we need the federation, the state and municipalities meet temporary employment programs and thus have secure income". They also offer loans to cultivate oysters, but not rely on market research or training, generating unfinished projects.

In short, the problems fisheries cooperatives of Sinaloa face result from overfishing, overcapacity of fishing fleets, increasing the fish population and poaching, the unclear definition of property rights and fisheries management strictly fishing, among others.

Conclusions

Shrimp coastal fisheries is a relevant socioeconomic and cultural activity in the state of Sinaloa; is a vulnerable activity in which you invest in the midst of uncertainty due to the lack of certainty as to whether or not there product during the fishing season. As all fishing activities, it should be practiced responsibly, seeking minors cause environmental damage possible.

The situation of cooperatives and fisheries has now become a social problem that cannot be solved without the participation and involvement of its actors.

It is not easy to solve all the problems in the fisheries sector in the short term, it is necessary to form a common front to convene to boost social and economic development of the fisheries in the state.

It is imminent that the resources included in the National Fisheries Program are assigned under a criterion of social impact for the benefit of the families of the fishing camps as quickly as possible, it is necessary to reconcile the conservation and use of natural resources with social and economic development and thus aspire to achieving the goal of sustainable development.

Society's members expressed concern to the state about the environment and are adopting new methods of care to develop as sustainable cooperatives. Support programs of the federal government to promote cooperative societies comply with the guidelines of care for the environment.

It must admit that in economically backward areas, people tend to over-exploitation natural resources due to lack of production options. So it is urgent that the government in its three instances contributes to the development of specific alternatives for each location, taking innovative ideas and plans for the development of these communities. Rural poverty and the number of families who continue linked to primary production make it necessary to continue to support the industry to improve its productivity and promote sustainability.

Fishing cooperatives and the sector will be developed, as fishermen react to changing business and technical opportunities, on the one hand and legal and environmental constraints on the other.

Inside the importance of fisheries, governments must take into account three basic aspects to resolve the situation: first, the sector is considered a significant source of power; second, it gives employment to a large number of people working directly and indirectly in fisheries and aquaculture and; third, it is an important sector in revenue generation. These aspects seem to fit into two lines mainly corresponding to the economic and sustainable sector, and consequently its profitability and that targets the social development and harmonious fishing communities

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On certain limitations of the globalization discourse in Poland: a cultural studies perspective

Abstract: The assumption that globalization means the relatively free circulation of goods, texts, people, ideas and information on a global scale, as well as the circulation of concepts of globalization and views on it, is the starting point of this essay. Its main aim is to define the salient features of the Polish globalization discourse by comparing it with the analogous discourse in the West, where it was first conceptualized.

The conclusions arising from a closer analysis of the Polish discourse are as follows: regardless of whether methodological nationalism is considered a fundamental limitation upon any social science research determining its general priorities, such discourse privileges traditional concepts of nation-state as a mode of sovereignty territorially legitimated and/or state-centrism on a world scale, which rest upon resentments motivated by national memories of an inauspicious past and are of emotional, psychologically enduring character.

Key-words: globalization discourse, cultural studies perspective.

Raymond Williams once wrote about key words. These are words referring to various phenomena frequently used in debates and discussions of every academic discipline. They seem to function there on special terms. They are used in a special way by users of a given language because they seem to have certain qualities other words do not possess. Key terms reflect

the vocabulary of a crucial area of social and cultural discussion, which has been inherited within precise historical and social conditions and which has to be made at once conscious and critical – subject to change as well as to continuity – if the millions of people in whom it is active are to see it as active:

not as tradition to be learned, nor as consensus to be accepted, nor as a set of meanings which, because it is 'our language', has a natural authority; but as a shaping and reshaping in real circumstances and from profoundly different and important points of view: a vocabulary to use, to find our own ways in, to change as we find it necessary to change it (...).

[Williams 1983, pp. 24-25]

It means that such terms do not have a neutral character. They are important in their own way since they perform some vital functions. They are sort of markers signaling both the condition and the form of social relations in a given period, and the condition and the shape of culture. Even more, our choice of how we use them in communication with our partners also reveals the ways of our thinking. In a sense they 'disclose' us, for frequently, independently of the speaker's intentions, or even independently of whether he or she is willing to express their intentions out loud, the markers reveal the speaker's preferences and interpretational strategies by means of which he or she states some values, and defines them together with other members of the community he or she belongs to. Globalization is such a key word.

For quite some time we have found ourselves preoccupied by that single word, which we were hearing a lot. It seems that we have heard it in two senses. One is relating to flows over a distance and/or time. What it emphasizes is getting beyond the static exchange models, free and reciprocal flows of goods, people, capital and ideas on a global scale. In other words, the phenomena are connected with various sorts of exchange on a scale that does not fit in the predetermined and relatively commonly accepted boundaries. Or, simply: we observe that the limits of our planet define its borderline. That is, surely, what Ulrich Beck [1992, pp. 10-11] meant when he wrote:

the fact that we are increasingly living in a world society in the sense that the notion of closed spaces has become illusory... from now on nothing which happens on our planet is only a limited local event.

Globalization is a term which simultaneously connotes still other senses. For it may appear that the way it is used by today's anthropologists, sociologists of culture or media scholars is a simple act of 'revaluing' their on-going research by means of a trendy 'staffage'. In other words, research labeled in such a way may falsely suggest it is an example of a fresh and revealing recognition of social problems that have emerged only nowadays [Massem 1993, p. 60]. Or, in order to sustain the same critical perspective, it may be stated that globalization only seemingly means the birth of a new *grand narration* functioning on terms of commonly accepted way of clarifying the collective historical experience, and acting as a general pattern for all sorts of stories [Stephens, McCallum 1998, pp. 3-5]. Since the provocative declaration of Lyotard, proclaiming the

delegitimization of scientific thought and research procedures, as well as questioning the sense of existence of higher learning institutions [Lyotard 1997, pp. 110-115], such lack of a general pattern has been worrying. The absence of the pattern was taking its toll for, by demolishing the belief in the power of human mind held since the Enlightenment, it eroded the feeling of certainty and activated the inclination to relativize even the obvious truths. In such a situation the concept of globalization was of assistance mainly in the sphere of psychology: it was a sort of an antidote for all the disillusionment caused by the postmodernist skepticism stimulated by epistemological chaos, and also the disappointments triggered by the conviction that vital potentials of the development of art, whose driving force was the pursuit of originality, had been depleted. Globalization was - and still is - more of a myth and a hypothetical project of the open world. For the inequalities in the development, or a different level of the economic advancement of individual countries - taking into consideration only those aspects - make the vision of global economy, that is the structure of multi-faceted relations of comprehensive character, just an ideal type, whose incorporating into real life must take more time before it becomes the accomplished fact [Hirst, Thompson 2000, p. xiii].

Even if one admits, though, that the skepticism and the reserve expressed here are well-grounded, for, as of now, the vision of a global community consisting of peoples inhabiting our planet, has not really shaped up [Albrow 1990, p. 9], it must be agreed that the globalization discourse has united the representatives of many fields and disciplines. Empirically verifiable facts concerning transformations of social life exerted pressure on scholars to take the floor. The researchers of globalization processes frequently put forward issues which, when treated separately as incidental, passed unnoticed. They gained importance when they could be arranged in some meaningful ensemble: when individual examples and/or incidental cases, though geographically distant, linked with one another, thus creating longer chains of mutual interactions. Then they more clearly reflect phenomena of general character, fundamental for the times when they manifested themselves.

Back in the 1980s, Raymond Williams quite ironically commented on the fact of formation of the new type of relations between man and the world of things, and it was hard to suppose that from those observations, or at least on the basis of them, the concept of dynamic identity and 'long-distance nationalism' would be born and developed. Here is what he wrote:

There was this Englishman who worked in the London office of a multinational corporation based in the United States. He drove home one evening in his Japanese car. His wife, who worked in a firm which imported German kitchen equipment, was already at home. Her small Italian car was often quicker

through the traffic. After a meal which included New Zealand lamb, Californian carrots, Mexican honey, French cheese and Spanish wine, they settled down to watch a programme on their television set, which was made in Finland. The programme was a retrospective celebration of the war to recapture the Falkland Islands. As they watched it they felt very warmly patriotic, and very proud to be British.

[Williams 2000, p. 177]

By analogy, at the beginning of the 20th century it was hard to believe in the prophecies of the Italian poet, the ideological founder of Futurism, Filippo Marinetti, who predicted that the speed would become one of the basic elements shaping modern culture and art, and thus, half a century later, giving in a way an impulse to formulate the concept of *the death of distance* by Frances Cairncross [Cairncross 1997].

An ordinary man can in a day's time travel by train from a little dead town of empty squares, where the sun, the dust and the wind amuse themselves in silence, to a capital city bristling with lights, gestures and street cries. By reading a newspaper the inhabitant of a mountain village can tremble each day with anxiety, following insurrection in China [and] the heroic dog-sleds of the polar explorers. The timid, sedentary inhabitant of any provincial town can indulge in the intoxication of danger by going to the cinema and watching a great hunt in the Congo... Then back in his bourgeois bed he can enjoy the distant expressive voice of a Caruso or Burzio.

[Marinetti, quoted in Miller 1998, p. 105]

Later globalization processes gathered pace and their latest phase has been taking place before the eyes of today's young generations, the beneficiaries of successive waves of the technological revolution [Robertson 1992, pp. 57-60]. New threads appeared in the globalization discourse which in some measure resulted from direct experience. Or, more precisely, they referred to empirically ascertainable phenomena which, then, became subjects of in-depth study. This is how the concept of deterritorialization underlining the weakening role and significance of territory in shaping social relationships and practices, was born. It drew conclusions from the practices undertaken by diaspora communities members such as Turkish guest workers, watching Turkish films in their German flats, of whom wrote Arjun Appadurai [2000, p. 4]. It also legitimized Antonio Gramsci's dynamic concept of identity, for whom identity was the subject of personal choices, and not an 'ancestral acquisition', and who, approaching the anti-essentialist critique of the problem, claimed that the identification with multiple identities may be accepted in many cases [Jones 2006, p. 60]. One must admit that, for instance, media coverage of 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa highlighting the ethnic diversity of the German national team offered

important confirmation of the concept (e.g. the headline in “The Baltimore Sun” (July 06, 2010) read: “Foreign-born players give Germany a different look”).

Globalization is an on-going process. Obviously, it has created great confusion in the public life. The vision of the world and measures, by means of which we have always described it, suffered the most. For a few centuries the world had seemed to be colonized by human mind, and thus it could have been seen as organized. Since paradigms used in the past lost their previous precision, the clearly defined units became units of fuzzy edges. Regardless of the methodological sympathies they held, scholars representing such fields as, for instance, economics, political sciences or social communication, in their pursuit of conceptualizing the phenomenon of globalization, tended to do one and the same thing: emphasize the effect of homogenization. New technologies enabling mass communication and free flow of people and goods largely contributed to this homogenization [Meyer, Geschiere 1999, p. 3].

Though globalization processes seem endless, the problem of the consequences they have already incurred became the topic of numerous analyses conducted by social sciences, especially in developed countries¹. Generally speaking, as Neil Brenner [1999] observes, two attitudes have been formed:

- the conception oriented on *state-centrism on a world scale*
- the conception of *detritorialization*.

In order to outline the framework of both positions, I would like to remark that the first group tries to reconcile the dynamic transformations with the patterns sanctioned by tradition. Or they formulate a thesis that although lifestyle and social practices have been fundamentally changed, the differences in the relation to the previous periods are solely a matter of scale and degree. In other words, the world once seemed to constitute a territorially diverse entity. The traditional image of the world, as the result of map projection of a number of states seen as territorial entities regulating space, reflected the valorization of territory. Each of the elements had its own autonomous character, as having clear and straightforward borders was easily identified. Globalization process has definitely contributed to the acceleration of the flow of goods, capital, people, ideas and information within the geographical space. But as a result of that, the socio-territorial infrastructure has been disturbed, or at least its importance and significance have been profoundly undermined. The erosion of former divisions and differences within the aforementioned net, with their concurrent fluency and changeability, made the contours of the world the only

¹ This domination is not accidental. It stems from the fact that developed countries were territories in which globalization processes, motivated by the dynamic development of capitalism, were the first to be initiated (Harley, 1982; 2006; Hutton, Giddens, 2000; Burszta, 2004). Their social and economic significance made them both a research subject and interesting topics for scholarly discussions right from the very beginning.

permanent line of demarcation. They determined the edges of a global space inhabited by a 'world society', which, in structural respect, was analogical to the previous territorial entities described as nation states [Wallerstein 1988; Robertson 1992].

Globalization as such is indeed an extended variant of a traditional idea of a nation state based on a model elaborated and adopted by virtue of the Peace of Westphalia treaty in 1648. It restored peace throughout nearly the whole of Europe, thus ending the Thirty Years' War, and afterwards raised the matter of a sovereign territory enclosed by predetermined boundaries as a fundamental condition of existence of a nation [Brenner 1999; Appadurai 2003; Wnuk-Lipiński 2004; Kubiak 2007; Jagiełło 2009]. Treating the nation as an undisputed value is, admittedly, a proof of accepting the traditional point of view, but at the same time it is an attempt to theorize on the new global space. This space, as emphasized, contains sets of social living spaces, smaller in scope, but remaining in motion since they have been exposed to unceasing influence of forming globalization processes which change their shapes. The people who live there may move about more or less freely. If, for some reason, they do not take advantage of this possibility, or they are unable to do so, they may still spread the goods they produce, ideas and information.

