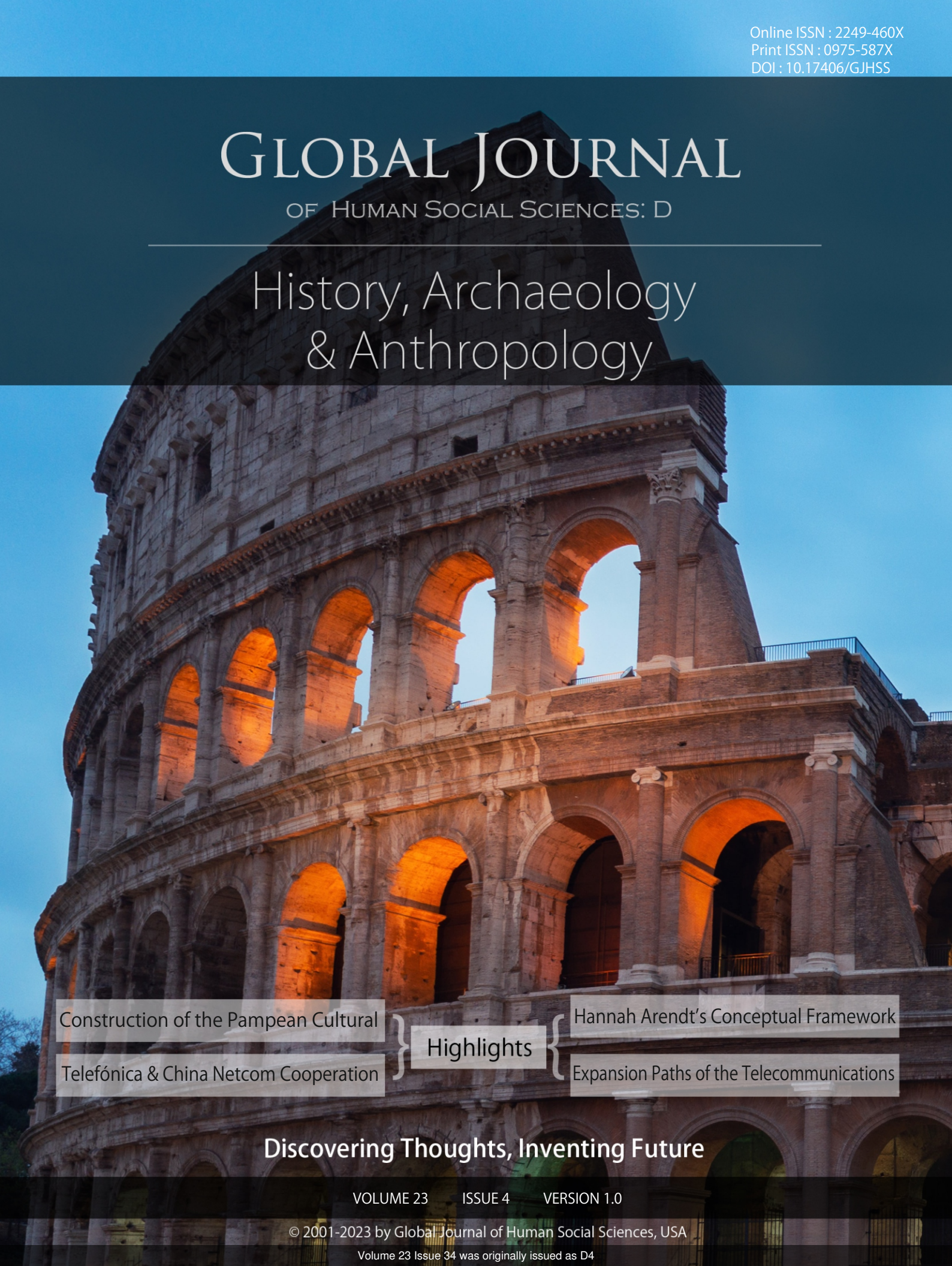
Online ISSN : 2249-460X
Print ISSN : 0975-587X
DOI : 10.17406/GJHSS

Global Journal of Human Social Sciences: D

History, Archaeology & Anthropology



Highlights

Construction of the Pampean Cultural

Telefónica & China Netcom Cooperation

Hannah Arendt's Conceptual Framework

Expansion Paths of the Telecommunications

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 23 ISSUE 4 VERSION 1.0

© 2001-2023 by Global Journal of Human Social Sciences, USA

Volume 23 Issue 34 was originally issued as D4

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: D
History, Anthropology & Archaeology

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: D
History, Anthropology & Archaeology

Volume 23 Issue 4 (Ver. 1.0)

Open Association of Research Society

© Global Journal of Human Social Sciences. 2023.

All rights reserved.

This is a special issue published in version 1.0 of "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences." By Global Journals Inc.

All articles are open access articles distributed under "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences"

Reading License, which permits restricted use. Entire contents are copyright by of "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences" unless otherwise noted on specific articles.

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without written permission.

The opinions and statements made in this book are those of the authors concerned. Ultraculture has not verified and neither confirms nor denies any of the foregoing and no warranty or fitness is implied.

Engage with the contents herein at your own risk.

The use of this journal, and the terms and conditions for our providing information, is governed by our Disclaimer, Terms and Conditions and Privacy Policy given on our website http://globaljournals.us/terms-and-condition/menu-id-1463/

By referring / using / reading / any type of association / referencing this journal, this signifies and you acknowledge that you have read them and that you accept and will be bound by the terms thereof.

All information, journals, this journal, activities undertaken, materials, services and our website, terms and conditions, privacy policy, and this journal is subject to change anytime without any prior notice.

Incorporation No.: 0423089
License No.: 42125/022010/1186
Registration No.: 430374
Import-Export Code: 1109007027
Employer Identification Number (EIN):
USA Tax ID: 98-0673427

Global Journals Inc.

*(A Delaware USA Incorporation with "Good Standing"; **Reg. Number: 0423089**)*

Sponsors: Open Association of Research Society
Open Scientific Standards

Publisher's Headquarters office

Global Journals® Headquarters
945th Concord Streets,
Framingham Massachusetts Pin: 01701,
United States of America
USA Toll Free: +001-888-839-7392
USA Toll Free Fax: +001-888-839-7392

Offset Typesetting

Global Journals Incorporated
2nd, Lansdowne, Lansdowne Rd., Croydon-Surrey,
Pin: CR9 2ER, United Kingdom

Packaging & Continental Dispatching

Global Journals Pvt Ltd
E-3130 Sudama Nagar, Near Gopur Square,
Indore, M.P., Pin:452009, India

Find a correspondence nodal officer near you

To find nodal officer of your country, please email us at *local@globaljournals.org*

eContacts

Press Inquiries: *press@globaljournals.org*
Investor Inquiries: *investors@globaljournals.org*
Technical Support: *technology@globaljournals.org*
Media & Releases: *media@globaljournals.org*

Pricing (Excluding Air Parcel Charges):

Yearly Subscription (Personal & Institutional)
250 USD (B/W) & 350 USD (Color)

Editorial Board

Global Journal of Human-Social Science

Dr. Arturo Diaz Suarez

Ed.D., Ph.D. in Physical Education Professor at University of Murcia, Spain

Dr. Prasad V Bidarkota

Ph.D., Department of Economics Florida International University United States

Dr. Alis Puteh

Ph.D. (Edu.Policy) UUM Sintok, Kedah, Malaysia M.Ed (Curr. & Inst.) University of Houston, United States

Dr. André Luiz Pinto

Doctorate in Geology, PhD in Geosciences and Environment, Universidade Estadual Paulista Julio de Mesuita Filho, UNESP, Sao Paulo, Brazil

Dr. Hamada Hassanein

Ph.D, MA in Linguistics, BA & Education in English, Department of English, Faculty of Education, Mansoura University, Mansoura, Egypt

Dr. Asuncin Lpez-Varela

BA, MA (Hons), Ph.D. (Hons) Facultad de Filolog?a. Universidad Complutense Madrid 29040 Madrid Spain

Dr. Faisal G. Khamis

Ph.D in Statistics, Faculty of Economics & Administrative Sciences / AL-Zaytoonah University of Jordan, Jordan

Dr. Adrian Armstrong

BSc Geography, LSE, 1970 Ph.D. Geography (Geomorphology) Kings College London 1980 Ordained Priest, Church of England 1988 Taunton, Somerset, United Kingdom

Dr. Gisela Steins

Ph.D. Psychology, University of Bielefeld, Germany Professor, General and Social Psychology, University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany

Dr. Stephen E. Haggerty

Ph.D. Geology & Geophysics, University of London Associate Professor University of Massachusetts, United States

Dr. Helmut Digel

Ph.D. University of Tbingen, Germany Honorary President of German Athletic Federation (DLV), Germany

Dr. Tanyawat Khampa

Ph.d in Candidate (Social Development), MA. in Social Development, BS. in Sociology and Anthropology, Naresuan University, Thailand

Dr. Gomez-Piqueras, Pedro

Ph.D in Sport Sciences, University Castilla La Mancha, Spain

Dr. Mohammed Nasser Al-Suqri

Ph.D., M.S., B.A in Library and Information Management, Sultan Qaboos University, Oman

Dr. Giaime Berti

Ph.D. School of Economics and Management University of Florence, Italy

Dr. Valerie Zawilski

Associate Professor, Ph.D., University of Toronto MA - Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Canada

Dr. Edward C. Hoang

Ph.D., Department of Economics, University of Colorado United States

Dr. Intakhab Alam Khan

Ph.D. in Doctorate of Philosophy in Education, King Abdul Aziz University, Saudi Arabia

Dr. Kaneko Mamoru

Ph.D., Tokyo Institute of Technology Structural Engineering Faculty of Political Science and Economics, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan

Dr. Joaquin Linne

Ph. D in Social Sciences, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dr. Hugo Nami

Ph.D.in Anthropological Sciences, Universidad of Buenos Aires, Argentina, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dr. Luisa dall'Acqua

Ph.D. in Sociology (Decisional Risk sector), Master MU2, College Teacher, in Philosophy (Italy), Edu-Research Group, Zrich/Lugano

Dr. Vesna Stankovic Pejnovic

Ph. D. Philosophy Zagreb, Croatia Rusveltova, Skopje Macedonia

Dr. Raymond K. H. Chan

Ph.D., Sociology, University of Essex, UK Associate Professor City University of Hong Kong, China

Dr. Tao Yang

Ohio State University M.S. Kansas State University B.E. Zhejiang University, China

Mr. Rahul Bhanubhai Chauhan

B.com., M.com., MBA, PhD (Pursuing), Assistant Professor, Parul Institute of Business Administration,
Parul University, Baroda, India

Dr. Rita Mano

Ph.D. Rand Corporation and University of California, Los Angeles, USA Dep. of Human Services, University of Haifa Israel

Dr. Cosimo Magazzino

Aggregate Professor, Roma Tre University Rome, 00145, Italy

Dr. S.R. Adlin Asha Johnson

Ph.D, M. Phil., M. A., B. A in English Literature, Bharathiar University, Coimbatore, India

Dr. Thierry Feuillet

Ph.D in Geomorphology, Master's Degree in Geomorphology, University of Nantes, France

Contents of the Issue

i. Copyright Notice
ii. Editorial Board Members
iii. Chief Author and Dean
iv. Contents of the Issue

1. How are Ideas about Evolution Evolving? *1-8*
2. Expansion Paths of the Telecommunications Companies under Globalisation. Telefónica and China Netcom Cooperation at the Beginning of the 21th Century. *9-27*
3. Hannah Arendt's Conceptual Framework for the Crisis in Modern Education. *29-37*
4. Personality and Jealousy as Attachment Trauma. *39-43*
5. Proceso de Turistificación en Santa Clara del Cobre, Pueblo Mágico de Michoacán. *45-50*
6. Molino Carcarañá de Thomas Thomas y Asociados. Su Rol en la Construcción del Paisaje Cultural Pampeano (Santa Fe, Argentina 1875-1908). *51-63*

v. Fellows
vi. Auxiliary Memberships
vii. Preferred Author Guidelines
viii. Index

Volume 23 Issue 34
Originally issued as D4



Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 23 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2023
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

How are Ideas about Evolution Evolving?

By Patrick Manning
University of Pittsburgh

Introduction- Exciting new studies in human evolution are appearing rapidly, transforming scientific understanding of how the human community took form. *A 2018 article by archaeologist Eleanor Scerri and colleagues,* for example, identifies key debates on this topic. They ask: When and how did *Homo sapiens* become a species? How important were subgroups and migration in human evolution? And while Scerri cannot yet propose a specific date or place for the origin of *Homo sapiens*, she reveals certain misunderstandings in earlier thinking about human populations, then points to new directions in interpretation.

Scerri argues that paleontology shows varied physical populations with varied material culture, geographically spread through Africa. She notes genetic evidence suggesting that the lineage for *Homo sapiens* traces back to 500 ka (where "ka," in this essay, means "thousand years ago"); she also suggests human admixture with other hominin populations in Africa.

GJHSS-D Classification: *LCC: GN281-GN289*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



© 2023. Patrick Manning. This research/review article is distributed under the terms of the Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). You must give appropriate credit to authors and reference this article if parts of the article are reproduced in any manner. Applicable licensing terms are at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

How are Ideas about Evolution Evolving?

Patrick Manning

Introduction

Exciting new studies in human evolution are appearing rapidly, transforming scientific understanding of how the human community took form. *A 2018 article by archaeologist Eleanor Scerri and colleagues,* for example, identifies key debates on this topic. They ask: When and how did *Homo sapiens* become a species? How important were subgroups and migration in human evolution? And while Scerri cannot yet propose a specific date or place for the origin of *Homo sapiens*, she reveals certain misunderstandings in earlier thinking about human populations, then points to new directions in interpretation.

Scerri argues that paleontology shows varied physical populations with varied material culture, geographically spread through Africa. She notes genetic evidence suggesting that the lineage for *Homo sapiens* traces back to 500 ka (where "ka," in this essay, means "thousand years ago"); she also suggests human admixture with other hominin populations in Africa.

Physical remains of humans are now labeled as *Homo sapiens* from 300 ka. The ecological record suggests shifts in African landscapes over time, and present-day African populations continue to reflect ancient variations. Underlying these patterns, Scerri argues, were "structured" (i.e., subdivided) human populations throughout Africa, rather than an initially small, uniform, and localized population. The key to an improved interpretation of human evolution, she says, is more fully specified models of population structure.

a) Assessing the Strategy for Evolutionary Analysis

Scerri's argument on "structured" populations in Africa is an outstanding issue that points as well to further issues. The broad debate over human evolution extends to the question of the ancestors from which humans arose and, more broadly, what types of information do we need to understand such aspects of human evolution? It is remarkable how much has been learned and how much remains to be learned. This essay, in three sections, addresses the strategy of analyzing the categories of evolutionary change, an updated narrative of the phases and processes of human evolution up to the Last Glacial Maximum of 25 ka, and an exploration of more recent evolution in human social scale.

In this opening section, I review the categories of evolutionary analysis from the beginning of *Homo sapiens* to recent times, as seen in debates since the time of Darwin. After identifying categories of information on evolution; I point to dynamics of change within each of those categories, then point to examples of discoveries in evolution. This leads to the suggestion of *unification* and *differentiation* of the human population as two broad evolutionary patterns that combine the many specific types of change. A further note focuses on the role of analytical modeling in developing specific arguments within the context of unification and differentiation. All of these models follow a *bottom-up* strategy of evolutionary analysis, in that they rely most heavily on micro-level analysis, reaching higher levels of aggregation step by step.

b) Categories of Information on Evolution

These six major categories show that early humans led complicated lives and that modern evolutionary scientists have had many issues to considern:

1. *Phenotype (descriptions from the 1850s):* This is the study of the physical beings of humankind, their historical remains, and their development and behavior over their life course, including the basic biological structures of household and community.
2. *Genotype (models from the 1930s, details from the 1980s):* Genomics is the study of human DNA and its genes, which evolve and produce proteins that generate all human processes and activities.
3. *Population (models from the 1920s, regional estimates from the 1990s):* Total numbers of humans and their subgroups are measured in two ways: as "census populations" of all adults and children and as "effective populations" of breeding females, estimated genetically. Population includes the "speciation" or formation of humans into a coherent and distinctive form of life. Population also includes types of human migration.
4. *Environment (models from the 1980s, estimates from the 2000s):* The environmental factors of physical geography, climatic change, plus flora and fauna—linked into ecological webs—influence human life but are also changed by human activity.
5. *Culture 1 (models from the 1980s, data from the 2000s):* This is culture as understood and studied by biologists and environmentalists, who call it "social learning." Social learning describes the ways in which individuals observe others, develop new behaviors, expand their cooperation, and influence their genome. Among humans, this process

Author: University of Pittsburgh, United States.
e-mail: pmanning@pitt.edu

© 2023 Global Journals

accelerated about 300 ka and is still influential in human networks.

6. *Culture 2 (models from the 2010s):* This is how culture is understood and referred to in today's world. It may also be called "group culture," and its connections to biological evolution are just now being analyzed. At its most basic level, *group culture began when humans formed conscious "we-groups,"* whose decisions created syntactic language and institutions to complete tasks—a process that accelerated about 70 ka. This led later to the creation of much larger social groups such as the businesses and states of today.

c) Major Evolutionary Dynamics

Each category of evolutionary information has subcategories that change and interact with one another. For each category, here are the major *dynamics* or processes of change:

1. *Phenotype:* Changing physical form, steps in life-course development, group behavior, incorporation of new processes into the human order.
2. *Genotype:* DNA mutation and selection, RNA and protein creation, epigenetics and regulation of gene activity.
3. *Population:* Growth and decline in populations (and subpopulations), displacement of migrants, admixture among migrating groups.
4. *Environment:* Short-term and long-term changes in geology, climate, and flora/fauna—and how those changes influence the categories of human evolution.
5. *Culture 1:* Individual learning in humans and other species (known as "social learning" and "cultural evolution"), the expansion of cooperative behavior.
6. *Culture 2:* Group decision-making in humans, group activity in representation or modeling of the world, media of expressive culture.

Listing these dynamics is instructive, but in viewing them we must keep in mind that the human genome has only 30,000 genes—not much more than much simpler animals. Thus, it is the *interactions* among the genetic and dynamic pieces that construct the full picture of human existence.

d) Some Key Discoveries

For the categories of evolutionary analysis and the dynamics within them, I note some major discoveries and their influence.

1. Phenotype
   - Physical remains: *Homo ergaster* skeleton of 1.5 million years ago (1984); Jebel Irhoud remains found 1961 and dated in 2017 to an age of 315 ka
   - Comparing human and chimpanzee childhood skills (Tomasello).
   - Identification of persistent human community and household groups (2000) through the social brain hypothesis (Dunbar 1998).
2. Genotype
   - Mitochondrial DNA analyzed 1987; ancient DNA and human history 2015.
   - Human genome initial sequencing 2003, revealing 30,000 genes.
   - Merge (a genetic category) theorized (1995); Merge in the human brain 2015.
   - Epigenetic processes, regulating the genome's activity through protein modifications, have now been explored in some detail.
3. Population
   - "Effective population" of breeding females theorized in 1931; estimates of early African effective population, first made in the 1990s, have since been updated.
   - Occasional migrations into Arabia from 400 ka, reported in 2017.
4. Environment
   - Geological observations on long-term African historical climate (after 2000).
   - Niche construction theory on interaction among evolutionary categories (1980s).
5. Culture 1
   - Kin-selection theory and dual-inheritance theory (1980s); cumulative cultural evolution theory 2009.
   - Initial advances in study of tool-making and culture in primates and birds were made in Japan by Kinji Imanishi during the 1950s.
   - Culture 1 and Middle Stone Age (MSA) technology from 300 ka, with networked communities.
6. Culture 2
   - Hypothesis on adolescent leadership in syntactic language and institutions (2010s).

e) Understanding Unification and Differentiation

Evolutionary science needs to know more about fluctuations in the variety within human populations. Consider this: Populations with closely similar genomes and phenotypical form and behavior are labeled as "species." Since the human genome is far more unified than that of other mammalian species, we would seem obviously to be a species. Yet fossils of human populations continue to *reveal specific characteristics for every region* and local community. Thus, in evolutionary terms, questions remain about when humans have become more similar—or more *unified*—and when they have *differentiated* over time.