The followers of the concept of deterritorialization are more radical in their views. They have thoroughly scrutinized the rudiments of past reflection on social world. Such an analysis - especially if conducted in the spirit of deconstructionism - had to lead to conclusions which would question former views and standpoints. But it is not so easy to free oneself from habits and established patterns in thinking and concluding. They are useful or even comfortable, for, by directing the attention towards the conventionalized procedures and accepted decisions, they allow somehow the feeling of safety. Hence, they constitute intellectual barriers which protect the access to new observations and make people repeat the beaten catch-phrases [Wallerstein 1991, p. 1]. Globalization processes, in great measure, freed the spirit of criticism since they brought along the dynamics of transformations on a scale which had never been encountered before. They demolished the long-used paradigms, forced new assessment of social relations and, by revealing the cognitive inertia of the human mind, they forced either the revision of previously held ideas, or taking a resolute standpoint in relation to the new phenomena.

Generally speaking, in the approach of the social sciences to the concept of nation one may trace two types of attitudes. They are based on assumptions which, like a parallax, distort the image of globalization process [Brenner 1999, pp. 45-46].

One of them is *spatial fetishism*. It manifests itself when we presuppose - not necessarily in a resounding declaration - that space determines social

relations and it is an autonomous and static phenomenon, as Descartes once wrote. What is more, then we also allow that it is a constant value existing beyond time, that is to say one which is not subject to historical changes, invariable in its characteristics and, which is especially crucial; we allow that it successfully resists any interference of a human factor [Sayer 2000, pp. 109-121; Jessop, Brenner, Jones 2008, pp. 389-401]. Then we claim that the ostentatious attachment to such a stance is an effect of a 'territorial trap' which has underlain the thinking of representatives of social sciences treating about the lives of societies and the ways of their existence. In the face of globalization process it is easier to notice that supporters of this sort of views, in some measure voluntarily, have been 'trapped' as slaves of the assumption that all social and economic activities on the one side, and political and cultural ones on the other, take place within some kind of 'containers'. Each of them seems to be a territorially self-enclosed entity with its own space, in which a man is a guest at most [Taylor 1994, pp. 151-162; Agnew 1994, pp. 53-80].

The second attitude is motivated by *methodological territorialism*. It is displayed when we assume before the analytical procedure is undertaken, that a nation is located in a territory whose existence precedes in time the existence of the nation. It means that the existence of the territory becomes the condition for the existence of the nation. In other words, this reflection is based on a conviction that a territorial character of an organism called 'nation' is its natural feature which may not be abandoned or disposed of, and only the fact of possessing a territory grants the right for any kind of statehood to form. This kind of attitude characterized the way of thinking about a nation in the 19th century. To a large extent, it was a factor determining not only the ways of operating research tools, but it was setting the borderlines of analyses and defined the horizon of research inference as well [Taylor 1996, pp. 1917-1928; Taylor 2000, pp. 5-32; Scholte 2000, pp. 56-58; Scholte 2008, pp. 1484-1485].

It is beyond doubt that an open discussion on the foundations on which we base our way of thinking about a nation and territory, as well as our thoughts on culture and social relations, is strictly connected with the aforementioned globalization process. On the other hand, however, it may not be excluded that the emergence of voices disturbing the stabilized vision of their formation has released the inclination to revise some presuppositions serving as principles to guide how we live our lives. Clifford Geertz, when characterizing the conjuncture in the sphere of psychology, wrote that in the postmodern age all monopolies and authorities had lost their significance, as a result of which "the golden age of the social science when (...) the basic goal of the enterprise was universally agreed upon (.), has clearly passed" [Geertz 1980, p. 178]. And Zygmunt Bauman emphasized that in postmodern times the intellectual functions as a translator rather than as an arbiter [see Bauman 2000, p. 76].

This way or another, a space for discussion has opened - not only in the field of social sciences - and it tackled the problems revealed by globalization, which, because of the technological revolution and, mainly, electronic media, became audible in every corner of the world. In the situation when the progressive pluralization of different discourses encouraged the inclination to undermine the conventional truths of the past, it was easier to free oneself from the terror of geographical units when reflecting upon social or economic relations, or the circulation of media messages. It was easier to pull a face of a naive child and ask: who said that social, economic or cultural phenomena began and end exactly within the territorially enclosed entities, or that they may occur only within the limited framework of the space whose borders are the borders of the nation? Once those questions have been posed, the answer went as follows: contemporary terrorism or ecological movements or feminism are not connected with one specific place on Earth; they may not be locked by the walls of enclaves for such phenomena freely permeate all borders - and this is why they cause problems to those who try to resist them. In these circumstances, Michael Herzfeld could directly pronounce that claiming that the borders of a culture overlap with the borders of a nation is a sign of ideologization of cultural studies. It is evidence of getting involved into strategic goals of the authorities attempting to maintain control over the territory they once governed. [Herzfeld 2005, p. 199; Storey 2003, p. 6].

Gupta and Fergusson wrote about one of fundamental assumptions functioning in the anthropology of culture for a long time:

Of course, the geographical territories that cultures and societies are believed to map onto do not have to be nations. We do, for example, have ideas about culture-areas that overlap several nation-states, or of multicultural nations. On a smaller scale, perhaps, are our disciplinary assumptions about the association of culturally unitary groups (tribes or peoples) with 'their' territories. (..) In all these cases, space itself becomes a kind of neutral grid on which cultural difference, historical memory, and societal organization are inscribed. It is in this way that space functions as a central organizing principle in the social sciences at the same time that it disappears from analytical purview.

[Gupta, Fergusson 1992, pp. 6-7]

These remarks refer to *territorial determinism* [Ardrey 1966, p. 203; Storey 2003, p. 11], resulting from a long process of familiarization and naturalization - according to which "territorial realities of one or other sort both bound and determine social arrangements" (Appadurai 2003, p. 344). This type of determinism makes us presume traditionally that:

The multiple displacement effects associated with globalization have had a radical impact on the way communities are 'grounded'. Communities are conventionally

understood as being bound to specific places. Their identity and cohesion come from relationships that are patterned within a given territory. The strength of community, it is assumed, is dependent on the density and intensity of these relationships. Hence, when people 'move out', it is thought that they left that community or, at best, that their active presence will be transformed into the more passive role of those who just 'keep in touch'. Membership of a community is thereby seen in terms of proximity and contact with the centre of that place. The further away from the one is situated, the looser, more irregular, less connected one feels. The further towards the periphery one gets, the more one is regarded as a stranger.

[Papastergiadis 2000, p. 114]

The endeavors discussed here, aiming to disqualify the 'geographical' thinking in social sciences, went hand in hand with the negation of the valid in anthropology of culture logic, which explained the transformations of culture by means of either the principle of linear development or the principle of polar domination. The first principle treated the change in culture as a realization of its inner abilities, albeit stretched in time. The second principle, however, insisted that the change was the effect of a culture clash, as a result of which the winner gained the right to determine the dominating values, and the loser had to conform [Papastergiadis 2000, p.108].

This type of logic is not applicable in the world dominated by globalization processes. Culture phenomena, cross-cultural contacts, migration of people, media hype and clamor flooding the mass audience with a stream of information and concepts, global exchange of goods and services, and financial transfers - all reached such a dynamics that one should be talking about continuous flows [Sinclair et al. 1996; Meyer, Geschiere 1998; Burszta 2004; Appadurai 2003; Hannerz 2006; Castells 2000]. Their origin, frequently, cannot be reduced to a simple relation between the cause and effect, or explained by means of mechanistic models originating straight from Newtonian physics [Papastergiadis 2000, p. 101]. Their trajectories collide with one another, or they pass each other at a distance, or they co-occur right next to one another. In the public sphere, as in economics or media, certain structures and formations of a new type have emerged. They do not possess a solid or complete character. They are like ephemera: they take given shapes, for a short time only, to transform again [Fabian 1992, pp. 191-206]. In such conditions describing changes and continuities is hindered, just as defining the essence and function of a borderline [Roseau 1990; Roseau 1997; Balibar 1998].

These conditions have given rise to the idea of *deterrioralization*. The concept cumulates all arguments, or rather counter arguments, which, in the field of social sciences, were raised against the 'geographically' oriented sociology and anthropology of culture. By referring to empirical facts which confirm

- The erosion of a traditional model of a nation [Strange, 1999; Ballinger 2002; Appadurai 2003; Appadurai 2005]
- Unstabilized character of identity influenced by the pressure of socio-cultural and political contexts, frequently motivated by economic or prestige factors [Rouse 1995a; Rouse 1995b; Bayart 1996; Bayart 2007]
- Growing phenomenon of migration on a different scale leading to the creation of diaspora communities [Anderson 1994; Mittelman 2000; Glick Schiller, Fouron 2002; Anderson 2002]
- Technologically-secured possibility to experience the world in a mediatised way [Morse 1998; Giddens 2001]
- Creating supranational communities on a global scale- with the lack of direct bonds, but with the active use of imagination and modern technology constituting a territorially independent union and association [Anderson 1997; Anderson 2002; Glick Schiller, Fouron 2002].

this concept breaks the connection between social relations and cultural phenomena, sanctioned by traditions and habits, of the territory on which they are supposed to exclusively exist, or to which they are supposed to be ascribed on the principle of exclusiveness.

Regardless of whether we accept the definition of Anthony Giddens, who described deterritorialization as “the ‘lifting out’ of social relations from local contexts and their rearticulation across indefinite tracts of time-space” [Giddens 1991, p. 18]², or that of Nestor G. Canclini, for whom deterritorialization is “the loss of the ‘natural’ relation between culture with the geographic and social territories, and, at the same time, certain relative, partial territorial relocalizations of old and new symbolic productions” [Canclini 1995, p. 229], the important thing is disembedding from geographic dependencies. The term ‘deterritorialization’ is ambiguous: it erroneously emphasizes the possibility to completely suspend or even eliminate all sorts of space connections [Scholte 2008, p. 1503].

The globalization discourse stresses clearly that deterritorialization always goes hand in hand with reterritorialization: the given social or economic relations or cultural phenomena from one territory are moved to another territory - even if it is hard to determine precisely where the demarking line between them should go - by principle of transfer. The matter of deterritorialization and reterritorialization was explained by Ó Tuathail:

Deterritorialization... evokes the challenges posed to the status of territory and, by extension, our territoriality embedded understandings of geography, governance and geopolitics, states, places and the social science, by

² Although Giddens does not use this term, he writes about a phenomenon which may be described as such.

planetary communication networks and globalizing tendencies. But it is deceptive when it becomes an answer polemically naming this challenge as a clear disappearance of territoriality. The problematic of deterritorialization is also the problematic of reterritorialization; it is not the presence or absence of state territoriality but its changing status, power and meaning in relationship to postmodern technological constellations, speed machines, and global webs of capitalism.”

[Ó Tuathail 1998, p. 82]

Indeed, the trouble is that the former power of influence of territoriality as the foundation of our way of thinking about social relationships and culture, just as, for instance, [our way of thinking] about the transformations of English literature or ethnic tensions of Albanian people, lost its significance. In the face of the progressive globalization and on-going discussions on territorial and post-territorial methodology, territoriality as a norm has become devaluated. This very fact simplified all research oriented on national cultures, and, at the same time, implied painful, political dilemmas, for it undermined the confidence in a state's ability to regulate or, all the more, govern social, economic or cultural life [Scholte 2008, pp. 1484-1485].

At this point, it is worth considering the problem essential for the reasoning in this essay: namely, not only had globalization opened up borders between people living on the planet by enabling the exchange of goods and the flow of various packages woven from words, pictures and sounds. It also facilitated the free flow of opinions and ideas regarding the globalization itself. It is worth mentioning the possibility of confronting all the effects of a research reflection over the social world, which is only just coming into existence. Modern technology let opinions and ideas elaborated in different contexts meet, regardless of the degree of intensity of the globalization process that had activated them. Their multitude and abundance prove that in social sciences different 'dialects', visions and standpoints may flourish [Albrow 1990, p. 8].

For the benefit of this article, I have scrutinized a number of Polish research studies published over the period of the last dozen years, tackling issues connected with globalization. This essay neither pretends to be their detailed register, nor is it a thorough report of all the problems raised by their authors. What I took greatest interest in was determining the character of the globalization discourse conducted in a country which, as a result of a transformation of the political system in 1989, entered upon a path of a rapid economic development, and which, due to those political transformations and processes of democratization, on the one hand - opened up to the world, and on the other - created necessary conditions for a real media revolution. It may seem that this discourse in Poland is not shaped by social practice, but rather by metacritical deliberations on concepts formulated where the results

of globalization processes are more tangible. Or, to put it differently, Polish globalization discourse is driven, to a greater degree, by theories which have emerged on territories, where globalization processes are a force influencing social life or economic relations, than by social facts induced by globalization.

In the Polish case, the characteristic feature of globalization discourse is a decided preference for topics emerging from concepts oriented on the nation. Two issues are in the lead there: a traditional model of the nation-state, and the matter of national identity [Skarga 1997; Szacki 1997; Szacki 2004; Dziemidok 2002; Bokszański 2005; Golka 2006; Szlachcicowa 2007; Mamzer 2007; Jagiełło 2010].

As Daniel Markowski observed a few years ago, in most cases, when discussing the matter of globalization in the cultural aspect, the supporters of the thesis proclaiming a crisis of the nation-state come from economically developed countries, whereas the supporters of the other thesis, that is to say - one treating about consolidating the national identity - not necessarily within a social formation called 'nation' - come from the developing countries. In the first case, the role of the nation has a declining tendency, and in the second one, the activity and role of the nation are clearly growing [Markowski 2004].