You can look at the dynamics and discoveries listed above and consider which of them might lead to *unification* of the human species and which might lead to *differentiation*. For instance, migration of small and isolated groups leads to differentiation through "genetic

© 2023 Global Journals

drift." But large-scale migration from one population to another causes the two populations to become more similar. Therefore, processes of both *unification* and *differentiation* have taken place throughout human history. Another question to consider: In what situations did either *unification* or *differentiation* predominate?

f) Analytical Modeling of Past Processes

Scerri's 2018 article makes recommendations for changes in models of genetic change and population structure. To enact such changes, researchers must make explicit and sensible assumptions that define variables and their interactions. This would ensure that the resulting scientific models of unification and diversification can project detailed simulations, which can then be compared to real data.

Fortunately, the science of network analysis has greatly advanced the modeling of large and complex datasets—by including the *specific forms of networks and their links* to each other. Techniques that are now being applied in medicine, for example, might be modified and applied in the history of evolution. Whatever the application, the modeling will be complex, because it must address the various scales of human existence: those of the genome, cells, human organs, individuals, and the different types of behavior of populations, as well as the environmental influences at each scale. That is, even at enormous scales, network analysis seeks seeks to work through a bottom-up approach. It will be interesting work.

Part Two: Evolutionary Narrative to 25 ka

Based on this simplified summary of the strategy of evolutionary analysis and its six categories of evolutionary knowledge on humans, I turn next to combining them, proposing a narrative of some major steps in human evolution over the past half-million years, up to 25 thousand years ago. Part Two offers hypotheses on how to assemble categories of information into a current version of human evolution. I expand on the tale of human evolution, using available models of structure, dynamics, and interactions to tell a story., proposing plausible hypotheses of growth and change based on models at the levels of both phenotype and genome. As I argue, populations of *Homo sapiens* experienced three concentrated eras of innovation, each followed by a wave of migration and exchange. Interacting pressures of unification and differentiation, fluctuating with climate (shown in Figure 1 below), influenced successive populations in Africa. The resulting picture of human evolutionary transformations can be tested and revised based on expanding empirical observations.

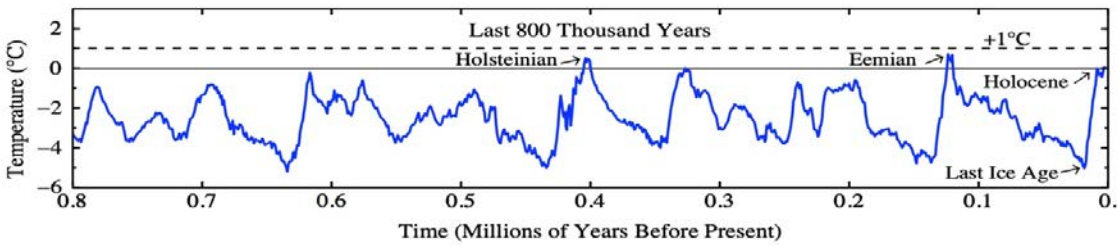


Figure 1: Average temperatures over 800,000 years.

Phase 1: Homo sapiens as a Species, ca. 500 ka

Biological processes of natural selection—genomic and epigenetic change—guided the speciation of humans. At perhaps 500 ka, in a warm and humid period (See Figure 1), there emerged ancestors of *Homo sapiens* whom we can can call "humans." They lived especially in the highlands of eastern and southern Africa, along with other hominin lineages. Under these changing circumstances, genetic mutations and epigenetic or developmental changes led humans in several directions, bringing phenotypical changes. In a genetic mutation, the Merge capability advanced internal human logic, enabling a change in behavior in which people could lump concepts together and link them to a new concept. Phenotypical changes included expanded brain size, reduced face size, lighter skeleton, and smaller teeth. Community size also expanded, gradually reaching an average 150 members. Yet Acheulean stone technology changed little in the these days, either among *Homo sapiens* or among other hominin.

In intimate groups, human developmental change caused the polygamous family structure to be replaced by pair-bonded households as the locus of eating, sleeping, household tasks, and the nurture of offspring. Polygamy had left females subordinated and many males without mates, but the new male-female teams supported female collaboration, so that larger numbers of offspring survived. This encouraged population growth and provided more labor for community tasks.

These community changes gave rise to the overall process of human *speciation*. Today, biological species are still defined as populations with broad similarities at both phenotypical and genetic levels. Yet details of the definition [are still updated]. For example, while Darwinian thinking initially treated species as unified populations, new evidence on genetics and

© 2023 Global Journals

environments has revealed complications. For humans, it now seems more likely that separated communities connected and exchanged innovations via migration—thus beginning as a *diverse species* derived from different ancestral communities but with growing similarities.

Phase 2: Initial diffusion, up to 300 ka

In another aspect of biological evolution, the first great migration of *Homo sapiens* began as humans moved within their highland homelands and then left for places where humans had hardly been before. Figure 2 reflects genetic movement, arguably confirming distinctive human communities in most African regions as far back as 300 ka. Migrants adapted their habits to each locale but also transformed their new homes through "niche construction." Bodies of *Homo sapiens* gradually changed in response to regional environments: forest dwellers became smaller, while settlers in northern Africa developed lighter skins to absorb adequate sunshine. Climate sometimes became cold and dry, forcing further migrations and even population decline. Yet overall, by 300 ka, human populations had expanded continent-wide—and their shared characteristics were far different from those of surviving *erectus*, *heidelbergensis*, or other hominin groups.

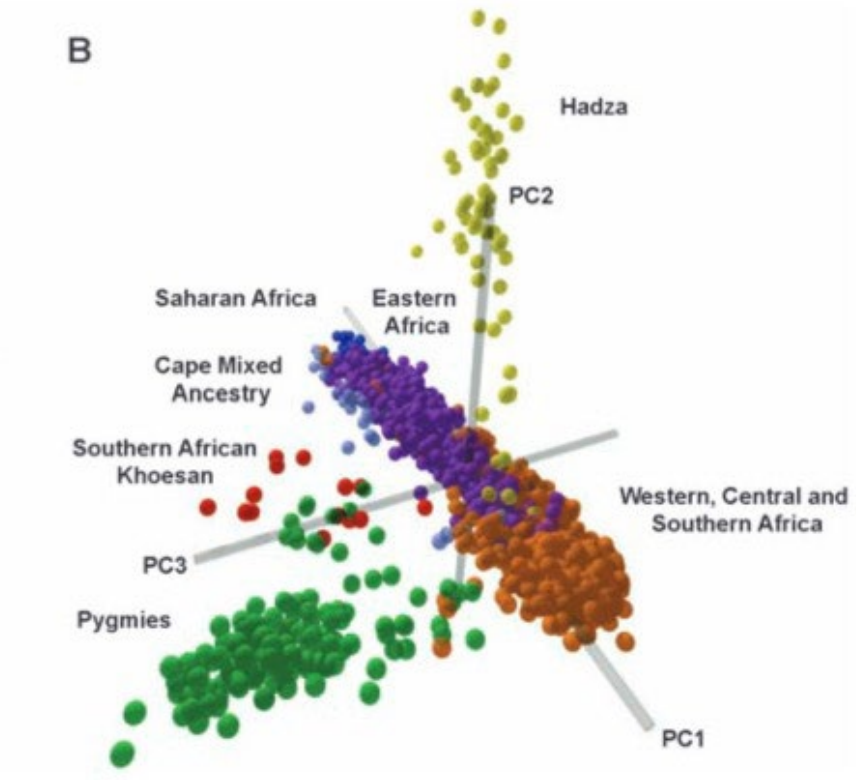


Figure 2: Principal Component Analysis of African Genomes.

(Note: Many of the genomes along PC1 resulted from later migrations.)

Phase 3: Middle Stone Age (MSA), ca. 300 ka

A process of cultural evolution gained significance among humans about 300 ka, according to models in the fields of ontogeny and dual inheritance. Kin selection and social learning facilitated tool-making; communication emerged through emulation, gesture, dance, and protolanguage (in which small vocabularies of isolated words were shared within local networks). These cultural advances accelerated epigenetic development and other processes of biological evolution.

Archaeologists identified this era as the Middle Stone Age because of such new technology as prepared-core manufacture of stone tools, hafted spears, and intensive use of fire. Further, paleontologists have confirmed dates for skeletal remains that fit with the same era—applying the term *Homo sapiens* to two distinct skulls: from Jebel Irhoud in Morocco (315 ka) and Omo Kibish 1 in Ethiopia (230 ka). Figure 3 shows these skulls, along with those from other lineages such as the Kabwe skull in Zambia (300 ka). Meanwhile, household nurturing of offspring contributed labor that expanded community activities. Thus, hunting and toolmaking relied more on community than households.

© 2023 Global Journals

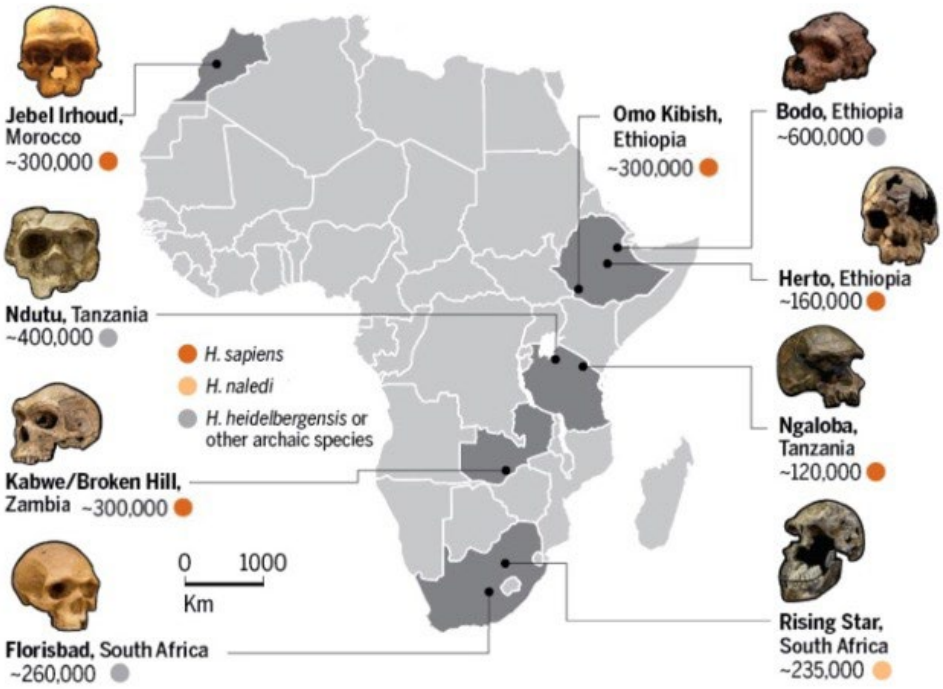


Figure 3: *Homo sapiens* and others, about 300 ka.

Phase 4: Migratory exchange of innovations, 300–100 ka

The era of biological and cultural evolution, relying on technical and cultural innovations of the Middle Stone Age, brought a second great migration throughout Africa and even beyond. Households produced larger numbers of maturing offspring; larger numbers took up community labors including tool-making, firewood collection, and participating in communication. In the exchanges of this era, the human skull became increasingly globular, and the chin emerged—though each pattern leaves evidence of human diversity.

Eras of high humidity brought not only expanded settlement in the Sahara but also periodic settlements in Arabia. The Arabian deposits of steadily evolving stone tools since 400 ka (Figure 4) reveal migrations by humans who diffused in humid times, then withdrew to Africa as drought drove them out. Parallel migrations may have spread throughout Africa, including cases where settlers joined existing populations. The Arabian examples indicate the overall magnitude of the second great African migration, the fluctuations of drought and humidity, and the development and sharing of innovations across the continent.



Figure 4: Assemblages from Khall Amsayah and Jubbah lake sites in north Arabia. Left to right: A (ca. 400 ka); B (ca. 300 ka); C (ca.200 ka), D (ca. 100 ka), E (ca. 55 ka). Scale bar at left: 1 cm.

© 2023 Global Journals

Phase 5: Syntactic language, 70–65 ka

A new process – social evolution – emerged as syntactic language took form in a single region and spread to all humans, taking with it the broader structures of institutions [as elements] social evolution. Social evolution was distinctive because of the new ability to form self-conscious groups, but social evolution also interconnected tightly with the ongoing processes of biological and cultural evolution.

The innovation emerged east of Lake Victoria, where archaeological studies document the finely made Later Stone Age artifacts from 65 ka, arguably the products of speaking communities. I hypothesize that "we-groups" of adolescents played and practiced until they had created and shared common words and syntax for combining them into complete sentences, not just isolated words. Their skill in categorization, based on a verbal application of their Merge capability, shaped the logic of full sentences.

The creation of language required years of devotion by bright and maturing adolescents, debating and working together to agree on common speech patterns. It spread by teaching to other adolescents and some adults—then to adolescents in other communities. Siblings and parents began to teach language to the toddlers in their households. Languages, spoken in communities of 150 people, became institutions governed by common agreement. Communication by speech led to the advance of the Later Stone Age.

Phase 6: Language in Africa; settlement in Eurasia and Oceania, 65–25 ka

Social evolution led to the third great migration of humans. The migration was distinctive in that spoken language came from a single origin (though languages, once formed, evolved further with time and in every place). Within Africa, speaking migrants settled among non-speaking human populations and introduced language—parallel to the MSA exchange of fire and hafted spears. Beyond Africa, speaking migrants settled new lands, encountering Neanderthals and Denisovans—parallel to the first wave of human migration. Both the African and Eurasian migrations can be documented through genetic, archaeological, and language-distribution evidence.

By 25 ka, structured populations of *Homo sapiens* had passed through great waves of unification and diversification, innovation and migration, expansion and transformation. Many details are not yet filled in, but this framework—relying on migration of diverse and structured populations while also anchored in households and community groups—enabled humans to undergo immense changes within half a million years.

Part Three: Growing Social Scale

Did evolution end there? Or can we link the long process of human evolution to life today? The biggest subsequent change is the expansion in the scale of the human order, which must be seen as a problem in evolution. With the Ice Age of the Last Glacial Maximum, peaking from 25 to 18 ka, a fourth set of innovations opened Phase 7 of human evolution – triggering changes that transformed *Homo sapiens* once again, leading to the human society we live in today.

This section addresses the expansion of human societies after 25 ka as a *new phase* in evolution. For the previous two million years, human communities gradually expanded from the 40 members that were typical of primate species to 150 members for *Homo sapiens*. The latter were by far the largest persistent communities of large animals, putting humans at the top of the food chain. Yet there was no clear precedent for the accelerating expansion in human social scale that took over around 25 ka. Multiplication in the size of human groups was neither a natural nor an inevitable process; it broke the deep, existing constraints of hominin social structures.

What aspects of evolutionary dynamics enabled human groups to expand from groups of 150 members to more than a million times larger today?

Phase 7: The Problem of Expanding Human Scale

Laying the groundwork to explore the dynamics of biological, cultural, and social evolution, the preceding essays [Parts One and Two] have reviewed six categories of evolutionary analysis:

- Phenotype
- Genotype
- Population
- Environment
- Culture 1, or "social learning"
- Culture 2, or "group culture"

Since none of them give obvious explanations of expanding human scale, I will now dig deeper to identify specific mechanisms that may help explain the whys and hows of expanding social scales.

a) Five Possible Mechanisms for Scale Expansion

For each mechanism below, I provide a key question and a brief explanation for the mechanism's influence on expanding social scales:

1. Anthropological description

Key question: As anthropologists have argued, did community decisions cause the emergence of new social scales? If so, were these choices based on social visions and a changing environment?

The anthropological description implies that foraging groups expanded worldwide by a factor of 10 (up to 1,500 members within 10,000 years), reaching the scale at which surviving foraging groups are known

© 2023 Global Journals

today. Agricultural societies are argued to have expanded by another factor of three (30 times larger than the ancestral community). Anthropologist Harvey Whitehouse links the rituals of the early Holocene—some more complex and demanding than others—to the formation of larger-scale social groups. While this link of ritual behavior and social scale is plausible for the early Holocene, it is not yet clear how to extent a ritual-based analysis to more recent and larger-scale social structures.

Drawing from anthropologists, I hypothesize three scales of groups that may have arisen:

- *"Confederations" (at 20 ka: 500 members or three communities):* Communities allied and ultimately integrated with the cold and drought of the Glacial Maximum.
- *"Ethnicities" (at 12 ka: 1,500 members or three confederations):* Intensive food gathering of fish, grains, or animals as the climate became warm and humid.
- *"Societies" (at 9 ka: 5,000 members or three ethnicities):* Agriculture and expanded labor; as at Çatalhöyük with 3,500–8,000 persons in the era 7500–6400 BCE.

2. Genetics or epigenetics

Key question: Was there change in the human genome or in epigenetics and its relations among proteins, so that individual behavior developed in new ways to facilitate larger social groups?

At the time of language expansion, genetic changes might have spread worldwide via migration; at other times, genetic change would have spread more slowly. *Epigenetic* change is best known as development in child behavior, but developmental processes also continue for adolescents and young adults. Thus, shifts in protein interactions might have been provoked through global environment change, leading to development of adolescent and adult readiness to articulate language or to work in larger groups.

3. Fractals

Key question: Were there inherent scales for human group size, awaiting the expansion of human population to each level?

Fractals reflect self-organizational of elements in ways that are parallel at multiple scales, thus yielding inherent group sizes. Perhaps the phenotypical scales of human life—simplified into the individual, the household, and the community—underwent subtle changes that enabled larger social groupings to become feasible and valuable. Robin Dunbar [led in showing] that self-organization of groups among all primate species created a hierarchy of group sizes, expanding from scale to scale by factors of just over three. He then combined empirical data and fractal theory to propose "grades" or stable sizes of human groups up to 50, 150 (communities), 500, and 1500 (tribes). Such grades might be extended, in certain circumstances, to create lager-scale grades such as those for humans after the Ice Age.

4. Phase transitions

Key question: In the same way that physical phase transitions yield sharp phase changes at crucial points—for example, water turning from ice to liquid to vapor—were there also types of *social* relations that changed greatly because of environmental influences, ultimately creating different overall human patterns and scales?

The physics model of phase transitions helpfully suggests that changes in individual social interactions may bring global changes in social scale. This assumes that molecules within a container have patterns of interaction with each other which may change in response to external shifts in temperature or pressure. However, molecules of the physics model appear much more uniform than human individuals or their scales of individual, household, and community.

5. Scale-free networks

Key question: Were human communities linked to distant others, so that "hubs" of closely related communities formed and, later, expanded?

Among large networks, a "diameter" may be calculated to establish the number of links one must follow to get from one point to another point in the network. The diameter of biochemical cell networks, for example, is about three; this suggests tight connections. The diameter of the World Wide Web is about 19, while the diameter of U.S. society is estimated at six. Although global linkage is relatively easy today, we must consider whether long-distance links among networks were possible in the early Holocene era—and whether such early expansions required thousands of years [of gestation] before accelerating with time.

b) Summarizing the Possibilities

Studying the possible mechanisms of changing human social scale reveals intriguing links and comparisons across times from early Homo sapiens up to today. Epigenetic change, if it provokes the creation of new scales, raises the question of whether changes around the world occur at the same time. Fractals, on the other hand, are inherently about replication at multiple stages of growth. Phase transitions show that small-scale dynamics may bring large-scale results, when accompanied by the right sort of environmental change. And the hubs of scale-free networks point toward great urban centers or earlier commercial crossroads; each hub expansion tends to bring about the next.

Whatever the influence each mechanism has had, the human order has expanded over recent

© 2023 Global Journals

millennia by a factor of about a million or 12 powers of three from the size of the original hominid community to a group of 150 million. One may then ask: What were the results and the benefits of expanded scale? Were these benefits shared widely, or were they limited to certain parts of the population or areas of the world?

c) Scale Expansion in Human Context

Which categories of information on evolution tell us most about the expansion in scale? To start, expanded scale is a phenotypical description, focusing on the behavioral groupings of humans rather than individual characteristics. Scale expansion surely brought many genetic changes in its wake. Can one argue the reverse and hypothesize a genetic change that launched the whole process?

Epigenetic change is a more likely causal candidate, as recurring environmental change might have brought new behaviors that facilitated group expansion for children and young adults. (Population has been defined in this essay as including numbers, speciation, and migration, but one can now see that it must also include scale of groups.) Environmental factors surely also influenced scale—for instance, as certain types of regions encouraged growth in scale or as the long warming of the early Holocene brought added resources to humans. (But did other species expand their social scales in the Holocene?)

Culture 1 (social learning), while it facilitated interaction at a local scale, seems to have functioned for 200 millennia without increasing the scale of the human order. Culture 2 (group culture, which began with language development, visual arts, and accelerated invention), is associated with the *initiation* of scale expansion, though no detailed mechanism is yet agreed upon.

The above mechanisms, arguments, and hypotheses show that there is much to be discovered when it comes to understanding the precise evolutionary processes responsible for the expanding scale of social organization. This question may loom largest: will these and future ideas ultimately reveal a clear and simple explanation of expansion in human scale? Or will they tell a tale of multipronged transformation?

What's Next in Understanding Evolution?

Having stepped here into the big question of expanding scale in the human order – as it is posed here – one can see that it may be related to smaller-scale issues: types of group behavior, types of social institutions, and degrees of cultural differentiation. That is, a bottom-up approach, including biological analysis, remains central to study of social scale.

Nevertheless, for the Holocene era this bottom-up approach to human evolution encounters a long-established literature on social evolution that relies equally heavily on top-down approaches. Studies of social evolution in fields of anthropology (summarized by Robert Carneiro and Bruce Trigger) and world-systems analysis (led by Christopher Chase-Dunn in publications of 1997 and 2013) begin by assuming the existence of human groups without explicit links to their biological origins. The encounter of the two approaches may lead to lively discussions, for instance over the broad pattern of unification and differentiation that appears to show up in biological evolution – and which are echoed, if less explicitly, in the anthropological and world-systems literatures. As a closing example of the unity and diversity in human society, one may note today how often young people are able to move from one social setting to another that appears entirely different – from rural to urban or vice versa – and learn to thrive in the new environment.

© 2023 Global Journals

Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 23 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2023
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Expansion Paths of the Telecommunications Companies under Globalisation. Telefónica and China Netcom Cooperation at the Beginning of the 21th Century

By Ángel Calvo
University of Barcelona

Abstract- This research addresses the paths taken by the telecommunications companies in their expansion under the globalisation during the first years of the new millennium. The research adopts a firm level perspective with a Europe based multinational - Telefónica- and a state owned Chinese company -China Netcom- as actors. The key issue is to determine the pattern of expansion selected by the partners and to elucidate the reasons of the choice. The study is based on diverse sources, such as reports of the companies, studies of major institutions and international press. The text is organized in three main sections, namely the conversion of Asia into a target for the multinational, the corporate alliances and the globalisation and the telecommunications in China and the entry Telefónica in China. The research discloses as a pattern of expansion the collaboration by means of a blended approach of stake acquisition and contribution of knowledge and skill.

Keywords: *europe-china cooperation, china netcom, telefónica, globalisation, strategic alliances.*

GJHSS-D Classification: *LCC: HD9696.A2*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2023. Ángel Calvo. This research/review article is distributed under the terms of the Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). You must give appropriate credit to authors and reference this article if parts of the article are reproduced in any manner. Applicable licensing terms are at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

Expansion Paths of the Telecommunications Companies under Globalisation. Telefónica and China Netcom Cooperation at the Beginning of the 21th Century

Ángel Calvo

Abstract- This research addresses the paths taken by the telecommunications companies in their expansion under the globalisation during the first years of the new millennium. The research adopts a firm level perspective with a Europe based multinational - Telefónica- and a state owned Chinese company -China Netcom- as actors. The key issue is to determine the pattern of expansion selected by the partners and to elucidate the reasons of the choice. The study is based on diverse sources, such as reports of the companies, studies of major institutions and international press. The text is organized in three main sections, namely the conversion of Asia into a target for the multinational, the corporate alliances and the globalisation and the telecommunications in China and the entry Telefónica in China. The research discloses as a pattern of expansion the collaboration by means of a blended approach of stake acquisition and contribution of knowledge and skill.

Keywords: europe-china cooperation, china netcom, telefónica, globalisation, strategic alliances.

Introduction

International and inter-regional trade for multinational enterprises have increased in an incomparable trend in the recent years, prompting the era of mass globalisation of companies and forcing them to strategise an international business pattern (Kyove et al. 2021, 216-230). This trend can be traced back years earlier and, in telecommunications, it is part of the international framework built up in the last two decades of the twentieth century.

In a wide sense, economic globalisation refers to the increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through the movement of goods, services, labor, knowledge and capital across borders (IMF Staff, 2008). In this process, the connectedness and spread of technology, production, and communication worldwide constitutes key issues (Kyove et al. 2021, 216-230). Globalisation acts into a two-way direction. Push defines the going global of a company for the simple reason that it is pursuing added business potential, while pull form is based on the needs of foreign customers (Javaid 2004, 24). In another view, the Public Telecommunications Operators (PTO) entailed two dimensions in the global activities. In the "outgoing" dimension a PTO stretches its service provision to other countries and in the "incoming" PTOs compete potentially with each other with gains for one of them and loss for the other (Kurisaki 1995, 31). Significantly, the collaboration is absent of this scheme.

From the 1980-1990s on, the world's major supranational agencies pointed out the strength of the globalisation in the telecommunications. Commitments in telecommunications services, mostly in those of value-added, were achieved during the Uruguay Round (1986-94), while the subsequent negotiations (1994-1997) on basic telecommunications concluded with the Fourth Protocol to the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) in 1996. Telecommunications, like other services, were included in the 2000 Doha Round of services negotiations. Improving telecommunications commitments remained a priority and was likely to be pursued in any future negotiations (http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/serv_e/telecom_e/telecom_e.htm).

Scholars did not exactly jump the gun when it came to researching transnational companies based in developing countries, and when they did, their studies were not strategy-related in nature (Jiang 2005). Experts show also a negligence of the perspective of Chinese partners in the agreements (Strange 1998, 6).

We deal with the core of the relentless debates on internationalisation, dominated, for a time, by the gradualist of the Stockholm school but fed and amplified by others[1]. Within the framework of the amendment of mainstream theories (Cuervo-Cazurra 2011) and the setting aside of a linear process, one can ask whether confrontation is the unique way to expand abroad. In this respect, international strategic alliances, for example, provide firms with more strategic flexibility than other forms of internationalisation, equipping them to respond to the emergence of new competitors and changing market conditions. Strengthening market presence, economising on production and research costs, and accessing intangible assets such as managerial skills and knowledge of markets entailed the diverse range of motives (Kang and Sakai 2000. 5). International alliances encompassed a wide range of interfirm links, from joint ventures to production, co-operative research and marketing. The last two activities predominated over the production in the number of

Author: University of Barcelona, Spain. e-mail: angel.calvo@ub.edu

[1] Aharoni (1966) and some business historians (Wilkins 1970) anticipated in the defence of longitudinal view advocated by the Stockholm mainstream, based initially in four Swedish manufacturing firms (Johanson and Wiedersheim 1975, 305–322; Johanson and Vahlne 1977, 23–32).

© 2023 Global Journals

partnerships, partly reflecting the growing role of service firms.

International strategic alliances increased significantly in number (more than five-fold), pace, scale, complexity and value in the last decade of the twentieth century, paralleling the growth in cross-border mergers and acquisitions (M&As) to achieve global scale in operations. The majority of them involve firms from OECD countries, although in the 1990s there was a surge with non-member Asian countries including China. Alliances were being formed across a broad range of sectors, including chemicals and pharmaceuticals, computers and electronic equipment, and financial and business services.

This research addresses the paths taken by the telecommunications companies in their expansion under the globalisation during the first years of the new millennium. It adopts a firm level perspective (Nayak 2018, 52-71), which puts on the stage a Europe based multinational - Telefónica- and a state owned Chinese company -China Netcom-. The asymmetry of their status constitutes the main characteristic of both players. Telefónica entails a case far from the early stage in an advanced expansion abroad, while its counterpart remains mainly centered on the national market. Two interrelated issues to explore are the reasons for the choice of China over other Asian countries with high growth potential, at a time when Telefónica was advocating continued expansion in Latin America and in contrast to the traditional strategy of operator control followed in the region[2]. The central question is to elucidate why the partners selected a particular pattern of expansion instead of other ways.

The study is based on diverse sources, such as reports of the companies, studies of major institutions and international press. The text is organized in four main sections, two for each counterpart. They comprise the conversion of Asia into a target for the multinational, the singularity of the telecommunications in China, the overall framework of the entry China from Spain and the break of Telefonica into China.

I. Liberalisation: Asia as a Target for the Giants

The state-owned monopoly carriers predominated in most countries and presented an insurmountable barrier to foreign investment in the telecommunication services[3]. A neo-liberal perspective on state regulation swept through the world since the 1980s (Yeo 2008, 1). Forty-four PTOs were privatised raising $159 billion, about one-third of this investment coming from outside the home countries. This process of privatisation increased the opportunities for foreign investors to establish subsidiaries or to combine with others in joint ventures (Lin 2008, 34-40).

In Asia, Japan began opening up the market in 1990 and between 1992 and 1997 the operators in Malaysia (1992), Singapore (1993), Pakistan (1994) and Indonesia (1995), followed by India[4] and Hong Kong (1997)[5], among others, were privatised.

It will be enlightening to address the extent to which the globalisation standardised or diversified the paths of market opening, which included the formation of international joint ventures, and the unique benefits of those enterprises compared to other forms of international cooperation, such as distribution agencies and technology licensing.

From the outset, the different nature and situation of the countries suggests strong discrepancies in their patterns. If we take one from the above-mentioned list, in Malaysia the Companies Act (1965) made the foreign enterprises as ineligible to apply for the licences to provide the physical infrastructure for telecommunications as well as services. Licence holders must be incorporated in Malaysia (Todd 2019, 60-61). Malaysian development strategy went from an import substituting industrialisation (1957-1970) to the New Economic Policy (1970-1980), the State-led attempt at industrial upgrading in early 1980s to an adjustment and liberalisation (mid-1980s-1996) (OECD 1999, 113-117).

The multinationals intended to intervene. In Malaysia, Swiss Telecom (Swisscom) adopted a mixed formula to enter the country, namely the acquisition of 30% stake in the holding company Malaysia's Mutiara Telecommunications and the provision of technical and operational assistance to this operator on its existing personal communications network service and help to launch trunk and international services (*CBR*, 15 May 1996). Mutiara Swisscom - in 1998 named DiGi-Swisscom-Berhad-owned entirely Mutiara Telecommunications Sdn. Bhd. Mutiara held domestic licences to operate the country's largest digital mobile network (GSM 1800) as well as a fixed network, an international gateway, VSAT and data network services. Swisscom planned to develop Mutiara as its main base in the Asia-Pacific region and contributed significantly to the growth of the company by means of its expertise in mobile networks and product, service and technology development (Swisscom 1997, 35).

[2] The point verges on the East Asian model heated debate of the start of the millennium with conflicting positions: Park 2002, pp. 330-53.
[3] Clifton, Comín and Díaz-Fuentes 2011, 761-781.
[4] In India, the announcement of the new economic policy in July 1991 opened the telecommunication sector to private companies, reason why more regulation was required. The Telecommunications Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) was established in 1997 to regulate the telecom service providers: Chen et al. 2021, p. 1.
[5] Hong Kong's telecommunications was liberalised with no foreign ownership restrictions: Office of the Communications Authority 2013, 13.

© 2023 Global Journals

Pakistan deserves particular focus because it became a market for the Chinese companies. Indeed, despite some failures in the sector China Mobile acquired 88.86 percent share in Paktel and all of the share capital of one of the Cellular Mobile Company - Paktel Limited. Orascom Telecom of Egypt, laid down first private sector undersea fiber optic cable for $60 million (Inam 2007, 21). Pakistan had a growing telecommunications sector, which attracted FDI of $1.55 billion during the first eleven months of 2006-2007 and remained the top earner of FDI in 2006. Apart the European investment from Telenor, major investments in telecommunications came from Middle East through two different forms. The Emirati UAE group WARID preferred to obtain in 2004 the sixth mobile cellular license in the country ($290 million)[6]. Instead, Emirates Telecommunication Corporation (ETISALAT) acquired in 2005 the 26 percent stake in the fixed line incumbent Pakistan Telecommunication Company ($2.6 billion). Qatar Telecom bought 75 percent stakes of Burraq Telecom for nationwide and international telephone networks.

Further attention merits India, considered one the most competitive and dynamic markets in South-East Asia by the end of 20th century (Swisscom 1997, 35). Swisscom entered the Indian market through a double pattern. Firstly, as a shareholder of an established local company and then as a provider of capacities and products to the infrastructures in construction. In 1996 the Swiss operator acquired a strategic stake of 32.5% in Sterling Cellular and provided management to set up a state-of-the-art GSM cellular network in the densely populated New Delhi, under the Essar Cellphone brand, a joint venture between Swisscom and the Essar group (Swisscom, 1997, 35). After two years, Swisscom recorded high losses in the mobile network operators in India and in 1998 decided to withdraw from the participations in the country, as it happened in Malaysia (Swisscom AG, 1998, 32).

FDI in the telecommunications sector increased substantially in India between 1995 and 1997, once the country recognized the importance of investment in the telecommunications sector and developed the 1994 New Telecom Policy (NTP)[7]. Some thirty telecommunications carriers entered the Indian market, considered highly appealing, through joint ventures in 1995. Many of them left not without a perceptible expansion, including the North American AT&T, three European - France Telecom, British Telephone and Swisscom - and Australian Telstra. At the end, only six major foreign telecommunications companies remained in the country, all from the Asia-Pacific region (Economist Intelligence Unit 2005; Green 2009, 6; IGI 2000, 33).

Along with the FDI, India, remarkable by the size and exceptional diversity of its market, presents a story of international technology and knowledge transfer, international joint ventures, as well as financial and political capabilities of firms. According Nayak (2018, 52-71), unlike China's or Japan's telecommunications transformations, both driven by limited foreign participation, India's path to a modern telecom industry resulted from global participation.

The 1997 Asian crisis temporarily reduced the flow of foreign investment, which began to focus on the mobile phone service market and building manufacturing facilities for mobile phone handsets. Two years later, India designed a new NTP to further liberalise the telecommunications sector and promote the importance of telecommunications to the Indian economy.

As it occurred elsewhere, mobile services in India provided leverage for the expansion of telecommunications. In term of agreements, the government inked 120 arrangements with sixteen firms to launch mobile services (*India Weekly*, 25 April 2008).

France Telecom decided to enter the Indian cellular segment through acquisitions and by bidding for new cellular circles or licensed service areas mostly corresponding to the borders of the India states. The France headquartered multinational procured a 26% shareholding in BPL Mobile Communications, which launched its wireless network at the end of 1995 to cover the Mumbai (Bombay) metropolitan area. The remaining shares were held by BPL Cellular Holdings, which had interests in wireless, Internet and broadband services throughout India (France Telecom 2003, 67). It achieved the second modality by means of a joint venture with BPL Mobile, the cellular operator in Mumbai (IGI 2000, 33).

Orange Business Services, the enterprise communications arm of France Telecom, received the license to provide long distance network and network-related services to businesses and to offer more effectively services directly to multi-site customers - global and Indian-. This license would enable it to expand its operations in the country. The company, which would operate through its joint venture company Equant Network Services India Private Ltd, employed more than 2,000 people in India, serving more than 680

[6] WARID snatched the cellular deal from many international bidders after it met its financial requirements because economic reforms undertaken by the government augured large growth in that dynamic sector: *Gulf News*, 28 May 2004. In 2000, China Mobile Communications ranked 5th in the list of the top 50 TNCs from developing countries: *CNNMoney*, 24 July, 2006.

[7] The NTP opened up basic telecom services in addition to value added services such as cellular services and radio paging. This policy brought with it the creation in 1997 of the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India, an independent body that separated the Government's regulatory functions from its service-providing functions: National Institute of Public Finance and Policy 2017, 2.

© 2023 Global Journals

local and multinational clients (*The Economic Times*, 25 June 2008).

For its part, BPL and AT&T Wireless joined in a joint venture named BPL Mobile Cellular Ltd. (*The Times of India*, 25 July 2003). The agreement not lasted long because AT&T Wireless Services, the nation's third-largest cell phone company, sold its 49 percent stake in India's BPL Mobile Cellular to the BPL Mobile Group (*The New York Times*, 4 December 2003)[8].

The action was not restricted to Europe based multinationals. One of the foreign/local joint ventures was adopted in 2008 when NTT Docomo, the leader in Japan, partnered with Tata Tele Services Ltd. (TTSL), which ranked fifth in the Indian market. Which were the reasons? NTT was aiming to capture the knowledge that TTSL had on the local market, close to theoretical view of Kang and Sakai (2000), and the ownership of telecom license exclusive of the top local firms in India. For its part, TTSL wanted to increase its share in the growing home mobile market with the 3G technology (Case Study Solution, https://www.thecasesolutions.com/ntt-docomo-joint-venture-with-tata-in-indian-mobile-telecom-3108).

India's first mobile networks were largely developed by Telstra, the Australian communications major, which attempted to enter through a double way: provision of services and acquisition of a carrier. Telstra secured the first domestic telecom service license in India in the early 1990s, sold its stake and missed out on India's massive mobile boom (Bhaskar 2022, 8). It offered national and international long distance services and committed to acquire an Internet service provider licence in India (*Business Standard*, 19 January 2013).

Special interest presents the Norwegian telecom firm Telenor entry in India because it highlights the similarities and differences in the entry patterns of a multinational into the same area. With a large experience gained, in 2008, Telenor joined the real estate firm Unitech Ltd in a joint venture named Unitech Wireless and entered India taking control of a 60 percent stake in the local operator to provide telecom services. Unitech Wireless launched the following year its India operation across eight circles, initially under the brand name Uninor. Unitech Wireless was the only player among the new telecommunications entrants that sold out a majority stake to a foreign carrier. Other transactions comprised the acquisition of 45% Swan stake by the Emirati ETISALAT and Chennai-based S Tel, a GSM service provider, selling 49% to Bahrain Telecom to gain entry into the rapidly growing market (*Economic Times*, 19 January 2009; *Venture Capital Circle*, 10 February 2010).

In 2009, Telenor invested $1.2 billion for a majority stake alongside India's number two property firm. Strongly indebted, in 2012, Unitech settled all over its telecom joint venture Uninor with Norway's Telenor amicably (*Economic Times*, 11 October 2012)[9]. In 2017, Telenor ASA agreed with Bharti Airtel Limited to take full ownership of Telenor India (https://www.telenor.com/about/who-we-are/history/our-history/; *Business Standard News*, 20 January 2013; Gooderham, Ulset and Elter, 2019 [np]).

It is worth stopping to reflect on the policy followed by Uninor. The company adopted the top-of-the-pyramid business model which segmented marketing of premium services with an overtly emotional, aspirational appeal. Uninor was the first mobile operator in India to introduce the 'dynamic pricing', which gave consumers substantial discounts and resulted in a significant reduction in tariffs. Uninor replaced this model with mass marketing of basic local services with a utilitarian appeal. It aligned its operations with the guidelines given by the consultancy McKinsey and underpinned in two factors. The first assumed that the high average revenue per user (ARM)) that Telenor required from Uninor was most readily achievable in the premium services, higher-income segment of the market. The second assumed that there was an opportunity to capture a viable share of the top-of-the-pyramid market.

Enormous interest entails the way to achieve the goals. To accelerate the launch of services in the Indian market, Uninor forged a vertical alliance with the Swedish multinational Ericsson as its equipment supplier and Indian Wipro as its IT partner. Unlike any other Telenor business unit it would outsource its customer service to gain a much lower cost and greater flexibility (Gooderham, Ulset and Elter, 2019 [np]).

In the South Asia area, Telenor entered in Bangladesh in 1999 as a first-mover - there was little competition - and through a joint venture with Grameen Bank of Bangladesh. The joint venture, GrameenPhone, segmented the market and provided services to the wealthier people and the business community. As an addition to this top-of-the pyramid operation, the joint venture undertook the organization of its less commercial activities in rural areas. In Telenor Thailand (DTAC), Malaysia (Digi) and Pakistan, where Telenor was present from 2005, the conditions of entry were similar (Gooderham, Ulset and Elter, 2019 [np]). Thailand, for example, although DTAC failed to win a 4G licence, remained Telenor's most lucrative market and

[8] Besides other partners, France Telecom undertook to provide Bangkok InterTeletech Company Limited (BITCO) in Thailand with financial, technical and commercial support (France Telecom 2003, 67).