While it is true that such a statement renders the character of the discussions held in the last couple of years among anthropologists of culture and sociologists, it seems to me that it equally strikes with its generality as with its obviousness. It does not take into consideration those contexts which might have been involved in shaping social attitudes and views connected with discussions on social and cultural relations. After all, it is worth reflecting why such dependence exists, why successes in the field of economy are conducive to the birth of liberal ideas, which diminishes the role of the state in the functioning of the nation.

Now, as I presume, the feeling of the economic advancement experienced in daily life evokes, in the sphere of social psychology, a conviction that at this very stage of development the state and its institutions have exhausted their obligations towards their citizens. As a result, they are, to some extent, 'degraded'. But just for 'security and safety needs', or, in other words, to protect against the risk of unfortunate, hard to predict fortuitous events, members of the given community eagerly accept that, despite everything, national institutions should regulate both - personal and social developments - as the necessary evil, even though on clearly limited terms. However, in case of the developing countries, the interference of the state into its citizens' lives does not only reach deeper and tie everyone with a net of limitations and dos and don'ts. What matters more is that although such a restrictive style of governing entails some victims, for it comes at the price of losing a great deal of personal sovereignty, it may often find some quiet social consent. It does find consent, for

the painful limitation of freedom may be recognized as a sacrifice an individual pays, or rather, is ready to pay, in order to earn the future prosperity. All the more, if, depending on the style of governance, the hope for the era of prosperity is built with the participation of the currently dominating ideology in culture and social life, as Antonio Gramsci demonstrated conclusively [Femia 1975, pp. 29-48; Bennett 2006, pp. 92-99; Ekers 2009, pp. 287-291].

When confronting the Polish and world globalization discourses, it is hard not to notice that the first one - whose foundation are some plots preselected from the other, most often bearing a critical commentary - realizes quite a legible strategy: to promote 'weaker' or 'soft' concepts, which do not perceive globalization as a power destroying the classical model of a nation-state situated on a given territory, within stable borders, and which are not harmful for the traditional views on identity as a stabilized value courageously resisting the attempts of foreign aggressors, thus deserving the admiration and recognition. Hence, the emergence of such voices:

Some contemporary authors who write about national identity claim that the inevitable modernization processes, globalization tendencies and liberalization of social life diminish the significance of the inherited national identity, which currently may be a subject of a free choice. They refer to the examples of cosmopolitically oriented individuals who are happy, among other things, because they function between different cultures, benefitting, at the same time, from their distinct virtues. (...) Yet, I agree with those, who defend the conviction proclaiming the importance and permanence of national identity which- but for a few exceptions concerning representatives of the elite- does not need to be, at least at present, the subject of a free choice.

[Dziemidok 2002, p. 62]

They are accompanied by opinions which, by projecting the future visions of the social world rather than describing its current state, eliminate the risk of making a mistake. Departing from facts, they refer to the future, which may be verifiable only after some time and then will not necessarily be recognized as a violation of truth. Polish scholars even shun choosing such points of view which may be regarded as disloyal, considering the national interest and, in view of the discussion on globalization, take a balanced and careful position. Here's an example:

All the above mentioned arguments in favor of the decrease of the role of nation-state in today's world, and in a more extreme version - its dusk, and eventually - its disappearance, refer to empirically observed tendencies, and cannot be scorned and regarded as unfounded, cassandric prophesies. An assumption that the currently observed tendencies will also last in the future is silently accepted by the believers of the thesis announcing the looming end of nation-states; though it is not obvious (...).

[Wnuk-Lipiński 2004, pp. 163-164]

Roland Barthes once wrote about *ex-nomination*: a special technique used by literature or media exposed in a given moment in history to the pressure of a certain 'reason of state', protecting the survival of the constitutional order. Its essence is to oust from the discourse, or camouflage inside it the ideas and views rival to the set of values sanctioned by the hegemonic ideology at a particular time. Or, in other words, their absence in the discourse, often appearing to be the result of an accidental 'oversight' or 'oblivion', in fact results from actions undertaken in a conscious and purposeful manner. The technique being used then is motivated by the conviction that the reasons a given message professes, or which it represents, are irrefutable. What is more, obliterating the position of a narrator by giving an impersonal character to the account, or applying the 'we' position to it, make all other reasons, especially the opposing ones, seem of little importance in the eyes of the recipient. As a result, the on-going discourse simply astounds with 'obviousness'- and, as such, does not necessitate any detailed analyses in order to establish certain conditions under which it is recognized as legitimate. Beyond doubt, these sorts of strategies - trying to maximally soften the persuasive tone of reasoning in favor of the standpoint which the author of the account or narrator identifies with - are meaning-motivated actions [Barthes 1973, p. 138; John Fiske 1987, p. 290].

The fact is that in Polish globalization discourse, globalization ideas of radical character, that is to say those, which question the essential role of a territory in the functioning of nation states, and which are inclined to acknowledge certain identity (no matter of which sort) as an inconstant value, never gained any enthusiasts. Reports treating about them were full of caution, if not doubt. Here, I would like to clearly state that the diagnosis I am making excludes the writing of Zygmunt Bauman. I do so, for most his works are evidence of his true and creative participation in the globalization discourse. But in Polish globalization discourse he functions in an, as if, 'secondary' manner - that is mostly through Polish translations of his English works³. A great majority of his writings on social and cultural aspects of globalization process first appeared on the Western European publishing market. Polish editions always come out only a few years later. This 'delay' does not lower their merits, however by abating, or making unclear, their polemic tone in relation to some adversaries representing Western social thought, it deprives them of some sort of 'intertextuality' and discursiveness, thus making them only facts isolated from discussions and polemics of their time [Tester 2004].

The important moment for Polish globalization discourse was the publication in 2005 of *Modernity At Large* by Arjun Appadurai. The Polish edition had a

³ See his *Globalization – the Human Consequences* (Cambridge: Polity 1998); *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity 2000); *The Individualized Society* (Cambridge: Polity 2001); *Society Under Siege* (Cambridge: Polity 2002).

foreword written by translator, Zbigniew Pucek. He emphasized the perverse, or to put it more decidedly: break-through character of the theses proclaimed there, among others - the end of geography, deterritorialization, and the uncertain fate of the idea of nation-state in the near future. Although this voice did not reverberate in the public sphere, i.e. it did not induce any open polemics, it still undermines the assumption that we dealt here with the act of *de-nomination* in Barthes's sense of the term.

Even if we skip the term *de-nomination*, as one which does not fully fit the above-mentioned context, what we still observe is some unilaterality in reporting on world globalization discourse. This one-sided perspective appears to be an effect of a certain filter applied by Polish participants in the discourse on globalization. It does not really matter whether the shape of public globalization debates in Poland has a decidedly rationalized and intentional character. The source of this limitation, I dare say, is a *methodological nationalism*, i.e. a relatively stabilized, sanctioned by national tradition, collective memory distilling the manner of expressing past and current contexts or treating research issues connected with the nation and state by social sciences [Wimmer, Glick Schiller 2002]⁴.

This kind of nationalism⁵ as a methodological foundation is hardly ever found in the shape of an avowedly formulated programme. Carefully camouflaged, it manifests itself in texts and actions. In order to reconstruct it, one needs to enucleate it first. It seems that it was modeled in the 19th century Europe, tossed by national conflicts. Since then, in social sciences, as well as on the level of common sense, the vision of the world divided into nation-sized communities by a line marking borders of nation-states, has remained in force. Or even more, it has been regarded as something natural and obvious, and confirmed in the social practice: in regular weather service broadcast by all media, in decorating the facades of important institutions and offices with flags, and in publishing information about sports events with the participation of athletes from a given country in daily newspapers.⁶ Through naturalization, it perfectly merged into

⁴ This term was introduced by a Portuguese sociologist Herminio Martins, who wrote: "methodological nationalism (...) imposes itself in practice with the national community as the terminal unit and boundary condition for the demarcation of problems and phenomena for social science" (Martins, 1974, p. 276). All the same, it must be acknowledged that recently quite a decided criticism of these views has been made by Daniel Chernilo (2007), *A Social Theory of the Nation-State: the Political Forms of Modernity Beyond Methodological Nationalism*, London: Routledge, pp. 19-20, 160.

⁵ I have applied the category of 'nationalism' here in an entirely neutral sense, despite all negative connotations it often raises on the grounds of social sciences in Poland.

⁶ For Michael Billig actions of this sort are signs of forming the so-called 'banal nationalism'. It usually stays in full harmony with methodological nationalism (see Billig, 1995, p. 155).

the social reality. It blinded the inhabitants of a social world so that they are unable notice its presence or, at least, realize this presence because it becomes a 'glass window', through which they observe the reality.

Methodological nationalism may manifest itself in two ways. It acts as a certain kind of an 'immunological system' that every member of a community called 'nation' is equipped with - through cultural experiences. It allows for the complete disregard of national conditioning he/she is subject to. The other manifestation is more empirically 'tangible'. It reflects the astounding tendency to promote, and reward, topics, values and people of one's own nation in discourses and public debates. This tendency is intensified when, in the field of vision, 'foreign' elements appear as a potential alternative. There are no reasons, whatsoever, to think that this kind of inclination does not concern or influence representatives of social sciences [Wimmer, Glick Schiller 2002, pp. 304-306].

Evidently, the shape of globalization discourse depends on a few more factors besides methodological nationalism. In the first place, on the globalization process itself and its effects, no matter if they have been experienced directly or indirectly. Other deciding agents are cultural differences, historical memory, the manner of social organization⁷ and the degree of ethnic diversity. Hieronim Kubiak has recently added to this set one more element, quite essential in the Polish case, fear psychoses:

Polish fear psychoses, similarly to most psychoses, do not have an endogenous character. They have been formed in certain conditions and they still last: partially by the principle of inertia in social consciousness, and partially as a result of manipulative efforts towards this consciousness undertaken, among other things, in course of educational process. Psychoses act as specific filters, not only those changing the brightness, but also those justifying our relationships with other people. In order to see oneself and the others without any illusion, and to be able to distinguish the essential from the possible, one needs to break free from them. Undoubtedly, it is not a one-time endeavor, but a meandrous process."

[Kubiak 2007, p. 375]

Historically motivated resentments - especially if they become a tool of historical politics pursued in the shade of an ideology dominating in a given period - in the context of the previously mentioned conditionings, require quite some heroism, also in the sphere of research, in order to agree (or even to talk about out loud) with those ideas which ruin the centuries-old attachment to a given place on Earth, passing as a virtue and measure of civic loyalty at the same time. Or, to accept an opinion that the existence of a community of a supranational character on a great scale which, for instance, has been constituted

⁷ Compare Gupta's and Fergusson's comments above.

in recent years by Facebook users, is not only a matter of imagination, and that relationships between members of this community - determining in some sense its cohesion, and not having much to do with any pride or ethnic background - may be established and then maintained long-distance by means of certain technological devices. It seems that accepting such a point of view would be a gesture of good will going beyond the common decency, and, at the same time, it would mean undue forbearance for social practices currently undertaken. Or, to rephrase the problem, gestures of such kind would verge on the acts of heroism, for sooner or later they would have to lead to disloyalty to the valid, or rather established and maintained myth of national unity, which imposes onto its members called 'citizens' a moral obligation to take part in, for example, ritualized social practices, often with a participation of an orchestra, and with a military parade being an important item on the agenda. It cannot be excluded that the possible reserve, or even aloofness, in realizing such patterns, could be received by fellow countrymen professing the norm entrenched in tradition as an act of betrayal in relation to the reportedly vital national interest, for it would be the clear evidence of preferring the 'alien'- as the cosmopolitan one, to the 'own'- as the domestic one. Rejecting the pattern which, in certain contexts, is treated as a norm, usually meets with ostracism in social life and engenders the atmosphere of hostility. In Polish debates on globalization there is, for the time being, neither courage, nor 'political will', if one decides to apply the journalistic rhetoric, to suspend or even modify the pattern. You may ask whether this conservative *status quo* prevails in discussions just because it is too early for the change of the paradigm. Or, perhaps, because the project of the future world operates more in the virtual world than the real one. Only the future holds the settlement to this dispute. The time will then ultimately verify today's hypotheses forecasting the shape of our world in years to come.

I had my reasons to signal the category of faith, at the very end of this essay. Norbert Elias referred to it when he identified the extra-rational sources of social unrest and research quandaries prompted by globalization processes. He rightly wrote that the concept of nation-state, although of relatively recent date, reflects the assumption that it is the highest-ranking survival unit, higher than a clan or tribe. Globalization process, affecting all social relations, favours survival units above the level of nation-state, but at the same time creates some tension resulting from the fact that on-going actions and developments destroy the balance between all social forces at the moment. Thus, some sort of resistance must inevitably take place. To be more specific on the subject, let me recall Elias:

The resistance to the merging of one's own survival unit with a larger unit – or its disappearance into that unit – is undoubtedly due in large part to a particular feeling.