[9] Both Uninor and Unitech's managing director were later charged in India's 2G telecoms scandal (*Economic Times*, 12 October 2011). Telenor said the Central Bureau of Investigation covered the period prior to the Telenor Group's entry into India and that its investments in the joint venture with Unitech Wireless were always cleared by the Government of India: *The Hindou*, 4 April 2011.

© 2023 Global Journals

this carrier stayed and continued to invest despite setbacks (*The Report: Thailand 2016*, 2016, 169)[10].

In the same area, Telenor launched commercial operations in Myanmar (Birmania) in 2014 to fulfil domestic and international services. On 25 March 2022, Telenor completed the sale of Telenor Myanmar almost one year after the military coup (https://www.telenor.com/about/who-we-are/history/our-history/)

This overview begs a clear conclusion: the existence of certain preferential areas for companies and the complete absence of Telefónica in those markets. Nevertheless, the Spanish operator did explore some the vibrant Asia-Pacific markets in the 1980s. In Indonesia - certainly a promising player within[11] - Telefónica had negotiated a comprehensive intervention in the value chain, including the installation, operation and temporary maintenance of telecommunications networks, prior to their transfer to local hands. Through its subsidiary Telefónica Internacional, the product provider of Telefónica's holding company in the country, it embarked on the ambitious PBH-PELITA VI project, alongside local operator PT Intikom Telepersada, with which it considered a joint participation. The delay due to slow bureaucracy helped to form a consortium with the association to its own core (Telefónica International Netherlands BV and Compañía de Teléfonos de Chile) of Banco Hispanoamericano and the local operator, without closing the doors to possible incorporations. Telefónica was particularly interested in the privatisation of the local carrier PT Telekomunikasi and even reached the final phase of the international tender within the consortium Mitra Usaha Telenusa Komunikasi, which included GTE and the local group PT Bahana (itself an alliance between the Central Bank of Indonesia and the Indonesian Ministry of Finance). The company was finally privatised for 1.6 billion, 39.7% more than Indosat (Indonesian Satellite Corporation), responsible for international services.

In general, the markets of the Far East opposed great difficulties for the Spanish companies present since the 1980s, due to the powerful competition from Japan - backed by very powerful credits - and the American, British and Australian influence, as well as the existence of operators and alliances with very strong interests in these markets. In this situation, which was not exactly the most favourable, Telefónica decided to leave. The definitive factor was the uncertainty involved in entering the country, a feeling shared by the North American GTE.

A similar fate befell the attempts to enter New Zealand and the Philippines at the end of 1989. In the former, Telefónica reached an agreement with Bell Atlantic International and Ameritech (American Information Technologies Co.) to bid for Telecom Corporation of New Zealand. Political vicissitudes - legislative elections around the corner - and a change in the initial objectives led to the abandonment of the consortium by Telefónica. The privatisation followed the pattern of full competition with a lack of regulatory authority.

Nothing was in vain, however, because the fiascos taught the managers lessons and forced them to fine-tune procedures. Telefónica learned the importance of maturity and experience in the international markets (Calvo, 2017, 276-277).

Telefónica's attempts to enter the Far East during the final decade of the 20th century provide a sobering insight. The moves of the Spanish operator towards those markets, in general very conducive to foreign direct investment, were an exception.

II. The Singularity of the Telecommunications in China

Often, developing countries excluded of the high ranks in the telecommunications indicators exceeded the more advanced countries in growth of this sector. The reasons for this include higher overall economic growth rates as well as efforts to expand the sector rapidly from poor infrastructure and service levels (http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/serv_e/telecom_e/telecom_e.htm).

Within its meteoric rise as a superpower and the shift from a centrally-based, functionally-specialised Soviet model to an organized on a multi-layer-multi-regional basis (Goodhart and Xu, 1996), China represents the singularity of building up its extensive telecommunications network in merely a decade (Lu and Wong 2003; Yan and Pitt 2002), as well as achieving technological catch-up (Mu and Lee 2005, pp. 759-783).

Telecommunications in this country experienced slow development before the late 1970s, so that teledensity or number of telephones per population was only 0.43% in 1980. Already in 1994, the government admitted the ability of the telecommunication infrastructure in the People's Republic of China (hereinafter, China) to satisfy the nation's basic demands and decided to open the sector to competition. Throughout the 1980s, the telecom industry achieved double-digit growth and by the end of 2002, after the adoption of the 'Go Global' policy, China had the largest telecommunications market in the world (Chang 2005, 105-121).

[10] Later, an autonomous entity with its headquarters in Singapore - Telenor Asia – set-up to manage the group's Asian operations and Thailand's CP Group finalised the merger of True Corporation and Total Access Communication (DTAC), the second and third-largest mobile operators in Thailand: *The Business Times*, 7 March 2023.

[11] Some sectors of the Spanish institutions such as Eugenio Bregolat, then ambassador in Indonesia, highlighted the shift of the center of gravity from the Atlantic to the Pacific and the importance of technology transfer as a substantial tool to intensify the Spanish economic influence in the area: *El País*, 9 June 1984.

© 2023 Global Journals

China implemented three major reforms at corporate level in 1994-2002 in its attempts to build a competitive market system as in the Western countries. Administrative power was decentralised, market relations were developed and responsibility for performance was delegated to company managers. At the infrastructure level, there was a considerable expansion.

The reforms comprised the addition of two new companies -China Unicom in 1994 by the state council to compete with the former monopoly China Telecom and China Mobile in 2000- to the two already in existence - China Jitong and new China Netcom[12]. Those five major telecommunication service operators provided almost all telecommunication services in the national market. The market shares of total telecommunications service revenue at the end of 2001 were as follows: China Telecom, 50.4%; China Mobile, 37.5%; China Unicom, 10.6%. In the IP telephony market, China Telecom predominated clearly (75.6% call-hours), ahead of China Unicom (18.4%), China Jitong (3.6%) and China Netcom (1.5%), which carved a niche market for itself in network leased-line service (OECD 2003, 8)[13].

The final result of the reform was a market fragmented in six main operators, namely, China Telecom, China Unicom, China Mobile, China Netcom, China Railway Communication Co. or China Railcom, which changed its name to China Tietong in 2004, and China Satcom (OECD, 2003; *South China Morning Post*, 31 January 2004)[14]. The historic operator, China Telecom, after the restructuring in May 2002 remained close to the ministry that was also nominated to be regulator of the telecommunication market (ITU, 2006).

The structure of the Chinese telecommunications market presented two main features. The first referred to competition among various governmental bodies such as the Ministry of Information Industry (MII), the Ministry of Railways, the Ministry of Powers, SARFT, and the Shanghai Municipal Government. This situation differed substantially from that in developed countries, where private telecommunication companies vie for power. Second, one of the bodies –MII- was able to influence the entire Chinese telecommunication market through its control of leading Chinese telecommunication companies - China Telecom, China Mobile and China Unicom (OECD 2003, 21).

Relating the international status, by the end of 2001, China took a giant step towards joining the major international institutions by accepting commitments to join the World Trade Organisation (WTO)[15]. During the WTO prolonged negotiations -almost fifteen years-, liberalisation of the telecommunications was a critical issue both because of its growth potential and because it was considered one of China's 'key national industries' (Pangestu and Mrongowius 2002, 1).

The WTO Agreement lowered the risks for domestic and foreign investors through changes in the market and policy expectations about the supply, pricing and demand growth of communications services (Cowhey and Klimenko 2001). In the telecommunications, it permitted to establish joint ventures without quantitative restrictions but with gradual ceilings from 25% to 49%, and provide services in several cities (Press/243, 17 September 2001).

In short, WTO Agreement allowed competition to the near-monopoly held so far by China Telecom, permitting significant foreign investment in indigenous enterprises, and abolishing tariff concessions and discriminatory procurement processes. Nevertheless, the WTO regime was carefully restricted by acknowledgements that states can legitimately impose regulations for reasons ranging from the protection of consumers to maintaining the overriding public interest or national security (WTO 2000). Already half a year after the conclusion of the US-China Agreement on accession to WTO, a multitude of regulations which enhanced state control over activity in cyberspace was introduced (State Council 2000)[16].

International observers did not expect China's accession to the WTO to solve all problems and disputes in the telecommunications sector and its players. However, they assumed that the international rules of the game would be much more relevant for the Chinese telecommunications sector than in the past (Holbig and Ash (eds.) 2002, 101)[17].

[12] The State Council has the power to outline legislation and policy guidelines and review the major projects submitted by the ministries and provincial governments. It comprises the Prime Minister, four Deputy Prime Ministers, and eight counsellors selected from among twenty two ministries, including the MII responsible for telecommunications regulation enforcement, and five commissions. Under the State Council are also the provincial administrations: OECD, 2003, 13.

[13] In April 1999, IP telephony service was introduced to provide universal access at low rates in a context of low rates of direct access to fixed phones: OECD 2003, 8.

[14] Coming from a Big One and Little Two: DeWoskin 2001, 654.

[15] Premier Zhu Rongji committed to substantially open China's wireless services and equipment markets in exchange for U.S. backing of China WTO membership (*RCR Wireless News,* 11 October 1999).

[16] According Kanungo (2015, 88-89), telecommunications remained a strategic sector as it contributed both to the manufacturing as well as services. With the joining of the WTO its strategic importance increased because of the global connectivity and the issues of national security and sovereignty.

[17] In a thorough overview, Voon and Mitchell (2010, 1-55) have identified a number of potential WTO violations by China in regulating its telecommunications services, from inconsistencies associated with China's obligations concerning transparency, regulatory independence and competition to the minimum registered capital requirements for basic telecommunications service suppliers when providing services on a resale basis.

© 2023 Global Journals

Some scholars credit China's commitments to market access and national treatment in telecommunications services as modest in scope, which did not prevent a delay in the implementation of regulatory disciplines. Nevertheless, China embarked on a long road towards a complete transformation of the telecommunications sector, with little external influence and free from external ownership and control. This was mainly due to the driving role taken by the government and industry in the prospect of joining the WTO and opening up to the world (Roseman 2005, 25-48).

A huge amount of dollars worth in foreign investment poured into China since it opened its economy in 1979 because of the potential to be a high lucrative venture. Despite favourable elements in the regulation and international commitments, the political and legal risks in a country with an economy and foreign investment legal structure that was young and unpredictable. Furthermore, the risks of foreign investment were especially great in the telecommunications industry, because of its politically sensitive character (Chuang 1999-2000, 508-538).

Within this framework foreign carriers attempted with varying success to enter Chinese markets by developing strategic relationships with state-owned carriers, and foreign investors secured equity shares that do not constituted direct investment by international standards and engaged in technology and knowledge transfers in exchange for limited business scope in its market (Hsueh 2011, 91-94).

In the basic telecommunications services (BTS) segment no foreign-invested telecommunications enterprise licensees existed. Some attempts failed as it happened with an earlier joint venture between Cable and Wireless and Shenzhen Telecommunications Development Company. The same fate befell a joint venture between AT&T and the State-owned companies Shanghai Telecom (a wholly-owned subsidiary of China Telecom) and Shanghai Information Investment Inc., before accession to the WTO. Thus AT&T touted its status as the lone foreign service provider to have a telecom joint venture in China. The new company - Shanghai Symphony Telecommunications Co Ltd (UNISITI)- obtained the grant of the provision of limited data transmission services in the Shanghai region of Pudong (Voon and Mitchell 2010, 1-55)[18].

As it is known, foreign companies could only to invest in a network's construction but not operate the system[19]. Nevertheless, foreign investors found in the Chinese/Chinese-Foreign (CCF) or Zhong-Zhong-Wai financing model a route to circumvent China's longstanding prohibition of foreign ownership, operation and management of telecoms enterprises (*RCR Wireless News*, 5 October 1998). The Chinese government itself used this mechanism to sign 45 CCF joint ventures with foreign investors in Unicom's cellular projects with life spans ranging from 15 to 20 years and amounting in total $1,400 million (McGregor 2009, 241; *Telecompaper*, 7 September 1999).

The CCF provided capital needed for start-up carriers to compete with historic operators in a similar way as that of the high-yield debt market in Western nations. China Unicom had begun setting up CCF agreements with various companies, including Sprint Corp., Deutsche Telekom and Bell Canada International in 1994 to access much-needed funds to construct Global System for Mobile communications (GSM) networks together with diverse telecommunications projects. Other carriers as Itochu of Japan, Korea Telecom and Singapore Telecom went on to swell the ranks. China Unicom raised 72 percent of its financing through CCF scheme, used most of this capital to finance mobile telecommunications ventures (*RCR Wireless News*, 5 October 1998), and built out about two million GSM lines in some nine hundred major Chinese cities[20].

Nevertheless, unlike the previous behaviour, in 1998, the Chinese government declared CCF partnerships with foreign companies improper. The MII reiterated that China Unicom's CCF contracts violated government policies and regulations and needed to be corrected. It ordered China Unicom to resolve the situation (*South China Morning Post*, 3 September 1999). China Unicom worked, not without resistance, to

[18] AT&T built out its Multi-protocol Label Switching (MPLS) network by deploying switches and teaming with service providers in China. Throughout 2004, it deployed additional MPLS nodes in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou in southern China. The joint venture was first planned by 2000: *South China Morning Post*, 22 September 2000. Shanghai Telecom held 60% share in Unisiti, AT&T 25% and Shanghai Information Investments 15% share: *Network World*, 25 April 2005.

[19] The Chinese government initially encouraged foreign companies to establish joint ventures and the multinationals created several of them, beginning with Shanghai Bell between Alcatel, Belgian Bell and the Posts and Telecom Industry Corporation as a major shareholder. NEC and Siemens followed the suit with Tianjin (Tianjin NEC) and Beijing International Switching Systems Corporation and with Shanghai Mobile Communications, respectively: Chang 2013, 93.

[20] The 2G standards GSM and CDMA rivalled to conquer the Chinese market. Companies invested in start-up Chinese firms engaged in the development of a standard, as Qualcomm did through a $100 million programme to promote CDMA-based products, applications and services. This costly technology faced diverse problems, namely a shortage of handsets, complaints about poor reception, slow subscription rates, and declining enthusiasm for the new technology: *South China Morning Post*, 18 March 2002 and 10 June 2003. China's market in the 2G mobile standard was dominated by the so-called "guerilla handsets", of a doubtful reputations. Here are the milestones of the mobile networks in China: 2002: China Unicom launched new CDMA-based mobile network to serve alongside its GSM network; 2006: decision to award a license for China's first 3G network to China Mobile; 2008: China Mobile launch of initial trials of locally-developed TD-SCDMA 3G; 2009: China launch its 3G mobile communications services when its indigenous standard of TD-SCDMA became technologically ready: Chen and Wen 2013, 3 and 7; Wolf 2012, 34.

© 2023 Global Journals

oust angered foreign investors from its telecommunications projects (Wu 2001, 14; *RCR Wireless News*, 23 August and 11 October 1999; *South China Morning Post*, 11 January 2000). All CCF arrangements were terminated in 1999-2000 and the related loss on this termination was charged to the income statement as incurred (China Unicom 2007, 116)[21].

Analysts pointed out that the end of CCF as a viable option would force foreign companies either to take minority stakes in telecommunications ventures through stock listings or find a viable alternative investment vehicle, such as the leasing-contract arrangement drawn up by Siemens AG (*The China Business Review*, November-December 1999, 5).

In fact, seven years after China joined the WTO, foreign strategic investors have been confined to small stakes in a group of operators. The list included China Mobile 0941.HKCHL.N; Vodafone: 3.3 percent; China Unicom; SK Telecom: 6.6 percent; China Netcom: Spain's Telefonica SA: 5 percent; SK Telecom: around 3.8 percent (Reuters Staff).

Telefónica had in U.K.-based mobile operator Vodafone a mirror to look in. At the start of the new millennium, when technology bubble had swelled to its largest proportions, Vodafone bought new shares issued by China Mobile, which was seeking to finance the acquisition of mobile phone equipment in seven Chinese provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Lianing, Shandong, Hebei and Guangxi). In 2002, Vodafone wanted to increase the stake in China Mobile to a 25 percent. On another hand, Vodafone Group PLC and Hewlett-Packard Co. (HP) planned to invest in Aspire Holdings Ltd., a subsidiary of China Mobile (Hong Kong) Ltd., the publicly-listed arm of China's biggest mobile operator, China Mobile Communications Corp. As part of the deal, Vodafone will work on R&D of wireless data services in China, a specialty of Aspire, as well as systems and gateway integration services for China Mobile in mainland China (China Mobile, Hong Kong, 9 January 2002; *Computerworld*, 10 January 2002; *Independent*, 5 October 2000)[22].

It is worth noting that Vodafone entered in China without a previous representative office, the basic step to enter a market[23]. It arrived later as it did a China Sourcing Centre, which coordinated Vodafone Group's global demand for Chinese handsets and network equipment deployed (An Interview with Vittorio Colao, Chief Executive, Vodafone Group Plc., *Leaders*, 2009; *RCR Wireless News*, 9 November 2001).

On the other hand, Chinese companies started a pattern to internationalise their operations, either through overseas acquisitions or listings on foreign sharemarkets. One of the first moves by a mainland Chinese company into the global telecommunication's sector was conducted by China Netcom leading the Asia Netcom consortium. This entity, made up by US-based Newbridge Capital and Softbank Asia Infrastructure fund, bought for $120million Asia Global Crossing, a subsidiary of the North American Global Crossing, which provided voice and data telecommunication services to small and large businesses and competed with Telstra's division Reach (*Financial Review*, 19 November 2002).

III. Entering China from Spain. the Overall Framework: Political Capabilities and Knowledge Accumulation

To overcome untold obstacles, companies had to be able to count on major support from institutions at the highest level. Despite strict limitations to foreign capital, Telefónica took advantage of the opportunity window open by the Chinese policy and entered the market of this country via cooperation with a traditional fixed-line carrier linked to central power to compete.

Regarding one of the main actors of this story, a strong point emanated from the political capabilities accumulated by Spain in China, an aspect lacking when Telefonica attempted the entry in Indonesia, at least with the intensity inherent to the China case (Garcia and Pacheco, 2014). The cornerstone of the relations between Spain and the People's Republic of China was the first diplomatic relations in 1973 – five years before the Chinese 'open door' policy and still under the cruel Franco's dictatorship. The Embassy of Spain opened an Economic and Commercial Office six years later, already in the democratic period (Dezcallar 2022, 443-453). It is worth noting that in the early 1970s, the European Economic Community was not particularly an early riser in the relations with Asian countries. In fact, it advocated an external relations policy with a regionalist approach, which gave rise to the so-called Community preference pyramid. In this approach, the EEC's relations with Asian countries were informal and contacts had a low priority. Later, the situation was radically transformed; relations between the EU and Asia underwent a real

[21] The agreement with CCT Telecom Holdings China Business Times - one of the smaller overseas investors in China Unicom - to unwind two mainland-based mobile-telephone joint ventures banned by Beijing set a compensation package involving between 800 million yuan (about HK$747.76 million) to one billion yuan in cash and share options: *South China Morning Post*, 2 February 2000.

[22] The Vodafone Group sold its 3.2 percent stake in China Mobile Ltd. for about $6.6 billion: *New York Times*, 8 September 2010.

[23] Representative offices are considered as useful and relatively inexpensive vehicles for establishing a presence in China, although complicated to set up: Devonshire-Ellis, Scott and Woollard (eds), 2011. In the equipment sector, ZTE followed this sequence: contract in Pakistan - R&D institute in the USA- overseas office in Islamabad (Pakistan): Prange 2012, 24-29.

© 2023 Global Journals

metamorphosis: from last place in the pyramid, Asia came to figure among the EU's priorities, with the economy, cooperation and security being the areas of greatest relevance in the relationship Roldán (coord.) 2003, 114-115; EU-ASEAN: Creating a new dynamic, Press release, 3 July 1996).

At the end of 1984, Spain and China reached an agreement on cooperation in the development and implementation of industrial projects in third countries, including the supply of machinery, equipment and services, as well as other forms of common interest. Bilateral agreements and contracts between agencies and companies and in the commitment to grant favourable financial treatment for cooperation projects would follow. ICTs - telecommunications, electronics and informatics - were among the areas of preference[24].

A constant flow of official visits at the highest level contributed to enhance the institutional ties (Fanjul 2003, 154), in particular under the socialist rule. In 1993, fifteen years after the decisive turn of Deng Xiaoping, Beijing upgraded bilateral relations with Spain to the level of a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership. Later, the Spanish Asia Pacific Framework Plan 2000-2002 sought business and technology cooperation through a number of initiatives to be developed in Europe and China. They included, firstly, the opening of an Office of the Centre for Technological and Industrial Development in China and, immediately afterwards, a Discussion Forum on cooperation projects in the area of the environment between European and Asian entities. Thirdly a Spanish-Chinese Machine Tool Institute was created in Tianjin. In addition, with a view to improving the rate of return for Spanish companies, intellectual activities - studies, seminars and information days - were envisaged. The programme included sectoral actions, with a Strategic Plan aimed at promoting design and fashion. Scientific cooperation included the promotion of collaboration between Spanish universities and specialised centres with their counterparts in other countries of the area through agreements or conventions, as well as cooperation and the exchange of scientific and technical experts.

The Plan 2000-2002 had as a pillar the role of Spain as a bridge in the triangulation with China and Latin America. Spain began to explore the chances in its triangulation role by means of a study and a Forum Spain-Asia Pacific-Iberoamerica with representatives of the diverse sectors of the society and the political world (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores 2004, 11-14; Bregolat 2007, 382-383; Fornes and Mendez 2018, 195).

In 2005, the Spanish government elaborated together with the business association CEOE the China Plan, which allocated €400 million to promote the internationalisation of Spanish enterprises to that destination. Then the Spanish government deepened this endeavour with the Integral Plan for the Development of the Chinese market, which contained a set of measures to support business activities. From the 2005 Asia-Pacific Action Plan on, three other plans were launched until 2012 with a total of €1,445 million: the Chinese Comprehensive Market Development Plan (CMDP) 2005-2007, with an extension until 2009, and a new one for 2008-2010 and the last for 2008-2012 (IGADI 2011, 1). Noteworthy, the CMDP emphasised specially the investment as a strategic variable for the future of relations with China, and took into consideration elements that had hitherto been overlooked, such as the different service sectors (Cacho 2005, 149-153; *Cinco Días*, 16 November 2005).

The Spanish Economic and Commercial Offices in Beijing, Shanghai and Hong Kong, together with the Ministry of Tourism in Beijing, developed a very intense and varied programme of trade promotion, through trade fairs, trade missions, business centres, scholarship holders, market studies, among other actions, especially effective in a market such as China (Sebastián 2008, 85).

Relating specialised entities intervention, the CDTI and Torch[25] signed a MOU in 2002 and the former opened an office in Shanghai. In 2006 the bilateral Chineka programme was launched to support the joint development of technological innovation projects between Spanish and Chinese companies (with the participation of at least one from each country). Such projects are intended to develop innovative and market-oriented products, processes and services (*Economía Industrial*, 362, 2006, 17; Ortega 2018; https://www.cdti.es/index.asp?MP=101&MS=842&MN=2&TR=C&IDR=101).

In terms of financing, China was the main recipient of FAD credits (Foreign Aid Fund) granted by the Spanish government in the period 1977-2002, with €986,879 million or 14.60% of the total, ahead of Morocco (519,430 or 7.68%), Mexico (501,680 or 7.42%) and Argentina (401,382 or 5.94%) (González and Larrú 2004, 6). The distribution of the FAD in 2003 was a clear demonstration of the priority that the Spanish government gave to China in its policy of supporting the internationalisation of companies (*Cinco Días*, 1 September 2003).

[24] *BOE*, 9 February 1985, 3312-3313.

[25] Enhancing international cooperation and promoting the internationalisation of China's new/high tech industries was one of the major tasks of the Chinese Torch Programme - a guidance for developing new/high tech industries in China, approved by the State Council and implemented by the Ministry of Science and Technology. The approach to the internationalisation consisted in establishing wide cooperative relation with various countries and regions and enter into various forms of and technological, financial, enterprise and commercial sectors in foreign countries through governmental or non-governmental channels. http://gr.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/kxjs/gjjh/200408/t20040803_3367260.htm

© 2023 Global Journals

A person very knowledgeable of the Chinese society (Bravo 2008, 122 and 124) unveils a couple of valuable insights. To start with the political capital accumulated by Spain, he points out that in the wake of Hu Jintao's visit in 2005, when the CMDP was signed, Spain became a privileged partner –"China's best friend in Europe" - in the political dialogue with China. The authorities of this country remembered with gratitude the respect and comprehension shown by Spain in the three "t's" (Tibet-Tiananmen-Taiwan) in the face of the prevailing hostile attitude (Bregolat 2007, 245-249)[26].

Relating to Telefónica network, he noted that China discovered Telefónica in Latin America - Argentina or Brazil- through contacts of leading Chinese personalities with a senior representative of the Spanish multinational, a curious case of triangulation[27].

Another interesting issue to understand the scenario previous to the entry in China as an operator was a certain experience on the Chinese market, captured from the Chinese providers in Spain and through the commercial events in China.

The first way resulted in vertical alliances. In 2004, Telefónica concluded two of them with the Chinese leader Huawei - considered the "Cisco" of China and protagonist of meteoric rise (Reuters Staff, 1 July 2009)- with the aim to provide equipment to its subsidiaries in two Latin American countries. The deals involved the provision of routers in Brazil and DSLAM devices in Chile, as a major IP DSLAM vendor to Telefónica (*Digital 360*, 18 October 2004; Boutellier et al. 2008, 513; Larçon 2009, 189)[28]. Telefónica chose also the SingleRAN technology, a solution from Huawei that allowed one set of telecom equipment to simultaneously provide wireless networks in multiple standards, i.e. second generation (2G) and 3G. In 2008, Telefónica Europa and Huawei started a cooperation to extend the 3G coverage and signed an agreement to create an innovation centre in Spain with half hundred employees to provide technical support services to customers throughout the Spanish-speaking world (Telefónica 2008, 50 and 134). In the global competition, Vodafone began a collaboration between a Spanish team of telecom experts working for it and Huawei and benefitted from the investment to create a collaborative organization named Mobile Information Center (Li 2017, 166; *RealWire*, 3 January 2008)[29].

In another way, Telefónica could contact the headquarters of a joint venture with 3Com and the representative offices that Huawei opened, first in Madrid (2001) and then in five cities (Barcelona, Valencia, Sevilla, A Coruña y Bilbao), as well as to collaborate with the headquarters of Huawei Technologies S.L. (Huawei España), created in 2004 (Melo 2018, 84)[30].

Going to the commercial events in China, in 1985, only two Spanish companies participated in the first electronics fair in Shanghai: Telefónica and Fermax. The date coincides with the years of the Luis Solana mandate in the Spanish carrier, when it was a monopoly partly owned by the state, and the final moments of the industrial holding which provided the company equipment and materials. About three decades later, Telefónica opened its Representative office in Beijing. The location in the capital rather than in the more fashionable and financial Shanghai obeyed to be close to the key institutions for the development of business in general and the sector in particular: government and the ministry of Telecommunications[31]. The bureau started its activity in February 2005 through four main areas, namely institutional relations, corporate development, purchasing and technology prospecting. The objective of the first area was to open a channel for relations between the countries where Telefónica operated and Asia, while establishing deep and stable relations with the Chinese authorities. Key elements were the relationship with the SASAC (State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission, the equivalent of the Spanish SEPI), the MII (Ministry of Information Industry) and the NDRC (National Development and Reform Commission), among other Chinese government agents with influence in telecommunications. The second objective was to increase the list of Chinese manufacturers as suppliers, not only to reduce the costs but also to learn about trends in technological innovation in the region. The office was conceived in 2004 from a plan which implemented the Shanghai born highly qualified Ms Margaret Chen Hong. Expatriated in Spain from 1993, she joined Telefónica as a consultant and jumped to

[26] Key representatives of Telefonica highlighted the potential of China in telecommunications (Nadal Ariño 2006, pp. 82-84), while others drew attention of the changing role of China in the world: Casado 2006, pp. 66-69.

[27] Telefónica strengthened ties with China. As we will see, favourable market conditions and good relationships helped the Chinese succeed as equipment suppliers and increasingly as network providers in Latin America: Hulse 2007, 17. See also Higueras 2015, 15.

[28] It proves impossible to give a full account of the extensive literature on the subject. ZTE, the second-biggest telecom equipment maker of China, and Telefónica agreed to sell Movistar-branded phones in a dozen of Latin American countries: *China Telecom Monthly Newsletter*, March 2010, 8.

[29] Huawei set up R&D centers abroad, such as those in Bangalore (1999), Stockholm and the US (2001): Chang 2013, 93.

[30] The joint venture with 3Com created in 2003 aimed to compete with Cisco in the top range switching.
3Com was courted by Huawei but national security issues put a projected acquisition associated with the partner Bain Capital on hold: *Computerworld*, 20 February 2008.

[31] Mauricio Sartorius, Personal communication with the author, 11 July 2023. Sartorius highlighted that
"seeing is believing".

© 2023 Global Journals

senior management positions – director for Asia in 2004, an unusual occurrence in Telefónica (Margaret Chen, Personal communication with the Author, 10 August 2023).

Mauricio Sartorius, who held a degree in Economics from the Universidad Complutense of Madrid and a MBA from New York University, was appointed Telefónica's chief representative in Beijing. The office had a staff of three persons, which extended with local talent (*Financial Times*, 25 July 2005; BBC, 19 March 2014; Tertulias Fulbright, https://asoc-fulbright.es/?page_id=2334).

The company established a group in charge of creating links with Chinese suppliers and in the exploitation and monitoring of technological development in China. The pillars on which this group was based were the digital home, broadband service platforms, Internet Protocol Television and new wireless access technologies, including Wi-Max and Wi-Bro. As a third line of action, of corporate nature, Telefónica was entrusted with the active search for business and investment opportunities in China and the rest of Asia in association with suitable partners (Nadal Ariño 2006, pp. 83-84), taking advantage of its potential with its presence in Europe and Latin America (Mauricio Sartorius, Personal communication with the author, 11 July 2023), thus to its capacity to act as a bridge between China and those "natural markets"[32].

Telefónica sought to strengthen its position in China by seeking to widen its network of ties (*guanxi*) with the country's business community[33]. One example is its attendance and active involvement at the highest level (*Business Week*, 4102-4113, 2008, 70)- as did the savings bank La Caixa, when had purchased through Criteria a 9.72% stake in the Bank of East Asia (BEA) - at the Global China Business Meeting, which had been held so far in Geneva and Frankfurt. The summit was organised by Casa Asia and supported by the China Federation of Industrial Economics. The organisers intended to translate the summit into a commitment to further multilateral projects (*Cinco Días*, 21 October 2008). In sum, it can be said that Telefónica went to China with its flanks lightly covered, facilitating its action in the country.

For their part, the Chinese authorities and the managers of China Netcom saw Telefónica as a strategic partner of reference, in general, because of its expansion as a multinational company and in particular because of its privileged position in Latin America, a preferred area for Chinese companies in the last five-year plans. The difficulties encountered in the market were twofold. Firstly, there were limitations on foreign participation imposed on telecommunications because of its strategic nature. The second obstacle for international companies stemmed from the need to adjust to Chinese culture and the local way of doing business. In Telefónica's prospects, China was presented as a place where the presence of a company with a global strategic vision was necessary. The reasons lay in its size and growth potential due to the combination of two effects - accelerated growth of its economy and a still insufficient supply of services (Martín 2008, 169)[34].

IV. Collaboration to Expand: Telefónica and China Netcom

Telefónica tried unsuccessfully to get a foothold in the Chinese market (*Expansión*, 15 November 2005). An episode is revealing of Telefónica's intentions but suffers from a lack of proper information about the precise circumstances. Based on the testimony of a well

[32] The "bridge model" puts national policy as a facilitator of international trade and emphasizes the role of companies, making corporate bridge-building an essential form of economic triangulation. Triangulation occurs where barriers exist to trade and investment between two countries and a third party (e.g., a country) acts as a facilitator or bridge: Casanova and Rodríguez-Montemayor 2014, 373 – 391. Latin America became the fastest-growing overseas market for Huawei: He and Chen 2022, 456; Wolf 2012, 147.

[33] Two cases illustrate key points about the establishment and sequence of Spanish companies in China.
Sequence of the transport company Alsa: first landing in China (1984)-joint venture with Chinese transport companies as taxi company-Tianjin Alsa passenger transport joint venture (*Expansión*, 15 November 2005)). https://www.expansion.com/especiales/china/pioneros.html. The president of the transport company Alsa China pointed out that developing a business project in China required two fundamental elements, namely patience and perseverance. It took Alsa, successful in its choice of adequate partners, three years of negotiations with its Chinese partner and another two to obtain the necessary permits to get it up and running a joint venture in China. As a fundamental aspect of business work in China, he emphasised the need to generate trust in local interlocutors, based on serious and continuous work and fulfilling the commitments made. This businessman identified as the main obstacle the difference in business mentality, the Spanish one focused on economic profitability and the Chinese one, especially if it was a state-owned company, oriented towards other, non-economic aspects. For his part, Rovetta (Técnicas Reunidas) stressed that, in addition to the importance of *guanxi* or relations or business protocol, in the end, success depended on a technically attractive offer, a competitive price, a correct policy of alliances with partners, and the right strategy and tactics: Cosmen 2002; Rodríguez 2013, 52-54; Sebastián and Rovetta 2018, 109-116. Nutrexpa illustrates the importance of patience and persistence (three years of travels to China), as well as government support, not to mention cultural resources (a feng-shui master to adapt the furniture): Khan and Ebner 2019, 347; Cacho 2005, 123-124. Expansion sequence of Nutrexpa: first contact in China (1985)-negotiations with the chocolate state enterprise Li Min-joint venture Nutrexpa Tianjin Food+ joint venture Gao le Gao Tianjin Food (*Daily Report: China*, 180-189, 1990, p. 6; *Expansión*, 15 November 2005; Soler, 2003, pp. 34-36).

[34] The growth prospects were based on several factors. Growth-driven demand for telecommunications services would increase continuously fueled by a robust economic growth. Development in China's telecommunications sector was uneven with regional and rural-urban imbalances. Finally, further deregulation and subsequently increasing competition would lead to an expansion in demand: Wu 2001, 16-17. See also interesting insights in He 1997, 55-88.

© 2023 Global Journals

versed person in the Chinese society –the former ambassador Eugenio Bregolat (Bregolat 2007)-, we know the basis of the project - investment in Pudong - but we ignore the details of the project, such as the form, possible partners and financing[35]. It is possibly one of the many projects announced by the large and diverse delegation of Spanish enterprises that accompanied the Prime Minister on his official trip to China in 1985, within the so-called "Spain's Strategy in China", the backbone of which was the coordination of the government and companies efforts to enter the Chinese market (Sebastián 2008, 83). It was a culmination of the personalist diplomacy started by Spain from 1978. Spain was trying to expand markets, given the difficult competition from Germany in the EEC, especially in steel and industrial products. The delegation included a representative of Telefónica financing (Martín 2019, 119 and 512-514). The news brings a certain amount of intrigue because it takes us back to the early years of Telefónica's internationalisation as a network operator. But in those years Telefónica had its focus on the Latin American market and the conditions were not mature.

In the absence of certainty, it seems legitimate to speculate. With a strong possibility, the episode takes us back to the end of Luis Solana's term of office, when the internationalisation strategy was being designed and the creation of a real corporate expansion machine was being devised. The key pieces were two units - Telefónica Internacional de España S.A. (TISA) duplicated in Telefónica International and an administrative section -the international coordination department. At the same time, Telefónica Internacional de España was reinforced with a management control department with the task of supervising and monitoring the management of the group's Latin American companies. Coinciding with the change in the presidency, an international business strategy committee was tasked with the mission of coordinating TISA's strategies with those of Telefónica de España (Calvo 2017, 263-264).

The break of Telefónica into state-run telecommunications sector took place through a dual mode and a double movement. It started in 2005 by means of a strategic alliance with China Netcom (CNC), one of the already mentioned leading fixed-line operators in China that was looking to form global alliances.

This company was rooted in several episodes of the already mentioned restructuring of the Chinese telecommunications sector.

The centrality of China Netcom requires more detailed explanation. In 1996, the technological backwardness in China's telecommunications industry led the government to create a new company to build a fiber-optic network linking some 300 cities. To this purpose it incorporated China Netcom and attracted skilled personnel as managers, among them Edward Tian, a U.S.-educated entrepreneur and founder of the telecom start-up AsiaInfo, whom the then–vice premier Zhu Rongji persuaded to move to lead the new company. Tian recruited Western-educated Chinese top executives from companies like Microsoft, Oracle and McKinsey, the consulting firm. Netcom turned from its initial idea of a Chinese version of Qwest or Level 3, a wholesaler of capacity on its network, into an eclectic purveyor of telecommunications services. As a sign of culture clash, many China Telecom employees considered Tian as an American outsider trying to reform a state-owned enterprise in unacceptable "un-Chinese" ways of managing (Abrami, Kirby and McFarlan 2014, 107–111). The company changed course again, focusing on providing data services to big corporate customers. In August 1999 China Netcom (Group) Company Limited, or CNC China, was incorporated as a facilities-based telecommunications operator in China and established two months later to attract investments by foreign investors.

Towards the end of 2001, within a comprehensive restructuring plan of the fixed-line telecommunications sector, China Telecommunications Group Corporation merged its assets in ten Northern provinces with China Netcom Holdings and Jitong Communications Company Limited to form China Network Communications Group Corporation, or China Netcom Group. China Telecommunications Group retained the telecommunications assets in the remaining twenty one and both China Netcom Group and China Telecom Group were entrusted to operate the nationwide fixed-line networks and provide the appropriate services (Securities and Exchange Commission -hereinafter SEC- on October 26, 2004, 1-2). These events reflected the government's objective to separate regulation from operation of telecommunication services in order to invigorate market growth through independent management and wider market competition (OECD 2003, 7)[36].

China Netcom became a growing innovative firm with almost 3,000 employees and an open, creative culture, despite the fact that it was jointly owned by four government agencies. By the end of 2001, Netcom planned to wire 700 office buildings in 33 cities with broadband connections. It will then link the buildings to its fiber optic network and Internet data centers,

[35] Bregolat, represented Spain in China in three periods (1986-1991, 1999-2003 and 2011-2013); he is the author of a recognized work (Bregolat 2007).

[36] In comparative terms, international telecom services were offered in India by Videsh Sanchar Nigam Ltd., a government-owned company: National Institute of Public Finance and Policy 2017, 2.

© 2023 Global Journals

covering what it estimates to be 70 percent of China's corporate market (*New York Times*, 21 August 2001).[37].

In May 2002 China Telecommunications Corp. split geographically into two groups. China Telecom retained 21 provincial (municipal and autonomous) corporations, holding 70 percent of the trunk-line transmission network assets, and forming the new China Telecom Corporation Limited. For its part, the remaining 30 percent of its network resources and ten subsidiaries in north China were merged into China Netcom Group.

China Netcom was mandated to meet the listing requirements of the Hong Kong stock market and New York Stock Exchange. From this initial step, China Netcom sought to further develop the company's corporate governance practices to meet international corporate governance standards. The company hoped to convince the capital markets and potential investors that it was a modern corporation, even with the state as a majority owner (Abrami et al. 2010).

The investors backed the company at two levels: capital and experience. They offered Tian advice on how to build and run a commercial enterprise, a difficult task under the Chinese bureaucracy. The list of investors in China Netcom - $325 million in total- included Chinese banks -Bank of China and China Construction Bank-, high technology companies - Dell Computer- and others (Goldman Sachs, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation). As an extra layer of scrutiny, Tian submitted a financial report to his investors each month, which acknowledged money losses but predicted that it would break even in two years.

CNC provided local and long-distance fixed-line phone service in ten northern Chinese provinces, including the cities of Beijing and Tianjin. The company also operated a high-speed data network for corporate and residential clients according to Bloomberg[38].