It is the feeling that the fading or disappearance of a tribe or state as an autonomous entity would render meaningless everything which past generations had achieved and suffered in the framework and in the name of this survival unit. (...) The disappearance of cultural traditions during absorption into a larger unit does in fact mean, in this and similar cases, a kind of collective dying. The great deeds of fathers and mothers who had risked their lives for these traditions are forgotten. The mighty spirits and gods who stood by the tribe in good times and bad are turned into shadowy names which inspire neither fear nor hope. (...) Something similar happens to states which are under pressure to combine at a higher level. As with the tribe, something which possesses high value for many of the people concerned, with which they identify themselves, fades in the transition to the higher level. The identity of the we-image is threatened..”
[Elias 2001, pp. 222-223]

And further:

Seen as a purely intellectual problem, the absorption of one’s own we-group into a we-group of a higher order appears merely as a devaluation of something highly prized. One might say that that is what it is. But it is more than a devaluation. As long as no feelings of personal identity, no we-feelings are associated with the higher-order unit, the fading or disappearance of the lower-order we-group appears in reality as a kind of death threat, a collective distraction and certainly a loss of meaning to the highest degree. If resistance to integration at a higher level is presented as primarily a problem of thought, an intellectual problem, it can never be properly understood. (...) But in most cases the difficulty lies in the fact that intellectual awareness of the logic of integration meets tenacious resistance of emotive ideas which give the integration the character of ruin, a loss that one cannot cease mourning. And in such a situation, one probably does not want to cease mourning.

[Elias 2001, p. 225]

The mechanism producing those fears and the feeling of a likely loss or defeat, and, surely, the feeling of threat that the vision of integration entails, are not based on rational grounds. Historical experiences located in the collective memory create some burdens carried by next generations. How much time do we need for them to disappear and cease to cast a shadow on the vision of the world in the foreseeable future, on the one hand, and on the other, on our thinking about globalization? The sphere of social psychology embraces, among other things, grudges and collective dreams, which really are beliefs. One of them is the project of survival unit which at the moment is quite generally recognized, and, as such, entirely respected by members of a given community. In other words, it is there ‘in force’. It is neither easy to give it up, nor to set oneself free from it, since it is characterized by exceptional inertia. It usually lives on and on. Even when it makes no sign at all, and stays ‘silent’. Yet, in culture, silence always tells about something, always is meaningful. Listening

closely to public discourses, it is worth paying careful attention to what is being talked about, as well as to what is not being talked about at all.

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Las organizaciones cooperativas: el proceso administrativo como parte de la gestión directiva

Abstract: This paper shows partial results of a larger research that addresses the administrative process and its relationship to the use of government policies, as part of the management model of the cooperative fishery. The specific problem of this work is on the case of cooperative organization in Sinaloa and administrative process, as part of the management that makes the manager, which requires implementing strategies and techniques of common ownership structure and democratic management.

The research was conducted in Sinaloa, the collection of information is performed using a semistructured interview three managers of the fishing cooperatives. Among the findings may indicate that the reality of fishing cooperatives shows that have analyzed the structure for executive management, however, evidence is emerging that planning and the most important decisions, such as date of capture and improving the physical infrastructure is not up to them, in these conditions we can see that although the steps are covered adequately, little will have been planning, since it is defined in the action lines to start the administrative process.

Keywords: Cooperative organization, management, administrative process.

Resumen: El presente trabajo muestra resultados parciales de una investigación más amplia que aborda el proceso administrativo y su relación con el aprovechamiento de políticas públicas gubernamentales, como parte del modelo de gestión de la organización

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cooperativa pesquera. La problemática específica de este trabajo se sitúa en el caso de la organización cooperativa en Sinaloa y el proceso administrativo, como parte de la gestión que realiza el directivo que requiere aplicar estrategias y técnicas propias de la estructura de propiedad común y la gestión democrática.

La investigación se llevó a cabo en Sinaloa; el levantamiento de información se realizó a través de una entrevista semiestructurada a directivos de tres cooperativas pesqueras. Entre los hallazgos se puede señalar que la realidad de las organizaciones cooperativas pesqueras analizadas muestra que cuentan con la estructura para realizar la gestión directiva sin embargo, se evidencia que la planeación es incipiente y que las decisiones más relevantes, como la fecha de captura y el mejoramiento de la infraestructura física³ no depende de ellos; en esas condiciones podemos advertir que aunque las etapas se cumplan adecuadamente, poco habrá servido la planeación, ya que en ésta se definen las líneas de acción para iniciar el proceso administrativo.

Palabras clave: Organización cooperativa, gestión, proceso administrativo.

Introducción

Las características de la nueva economía cada vez más global, donde hay cambios vertiginosos en el entorno competitivo, donde los sistemas comerciales se hacen más complejos, los mecanismos y montos de ayuda disminuyen, hay un mayor número de decisiones y de actividades, demandan de las organizaciones mayor coordinación y control, que exige mayor competitividad, por ello, es importante conocer y utilizar técnicas de administración y estilos de gestión adecuados que le permitan permanecer.-

La organización cooperativa (OC) no está exenta de la problemática anteriormente descrita se debate, de acuerdo a diversas investigaciones realizadas, en la problemática entre la falta de una dirección profesionalizada [García y Arana, 2001], participación versus gerencia y crisis administrativa [Bastidas, 2003, 2011]; el marco legal de las políticas públicas [Mora, 2011]; la contribución de las cooperativas al desarrollo local [Lara y Rico, 2011 y Contreras y Gómez, 2011]; los esquemas de financiamiento del sector y los apoyos gubernamentales [Juárez, Flores y Luna, 2007]; los problemas organizativos y de gestión [Mozas, 2004], las capacidades administrativas y técnicas [Piñeiro, 2008], entre otros.

Sostenemos que por la importancia que tiene la OC dadas sus especificidades de valores y principios cooperativos, que resuelven necesidades y realizan aspiraciones económicas, sociales y culturales comunes, aún falta mucho por hacer, como lo afirma Ponce [2003, p. 4] “Como objeto de discusión, muy poca o casi nula atención ha recibido en el ámbito político, pero en el académico no le ha ido mejor”

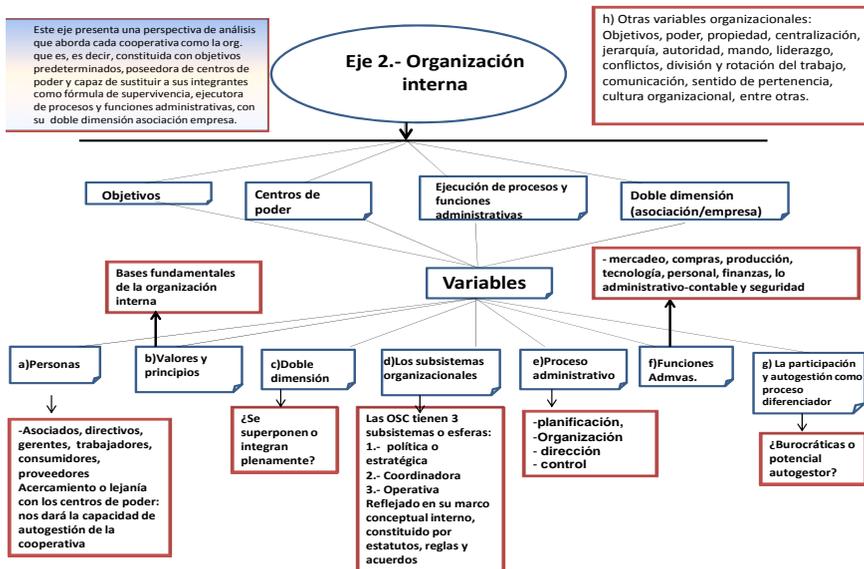
Aunque en México sí encontramos investigadores interesados en el tema, que lo analizan desde diferentes aristas [Lara, 2011; Lara y Rico, 2011, Alcalá, 2003,

³ Bienes de capital, materias primas básicas, intermedias o componentes.

Rojas, 2003, Sommers 2008, Contreras 2011, entre otros], ha sido poco abordado el análisis del proceso administrativo como parte de un modelo de gestión desde la perspectiva del enfoque organizacional. El proceso administrativo permite identificar sus etapas así como conocer si su funcionamiento hace posible que la OC cuente con un sistema administrativo con capacidad de autorregulación o autocontrol en relación con su *entorno dinámico* [Martínez, 2004] y que, dadas las especificidades de la OC, lleve a estas organizaciones a aprender a pensar y gestionar de una manera culturalmente competente.

Bastidas [2010] plantea que es de vital importancia el modelo de gestión que se adopte, para el funcionamiento de las cooperativas y agrega que como parte del modelo se encuentra, entre otras variables, el proceso administrativo (ver figura 1).

Figura 1. La organización interna de la OC y sus variables



Fuente: METJ, con datos de Bastidas [2010]

El presente documento incluye en la primera parte la propuesta metodológica considerando las técnicas utilizadas para la obtención de la información así como el enfoque utilizado señalando, asimismo, las limitaciones y alcances de la investigación. En un segundo apartado analizamos la discusión de investigadores acerca de la problemática específica que concierne a la gestión y al proceso administrativo en la OC. En el tercero, describimos en qué consiste la administración en la OC, además realizamos el análisis sobre el proceso administrativo, sus etapas y problemáticas. Posteriormente, culminamos con algunas consideraciones finales.

1. Tipo de investigación y alcances del trabajo

Las técnicas utilizadas para la obtención de la información fueron: entrevistas semiestructuradas a socios y directivos de la organización así como la observación a través de la visita *in situ*. Respecto a su alcance, el estudio es de corte exploratorio, inductivo y descriptivo. Es exploratorio porque su propósito es examinar un tema o problema de investigación poco estudiado, es inductivo porque el investigador lo identifica y va de lo particular a lo general y descriptivo porque definimos cómo son y cómo se comportan determinados fenómenos, limitándonos a medir aspectos, tamaños o elementos del mismo.

2. Debate sobre el proceso administrativo y la gestión en la organización cooperativa

Mozas [2004] analiza el modelo de gestión democrático con el objetivo de demostrar cómo los problemas organizativos y de gestión democrática en las cooperativas, constituyen un freno en el desarrollo empresarial. Piñeiro [2008] realiza una investigación acerca de los principales desafíos que las cooperativas de producción están enfrentando y en sus resultados muestra que un número considerable de ellas presentan deficientes capacidades administrativas y técnicas.

Morales [2006] analiza algunas modas “recientes” de gestión del modelo de empresa que propugna la economía social, concluye que la economía social se ha posicionado en muchas ocasiones de manera compleja ante las tendencias y modas tomadas las organizaciones de capital de lucro pero que, dada la incompatibilidad de determinados valores y la ineficacia de lo democrático y participativo como “desventaja competitiva” del modelo alternativo planteado desde el sector de la economía social, éste no ha sido exitoso.

Cuñat-Gimenez y Coll-Serrano [2008] analizan el proceso de creación de un grupo de cooperativas de trabajo asociado, en sus resultados consideran que es necesario estimular el desarrollo de nuevas conductas empresariales dirigidas a la innovación, cambio y conocimiento del mercado de intercambio.

Por otra parte, Bastidas [2010] considera que un tema cardinal para el funcionamiento de las cooperativas es el modelo de gestión que se adopte, ya que de ese modelo depende el gobierno cooperativo y la estrategia cooperativa. Concluye entre otras cosas que “se requiere una administración cooperativa profesional que aproveche integralmente las ventajas competitivas asociadas al carácter de empresa” [Bastidas, 2010, p. 331].

3. Referentes teóricos

3.1. La administración de la organización cooperativa

En México, la LGSC [2012] identifica que la dirección de la OC se lleva a cabo por un conjunto de socios que forman el consejo rector, mismos que han sido

elegidos de entre el total de miembros que constituyen la asamblea general. La totalidad de socios establecen los objetivos y las líneas de actuación a seguir en cada periodo y es el consejo rector es el que ha de articular los medios necesarios para conseguir lo establecido en asamblea general por la base social de la organización.

En cuanto a la administración de las OC, la dirección, administración y vigilancia interna de las sociedades cooperativas, según la ley en vigor⁴, estará a cargo de:

- I. La asamblea general (AG);
- II. El consejo de administración (CA);
- III. El consejo de vigilancia;
- IV. Las comisiones y comités que la LGSC establece y
- V. Las demás que designe la AG.

La AG es la autoridad suprema y sus acuerdos obligan a todos los socios, presentes, ausentes y disidentes, siempre que se hubieren tomado conforme a esta Ley y a las bases constitutivas (artículo 35), asimismo, resolverá todos los negocios y problemas de importancia para la sociedad cooperativa y establecerá las reglas generales que deben normar el funcionamiento social (artículo 36), entre otras⁵.

Por otro lado, el CA será el órgano ejecutivo de la Asamblea General y tendrá la representación de la sociedad cooperativa y la firma social, pudiendo designar de entre los socios o personas no asociadas, uno o más gerentes con la facultad de representación que se les asigne, así como uno o más comisionados que se encarguen de administrar las secciones especiales (artículo 41).

Sobre el Consejo de Vigilancia, éste se integra por un número impar de miembros no mayor de cinco con igual número de suplentes, que desempeñarán los cargos de presidente, secretario y vocales, designados en la misma forma que el CA y con la duración que se establece en el artículo 42 de esta Ley⁶ (artículo 45). Este Consejo ejercerá la supervisión de todas las actividades de la

⁴ LGSC (2012)

⁵ Además de la aceptación, exclusión y separación voluntaria de socios; la modificación de las bases constitutivas; la aprobación de sistemas y planes de producción, trabajo, distribución, ventas y financiamiento; el aumento o disminución del patrimonio y capital social; el nombramiento y remoción con motivo justificado, de los miembros del Consejo de Administración y de Vigilancia; de las comisiones especiales y de los especialistas contratados; el examen del sistema contable interno; los informes de los consejos y de las mayorías calificadas para los acuerdos que se tomen sobre otros asuntos; la responsabilidad de los miembros de los consejos y de las comisiones, para el efecto de pedir la aplicación de las sanciones en que incurran, o efectuar la denuncia o querrela correspondiente; la aplicación de sanciones disciplinarias a socios; el reparto de rendimientos, excedentes y percepción de anticipos entre socios, y la aprobación de las medidas de tipo ecológico que se propongan.

⁶ Hasta cinco años y ser reelectos cuando por lo menos las dos terceras partes de la AG lo apruebe.

sociedad cooperativa y tendrá el derecho de veto para el solo objeto de que el CA reconsidere las resoluciones vetadas.

3.2. *El proceso administrativo*

A través de la historia, la teoría de la organización ha considerado diversos criterios en las etapas del proceso administrativo, hasta llegar a la más reconocida que consiste en cuatro: 1) planeación, 2) organización, 3) dirección o ejecución y 4) control; debido a que es de los más difundidos y aceptados en el mundo de la administración. En este apartado tomamos las perspectivas teóricas de Koontz y Weihrich [2002] y de Münch [2005, 2007] para explicar las etapas del proceso administrativo, mismos. Asimismo, acotamos el significado de cada una de las etapas para la OC, de acuerdo a la propuesta de Arango [2009].

3.2.1. *El concepto de proceso administrativo*

De acuerdo a Münch [2005, p. 19] el proceso administrativo es “una metodología que permite al administrador, gerente, ejecutivo, empresario, o cualquier persona, manejar eficazmente una organización y que consiste en dividir a la administración en un proceso integrado por varias etapas”. Por su parte Koontz y Weihrich [1990] señalan que consiste en diseñar y mantener el medio ambiente, en el cual los individuos, que trabajan en grupos, logren eficientemente los objetivos seleccionados

3.2.2. *Las etapas del proceso administrativo*

Koontz y Weihrich [2002] definen la *planeación* como la determinación de los objetivos y elección de los cursos de acción para lograrlos, con base en la investigación y elaboración de un esquema detallado que habrá de realizarse en un futuro. No contar con estos fundamentos implica graves riesgos, desperdicio de esfuerzos y de recursos, y una administración por demás fortuita e improvisada.

Münch [2007] señala que la *planeación* es la determinación de escenarios futuros y del rumbo a donde se dirige la empresa, y de los resultados que se pretenden obtener para minimizar riesgos y definir las estrategias para lograr la misión de la organización con mayor probabilidad de éxito. Es importante porque permite encaminar y aprovechar mejor los esfuerzos y recursos, reduciendo la incertidumbre y enfrentar de mejor manera la contingencia, evitando tomar decisiones empíricas.

Arango [2009, p. 294] en la parte de la estructura administrativa de las cooperativas *planificar* significa “fijar las políticas, directrices y planes generales de la cooperativa para el cabal cumplimiento de sus objetivos”

La etapa de *organización* consiste en agrupar y ordenar las actividades necesarias para alcanzar los fines establecidos creando unidades

administrativas, asignando en su caso funciones, autoridad, responsabilidad y jerarquía, estableciendo las relaciones que entre dichas unidades debe existir. La organización es una de las funciones administrativas de un gerente, que comprende dos procesos básicos: el desarrollo del marco estructural para la empresa y la definición de las relaciones administrativas y operativas. De acuerdo a lo anterior, la organización es el proceso de arreglar la estructura de una organización y de coordinar sus métodos gerenciales y empleo de los recursos para alcanzar sus metas. Los esfuerzos del grupo tienen que ser coordinados, dado que tienen por objeto alcanzar metas en ambientes dinámicos [Koontz y Weihrich, 2002].

Para Münch [2007] la etapa de *organización* consiste en el diseño y determinación de las estructuras, procesos, funciones y responsabilidades, así como el establecimiento de métodos y la aplicación de diferentes técnicas tendientes a la simplificación del trabajo⁷, mientras que para Arango [2009, p. 294] *organizar* es integrar el talento humano y los recursos materiales, a través de una estructura operativa adecuada y una distribución racional del trabajo.

Koontz y Weihrich [2002] establecen que la *dirección* consiste en coordinar el esfuerzo común de los subordinados, para alcanzar las metas de la organización, en dirigir las operaciones mediante la cooperación del esfuerzo de los subordinados, para obtener altos niveles de productividad mediante la motivación y supervisión; por su lado, Münch [2007] plantea que la *dirección* es la ejecución de todas las etapas del proceso administrativo mediante la conducción y orientación del factor humano, y el ejercicio del liderazgo hacia el logro de la misión y visión de la empresa y para Arango [2009, p. 294] *dirigir* consiste en guiar o conducir las políticas, señaladas de acuerdo con los objetivos propuestos.

El *Control* es un proceso mediante el cual la administración se cerciora si lo que ocurre concuerda con lo que supuestamente debiera ocurrir, de lo contrario, será necesario que se hagan los ajustes o correcciones necesarios [Koontz y Weihrich, 2002]. Münch [2007] menciona que el *control* es el establecimiento de los estándares para evaluar los resultados obtenidos, con el objeto de comparar, corregir desviaciones, prevenirlas y mejorarlas continuamente. Para Arango [2009, p. 294] *controlar* es verificar las labores, de acuerdo con las directrices impartidas.

4. El trabajo de campo

En la OC, el responsable de que las etapas de planeación, organización, dirección y control se realicen de la mejor manera es el CA. En ese sentido los resultados fueron los siguientes:

⁷ Que se traduce en organigramas, manuales, diagramas de flujo o de procedimiento, carta de distribución del trabajo y a/o análisis de puestos.

Planeación. En la OC es una actividad que le corresponde al CA, pero es en la AG que se analiza, discuten y toman decisiones. Por lo general se realiza una asamblea ordinaria antes de cada periodo de captura, con el fin de elaborar y que se autorice el plan de trabajo para capturar la especie en cuestión, se tratan asuntos generales, pero también algunos específicos, como qué artes de pesca se van a prohibir. La mayoría de los entrevistados considera que no se puede planear cómo mejorar en infraestructura física, dado que eso no depende de la gestión de los directivos de la cooperativa, ni de la federación, sino del presupuesto de los diferentes niveles de gobierno.

En cuanto a la AG de la organización cooperativa, ésta es convocada por el presidente y principal directivo, a la que asisten los socios que la integran y el presidente de la federación a la que pertenecen (cuando así se requiere), los temas a tratar difieren en una AG y en una asamblea extraordinaria. En el caso de la federación, ésta tiene sus propias AG, a ésta asisten los presidentes y delegados⁸ de las cooperativas que la integran, además del contador y actores de diversas organizaciones gubernamentales e instituciones que guardan relación con la federación.

Cuando es una asamblea convocada por el presidente de una cooperativa, están presentes los directivos, el contador, el presidente de la federación y por supuesto, los socios. El procedimiento es presentación del presídium, pase de lista de los socios, se nombra al presidente de la mesa de los debates, se nombra a los secretarios y a un escrutador, enseguida se da lectura al acta de la asamblea anterior, se aprueba y se pasa a asuntos generales, para posteriormente tratar asuntos de trabajo y/o informar de los temas tratados en las asambleas realizadas por la federación.

Organización. En este caso, la OC tiene bien diseñada su estructura y el establecimiento de métodos de captura, además de las técnicas que les permiten simplificar el trabajo, sin embargo, carecen de organigramas o manuales que permitan darnos cuenta del quehacer de los socios que ocupan los cargos directivos. En la realidad, manifiestan que sí han tenido problemas de organización, porque aunque tienen claro cual es su quehacer, hay momentos que el comité de vigilancia no hace correctamente su labor, por lo que esa tarea se tiene que resolver de alguna manera, lo que genera conflictos por invadir funciones que en algún momento se evadieron.

Dirección. En la ejecución de la mayoría de las etapas del proceso administrativo se evidencia que aunque haya conflictos a discutir, las especificidades y valores de la OC, permiten la resolución del mismo, a través de una toma de decisiones colectiva, como lo es la AG, lo que evidencia una buena comunicación y fuerza del líder.

⁸ Que son los encargados de asistir a las asambleas y escuchar todo, también opinan y posteriormente en reunión con los socios de la cooperativa se informa de qué trató la Asamblea.

Control. Esta etapa es útil para comprobar la efectividad de la gestión en la OC. Al consejo de vigilancia es al que le corresponde supervisar todas las actividades de la OC, como lo es supervisar que no se utilicen artes de pesca prohibidas, que no estén pescando en la bahía pescadores furtivos. Otra de las funciones es evitar desviaciones, por lo que deben estar vigilantes las 24 horas para que en caso de que algún pescador salga a pescar antes de que el secretario llegue al campo pesquero, para que éste no tenga oportunidad de desviar el producto, es decir, venderlo fuera de la cooperativa. En caso de que así suceda, se toman las medidas correctivas. Asimismo, al comité de vigilancia le corresponde el control cuando hay veda del producto, para que no se deprede la especie en cuestión.

Consideraciones generales

Las OC tienen una gran trascendencia dentro del sistema económico mexicano y son organizaciones estratégicas por las particularidades que tienen, en especial como detonantes del desarrollo local.

Por tanto, el proceso administrativo, como parte de la gestión directiva en la OC, es una tarea clave que permite hacer frente a las nuevas condiciones del entorno competitivo y a los procesos de crecimiento por los que atraviesan, atendiendo tanto su especificidad social como la económica.

La dirección de la organización cooperativa adolece de un modelo de gestión que resuelva los problemas internos, como podrían ser los que presenta la función directiva⁹; los del proceso administrativo. Aunque por otra parte, sí se realiza gestión que permite desarrollar relaciones con el entorno organizacional externo, las más palpables son las relaciones con el Estado en cuanto al aprovechamiento de programas públicos y algunos cursos de organismos de desarrollo de cooperativas establecidos por el Estado. Existen, de acuerdo al modelo que propone Bastidas [2010] en la figura 1, las OC que de manera incipiente establecen relaciones con universidades lo que les permitiría, entre otros, intercambios de conocimientos.

En general, aunque la investigación arrojó que existen adecuados canales de comunicación, la toma de decisiones se realiza por mayoría de votos y en las asambleas se ejerce un liderazgo que se manifiesta en el poder de convocatoria; es conveniente resaltar que los directivos en la mayoría de los casos no son expertos en administración de empresas (incluso, solo en casos excepcionales su escolaridad rebasa la primaria) por lo que consideramos que requieren de los conocimientos y experiencias de personas preparadas específicamente en esta materia, para que los asesoren:

⁹ Función que se encarga del mercadeo, compras, producción, tecnología, personal, finanzas, lo administrativo-contable e incluso, la seguridad.

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Fabiola Ponce Durán¹

Reflections of intercultural communication from the perspective of a foreign teacher

Abstract: The challenges of the globalized world, the constant progress of science and technology increasingly lead to a state of interdependence between countries which should lead to intercultural relations generate an attitude of respect for diversity with a more humane vision of life to work in international teams. Universities as organizations embedded in the dynamics of globalization offer academic programs with international or multicultural approach that encourage the development of skills, aptitudes and values according to international defendant. To do this, the recruitment of foreign personnel becomes imperative in meeting planned objectives, so the challenge of foreign teachers is presented to be inserted in different cultural environments transcend and reach their educational work in the formation of their students.

The aim of this paper is to offer some reflections on the importance of intercultural communication product born of the increasing mobility of teachers who face the challenge of surviving in a country with different culture.

Keywords: Intercultural communication, culture.

Introduction

Culture is an inseparable factor of the processes of economic, social and political development of mankind [Vargas, 2007], multiculturalism is to describe the interaction between two or more cultures in a horizontal and synergistic so that none overlaps other and thus promotes the integration and harmonious coexistence among individuals and organizations.

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The opening of borders as a result of the phenomenon of globalization and technological development has led to labor mobility, being common to see people from other countries with different cultures interact in the same field of work.

Universities to fulfill their mission of educating highly trained and with an international vision offering academic programs with a multicultural approach that encourage the development of skills that transform students as global citizens, able to live in different cultural settings and within development of scientific and technological increasingly aggressive, skilled in handling languages and able to function in an environment of constant change.

To meet the academic requirements of their programs the universities hire foreign staff to work on campuses and thus contribute to the formation of competitive people with an international vision.

To this comes the question What is the role of intercultural communication in the immersion of these personnel to a foreign culture?.

It aims to highlight the importance of intercultural communication from the personal reflections of a foreign teacher in front of a different culture.

Objective

To offer some reflections on the importance of intercultural communication product born of the increasing mobility of teachers who face the challenge of surviving in a country with different culture and identify critical factors.

Theoretical and conceptual framework

The word culture has many meanings from different disciplines and within each with different theoretical approach. Thus, we emphasize that in the psychological perspective that regards culture that allows the individual to integrate a given society is expressed through behaviors and attitudes typical [Ralph Linton, 1969], “the configuration of learned behavior and results of behavior whose elements share and transmit the members of a society.”

For Terry and Franklin [1985], the term culture refers to learned behavior or life patterns prevailing in a broad sense, or a system of values and sanctions of society in a strict sense.

Early studies of culture from the anthropological approach seek to analyze the social behavior of human groups. So, for anthropologists, culture is the way of life of community, ways in which people perceive and organize their life and their business. Studies on the culture of these groups try to seek explanations of behavior patterns, so that, neglecting culture has serious implications for the development of peoples. Thus culture is the most powerful tool for research and determination of our identity.

Vargas [2007] stands out as a result of extensive studies on definitions of culture made by Kluckhohn [1962] came to the following conclusion: “Culture

consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their incorporation into devices ... ". Thus, culture is the set of forms and ways in which a society responds to the challenges of their existence in their own geography and time.

Clifford Geertz [1983] tells us that "culture is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their existence and experience, also as they drive their actions." The study of symbols and meaning processes within anthropology began to be confined to fields such as religion, myth or magic, but generally remained the notion that the symbolic aspects of reality were secondary.