Telefónica doubled its move with an investment by acquiring 2.99 percent stake ($290 million or €240 million) in this company, the Hong Kong and New York-listed operator and the second largest in the country after China Telecom. Althought limited in financial risk and scope, the transaction gave Telefónica a position in the gigantic market and allowed it to be at the forefront of the transformation of the Asian country (*Expansión*, 15 November 2005). By a second round, in September 2005, the company strengthened its presence with the purchase of anew 2.01 percent for $ 242 million, which gave it the right to a seat on the board of directors (*Financial Times*, 26 October 2004; Hulse 2007, 16; SEC 2006, 33).

The entry into China's state-owned telecoms - the climbing of the Chinese wall - gave Telefónica access to a region with great potential and opened up a fertile avenue for collaboration between the two companies (SEC 2006, 33; *Financial Times*, 30 June 2005; Yeung et al. 2011)[39].

China Netcom sought out the partnership with Telefónica - the "taciturn lone ranger"- because it was interested in extending its geographical operations of fixed and mobile services. International telecoms groups were vying to enter the Chinese market, whose mobile penetration rate was around 25%, well below that of developed markets, yet they feared the "big trick of Chinese privatisations" (*Financial Times*, 14 October 2005).

China Netcom tried several Asian operators, such as Singapore Telecom, Korea Telecom and Japan's NTT. However, an official resistance to FDI, despite the pressing need for foreign capital, technology, and management expertise (Clegg et al., 1996, 111-137), and regulatory uncertainty in China's telecommunications sector deterred potential foreign investors from buying stakes in the operator.

In fact, only a few companies had invested in the country because they were still banned from operating networks or offering value-added services. The ban was not total because foreign companies were able to exploit inter-ministerial rivalries (Laperrouza 2014, 158) as well as political competition. As an example, the Chinese MII sabotaged Unicom's growth by delaying the company's connection to the Chinese telephone system and reluctantly acceded to the connection requests of some government leaders (McGregor 2009, 241). In a second example, Shanghai had established two similar state corporations in less than two years. The first was the city-controlled enterprise Shanghai Science and Technology Investment Corporation, founded in 1992 and close to

[37] The expert McFarlan was charged with incompetence for presenting Silicon Valley culture in China in a positive light and Tian soon stepped down successively from his CEO role and from the China Netcom board.

[38] China Netcom signed up a long list of corporate customers that included China Mobile, Unisys, Mastercard, ExxonMobil, and GE Medical. Some 20,000 workers dug 8,600 kilometers of trenches - a distance 1,400 kilometers longer than the Great Wall - and laid cables connecting all of China's 17 largest cities: *Wired*, 1 February 2001.

[39] Telefónica sought to accompany Chinese steps abroad, while the presence on the board of directors offered a closer perspective of the domestic evolution of the sector and ties with Chinese suppliers: Fernández Valbuena and Mielgo 2008, 88. Significantly, the specialised press in Latin America picked up the issue: *The Yearbook of Latin American Telecommunications*, 2006, 338. The international law firms Simmons & Simmons and Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, together with Clifford Chance, advisor in China Netcom's listing on the international stock exchanges, assisted Telefónica on its strategic alliance with China Netcom: *Asialaw Profiles*, 2007, 92; Simmons & Simmons, 12 January 2006. For the entry of Telefónica in China, see Calvo 2021, 16-17.

© 2023 Global Journals

political opponent of Jiang Mianheng's father. Shanghai Alliance Investment Ltd. (SAIL), established by the Shanghai municipal government in 1994 but controlled by Mianheng, actively channelled public funds into building telecommunication infrastructure for both telephone and Internet users. SAIL was a "mysterious" company that had held no official opening ceremony, published no results, and made no public announcements (Ho 2013, 71-92).

Conversely, Telefónica guaranteed technical capability to build fixed networks with unparalleled speed and international experience to manage them. Industry insiders intimated that China Netcom had ceded a comparatively high percent equity stake to Telefónica (Hsueh 2011, 91-94).

China Netcom pledged to present internationalisation as one of its three main strategies. Following in the footsteps of China Telecom, its main rival, China Netcom opened a European office in 2005. The office, located in London, was not focused on providing local services but rather on assisting Chinese state-owned companies with a presence in Europe and European companies interested in developing their business in the Chinese market. China Netcom planned to offer new services in southern China, so it did not plan to renew its non-compete agreement with China Telecom (*Silicon*, 2 November 2007).

Unlike the FDI, China Netcom forged alliances such as with Singapore Telecom to provide data transmission devices for Singapore companies with subsidiaries or partners in China (*Financial Times*, 15 November 2005; *South China Morning Post*, 10 October 2006; 9 September 2005). Through the alliance with Telefónica China Netcom aimed in particular to strengthen the presence in the south of the country, where fixed-line competitor China Telecom was predominant, and abroad. Telefónica would bring at once international management expertise and technology – exactly what China was looking for (Clegg et al. 1996, 111-137)-, capital and a channel for accessing the Latin American market, where Telefónica predominated as an operator (*Financial Times*, 25 July and 15 November 2005).

The plan was to be implemented in phases over a relatively short period of time, so that the initial percentage would be up to 5 percent of CNC's capital, with a total investment of 400 million to qualify for the right to appoint a member to the board of directors. In this feature the agreement depended on external factors, such as the relaxation of foreign investment laid down by China's entry into the WTO in 2001, which imposed pro-competitive regulatory principles and allowed gradual foreign involvement in its telecommunications business through the control up to 49 percent of fixed-line. Ultimately, Telefonica and China Netcom/Unicom worked in win-win business areas such as international roaming, sharing big clients when they are exploring international businesses (Margaret Chen, Personal communication with the Author, 10-11 August 2023; Annex 1), within the above mentioned pull form of globalisation (Javaid 2004, 24)[40].

The strategic cooperation agreement encompassed virtually all activities of the two operators, from joint purchasing to network and customer management, to R&D of new products and services. More precisely, they included ten topics: international business area; the existing business of China Netcom and its parent company; the provision of telecommunications companies and services in the southern provinces of China; business call centre; management exchange with Telefónica and company executives every six months; the purchase of technology, terminals, infrastructure, distribution or usage rights and other components; technology assistance and knowledge transfer provided by Telefónica in various areas, an issue highlighted in the theoretical approach (Kang and Sakai 2000), and the ownership of telecom; provision of mobile service and other mutually agreed forms[41].

Soon China Netcom and Telefónica achieved settlements at two levels. They signed a management consultancy agreement and a letter of intent to explore joint procurement while China Netcom Labs and Telefónica started collaborative activities at early value chain (Telefónica 2007, 29 and 143).

European and U.S. financial firms pressed China to open its brokerage and other financial industries to wider foreign investment, including by raising ownership caps. Telecommunications was undergoing a sweeping government-mandated restructuring aimed at boosting competition. China Securities Regulatory Commission (CSRC) eased the rules on foreign brokerage firms' joint ventures, expanding a bit their business scope and lowering the requirements for foreign firms entering the sector. However, in the face of the hopes of many investors, it

[40] Zhiling (2002), 37. With only a fifth of the mobile market, it could have more than 200 million customers by 2015: *Financial Times*, 7 July 2005; Telefónica, 2005, 16; *Expansión*, 30 June and September 2005; *CincoDías*, 22 July 2005; *El País*, 22 November 2014. Four of Hong Kong's mobile operators – quite apart from China Unicom, which failed to secure any spectrum- bid for a total of 50MHz of radio spectrum in the 2.5/2.6GHz band. The total raised from the auction amounted to HK$1.54bn ($200m) and was allocated to SmarTone (two blocks), Genius Brand, a joint venture between Hutchison and HKT (2×5 MHz block), China Mobile Hong Kong (one 2×5 block) and CSL (one 2x5MHz block): *Telecoms*, 20 March 2013.

[41] SEC, 14 November 2005. Telefónica centralised the procurement of network infrastructures, fixed and mobile terminals and information systems through the management unit set up in Munich under the name of Telefónica Compras Globales and local teams in each country: Telefónica, 2009, 6; *El Economista*, 25 June 2009. Initiatives such as the first seminar on the subject by Telefónica reveal an effort to gain a better understanding of telecommunications in China: Telefónica 2006, 18.

© 2023 Global Journals

retained a ban on foreign majority ownership of ventures (*The Economic Times*, 13 September 2008; Reuters, 28 December 2007).

Telefonica SA wanted to take advantage of the new chance to expand its holdings in China Netcom and China Unicom Ltd., which were due to merge. The approach of the Spanish carrier was to spend €800 million ($1.2 billion) to become the biggest shareholder, with a 5.5 percent in the combined company (*The Economic Times*, 13 September 2008).

In essence, one everlasting issue was ¿why to expand in a government-hiper controlled market with limitations to the level of investments and where majority ownership was impossible? A first way was to strengthen the presence in China using as a pedestal for its accession the incursion with China Netcom as ally in the attempted purchase of Pacific Century Cyberworks Ltd. (PCCW), a global company headquartered in Hong Kong which diversified interests. China Netcom asked Telefónica for help and Telefónica gave its support with an unexpected consequence. Telefónica tried to play its cards but without success. It was already a partner with China Network Communications, which owned 19.9 percent of PCCW, through a 5 percent holding in its unit, China Netcom. The Spanish operator partnered with two foundations run by Li Ka-shing to join the financier Francis Leung, dubbed "Godfather of Red Chips", in acquiring 8% stake of the total 22.7 percent of the consortium that Telefónica belonged to. Finally, this plan failed when PCCW minority shareholders refused the purchase offer from the consortium (*China Securities Journal*, 1 December 2006; Europa Press, 1 December 2006)[42].

Nevertheless, on the same day that PCCW's minority shareholders voted against the sale, China Netcom proposed to Telefónica to strengthen the relationship between the two despite this. In less than a month, this proposal has become a reality by means of a new board member without a requirement of any prior payment in the form of a share purchase in either PCCW or China Netcom. The Spanish and Chinese partners were committed to develop their strategic alliance in specific projects, one of the most important of these will focus on mobile third generation (3G). The Chinese government was expected to award 3G concessions imminently and China Netcom had no experience in this business. Secondly, Telefónica had to manage to gain access to its partner's technological innovations, particularly in fixed telephony, broadband and digital TV activities through the appointment of an executive at Netcom's R&D centre in China. The final aspect referred to triangulation, i.e. the will to enhance the relationship and exchange of products between China and Latin America (*Cinco Días*, 20 December 2006).

China Netcom Group Corporation (Hong Kong) Limited merged with China Unicom on 15 October 2008. The parent company China United Network Communications Group Company Limited (Unicom Group) officially merged with China Network Communications Group Corporation (Netcom Group) on 6 January 2009. The frustrated move did not prevent to see the real intentions of Telefónica in China, which was not confined to two companies and a single territory - mainland China.

V. Conclusion

This article looks at the pathways of international expansion in the age of globalisation. It brings two companies at different stages of development into the picture. In the case of China Netcom, a newly created public company, and in the case of Telefónica, a former semi-public monopoly turned multinational. Both companies had recently undergone a process of liberalisation. The research addresses the extent to which the globalisation standardised or diversified the paths of market opening, which included the formation of joint ventures, and the unique benefits of those enterprises compared to other forms of international cooperation, such as distribution agencies and technology licensing. The research brings a very generous explanation of a pattern of expansion the collaboration by means of a blended approach of stake acquisition, contribution of knowledge and skill. The pattern by which Telefónica entered the Chinese market contravened the principles zealously guarded in Latin America, based on entry into companies in a position of control. This pattern was imposed by PRC regulation. To this should be added the setting up a critical mass to get a strong position from which to reach vertical advantageous agreements with the providers. To overall knowledge the article adds a more precise acquis of the content and extent of China Netcom/Telefónica strategic cooperation agreement. Finally, some notions as triangulation scheme have to be revised.

Acknowledgments

This research falls under the auspices of the Observatori Centre d'Estudis Jordi Nadal d'Història Econòmica of the Departament d'Història Econòmica, Institucions, Política i Economia Mundial, Facultat d'Economia i Empresa (Universitat de Barcelona, Spain). I would like to thank those responsible for their support for my work. I express my gratitude to the editors of this Journal and reviewers of the manuscript.

Primary sources

1. Jesús Banegas, Personal communication with the Author, 9 July 2023.

[42] A person well acquainted with international alliances refers to the attempt of Telefónica to be present in China as futile, "something physically and metaphysically impossible, as it has finally happened": Jesús Banegas, Personal communication with the author, 9 July 2023.

© 2023 Global Journals

2. Margaret Chen, Personal communication with the Author, 10-11 August 2023.
3. Mauricio Sartorius, Personal communication with the Author, 11 July 2023.

References Références Referencias

1. Abrami, Regina M. et al., "China Netcom: Corporate Governance in China (A) and (B)," Harvard Business School Teaching Note 311-018, July 2010.
2. Abrami, Regina M., Kirby, William C. and McFarlan, F. Warren, "Why China Can't Innovate," *Harvard Business Review* 92, 3, March 2014, 107–111.
3. Aharoni, Yair, *The Foreign Investment Decision Process*, HUP, Boston Mass, 1966.
4. Bhaskar, Natasha J., *Decoding the success of Australian companies in India*, Perth US Asia Centre, Crawley, 2022.
5. Boutellier, Roman et al., *Managing Global Innovation: Uncovering the Secrets of Future*, Springer, Heidelberg, 2008.
6. Bregolat, Eugenio, *La segunda revolución china*, Destino, Barcelona, 2007.
7. Bravo, Pablo, "China, la última frontera de la diplomacia española," *Huarte de San Juan. Geografía e historia*, 15, 2008, 121-131.
8. Cacho, Luis, "Presencia económica española en China: perspectivas para el futuro". In Círculo de Empresarios, *La presencia española en las economías emergentes: China e India*, Círculo de Empresarios, Madrid, 2005, 85-159.
9. Calvo, Ángel, "China-Europe cooperation in the telecommunications: the case of China Unicom/ Telefónica, 2002-2016," 8, 2, *Journal of Evolutionary Studies in Business*, July-December 2023, 182-216.
10. Calvo, Ángel, "The New Cycle of Internationalisation of a Southern European Telecommunications Company at the Early 21st Century: Telefónica," *Culture and History*, 1, 1, 2021. https://doi.org/10.30560/ch.v1n1p1
11. Calvo, Ángel, *Historia* de *Telefónica 1976-2000. Las telecomunicaciones en la España democrática*, Ariel, Barcelona, 2017.
12. Casado, José Luis, "China, de 'fábrica' global a competidor", BIT, 157, 2006, pp. 66-69.
13. Casanova, Lourdes and Rodríguez-Montemayor, Eduardo, "The bridge model: how Spanish multinationals are building economic ties between Asia and Latin America," *Business and Politics*, 16 , 3, October 2014, 373 – 391. https://doi.org/10.1515/bap-2013-0028
14. Chang, Janeet et al., "China's telecommunication market for international investors: Opportunities, challenges, and strategies," *Technology in Society* 27(1), January 2005, 105-121.
15. Chang, Sea-Jin, *Multinational Firms in China: Entry Strategies, Competition, and Firm Performance*, OUP, Oxford, 2013.
16. Chen, Shin-Horng and Wen, Pei-Chang, *The Development and Evolution of China's Mobile Phone Industry*, Working Paper Series No.2013-1, Chung-Hua Institution for Economic Research, April, 2013, 1-28.
17. Chen, Wen-Kuo et al., "An Exploration of the Critical Risk Factors in Sustainable Telecom Services: An Analysis of Indian Telecom Industries." *Sustainability*, 13(2), 445, 2021, pp. 1-22. https://doi.org/10.3390/su13020445
18. China Unicom, *Annual report* 2007.
19. Chuang, Leontine D., "Investing in China's Telecommunications Market: Reflections on the Rule of Law and Foreign Investment in China," *Northwestern Journal of International Law & Business*, 20, 509, 1999-2000, 508-538.
20. Clegg, Jeremy et al., "European Multinational Activity in Telecommunications Services in the Peoples' Republic of China: Firm Strategy and Government Policy," *Management International Review*, 36, 1996, 111-137.
21. Clifton, Judith, Comín, Francisco and Díaz-Fuentes, Daniel. "From national monopoly to multinational corporation: How regulation shaped the road towards telecommunications internationalisation," *Business History* 53, 5, 761-781.
22. Cosmen, Andrés, "Perspectivas para la empresa española en China: la experiencia de Alsa," *Boletín Económico de ICE*, 797, 2002, 71-76.
23. Cowhey, Peter and Klimenko, Michael, *The WTO Agreement and Telecommunications Policy Reform*, World Bank, Washington, 2001.
24. Cuervo-Cazurra, Álvaro, "Selecting the country in which to start internationalization: The non-sequential internationalization model," *Journal of World Business* 46(4), 2011, 426-437.
25. Dezcallar, Rafael, "Perspectives on Spain–China Relations". In Wang, Huiyao and Miao, Lu (eds.), *China and the World in a Changing Context, China and Globalization*, Springer, Singapore, 2022, 443-453.
26. Devonshire-Ellis, Chris, Scott, Andy and Woollard, Sam (eds.), *Setting Up Representative Offices in China,* Springer, Berlin-Heidelberg, 2011.
27. DeWoskin, Kenneth, "The WTO and the Telecommunications Sector in China," *The China Quarterly*, 2001, 630-654.
28. Economist Intelligence Unit, "Foreigners Welcome", *Business India Intelligence*, 9 February, 2005.
29. Fanjul, Enrique, Relaciones comerciales: España en la China de la reforma, *Revista CIDOB d'Afers Internacionals*, 63, September/October 2003, 151-166.
30. Fornes, Gaston and Mendez, Alvaro, *The China-Latin America Axis. Emerging Markets and their Role in an Increasingly Globalised World*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2018, 177-204.

© 2023 Global Journals

31. France Telecom, *Annual Report*, SEC, 21 March 2003.
32. Garcia, David and Pacheco, Ramon, *Contemporary Spanish Foreign Policy*, Routledge, Oxford, 2014.
33. González, Mariano and Larrú, José María, "¿A quién benefician los créditos FAD? Los efectos de la ayuda ligada sobre la economía española", Documento de Trabajo DC-04-07, November 2004, 1-31.
34. Gooderham, Paul N.; Ulset, Svein and Elter, Franck, "Uninor: Beyond local responsiveness-multidomestic MNEs at the bottom of the pyramid". In Gooderham, Paul N.; Grøgaard, Birgitte and Foss, Kirsten, *Global Strategy and Management*, Edward Elgar, Chentelham, 2019.
35. Goodhart, Charles and Xu, Cheng-Gang, The rise of China as an economic power. Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, 1996.
36. He, Zhou, "A History of Telecommunications in China: Development and Policy Implications". In Lee, Paul S. N. ed., *Telecommunications and Development in China*. Hampton Press, Cresskill, 1997, 55-88.
37. He, Shuangrong and Chen, Yuanting, *History of Relations between China and Latin American and Caribbean Countries*, World Scientific Publishing, Singapore, 2022.
38. Green, Keith, "Foreign direct investment in the Indian telecommunications sector", 11 August 2005, 1-27.
39. Higueras, Georgina, "Spain-China, ten years of strategic partnership," *Journal of the Spanish Institute for Strategic Studies*, 5, 2015, 1-20.
40. Ho, Wing-Chung, "What Analyses of Factional Politics of China Might Miss When the Market Becomes a Political Battlefield: The Telecommunication Sector as a Case in Point," *China Review*, 13, 1, 2013, 71-92.
41. Holbig, Heike and Ash, Robert (eds.), *China's Accession to the World Trade Organization. National and International Perspectives*, Routledge, Abingdon OX-New York, 2002.
42. Hsueh, Roselyn, *China's Regulatory State: A New Strategy for Globalization*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca-London, 2011.
43. Hulse, Janie, *China's Expansion Into and U.S. Withdrawal from Argentina's Telecommunications and Space Industries and the Implications for U.S. National Security*, Strategic Studies Institute, Carlisle PA, 2007.
44. IGADI, *Las relaciones políticas y comerciales España-China*, Instituto Galego de Análise e Documentación Internacional, Pontevedra, April 2011.
45. IGI, *India Telecom Vol 4: Overview of the Indian Market 1999-2000*, Hershey PA, 2000.
46. IMF Staff, *Globalization: A Brief Overview*, 8/2, May 2008.
47. ITU, *Telecommunications in China*, ITU, Geneva, 2006. https://www.itu.int/itunews/manager/display.asp?lang=en&year=2006&issue=10&ipage=telecommuni-China&ext=html
48. Johanson, Jan and Wiedersheim-Paul, F., "The internationalization of the firm: Four Swedish case studies", *Journal of Management Studies*, 12, 1975, 305–322.
49. Johanson, Jan and Vahlne, Jan-Erik, "The internationalization process of the firm: A model of knowledge development and increasing foreign market commitments", *Journal of International Business Studies*, 8, 1977, 23–32.
50. Kang, Nam-Hoon and Sakai, Kentaro, *International strategic alliances: their role in industrial globalisation*, STI Working Paper 2000/5, OECD, Paris, 2000.
51. Kanungo, Anil Kumar, China's Telecommunications Services Sector: Implications for World Economy, *Cambridge Journal of China Studies*, 10, 1, 2015, 64-95.
52. Khan, Mohamad A. and Ebner, Noam, *The Palgrave Handbook of Cross-Cultural Business Negotiation*, PalGrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019.
53. Kurisaki, Yoshiko, *The changing role of telecommunications in the economy: globalisation and its impact on national telecommunication policy*, OCDE, Paris, 1995.
54. Kyove, Justine et al., "Globalization Impact on Multinational Enterprises," *World*, *2*(2), 2021, 216-230.
55. Jiang, Kevin W.B., *Globalization strategies of Chinese companies. A study of China's largest telecommunications equipment companies*, Stockholm University, Stockholm, 2005.
56. Laperrouza, Marc, *China's Telecommunication Policy-Making in the Context of Trade and Economic Reforms*, ProQuest, Ann Arbor MI, 2014.
57. Larçon, Jean-Paul, *Chinese Multinationals*, World Scientific, Singapore, 2009.
58. Li, Yin, *Innovation Pathways in the Chinese economy*, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta GA, 2017.
59. Lin, Chun H., "Role of Foreign Direct Investment in Telecommunication Industries: A Developing Countries' Perspective," *Contemporary Management Research*, 4, 1, March 2008, 29-42.
60. Lu, Ding and Wong, Chee K., *China's Telecommunications Market. Entering a New Competitive Age*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, 2003.
61. Martín, Mario, "Caso China Telefónica". In Cátedra Nebrija-Grupo Santander, *China: una necesidad para una empresa global*, Universidad Antonio de Nebrija, Madrid, 2008, 169-172.