The culture is the way a human group has learned to live and transmit that lifestyle, to become social groups then develop their own language to express their culture, their personalities, their features, the face of a people of a community.

According to anthropologist Ralph Linton [1936], culture is a continuous process, which contains settings though, is constantly changing. The settings are the values and beliefs that tend to integrate and unify the culture.

To Terpastra and David [1985] [Vargas, 2007] define "people's culture is its distinctive patterns of behavior and manners underlying beliefs, values, norms and assumptions. Culture is learned and shared by members of a society and has an overwhelming influence on their behavior. therefore culture gives solutions to problems that all societies must solve if they are to remain viable. "this definition identifies the following elements:

1. Culture is learned, not born with it.
2. Culture is shared by members of a society.
3. Culture influences behavior.
4. Culture develops patterns where symbols and meanings are interrelated, and
5. Culture includes instrumental and expressive elements.

Furthermore, Leslie A. White [1975] [in Vargas, 2007] argues that "culture is the kind of things and events symbolize dependent, as are seen in an extra-somatic context." For White culture has elements attitudinal, ideological, sociological and technological changes that make it different from the behavior arguing that culture is not the act itself, but what this act symbolizes.

According to Kahn [1975], [cited Vargas, 2007] man invents and uses artifacts of culture in their daily lives, changes the forces of nature to some extent, alter the external world, creates instruments and tools, weapons, buildings, means of locomotion, transportation and communication, adapts to the world created through the development of technical skills of their culture, using his senses, his arms and legs to create secondary environments.

In summary, anthropologists assert that all human groups, have their own culture which are points of identification and understanding with other groups in cognitive, behavioral and emotional.

Regarding the definition of communication, Asuncion-Lande [1983]² takes several authors and adopted the following: “Communication is the process of transmitting messages and share meanings through symbols. Symbols can be linguistic, nonverbal, pictorial, or other annotations. Together or in combination, have or transmit messages. The processes of selection, organization and interpretation of symbols are included in the transmission of messages. “

The interpretation, feedback and the environment are issues to consider in this communication process because meanings change according to culture and individual experience, if not correct, the communication fails. The feedback helps to ensure the correct interpretation of the message. The communication channels can be face to face and interact sight, smell, hearing, touch and taste. You can also use other means such as telephone, computer, etc.

Asuncion-Lande mentions the social nature of human beings and make use of symbols to convey the same social knowledge that reflects the collective perception of reality therefore differs between cultures.

In international or multicultural contexts requires a better understanding and recognition of the impact of culture on communication behavior.

Several studies have been conducted to identify the critical factors that arise in the process of communication between people with different cultural backgrounds. Potentially problematic are: language, nonverbal codes, world outlook, which plays role in relationships and thinking patterns. [Samovar y Porter, 1976; Sitaram y Cogdell, 1976; Dodd, 1977; Asunción Lande, 1978; Sarbaugh, 1979; Argyle, 1982]. [Citados por Asunción-Lande, 1983].

Language is the most obvious factor in intercultural communication through it because people accumulate, share, give and receive information.

In the study of intercultural communication is widely believed that the meaning assigned to the word is partly the result of differences and cultural experiences. A seemingly straightforward translation of a familiar word will have a different connotation in a different language.

Therefore, intercultural communication is defined as a subset of communication with strangers of different national cultures [Gudykunts, 1980]. Nonverbal communication is equally important that the language as it is used to reinforce or contradict the verbal message or provide feedback from the receiver. Examples of nonverbal communication are body movements.

² Asuncion-Lande is professor of communication at the University of Kansas. It written numerous articles on intercultural communication and development communicative, social and linguistic.

Postures, gestures, facial expressions and eye movements, the physical distance between people.

A living experience on intercultural communication.

Ana, a teacher whose native language is English and French second language, was hired by a private university in the city of Culiacan, Sinaloa, Mexico. Result of this contract she changed her residence in this city. In an interview she was asked his opinion about the experience he had spent in the process of integration to the new work culture. She mentioned that it was not possible to separate the intercultural experience at work without talking about everyday life so that his thoughts were both her life and at work.

To inquire about what had been his biggest challenge living in this city she replied:

*“Perhaps the biggest and most obvious challenge one faces in a foreign culture is that of communication. I am a native English speaker and French is my second language. It seemed like on a daily basis, I was reminded of a line from a Steve Martin movie: “Those French...they have a word for *everything*!”, except in my case I substituted “Mexicans” for “French.” Apart from “buenos días,” the sheer lack of vocabulary made it very difficult to communicate even the most basic thoughts”.*

In the classroom, their activity was reduced often draw on the board I needed to communicate to their students.

In their groceries found her main challenge, mentioned:

“...I shopped by looking at the pictures on the product packages as I tried to stock my kitchen. I remember having a serious problem with ants in my rented house. I did manage to find the insecticide aisle in the store, but I didn’t know what ants were called in Spanish. I chose a product with an illustration of an ant on the front and found a clerk. “Tengo beaucoup de these,” I said to him in Spanish, French and English while pointing to the ant on the container. I simply wanted to know if this was the best product to get rid of the ants, but somehow it got lost in the “translation.” I finally bought the product with the ant on the front and hoped for the best”.

Similarly mentions that when people spoke to her in Spanish she immediately replied in French, says: *“...a phenomenon I am sure a good linguistics professor could explain”*, although I had no idea what people were saying she automatically answered in French.

As her Spanish vocabulary grew, she presented another problem, the accent and pronunciation. It states:

“Without the normal visual cues when speaking face-to-face, it was most acute on the telephone. Calling for a pizza delivery: “Key-err-oh un peeetza medi-anna,” I said to girl taking my order. “Qué?” I repeated what I had said, exactly. “Qué...qué?” was her reply. This went on for a minute or two, then finally the girl’s frustration got the better of her: “Ana ya no trabaja aqui!” she told me, and hung up the phone.”

In this regard notes that even with the correct pronunciation and vocabulary communication often did not work, consider the following:

*"I had left my car at the mechanic's. He was preparing to move it so he could fix it, but there was a hydraulic jack behind one of the rear tires. I told him, "Cuidado con el gato," "gato" being the word here for jack. "¿Cúal gato?" he said. I pointed to the jack, proud that I at least knew the correct word. "Eso no es un gato," he said to me, "es un *jack*."*

These anecdotes now you are funny, but at the time they occurred a sense of frustration and helplessness felt by not being able to communicate with people who had contact with, having the feeling that the feeling was mutual.

Thus, things that seem simple in our own culture, like going to the store, talking on the phone, give and ask for directions to a place even order pizza, as the case of our interviewee, become virtually impossible without a good translator and a good dose of individual perseverance. Another anecdote that tells the respondent:

"Going to the doctor, for example, is very difficult when one does not know the body parts or the various ways of describing what hurts. I remember taking comfort in the fact that there was hope...at least the Spanish alphabet was nearly the same as the English one. "It could be worse," I thought, "You could be in Japan or China."

The customs are another critical aspect of cultural differences. Account of a friend of hers a Chilean who had gone to live in Quebec after the Pinochet coup, about the customs mentioned:

"...She found it very strange that in Quebec, in the winter, people carried their shoes everywhere in plastic bags. I explained to her that it was because of the snow. In winter, people wear boots in the snow. After arriving at someone's home or office, it was customary to remove the boots so as not to track snow inside, hence, the need to carry one's shoes in a bag."

Moreover, in her experience as a teacher tells a story that happened in the classroom.

"I remember being surprised in my classes when a student would ask permission to leave the room to blow his or her nose. At first, I thought it was just a ruse to get out of the classroom and do something else (drink water, talk to a friend, skip the class, etc.). I also remember being astounded when, after telling him or her no, the student would simply let his or her nose run before using a Kleenex in front of others."

She mentions that the biggest cultural differences and customs that were found living in Mexico was on the concept of time. In cultures of North America, "time is money", in Latin America, time is a different thing. Many studies have been done on this aspect and there are theories as to why the time means different things to different cultures.

At the beginning of my adventure in Mexico, however, I found it very frustrating for someone to ask to meet at, say, 7 pm, only to finally show up a little after 8 pm. I have since discovered that what the Mexicans themselves say is true: if you want someone to arrive at 5 pm, tell them the meeting is at 4:30 pm.”

In conclusion to her interview said that the deal with a different culture is a very frustrating if you do not have the necessary tools for communication, even the most mundane activities become complicated. A sense of isolation is presented to the inability to communicate and not be familiar with the customs which creates a depression in the adaptation process.

Finally concludes

“The good intentions of those in the host culture, a lot of individual perseverance, an open mind and a good dose of tolerance on all sides went a long way toward facilitating my personal adaptation to living and working in Mexico”

Reflections

The examples cited by Professor interviewed are, according to Asuncion-Lande, a pattern of thought by which the world is perceived reconcile with the empirical.

This is checked in intercultural communication when interacting with people from different cultures to communicate their skills are subjected to the test and have the ability to communicate in unfamiliar contexts or with strangers can mean the difference between prolonging the stay and enjoy interpersonal encounters, and they mean a continuous anxiety.

It was observed that the critical factors of intercultural communication in the case above are: language as more important, the meaning of the words also, customs and nonverbal language.

On the frustration and impotence, Asuncion-Lande notes that are manifestations of a culture shock, “the phenomenon of confusion or discomfort experienced upon being exposed to a sudden change” [pp.11]

All these aspects have correspondence with the theoretical perspective described above and leads us to consider to find tools to help improve the skills of the people who come from abroad and are or experience intercultural or multicultural situations. Not only will help people to better adapt to the environment in which to unfold but the institutions that hire foreign staff for an insert to work and pleasant culture.

Asuncion-Lande suggests some requirements to acquire those skills.

1. Be aware of your own culture, which will allow them to be more sensitive when interacting with other cultural identities but not necessarily have to agree to own subjective reality.
2. Avoid generalizations about other cultures. No stereotype and see the

- differences between cultures and their complexities.
3. Accept the principle of cultural relativity. Each culture is unique and its premises are as valid as any other.
 4. Adopt an open attitude towards the change to avoid the culture shock arises from: the experience derived from dealing with other people with different backgrounds. Due to lack of knowledge of other cultures. Limited experience in dealing with cultural differences. The personal rigidity
 5. Be creative and experimental to reach intercultural have a skill that requires quick responses, constant adaptation and adjustment to the needs of spontaneous communication.

Conclusion

Today, acquiring intercultural skills becomes essential to meet the challenges presented by globalization. It is increasingly common in our environment coexist with people of different cultures, or, to be the ones we should leave our country and deal with the experience of living abroad. This not only affects individual people but affects the organization we work for the success of the relationship will be based on the ability to communicate with people from other cultures, languages and customs.

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Dorota Bochniak-Piasecka

Cultural determinants in Chile – the land of great ambitions

Abstract: Chile is commonly described as “the best student” in the Latin America class. In 1985 Harrision with his publication *Underdevelopment is a state of mind* [Lawrence, 1985] started research on the significance of cultural determinants in economic development. Having based his research on two examples, he proved his thesis that culture is a determining obstacle in the development of Latin American states. Causing many discussions, he initiated a wide range of socio-economic research, the aim of which was to present to what degree and what kind of cultural factors shape political and economic development, and which ones lead to social stagnation. Further research by Harisson and Huntington which was published in their work *Culture matters* [Lawrence, 2000] presented a wide spectrum of interconnections of culture with civilization development, institutions and geographic conditions. The scientific discourse includes the phenomenon of cultural changes promotion as an element of the pro-development policy as well as anthropological considerations on the influence of “cultural imperialism” of Europe and the States in the globalization era on the preservation of societies’ cultural identity. Many publications in the area of research on cultural conditions in management and negotiations appeared in the 1990s. This scientific discourse has gathered its own momentum as the amount of research brings about the increase of connections of interdisciplinary cultural determinants.

Key-words: Cultural determinants, Chile

The concept of culture is closely related to the concept of society despite various methodological approaches and a plethora of definitions which have been formulated. Culture is a relatively integrated whole including human behavior which is shaped according to the patterns dominant in a given community, which have been formed and learned through interactions; culture also covers the results of such behaviors [Kłoskowska, 1980, p. 40].

This definition includes all aspects of social life, such as: values, attitudes, convictions, opinions and foundational beliefs which are common among the members of a given community and which are expressed by their practice, symbols, institutions and interpersonal relationships. This universal definition which is popular in social science constitutes the basis for specialized or synthesis-oriented research and scientific considerations. Linton defines culture from a psychological perspective as “organized, repetitive reactions of society members” and he stresses that culture refers to the whole life of a given society and not only to those parts which are regarded as superior or more desired [Linton, 2000, p. 151]. We can develop this idea and say that there is no society without culture and, consequently, that “it is the culture which identifies man regardless where he was born” [Hofstede, 2000, p. 40]. Hofstede argues that culture is acquired during upbringing and that it is “collective mind programming” which differentiates one group from the other [Hofstede, 2000, p. 41]. “Transfer and acceptance of certain cultural patterns is subject to the norms and aims which are socially recognized” [Kłoskowska, 1980, p.51]. In order to form separate national culture one needs common historic experience during which socially accepted behaviors are shaped through selection. “Awareness of commonly accepted values and norms gives the feeling of safety and stability” [[Kłoskowska, 1980].

Concepts of national culture identify conscious and unconscious strata and levels, i.e. those functioning in the subconscious. In the consciousness we can find visible and functional elements, such as language, clothes, architecture, music, literature, cuisine, behavior. Subconsciously coded culture elements are not visible at first sight and result from basic values and norms which are present in a given society, such as: equality, individual, cooperation, work, attitude to authority and law, social status, attitude to etiquette, customs and habits, religion, emotionality, attitude to time and its organization, past, present or future orientation, meaning of gestures and symbols [See: Hampden-Turner, Trompenaars, 2002, p. 37]. Authors of *Seven Cultures of Capitalism* Fons Trompenaars and Charles Hampden-Turner created a clear model of cultural values dilemmas which helped to analyze and describe the cultures of such states as France, the United States or Japan. This model is based on the necessity of selection and simultaneously of reconciling basic values which are present in every society regardless of its degree of economic or civilization development. In all countries people’s attitude to legal and ethical regulations is determined by human relationships and resulting obligations, which is reflected by universal or particular attitudes or behaviors. In a given society pro-transaction or pro-partnership behaviors may dominate to a various degree (10 Gesteland). In the actions of state or individuals we can find activities and

reasoning based on analysis or synthesis. Collective or individual attitudes may dominate with external or internal control. Defining social status on the basis of individual achievements or ascribing a higher status which is correlated to hierarchical social structure presents a dilemma between equality and hierarchy. Understanding of time and how it is used was identified by researchers as the dilemma between linear and synchronic actions. In interpersonal relations one must not omit the difference between emotional expressions in various nations, which we experience in direct contacts as during the first meeting we encounter either lively emotional outburst or bigger or smaller emotional reserve. This model of values dilemmas and the consequent attitudes and behaviors help us to learn and understand a given culture better, to become aware of cultural differences between our own system and our expectations towards the people of different nationalities regarding how they should think and act.

Here we can encounter the dilemma of assessing or not assessing a culture. Scientific research development would be impossible without comparing cultures, without categorizing value systems and cultural behaviors. Collating cultural values and behaviors, their comparative analysis has brought about the creation of cultural differences models as an effective tool which is used not only in research but mainly in management, negotiations, business, diplomacy or tourism. The aim of this research is to facilitate fast communication between the parties coming from different cultures, where behaviors and interpersonal forms are naturally diverse despite the common cultural area they originate from (e.g. European and Arab countries).

Latin American countries are often perceived from the ethnocentric European perspective as culturally identical, due to a common language (apart from Brazil) and history of the conquest. At the turn of the 18th and 19th century independence movements reached also Latin America, which led to the formation of independent states. It is worth (even concisely) reminding some basic historical facts which are the basis of the Chilean cultural identity.

The independent Republic of Chile was created 200 years ago and in 1833 she accepted the centralized constitution which became the foundation of a stable state with modern taxation and legislation systems, efficient administration and strong army (it happened thanks to a minister Diego Portales). *Por la razon or la fuerza* – by reason or by force – this slogan accompanied the formation of the independent state of Chile. At that time European civilization had been flourishing there for over two hundred years due to Jesuits who brought from Europe craftsmen, architects, painters, sculptors, weavers, pharmacists. This brought about the development of science, creation of the largest library (over twenty thousand books) in Latin America. The influx of aristocracy and gentry resulted in the formation of strong elites. Supporting immigration from

Europe, mainly from Germany, England and France, led to the development of trade, fleet and sea transportation and creation of profitable land properties in the south of the country where the climate resembles the one in Central Europe. During the next decades Chile became the strongest state in the Andes region, developing strong free market economy which is based on extractive and processing industries (charges for saltpeter export constituted a half of budget revenues, now charges for copper, molybdenum and other metals extractions cover half of the state budget). In the 20th century the world wars and financial crises put an end to Chilean economic prosperity and directed positive social emotions (mainly of the educated and of ruling classes) towards communist ideologies. This brought about the victory of Salvador Allende in the presidential election, who was a left-wing candidate. His government nationalized copper industry (up till now the biggest mine Chuquicamata is owned by the state), banking, processing sector, introduced agricultural reform, control over international trade. Those reforms undermined mainly free-market structures and consequently the interests of oligarchy and ruling elites and led to total market disorganization. Old Chileans, who remember those times, talk about empty shops, lack of food and huge inflation. Total disorganization and external pressure (mainly from the USA) created the conditions for the military coup in 1973 after which the military junta took over. The period of authoritarian government by Pinochet has two faces. The first one has an economic dimension – introduction of a free-market model according to the Chicago school doctrine resulted in a fast GDP increase (7% in 1985-88, 10% - in 1989 and 6.5% in 2010); the other face has a human dimension - thousands of victims of military terror who were arrested, killed or in the best case forced to emigrate. The military junta governments divided the Chilean society, which is evidenced by every free election (since the return to democracy in 1989) - electoral votes spread evenly into the left- and right-wing parties. Distribution of votes analysis according to social strata, place of living (big cities - countryside, north-south-center) shows a relation between the income level, social hierarchy place and political orientation – owners clearly display pro-Pinochet tendencies.

Economic restructuring forced the society to adapt to the free-market system. In the 1990s, after Pinochet had stepped down, the issues of great social inequalities and poverty boomeranged, taxes were raised and new social benefits were introduced. Every subsequent President faces social problems which stem from the neo-liberal system which had been effectively introduced. Democratic changes almost have not affected property distribution and political influence. In the ranking of states with the greatest social inequalities (according to Gini coefficient – the income inequality scale) Chile occupies the fifteenth place,

the situation is worse in Colombia, Bolivia, Brazil, Guatemala and Paraguay, however there are smaller inequalities in Peru and Mexico, while Uruguay and Ecuador occupy the thirty-third and thirty-fourth position respectively. (The countries with the biggest inequalities are the ones where a small group obtains most of the national income, it means that the higher position on the scale, the biggest the gap between a small elite and the remaining part of the population. The mother of Latin America – Spain – occupies the 103rd position, while Sweden can boast of the smallest inequalities, with her last place in the ranking).

What does an average Chilean look like? Their physiognomy is the evidence of the various origins, which results from many centuries of mixing between many European nationalities and Indian tribes. Characteristic appearance covers slightly slanted eyes, wide nose, dark rather straight hair, round face,. They are short (women often have corpulent figures) and dark-skinned. Population appearance changes together with the latitude; we must remember that Chile stretches from the Atacama desert (Indian territories, the Incas state influence, mining area) to the fertile Central Valley (vineyards, orchards, gardening) with beautiful land properties belonging to the Chileans whose ancestors came from Spain, Italy and France, to the Great Lakes – the Mapuche area, which in the 1850s was given to thirty thousand German settlers, who turned forest into arable land and built cities, developing processing industry, to cold Patagonia with sheep and stock-raising ranches which is settled mainly by the Croatians and Swiss. The coastline of four thousand kilometers was the territory of British settlement who contributed a lot into the organization of navy and the creation of shipbuilding industry, harbors, roads, etc. We must not omit the capital - Santiago – where almost half of the country population live and work (7,200,000 people out of 17,248,614 citizens according to the latest census of 2011); it is also an academic center forming intellectual and political elites since the beginning of the independent state. Over 87% of the population live in the cities where the elites and middle class are formed. Sightseeing Santiago, one is struck by changes in the appearance and physiognomy of the people who live in different parts of the city. The richer the neighborhood, the taller the people are and they do not differ from the Europeans. In poor districts in Santiago, in small towns and in the countryside we will have no doubts that we are in Latin America (apart from the cold South – Patagonia). Even outside touristy places we can face curiosity of the people who are not used to being visited by someone from the higher class.

In Chile we can encounter communities which take care to preserve the national identities of their ancestors, such as Chileans of Jewish origin and Palestinian Catholics. Each of those national groups contributed the values and attitudes necessary to shape the Chilean cultural identity.

According to the Chilean sources 65% of the population has European and native origins, while 25% is of the European origin (mainly Spanish, German, Croatian, Italian, French and their combinations). Indigenous Indian population are mainly the Mapuche and Araucanian Indians who constitute 6% of the total Chilean population. In another research from 64% to 90% of the population declare that they belong to the white race despite the encyclopedic data claiming that 52,7% of the population are white, while 44% are Mestizo. Only 3,2% were regarded as the natives (census of 2002).

The name Mestizo is not used in Chile because everyone would rather present their European origins, placing themselves higher in the social hierarchy (in the 16th century the conquistadores came there without their women, hence such a big mix of European and Indian blood). It should be mentioned that in Chile, unlike in Argentina, there has never been any ethnic cleansing (apart from Patagonia where the border between Argentina and Chile was changed). In the report written by the Ideas Foundation in 1997 28% of the respondents thought that their country is more advanced in many areas as compared to other Latin American countries because there is not any African population (which is not true from the historical perspective as the African slaves were brought to Arica on the border with Peru, but most men were killed during the war for the Pacific in 1879-1894). In fact there has never been any huge Japanese or Chinese migrations. In the recent years many Pakistanis have come there and they deal mainly with trade in duty-free zones (Arica, Iquique, Punta Arenas).

The research conducted by the Ideas Foundation shows that average Chileans are brunet but are convinced that their hair and complexion is fair that that they belong to a white race. Only 27% of the respondents declared the Mestizo origins. Consequently it means that the Chilean are hardly ever proud of racial mix in their blood and are very sensitive regarding their aspiration to belong to a white race.

In 1993 the Chilean Parliament passed the Indigenous People Law recognizing Indians as the descendants of the peoples living on the territory of Chile since the pre-columbian times and having the right to manifest their ethnic and cultural origins and the right to the land they occupy. The most important ethnic groups include: Mapuche, Aymara, Rapa Nui from Easter Island, Atacamenos, Ouechuas, however the only culturally strong and significant group are Mapuche. In the last 15 years the government has undertaken many social and economic initiatives in order to promote the native peoples' situation but they are not sufficient. An average Indian family lives on the level which is much lower than the national average: only 58% have running water and 65% are not covered by electricity network. The issue of land ownership and compensation has not been fully regulated as they are in

the hands of private owners (the UN report of November 2003). In the last three years (2009-2012) to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of Chile there was an exhibition devoted to the Mapuche culture in the Cultural Centre in la Moneda (Presidential Palace); it which was later sent to Europe. Although the state attitude towards the Indians has completely changed, in the Chilean mentality they still remain on the lowest level of the social hierarchy, which is mostly determined by their place of living and low education. During our three-year stay in Chile, meeting hundreds of people who were engaged in the politics, we encountered only one Mapuche who was well educated in Great Britain and was an office worker in the Regional Office in Coyhaique. It can be easily observed that the Chileans form a class society.

Social promotion determinants in Chile, hierarchy and status dilemma

All societies have worked out in their cultures how to grant higher status to certain members, showing thus that their actions deserve special merit. In some societies such “elevation” is given to people for their achievements and work contribution, in other words it refers to “what one does”. In other societies it refers to “who one is”. In this case the criteria of granting higher status are historically shaped and there can be many of them, e.g. sex, race, social background, connections, age, education, profession, property, etc.

Attributes of ascribed status

A Chilean scientist Oscar Contardo in his book *Siutico* presents the phenomenon of common and historically determined Chilean mentality problems related to the ascription of big significance to social status and hierarchy. In the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the concept of *arribisimo* – being superior – became very popular and was based on negating one’s origins, pretending to be richer and using various attributes to achieve that. We can find many examples in the Chilean version of Spanish language *Chilenisimo* which was used by the middle class and which up till now distinguishes Chile from other Spanish-speaking cultures. The elites, however, manifest their superiority trying to speak Castilian Spanish: the nicest complement is to say that one has a Castilian accent. The Chilean custom of *tomar onces*, i.e. of afternoon snack, has survived only in a deep countryside as it was seen as a definite sign of lower status. *Siuticos*, i.e. the people who aspired to climb to the higher social level in the social hierarchy, had *afternoon tea* - five o’clock.

The rich have always tried to live according to European patterns and their economic status allowed them to create the desired image. Among plutocracy people tried to speak French, they had to go on a short trip to France – up till now French language places a person in a good position in their social environment. Since the beginning good knowledge of Spanish, French and

English has determined if one belongs to the elites or not. Even today the Chileans assess the person they have just met on the basis of their knowledge of foreign languages. It can be noticed that the development of this type of attitude towards social hierarchy was grounded on the experience where in fact the state and national identity were shaped by immigrants from Europe: on one hand – big land owners and the Church and on the other – national and other heroes, such as Carter brothers, O'Higgins, Manuel Rodriguez or San Martin, and thirdly – intellectual elites and liberals. All those facts demonstrate the significance that the Chileans attach to origins and social status.

The Chilean research conducted in 2006 demonstrated that over half of the employers attach greater significance to a candidate's origin than his education. Between business, political and intellectual elites there have been historical interconnections. In 1989 in the Parliament which was democratically elected after sixteen years of military regime there were many relatives of historical and contemporary leaders. Belonging to an influential family, who has for generations directly or behind the scenes participated in governing the country, having a known and respected surname is in Chile the best recommendation, a guarantee competence and trust. Social background and consequently education acquired in the best schools are the basis for the status ascribed in Chile. For the European the value of education is obvious and is not determined by the family's wealth because education is free (apart from the UK where one pays for studies) and depends on intelligence, talent and hard work.

Education in Chile is based on two pillars: of the private and state sectors, hence in the beginning children are segregated according to the material status of their families. Sending children to a good private school is an investment in their future, in order to get to one they must go to a private kindergarten, often belonging to this school. In Santiago enrolling children to private schools or kindergartens must be done a year in advance. And the main issue here is not better results (public schools often have better results) but belonging to a higher social group at the very start. The foundation of this type of behavior is the desire to succeed in life on the basis of historical social understanding of hierarchy and equality.