© 2023 Global Journals

62. Martín, Rafael, *Dictadura, transición y consolidación democrática en la política exterior española. España – China (1972 – 1996)*, doctoral thesis, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Madrid, 2019.
63. Melo, María Luisa, "Un nuevo gran inversor mundial el caso de Huawei en España," *Boletín Económico de ICE*, 3.097, 1-31 March 2018, 79-88.
64. Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, *Plan Marco Asia-Pacific para el bienio 2000-2002*, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid, 2004. https://static.casaasia.es/pdf/home_plan_asia_pacifico.pdf
65. Mu, Qing and Lee, Keun, "Knowledge diffusion, market segmentation and technological catch-up: The case of the telecommunication industry in China," *Research Policy*, 34(6), 2005, pp. 759-783.
66. Nadal Ariño, Javier, "China: un mercado emergente de las telecomunicaciones", *BIT*, 158, 2006, pp. 82-84.
67. National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, *A Twenty Year Odyssey 1997-2017*, Telecom Regulatory Authority of India, New Delhi, 2017.
68. Nayak, Ajit, "Internationalisation of the Indian telecommunication industry (1947-2004): a firm-level perspective," *Business History*, 5 July 2018, 52-71.
69. OECD, *Review of the Development and Reform of the Telecommunications Sector in China*, OECD, Paris, 2003. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/233204728762
70. OECD, *Foreign Direct Investment and Recovery in Southeast Asia*, OECD, Paris, 1999.
71. Office of the Communications Authority, *Network Strategies Report Number 33012*, 29 August 2013.
72. Ortega, Andrés, *Cooperación tecnológica entre España y China*, Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid, 2018.
73. Pangestu, Mari and Mrongowius, Debbie, *Telecommunication Services in China: Facing the Challenges of WTO Accession*, December 9, 2002.
74. Park, Jong H. "The East Asian Model of Economic Development and Developing Countries," *Journal of Developing Societies* 18.4, 2002, 330-53.
75. Prange, Christiane, "Ambidextrous internationalization strategies: The case of Chinese firms entering the world market," *Organizational Dynamics*, 41(3), 2012, 245–253.
76. Roldán (coord.), Eduardo, *Las relaciones económicas de China: OMC, México, Estados Unidos, Taiwan y la Unión Europea*, Plaza y Valdés, Colonia San Rafael, 2003.
77. Roseman, Daniel, "The WTO and telecommunications services in China: Three years on," *Info*, 7(2), April 2005, 25-48.
78. Rodríguez, Carmen Mª, *Aspectos clave de las negociaciones en la China empresarial actual*, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Shanghai, 2013.
79. Rovetta Dubinsky, Pablo V., "¿Qué he aprendido después de 35 años en China?" *Boletín Económico de ICE*, 2.972, 2009, 111-118.
80. Sebastián, José Pedro and Rovetta, Pablo V., "La Ruta de la Seda y la cooperación en terceros mercados desde la perspectiva empresarial. El caso de las Técnicas Reunidas," *Boletín económico de ICE, Información Comercial Española*, 3097, 1-31 March 2018, 109-116.
81. Securities and Exchange Commission, *Annual report*, 2006.
82. Soler, Jacinto, *Experiencias de inversión española en Asia*, CIDOB, Barcelona, 2003.
83. Strange, Roger (ed.), *Management in China: The Experience of Foreign Businesses*, Frank Cass, London-Portland OR, 1998.
84. Swisscom, *1997 Annual Report*.
85. Swisscom AG, *1998 Annual Report*.
86. Telefónica, *Annual Report 2007*.
87. Telefónica, *Annual Report 2008*.
88. Todd, Laurence, *Services liberalisation in Malaysia: a political analysis EU-Malaysia*, Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Kuala Lumpur, 2019.
89. Voon, Tania and Mitchell, Andrew, "Open for Business? China's Telecommunications Service Market and the WTO," *Journal of International Economic Law*, 2010, 1-54.
90. Wilkins, Mira, *The emergence of Multinational Enterprise*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass, 1970.
91. Wolf, David, *Making the connection. The Peaceful Rise of China's Telecommunications Giants*, WGA, Los Angeles CA, 2012.
92. WTO, *US-China WTO Agreement*, WTO, 2000. http://www.usChina.org/public/wto/- bila
93. Wu, Yanrui, "Growing through the deregulation: a study of china's telecommunications industry", The University of Western Australia, Crawley WA, 2001, 1-25.
94. Yan, Xu, "China's Accession to the WTO and Its Implications for Foreign Direct Investment in Chinese Telecommunications," *Communications & Strategies*, 45, 1st quarter 2002, 17-47. Yan, Xu and Pitt, Douglas, *Chinese Telecommunications Policy*, Artech House, Boston-London, 2002.
95. Yeo, Yukyung, "Regulatory Politics in China's Telecommunications Service Industry: When Socialist Market Economy Meets Independent Regulator Mode", conference on Regulation in the Wake of Neoliberalism: Consequences of Three Decades of Privatization and Market Liberalization, Utrecht University, 5-7 June, 2008. Yeung, Arthur et al., *The Globalization of Chinese Companies: Strategies for Conquering International Markets*, Wiley, Singapore, 2011.

© 2023 Global Journals

96. Zhiling, Sun. "China's Telecommunications Industry. The Forbidden City in the Information Age?", Working Paper 70/02, IREBA, Bergen, December 2002.

Annex 1: China: Telefónica's new challenge. International experience and government support.

Entering China was a new challenge for Telefónica. The determining factor in the decision to enter the market in this great Asian country was globalisation itself, as the vast majority of the Spanish operator's new suppliers came from there. The weight of Telefónica's experience in Latin America was also a decisive factor. A key role was played by the close communication between Telefónica and the PRC government to convey the importance of Telefónica and Spain's neutral position in China. Telefónica arrived late compared to other companies but with its third place in the world ranking it was welcomed in China.

In addition to the web of general agreements, the Spanish government specifically supported Telefónica's actions from the very beginning. The first meeting of Telefónica's top five executives with Chinese representatives was officially attended and facilitated by the Spanish ambassador José Pedro Sebastián de Erice, an eye-opener to Telefónica's importance and credibility. The difficulties would have been insurmountable without one person to stand up for the company.

Source: Based on Margaret Chen, Personal communication with the Author, 10-11 August 2023.

© 2023 Global Journals

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2023 Global Journals

Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 23 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2023
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Hannah Arendt's Conceptual Framework for the Crisis in Modern Education

By Neiva Caetano dos Santos & Marcus Vinicius da Cunha
University of São Paulo

Abstract- This work analyzes Hannah Arendt's essay "The Crisis in Education", published in the late 1950s, intending to elucidate its central themes through the concepts presented in other works by the author. This intention is a valuable initiative not only because of Arendt's qualifications – who is one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th century – but also because the essay has fostered research in the area of education and is frequently included in the bibliography of teacher training courses, both in undergraduate and graduate levels, due to the critical reflections it elaborates on the relationships between adults and children in modernity, which includes the exchange between teachers and students.

Keywords: *hannah arendt, contemporary education. politics.*

GJHSS-D Classification: *LCC: LB5-3640*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2023. Neiva Caetano dos Santos & Marcus Vinicius da Cunha. This research/review article is distributed under the terms of the Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). You must give appropriate credit to authors and reference this article if parts of the article are reproduced in any manner. Applicable licensing terms are at https://creative commons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

Hannah Arendt's Conceptual Framework for the Crisis in Modern Education

Neiva Caetano dos Santos [α] & Marcus Vinicius da Cunha [σ]

Abstract- **This work analyzes Hannah Arendt's essay "The Crisis in Education", published in the late 1950s, intending to elucidate its central themes through the concepts presented in other works by the author. This intention is a valuable initiative not only because of Arendt's qualifications – who is one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th century – but also because the essay has fostered research in the area of education and is frequently included in the bibliography of teacher training courses, both in undergraduate and graduate levels, due to the critical reflections it elaborates on the relationships between adults and children in modernity, which includes the exchange between teachers and students.**

Keywords: hannah arendt, contemporary education. politics.

I. Introduction

A conference is not, as a rule, the most suitable form of communication for detailed explanations of facts, much less for conceptual deepening, although this is necessary for the fully understanding of the message that one wants to convey. One of the functions of the debate section that usually follows the lecturers' manifestation is precisely to fill in the inevitable gaps left by them. When a conference is published in printed format without the transcription of interventions that may have occurred, the text incorporates the gaps in the original elaboration. Therefore, the analysis of works derived from conferences requires increased attention, which needs investigating the concepts that are hidden under a simple and, in certain cases, colloquial style.

The essay "The Crisis in Education" was elaborated by Hannah Arendt (2018b) for a conference given in 1958, entitled "*Die Krise in der Erziehung: Gedanken zur Progressive Education*" (in free translation: "The crisis in education: thoughts on the progressive education"). That same year, the printed text was published in the Partisan Review and, in 1961, translated into English, it became part of the book *Between Past and Future* (Arendt, 2018c). According to Almeida (2011), there are no significant differences between the conference and the printed text.

This paper aims to analyze the essay mentioned above in search of the concepts that support Arendt's ideas to expand reader's field of vision about the themes addressed in it. It is a valuable initiative that goes beyond the strictly academic content of the text, whose author is part of the list of the greatest exponents of philosophical thinking in the 20th century.[1] Examining the conceptual framework of "The Crisis in Education" is relevant because it is a work that encourages research in the area and is frequently included in the bibliography of teacher training courses, both at undergraduate and graduate levels, due to the critical reflections that elaborate on the relationships between adults and children in modernity, which includes the exchange between teachers and students.

To achieve this goal, it is necessary to observe that the primary purpose of "The Crisis in Education" is not to discuss problems of a strict school nature. Although the essay addresses such problems, the author says that her analysis reveals something beyond the relationships between teachers and students. The "essence of the matter", says Arendt (2018b, p. 223), lies in a broader sphere, in which childhood educational practices are developed. The crisis within the scope of schools deserves the author's attention – and ours, of course – as it poses two questions: What is the modern world? What does educating mean?

In this paper, we will follow the order of questions proposed in the essay, starting with the second, guided by the procedure of sustaining her theses in the conceptual framework developed in her other works. The word *thesis* is used here in the sense attributed by Lalande (1999) as "a doctrine that we undertake to defend against the objections that may be made to it" (p. 1134). Arendt does not present dogmas, but concepts based on arguments that can be discussed. By offering the reader an expansion of the conceptual framework contained in the text under examination, we hope to contribute to deepening the discussions that should accompany its use in research work and teacher training courses.

This work was supported by the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), Brazil.

Author α: Ph.D in Education from the University of São Paulo (USP). Basic Education teacher at the Municipal Network of Ribeirão Preto, São Paulo, Brazil. e-mail: neivacaetano@hotmail.com

Author σ: Ph.D in Education from the University of São Paulo. Professor at the University of São Paulo in Ribeirão Preto, São Paulo, Brazil. e-mail: marcusvc@ffclrp.usp.br

[1] On the life and work of Arendt (1906-1975), see Adler (2007) and Young-Bruehl (2020).

© 2023 Global Journals

II. What Educating Children is

The first thesis related to this issue can be formulated as follows: The child is a newcomer to the world and, therefore, needs protection. Through this reasoning, Arendt (2018b) places education on the list of "the most elementary and necessary activities of human society, which never remains as it is, but is continually renewed through the birth, the arrival of new beings" (p. 234). Children arrive in the world in a "state of becoming"; they are incomplete human beings, and the world, for them, "is strange and is in the process of being formed", which gives the educator a special responsibility. Arendt (2018b, p. 235) explains that the child is not simply a "living creature"; if it were, it would be enough to preserve its life and train it in vital activities, just as the other animal species do.

When parents bring a child into the world, they assume "responsibility, at the same time, for the life and development of the child and for the continuity of the world." The child, the newcomer, can put the world at risk, undoubtedly because the child does not yet know the principles of its functioning, the rules, and duties concerning mutual coexistence. Therefore, Arendt (2018b) argues that the responsibility for protecting the child is added to the responsibility for preserving the world, so that it is not "overrun and destroyed by the onslaught of the new that bursts upon it with each new generation" (p. 235).

For Arendt (2018b), educating children is, fundamentally, dealing with responsibilities concerning natality, that is, the insertion of "newcomers" into the world. Since education is one of the most essential activities in society, it is necessary to ensure that this "new thing comes to fruition concerning to the world as it is" (p. 235); the child is not familiar with the world, and it is necessary to gradually introduce them to it (Arendt, 2018b). Education must operate on natality; it must integrate newcomers into this world as if they were foreigners, lead children into the world that presents itself to them, and prepare for their entry into the community of adults.

The concept of *natality* comes from Arendt's previous writings, especially *The Human Condition* (Arendt, 2020). In this work, *natality* is not just about the beginning of biological life, but also about a kind of second birth which is represented by acts and words in the "human world" (p. 222). The human world is translated by the expression *vita activa*, which describes the fundamental activities of man – *labor, work, or fabrication, and action* –, whose location in the world has to do with its effectiveness, whether in the political sphere, or in the pre-political spheres. Such activities are associated, respectively, with the conditions of human life – land, materiality and plurality – which are equivalent to natality and mortality.

To describe the human condition required to carry out each of the activities of the *vita activa*, Arendt resorts to ancient Greece to rescue relevant aspects of Athenian democratic life (Fry, 2017, p. 64). Correia (2020) shares this same understanding about the author's objectives, stating that her return to Classical Antiquity is a way of characterizing fundamental human activities, moving away from the traditional characterization. Arendt's genealogy of *vita activa* – *labor, work or fabrication, and action* – constitutes, therefore, a questioning of the conditions, the origin, and how daily activities were conducted and how they were transformed until the event of modernity.

The first category, *labor*, corresponds to the biological process of the body, intrinsically linked to vital needs, aiming at the preservation of the species, that is, the realization of "man's metabolism with nature" (Arendt, 2020, p. 121). The human condition of labor is life itself, the activity of maintaining biological processes through a cyclical process, consumption, and meeting the maintenance needs of the human organism. Even if subsistence needs are met, labor does not cease, its continuity aims at "the reproduction of more than one life process, but it never 'produces' anything but life" (p. 108). Its requirements are ongoing, not having a specific beginning or end; it encompasses immediate consumption and "barely survives the act of their production" (p. 118).

The survival needs of the human species are endless, and their needs must be met if life is to be preserved. Although it is an activity conducted in the private sphere, a context that makes it impossible for people to participate in public life, labor is a prerequisite for this life, as personal needs must be met and recognized before concerns with the demands of political life. Who acts in the dimension of labor is the *animal laborans*; the man who acts to preserve biological life, and who produces in complete solitude, works to consume and does not enjoy the social life. It is in this respect that human activity resembles animal activity.

The second category of *vita activa – work or fabrication* – is related to the production of permanent structures associated with the unnatural legacy. The human condition for its realization is *worldliness*, the human capacity to build the artificial world, giving it materiality through durable and productive objects of use. Tools and instruments whose durability must be more excellent than the man's existence and whose usefulness must reach the following generations correspond to this activity. Contrasting with labor, which operates to meet biological needs, the objects of the work are not for consumption, being endowed with a "definite beginning and a definite, predictable end" (Arendt, 2020, p. 178).

In the dimension of the work, there is the *homo faber*, the one who manufactures and produces his

© 2023 Global Journals

instruments to mitigate the effort of the labor undertaken by the *animal laborans*. Fabrication, which is the work of *homo faber*, consists of reification, and intends to give materiality to objects in the human world, as Arendt (2020) explains. This individual's motivations are the ideals of "permanence", "stability", and "durability" of his products (p. 155). According to Fry (2017), by building a world of durable objects, people initiate a movement to avoid "some cyclical demands of nature" (p. 67), meeting survival needs and paving the way for political action.

As with the labor, the work is carried out within the scope of privacy because *homo faber* needs to be alone with his ideas to create his objects. Once finished, these objects allow people to meet in the exchange market, where they can trade their goods. So, in comparison to the labor activity, the work takes on a more public character. Even located in the public space, this market, however, cannot be seen as belonging to the political sphere, as it is driven by individual interests and the dynamics of commerce, as opposed to politics, which requires joint action in favor of collective demands. The objects produced in this way do not require the presence of other people, unlike action and political discourse, whose scenario is a web of relationships that requires the presence of the other, and each action finds a set of already established relationships that will trigger new reactions (Arendt, 2020).

The third category of human activity, *action*, requires the condition of plurality, referring to the fact that all individuals are plural and singular beings, unique and different from each other, indispensable attributes that leads them to act. Based on this reflection, Arendt (2020) removes the dichotomy between essence and appearance and conceptualize politics as a space in which action and discourse reveal the individuals in their uniqueness. Action is the most human of the dimensions of the *vita activa* because those who cannot appear as political beings are invisible; they have no public existence. What gives reality to the individuals is their presentation before the other, when they can express their desires and participate in collective decisions, because what defines them is not their identity, their physical characteristics, but the place they occupy in the world.

The concept of *natality* is not synonymous but is directly associated with the activity called *action*, when, through words and acts, the individuals insert themselves into the human world, an event that constitutes a second birth. When they are born, they are not just beings of a species but newcomers who have their characteristics, and this beginning brings with it the possibility of carrying out new deeds and modifying the course of history; a course that has been narrated by those who already inhabited the world before them. The newcomer is seen by Arendt (2020, p. 220) as a "miracle", a term that refers to the belief in the human, in the political capacity to contradict the established and break the cycle of predictability. The condition of natality leads to the possibility of public discourse, a moment of realization of the "human condition in plurality, that is, of living as a distinct and unique being among equals" (p. 221).

As Fry (2020, p. 46) explains, among all the activities related to the *vita activa*, political action is the one that is most in tune with starting over, and this capacity derives from birth because human beings "are born with a potential still unknown." Arendt's interest in political action and plurality is closely related to natality and the resulting events in earthly life, associating the beginning with the potential for action, which is characteristic of human beings; and these unique beings must be prepared to act in the story of humanity. Natality is not imposed on us by necessity, as with work, but is instituted in the "space in-between" by the presence of the other, even though it is not conditioned by them (Arendt, 2020, p. 219).