Foreigners encounter the same type of problems if they want to enroll their child in a private school; if in their country he did not attend a private school, no renowned school in Santiago will accept him. Here we are faced with cultural crash; the Chileans do not understand why the child of parents who have significant professional positions attends a public school, which is a standard in the European states and in the US. (The only elitists school which works according to the European school year timetable September – June and not March - December, where classes are held in English, has the highest school fee of about twenty-five thousand dollars a year).

From the conversations with the Chileans I learned that during a job interview an employer asks what schools the candidate attended, starting from the primary school and finishing with the diploma of the most prestigious university, because this is the most important determinant of his social position, not his competence, knowledge or talent. During the first meeting one is evaluated according to common criteria of European appearance – the taller the person, the fairer his complexion and hair, the better the first impression is. A place of living is another important criterion: a good Santiago neighborhood, near the business center at El Golf, Las Condes and first of all a residence area of Vitacura with the embassies and residencies. The old Providencia centre is slowly becoming a historical place with state offices, museums, universities and state institutions. La Reina and Nunoa are inhabited by the professionals and intellectuals. Working class lives in the south and west suburbs. Most of the elite representatives were educated in the same private schools, the same universities, lived nearby. A place of living is then a good guarantee of success at work or in business. Taking into account this important criterion for belonging to an upper social stratum, young people at the beginning of their professional career often take loans for very expensive apartments in those districts in order to place themselves and their families on a good position. Many foreigners or the Chileans who come from other places and who start work in international corporations submit to this unwritten rule. Social promotion or confirmation of a social status takes place through the migration within the city. Of course those types of behavior concern only the upper and middle classes because young people from lower social classes (baja) have no chance to study in a renowned school, not only due to financial but also cultural reasons. In our conversations the conservatives often stress that it is impossible to maintain close contacts or to mix with lower strata not because of big income differences but because of low culture. Language errors, bad manners, wrong clothes, lack of etiquette socially disqualifies them.

“Ascribed” status which determines who you are dominates in the Chilean society not only professionally but also socially. Membership in recreational sport or business clubs where subsequent social groups are formed creates your position. No one from the upper class would dare to criticize publically a high price of service or goods. A thousand dollars paid for a night in the Explora hotel in Torres del Paine or Easter Island guarantees the quality of services and the wealth of the company. Healthcare is also divided into two sectors; using private medical services in the most expensive clinics also determines if one belongs to a significant group. This sense of belonging is manifested every day. All the newspapers, starting with influential *El Mercurio* and finishing with the smallest local ones have social chronicles with photos of important people who

participate in current economic, business, scientific, cultural and other events. Photos in *Vida Social* confirm belonging to the elite. In the Chilean mentality there is a famous saying that if you cannot show something it means that you have not done it. Chilean aspirations to get to the highest position even within one social strata are visible every day

Female and male status in Chile

Sex is an important category in the Chilean social hierarchy although women and men are legally equal pursuant to the Constitution and women were granted voting rights in 1949 due to Maria de la Cruz's dynamic activity and her Women's Party. Historically determined model of a Chilean family is based on machismo, i.e. on man's dominance and results from imbalance in sex structure – there were more men than women. Because of distant working places (Atacama mines) and difficult living conditions mainly men were employed. However with time good salaries and better social conditions brought about development of cities in mining regions, such as Iquique, Calama. The social model was dominated by man who up till now are regarded as unfaithful and egocentric *machistas*. Family violence, bullying and rapes occurred every day. The permission to rule over women and a sense of ownership were so strong that they often resulted in murders (*Historia de la vida privada en Chile*, p .97). In Latin America we often encounter murdering women, the so called *femicidio*, in Chile there were fifty cases of women killed by their husbands.

In 2011 after a mining accident in San Jose miners were trapped 700 meters underground. During a rescue action which lasted 69 days three times more wives came to the employers requesting their salaries than there were men. It turned out that they were in fact in live-in relationships with those men and that they had children together. It became clear that this phenomenon was caused by very restrictive law which did not allow divorces. A Chilean often has two or three women, not wives or partners but *mujeres* (this is a colloquial name). For generations there has been a custom of having two families – one with a lawful wife and the other with a lover. There have never been any conflicts as this issue is very discreet; there is a Chilean saying : *Don't be stupid and don't tell anyone about it*. Statistical data of 2012 show that during one year only 3.3% people out of one thousand get married; fifty years earlier this indicator was 7.3%. One can clearly observe a tendency towards preference of informal relationship, which can be fast and easily changed. As the consequence, 60% of children are born out of wedlock. After interviews in various environments we can claim that this custom does not apply only to the lowest class, but it is also characteristic of the middle and upper classes – having children from different relationships is becoming common. In *El Mercurio* of 9 June 2012 in the article "How has Chile changed in the last fifty years" statistical data show

a fast growth from 18.8% to 35% of households where women alone run the household and raise children.

A declaration of entry to Chile contains entries: single, married, widow. Female status depends on that of a man: father, husband or former husband. Protection of a woman and her rights has always been provided by her family of origin. In order to protect maidens and single women from a dangerous male world (extramarital relationships, unwanted pregnancies, etc.) they were isolated from the environment. It went to such extreme that young women with better family backgrounds were kept in special rooms and surrounded with constant care. Even then a gap between the middle and lower class was created. A contemporary middle class custom of surrounding a fiancé with constant care and surveillance dates back to those times (pololo). He informally becomes a member of his fiancée's family and is in fact financially supported by them.

In a traditional Chilean upper and middle class family women did not work professionally. An average number of children was 4-8 and this required maternal presence at home with a daily and nannies. In 1962 an average mother had 5.4 children while fifty years later – 1.9 children despite a binding antiabortion law. The Chilean healthcare, however, gave supremacy to mother's health and not to keeping a fetus. A contemporary Chilean family cannot imagine how a household can be organized without servants. A number of servants is the proof of one's wealth but primarily of belonging to the middle and upper class. Sex equality in the European sense is not understood and recognized mostly by men who demonstrate that they must be waited on in everyday life, e.g. a Chilean will not accept self-service even during a buffet party. Men manifest their cultural supremacy in all spheres of life, e.g. at work, in a shop, in traffic, etc.

Presently one can observe the tendency to increase professional activity of women and their status in the society through, for example appointing them to state positions (regional governors or ministers) by President Pinero. Despite those efforts in 2012 female participation in the public state life amounts to 13% while this indicator for Latin America is 23%. It is misleading to observe this externally through the female presidents in Argentina or a previous term of office of Michelle Bachelet in Chile. Unlike in Argentina, the election system in Chile is modeled after the American one, the president who is elected in direct elections has full executive power, forms the government and nominates all state posts, but he can govern for only one term of office. More and more women get education in the areas which used to be reserved only for men, such as engineering and medicine. In 2010, 7109 women graduated from the Police School for Officers and they are currently working in police: in prevention and family protection, event safety protection, in the guard of the President Palace La Moneda and in Special Forces. Women in cities are often influential and active in cultural, social and scientific areas.

Chile is the country with a strong influence of the Roman Catholic Church, 70% of the population declare to be Catholic and divorces were legalized only in 2006. Family is a value in itself and the Chileans argue that it is an economic unity. After marriage a husband has an obligation to take over his wife's property and to represent her financial interests before the law (for example during acquisition the right to estate after grandparents or parents). Of course prenuptial agreements are possible. The law also protects children; a child cannot leave Chile without the parents' agreement which is certified by a notary even in case of a common trip. A model of a traditional multigenerational family who live together has not survived physically particularly in cities where 87% of the population live. However, it is still realized by fulfilling obligations and nourishing relationships. During Pinochet government Opus Dei movement, which was started by Josemaría Escrivá de Balaguer in 1928 in Spain, developed fast; the founder visited Chile in 1974. For the last thirty years this organization has been directly submitted to the Pope, and in 2002 father Escriva was canonized. Identity of lay members is not revealed. The main objective of the organization is to achieve social harmony through individual awareness of one's role. Good work is the highest value and it can be only reached through obedience, discipline and respect for hierarchy. Man should live in his own environment, where he was born and fulfill his duties the best he can. Conscientious work is the biggest value which sanctifies everyday life. In the companies run by its lay members such qualities as trust, loyalty, business ethics are more important than fast profits. In Chile this organization attracts the extreme right, the richest people in the country, businessmen, lawyers with wide connections in the business world. Despite accusations of sectarianism and extreme conservatism the strength of Opus Dei flows from the combination of political power and money. The organization affirms the idea that "capitalism was revealed by God". Neoliberal doctrine was soon adapted by plutocracy to business development and to leading the state out of the economic crisis.

The Chileans' rigid attachment to ascribed social status has strong and deep roots going down not only into history but also into religion. Broadly understood family (origins and connections), age, sex, appearance, friends, place of living, work and educational background – all those categories intertwine and determine individual life path. Marriages are contracts between the young coming from the same social class and their families. In this country Cinderella story does not come true.

Social origin is the basic determinant, jumping on a higher level of the social ladder is very difficult for the Chilean both from the middle to the upper class and from the lower to the middle class. American careers similar to Bill Gate's or Zuckermen's do not happen in Chile. An emigrant from Europe may become

a millionaire but not a student from a poor school coming from a working class family. Newcomers from Europe are assessed according to the same criteria. Single young women even with higher education have a chance to obtain a good position only when they come as specialists with a previously signed contract.

Social promotion and education

Social promotion in Chile through education is not easy and generally impossible for the poorest social stratum which constitutes 20% of the population. In 2002 the government developed the National Policy and Action Plan for Children and Youth and started *Chile Solidario* Plan. For the first time a family became the policy focus with the UNICEF support. In order to raise education level the amount of lessons was increased and education became obligatory to the age of 12 instead of 9. The education criterion of good social status is a financial burden even for a middle class because one pays for all higher education schools both private and state-owned, while a school fee, depending on the major, varies from 400 to 1000 US dollars monthly. The main slogan of long student demonstrations in 2011 was “free education”. This rebellion expresses objection against social inequalities, lack of effective social promotion path and also inability to maintain one’s position which has been obtained through education by the middle class and the not-so-well-off youth. Often the whole broadly understood family (grandparents, aunts, uncles, etc.) of a student takes a loan to cover the costs of his studies. It may seem that payment for three-year bachelor degree studies should not cause such riots. In fact the next obstacle is a credit system at schools which forces students to repeat the whole year if they do not get a credit from only one subject, which prolongs the whole studying (and paying) period to five and sometimes even eight years. Consequently about 50% of students drop off, as they cannot afford to repeat and continue their studies despite the high costs they had already borne. Of course education in technical or medical schools lasts two or three years longer. Despite those difficulties the total number of students in 2011 was 602,429 people which constitutes 3.6% of the whole population. In comparison to 27,323 people in 1962 (0.3% of the population) one can observe a hundredfold growth. It should be noted that regular full-time daily studies are the only available type of studies. A fresh graduate is obliged to do internship in the place assigned by the state office, mostly in the countryside. A younger generation willingly affirms the European model in order to experience the benefits of social promotion in return for their hard work at university. In their social contacts they prefer those who are not family. The basis for this type of behavior is the desire to succeed in life. The Chileans are obedient to their parents and respect the elderly so their rebellion is limited to youth. Historical social

determinants, understanding of hierarchy and equality imposes opportunistic behaviors and submission to the existing model.

Equal before the law or how do the Chileans solve the hierarchy – equality dilemma?

In a democratic state there must exist determined and accepted hierarchy boundaries which protect law and order. On the way from the airport you can observe a strict adherence to the right of way regulations in traffic. You must not change the lane until all the cars pass you, you can block the traffic on the lane where you are waiting but no one will let you in. You can try to squeeze in but in this case you may have an at-fault accident. Every day this situation causes long traffic jams during rush hour and prolongs the commuting time. But the law remains the law. The Chileans respect the law without exceptions. The same regulations are binding for everyone. Any attempt to corrupt the police will fail because you have to go to the court for a traffic offence. The police is militarized and do not accept bribes despite their low salaries as the state provides all social security benefits, including holiday trips abroad. Civil servants have several times higher salaries than an average remuneration. The Anticorruption Act is not ineffective as informing is treated as a civil duty. Even at work if you neglect to do your tasks, your colleagues will inform the supervisor about this.

In the world corruption perception rankings the majority of Latin American countries occupy very low positions. In 2011 Transparency International classified 183 states. The research was based not only on corruption but on its presence in social life: citizens were asked if, how often and in what situations they have to give bribes. It is difficult to assess corruption itself as it is illegal and secret. Three independent surveys were used for this ranking. The top of this list is for the “cleanest” countries, such as New Zealand, Denmark, Finland. Chile occupies the 22nd position. Together with Uruguay she is a praiseworthy exception. To compare: 24 - USA, 41- Poland, 100 - Mexico, Argentina, 120 - Ecuador, Guatemala, 143 - Russia, Belarus.

In the last decades the law has played the most important role in the government politics. After the period of chaos and big corruption there came the time of military terror and conscientious implementation of the Chicago Boys’ neoliberal philosophy. Chile was the first country where they tested a new economic model of open economy with low salaries and drastic cuts of expenditure in the public sphere. This period of economic prosperity is well guarded by the state. Every Act which is presented in the Parliament must present the costs of its implementation and sources of finance. For example we asked why there was no waste segregation and there is no appropriate Act. The answer was that passing this Act made sense only when there were: education about waste, waste disposal and waste processing plants, estimated costs of its

introduction, financing subject and certainty that this amount of money would be provided. Passing the law without the possibility to implement it, the law which has no chance to be executed is a nonsense in Chile.

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