The child, the newcomer to the world as a foreigner, is a promise of "renewal" and "conservation", as stated by Custódio (2011, p. 120); for being unique, the child has the power to start something new, something that begins through action in the world. However, the capacity for the new can only be realized through action by the adult because the adult is the one who acts in freedom, who initiates something new in the public sphere. For this to become possible, education must have done its work in the pre-political sphere.

III. Society's Obligations to Children

Arendt's first thesis on the essence of educational practices states that to educate is to assume responsibilities concerning natality and that, by protecting the child and developing their potential, education plays an essential role in politics, as it prepares the individual to exercise the required freedom in the public space. The second thesis on the same theme says that the place of protection of childhood is the domestic sphere: "Because the child must be protected against the world, his traditional place is in the family" (Arendt, 2018b, p. 235). This thesis is complemented by another, whose statement records that families have not fulfilled this purpose because they expose children to the public world at an early age, making their protection unfeasible.

Arendt (2018b) argues that the public sphere is the space of freedom. Although children are potentially free as human beings, they are not yet prepared to exercise the typical freedom of that space. Therefore, they need the protection offered by the private sphere, by family life, in which a "shield against the world and specifically against the public aspect of the world (…) a secure place, without which no living thing can thrive" (p. 236).

© 2023 Global Journals

This protection is necessary because, like every living and developing creature, children need shelter to meet basic needs that sustain their full biological and affective development; they also requires that the values and customs accumulated by previous generations be transmitted to them. As a new human being, the child is fragile, not prepared to deal with the demands of the public world, space where everything is publicly exposed, and people relate to each other as equals.

Arendt (2018b) points out that, whenever human life is "consistently exposed to the world without the protection of privacy and security, its vital quality is destroyed" (p. 236). The child, therefore, should not assume responsibility for the world, a task that falls to adults, and when "the attempt is made to turn the children themselves into a kind of world", they – "human beings in the process of becoming but not yet complete" – are unduly exposed "to the light of a public existence" (p. 236). One of the requirements for action is a space in which where every human being can present themselves as a plural and singular being through acts and words. For Arendt (2018b), it is up to politics to maintain and preserve this space; pre-political spheres, such as the family and the school, play a decisive role in this context by fulfilling the task of presenting this space to newcomers, so that, at the end of their education, they can participate in this world.[2]

The concepts of *responsibility* and *authority*, which occupy the core of this reflection, are fundamental to understanding "The Crisis in Education". Arendt's thesis about educational responsibility in the pre-political sphere – protecting the world's children – deserves to be analyzed considering the concept of *world*, which can be apprehended based on *The Human Condition* (Arendt, 2020). In this book, *world* has two connotations:

> The set of "tangible and durable objects" produced by *homo faber*, composed of artificial things; and the "aspects related to the in-between space", which includes human affairs, the place where political actions take place that allow human beings to gain visibility and reveal their uniqueness (Almeida, 2011, p. 25-26).

Arendt (2020, p. 64) states that the term public refers to "the world itself, in so far as it is common to all of us and distinguished from our privately owned place in it"; it qualifies as a space for collective decisions, in which it is allowed to act and express opinions, which makes the human being interested and, at the same time, responsible for issues that may affect the destiny of all. It is in the public domain that the action and speech of each individual contribute to the construction of the common world. This construction is a "human artifact"; it exclusively demands a disposition for interaction that can only be conquered in the public sphere.

The idea of a *common world* is central to Arendt's reflection on politics: The world is a "space constituted by labor and constituted by action" (Almeida, 2011, p. 21). In this shared space, responsibility for the world takes the form of authority, but modernity has eliminated this conception in public life and in politics, a fact that Arendt (Arendt, 2018b) analyzes through the event of totalitarianism, stating that "violence and terror exercised by the totalitarian countries have, of course, nothing to do with authority– or at most plays a highly contested role" (p. 240).

In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Arendt (2019, p. 609) characterizes the phenomenon that makes up the title of the book through the analysis of the Stalinist government, in force between 1930 and 1953, and the Nazi government, from 1933 until the end of World War II, showing that its consequence was to produce "superfluous men". By impoverishing the channels of communication between people, eliminating human plurality, extinguishing freedom, and installing a regime of terror and fear, totalitarianism destroyed the "inner capacity of man" (p. 632). The isolated individual feels in a fictitious world that does not admit the expression of spontaneity, dialogic interaction, and effective participation in the public world. There is no public world when human beings do not see themselves as "builders of worlds or cobuilders of a common world" (p. 608). There is no true authority when the world is inhabited by atomized beings, members of a mass society in which superfluity prevails in the relationships between people.

Arendt (2019) shows that totalitarian rule left deep marks on modern society, demobilizing free initiative in all fields of action; human beings become incapable of differentiating themselves from one another, as if all of humanity were a single individual. For this domain to be established, the first step was to "kill the juridical person in man", causing the human being to lose the ability to perform any "normal acts", which contradicts any possibility of action (p. 594). The next step consisted of the "murder of the moral person in man", as happened in the Nazi concentration camps (p. 599-600). To kill the moral and juridical person is to destroy individuality, spontaneity, and the ability to do something new, leading everyone to adopt the same behavior and to act in a predictable way, under the control of fear and impotence.

It can be understood that Arendt's thesis about the educational tasks of the pre-political sphere expresses the conviction that, by not protecting children from the world, families do not prepare them to take on the challenges of this complex space, the public world. If education is not carried out satisfactorily in the pre-political sphere, if individuality and privacy are not

[2] This is the theme of "Reflections on Little Rock", text in which Arendt (2004) discusses the problems arising from the racial desegregation law in American schools. She defends that this law transferred exclusive attributions of adults to children. About the controversy resulting from this text, see Briskievicz (2019).

© 2023 Global Journals

adequately safeguarded within the family, it cannot be expected that adults will see themselves as members of a common world and assume the responsibility that belongs to them in the political sphere. Action requires initiative and sharing with the other, but this will be unfeasible if these requirements were not learned at the right time.

Arendt realizes that both families and schools fail to take care of child development; the omission to protect children and the urgency to release them early into the world predominate. Without care and protection, the individual is not educated to act later in the political space, which characterizes modernity as a time devoid of people capable of taking responsibility for the world.

Arendt's thesis on responsibility towards children is complemented by the concepts of *authority* and *tradition*, which deserve special attention in the analysis of relationships between adults and children, which includes exchanges between teachers and students. On the subject, "The Crisis in Education" formulates a thesis that, if misunderstood, can sound retrograde to all those involved in educating: It is necessary to reassume authority and recover the sense of tradition in pre-political spheres. However, it is essencial to remember the bleak picture to which Arendt (2018a) refers: By not taking responsibility for the world, people fail to assume authority, as the two terms have always been linked. With the destruction of authority in the public and political spheres, accountability to the world has been devalued. For Klusmeyer (2020), Arendt associates the ideas of *tradition* and *authority* because "tradition defines the terms by which authority is framed" (p. 184).

Arendt (2018e) seeks to show that tradition, responsible for conducting authority, has also been distorted, and makes a statement entirely related to the crisis in the relationship between adults and children: Totalitarian domination "broke the continuity" of Western History, an event that made "the break in our tradition (…) an accomplished fact" (p. 54). The failure of authority and tradition brings damage, such as the elimination of the human capacity to build, preserve and care for a world that should survive our existence and remain for those who are still to arrive (Arendt, 2018a).

In the essay "What is Authority?", Arendt (2018d, p. 127) explains that, for centuries, authority, religion, and tradition served as parameters, providing a support base for "authentic and undisputable experiences common to all". This explanation does not mean that the world in the past was good or free from injustice, but that there were explicit references to right and wrong. The modern world has abolished that base, destroyed authority, both in the public and political and in the pre-political spheres, and this process reached the relationship between parents and children and between teachers and students. Arendt (2018d, p. 240) says: "the more radical the distrust of authority in the public sphere becomes", the greater the probability that the private sphere will be affected.

In pre-political spheres, authority is a "natural need", Arendt (2018b, p. 128) says, because the child is not able to make decisions on their own, either in the school context or in the family context, needing, therefore, the adult to understand the world. Arendt's concept of *authority* is complex, as analyzed by Lafer (2018, p. 23), because "it involves obedience, and, however, excludes coercion" – which goes against common sense, which equates the two terms. Although it involves obedience, Arendt's authority excludes coercion because the use of force and violence makes authority unfeasible.

Authority is also not compatible with persuasion in education practiced in pre-political spheres because persuasion implies an exchange between equals established through argumentation. If there are arguments, it is because there is no authority: "Against the egalitarian order of persuasion stands the authoritarian order, which is always hierarchical", which leads those involved to assume different positions – there is one who commands and one who obeys. Persuasion among equals is an inherent condition of political action, and in the political context are adults, those who have already passed the "age of education" (Arendt, 2018b, p. 129). The condition for subjects to act in politics begins when the education stage ends (Arendt, 2018b, p. 160).

In Arendt (2018b, p. 129), the "authoritarian relationship between the one who commands and the one who obeys", both at school and within the family, does not have a negative connotation. It is a "natural need", as it happens between old and young people, a relationship whose "essence is educational" (p. 160). The exchange that is established in education positions adults, on the one hand, and, on the other, children who cannot yet be "admitted to politics and equality" because they are not yet capable of acting in these spheres (p. 160). In short, authority is essential for the "raising and education of children", and it is only effective when the elders, who are the educators, operate as models for the younger generations (p. 161).

In "The Crisis in Education", Arendt (2018b) is incisive: It is inconceivable to reject the evidence that learning is based on the authority of elders and, in the case of schools, the authority of teachers; contrary to what can be accepted in the political sphere, in education one cannot admit any ambiguity in this regard – "Children cannot throw off educational authority, as though they were in a position of oppression by an adult majority" (p. 240). Accepting this overthrow represents an authentic "bankruptcy of common sense" (p. 227).

This reflection completes the scenario in which Arendt positions the failure of families in protecting children: By renouncing the authority that is their own and which was assured to them by tradition, parents

© 2023 Global Journals

prevent the development of the children towards the public world. In pre-political spheres, whether at home or school, the absence of authority and tradition preclude the establishment of a sense of stability, durability, and connection with the past. For Arendt (2018b), by creating a "world of children", modern education "destroys the necessary conditions for vital development and growth" (p. 236) of children themselves, which violates the obligation to protect them. This fact is surprising, as modern education emerged and established itself intending to "serve the child and rebel against the methods of the past because these had not sufficiently taken into account the child's inner nature and his needs" (p. 237).

IV. What the Modern World is

So, Arendt's arguments about the essence of education and our responsibilities towards children are elucidated. We will now examine the first question posed by the author: What aspects of the modern world and its crisis are revealed by the educational crisis? In other words: What can the crisis instituted in the pre-political spheres teach us about the transformations of the political sphere in modernity? The discussion now does not strictly concern educational practices, whether those adopted at school or those that occur in the family, but what these practices suggest about the relationships between people and the world, relationships that the author characterizes through the concept of *vita activa*, as seen above.

In "The Crisis in Education", a single thesis expresses Arendt's (2018b) position on this issue: The "strange state of affairs" that affects education originates in "judgments and prejudices" about the "nature of private life and the public world and their mutual relationship, characteristic of modern society since the beginning of modern times" (p. 237). In this equation, a liberation is identified that is only apparent, as it hides, in fact, a broad process of "alienation" of man in the political sphere.

Let's first see what the author understands by *modern times* and what the referred process of alienation means. In *The Human Condition*, Arendt (2020, p. 7) clarifies that "the modern age is not the same as the modern world"; from the point of view of science, the modern world began in the seventeenth century, ending "at the threshold of the twentieth century"; in political terms, "the modern world we live in today was born with the first atomic explosions". Although Arendt uses this temporal delimitation, she intends to analyze human capabilities, which are permanent and do not change without transformations in essential human activities. This historical record aims, says Arendt (2020, p. 7), to clarify how the process of "modern alienation from the world" originated, in addition to understanding the position of the individual in the face of the new model of society.

However, modern alienation is much earlier than these events, as it concerns historical facts that established the individual's distance from the world, such as the discovery of America, the Protestant Reformation, and the emergence of the telescope, events carried out by men whose feats broke the boundaries hitherto established for human experience. These events, as well as the significant advances made possible by modern science, are similar in one crucial point: They indicate the break with tradition, the rupture of the common sense that guided the lives of people in the world. New and more daring scientific and technical advances – the launch of an artificial satellite, the creation of life in test tubes, and the advent of automation, for example – contributed to making life a set of artificial apparatuses and "toward cutting the last tie through which even man belongs among the children of nature" (Arendt, 2020, p. 2). Alienation is precisely the product of this cut that distanced and continues distancing human beings from nature. This rupture makes the world a strange place, far from immediate and concrete individual existence.

The individuals "seem to be possessed by a rebellion against human existence", Arendt (2020, p. 3) says; they don't act with the purpose of denying the value of scientific and technological development but to denounce that the decision regarding the use of this knowledge was left to "professional scientists or professional politicians", when it should be shared by all. The collective decisions are the ones that preserve our ability to think and express ourselves about what surrounds us daily: "for speech is what makes man a political being". And Arendt (2020, p. 4-5) concludes: "And whatever men do or know or experience can make sense only to the extent that it can be spoken about". It so happens that, as the world is a strange place, intangible to immediate and concrete experience, we can say nothing about it, we alienate ourselves to move forward with life.

The scenario produced by scientific discoveries contributed to annihilate common sense, the sense through which people guided their "strictly private sensations" to adjust to the common world, Arendt (2020, p. 351) explains, in modernity, common sense retreated and acquired another meaning, that of "an inner faculty without any world relationship". It is this process, by the way, that Arendt (2018b, p. 227) refers to in "The Crisis in Education", when she says that the "disappearance of common sense" is one of the characteristics of the current crisis. People no longer deliberate about how to educate their children; they accept the guidelines of modern pedagogy based not on their perceptions of what is right and wrong but on what experts say is most appropriate.

© 2023 Global Journals

Arendt (2020, p. 317) states that the first moment of "modern alienation" coincides with the removal of workers from the "double protection of family and property", which, until the advent of modernity, housed the "vital and labor activities" – components of the *vita activa*, in which the *animal laborans* is located, the man who produces alone to preserve biological life, without enjoying social life. In Classical Antiquity, there was an explicit distintion between the private domain, which encompassed the home and the family, and the public domain, concerning the affairs of the *polis*, Arendt (2020) points out. The first was called *zoé*, biological life, common to men and animals, and the second, *bios*, political life, comprising man in the public space. At home, matters were related to the economy, to the management of daily needs, being discussed by those who shared the same roof, without the intervention of third parties, and without openness to the interaction between groups, as each family took care of its subsistence. It was in this domain that human beings developed, and that is why the author refers to it as a place of protection, not only for the child but for the whole family, a refuge from the public world.

Polis did not invade the private life of citizens because of respect for the limits of each private property, and this same property forced men to enter the domain of worldly affairs. The head of the family who did not deal with the difficulties and needs of the domestic sphere became free to participate in public decisions; owning property meant having the vital needs secured, which allowed integration into the political body of the city. When private wealth was transformed into capital, whose only function was to generate more capital, the property affairs became equal to those of the shared world. This event, which Arendt (2020) attributes to modernity, sealed the victory of the *animal laborans* over the *zoon politikón*, the man of action, giving rise to the political impotence of modern man.

Then, an apolitical being appears, alien to the actions inherent to the political space, which returns to the cycle of work and consumption to meet the basic survival needs of the species. As Correia (2020, p. 48) attests, this victory meant the "refusal to confirm, through action, the novelty that each birth represents", by the work of a being averse to politics, the "worker-consumer". Arendt (2020) shows that, in the manufacturing activity, homo faber accompanied the entire production process as holder of the means and ends. In modernity, however, built objects are devoid of identity, a fact that instituted a way of life that is a mere being alive in an endless cycle of work and consumption. By returning to the condition of *animal laborans*, people lost the possibility of being among their peers; they saw themselves cut off from action and discourse, essential components of the political community.

In "The Crisis in Education", Arendt (2018b, p. 237) analyzes that, in modernity, domestic life and all activities related to privacy, this sphere of protection and preservation, have been subsumed into the public sphere, exposing people "in the light of the public world", which resulted in the "emancipation of workers and women". The real reason for this process does not concern the value of people as such, but the social role they then began to play, a "necessary role in the vital process of society". Outside the domestic space, immersed in the public space, everyone started to be able to take part in political decisions through acts or words; they began to have "a claim on the public world, that is, a right to see and be seen in it, to speak and be heard" – a "true liberation" (p. 237), in fact, but which caused harm to children, whose maturity is insufficient to assume such burdens.

According to Arendt (2018b, p. 238), the problem is that, by abolishing the distinction between what concerns the private and what belongs to the public sphere, a "social sphere in which the private is transformed into public and vice versa" was created. At that moment, society, no longer the individual, appears as the "subject of the new vital process" (Arendt, 2020, p. 319), and belonging to a social class assumes the function formerly performed by the family. The rise of society caused the simultaneous decay of public and private domains.

Furthermore, the elimination of "private ownership of a part of the world" and the obscuring of a "common public world" gave rise to the phenomenon of "the lonely mass man and so dangerous in the formation of the worldless mentality of modern ideological mass movements" (Arendt, 2020, p. 318). In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Arendt (2019, p. 446) explains that the masses descend from the fragments of an "atomized society" and that the mass man is not defined by "brutality or backwardness" but by "his isolation and his lack of normal social relationships" – typical features of man in modernity, incapable of seeing the other and taking responsibility for the world.

Arendt (2020) argues that alienation reaches its apex when the social sphere replaces the old pillars of support for the individuals and their bond with nature – the family and property – for something of universal, the Earth. The individuals' relationship with the world changes drastically, as people can no longer become true citizens, with the right to be seen and heard, because social individuals cannot be "collective owners" of the world, unlike *homo faber*, whose existence was defined within the scope of the family and property.

The social sphere instituted individual life as a supreme value, but this life is not like it was in the past. Arendt (2020, p. 397) emphasizes that the "inversion between life and the world" is the threshold of "all modern development", causing harmful effects on

© 2023 Global Journals

human life. The political crisis that has hit Western civilization since the foundation of modernity is based on the impossibility of giving a collective meaning to the world, making action unfeasible – a fundamental concept of *vita activa*, which defines political activity – and consolidating the alienation that prevents people from taking responsibility for the world.

César and Duarte (2010) point out that this typical process of the modern era described by Arendt has a direct impact on education. In the light of these analyses, the passage of "The Crisis in Education" is understood, in which Arendt (2018b) states that the problem under discussion goes beyond pedagogical issues–it is not a matter of knowing why "little Johnny" does not master reading–, as it concerns the process that resulted in the end of tradition and the emptying of responsibility of adults towards the common world and, consequently, towards the new generations that arrive in this world by natality. For Arendt (2018b, p. 223), it is not possible to "completely isolate the universal element from the specific circumstances in which it appears". Specific issues related to education are only elucidated through Arendt's discussion about the human condition within the scope of the political crisis that hit modernity.

V. Conclusion

Once the conceptual framework that allows a more precise visualization of the essay "The Crisis in Education" has been presented, the main objective of this paper, we can conclude this analysis by highlighting a passage in the text that refers to the historical background of the phenomenon in question, which will be useful for us to understand the magnitude of the problem addressed by the author and the possibilities we have to overcome it.

Arendt (2018b, p. 244) claims to be of the "essence of the Roman attitude (…) to consider the past *qua* past as a model" and assumes this specific case as illustrative of the "Western tradition as a whole" since the Christian era has not substantially modified its characteristics. The Romans had in their ancestors an example of conduct to be followed and conceived education as a means to make young people worthy of previous generations: "Fellowship and authority were in this case indeed, but the two sides of the same matter, and the teacher's authority was firmly grounded in the encompassing authority of the past as such" (p. 245).

The subject comes to the fore because of the obstacles that stand in the way of overcoming the current educational crisis. In modernity, Arendt (2018b, p. 243) says, it is difficult to achieve "that minimum of conservation and conservative attitude without which education is simply not possible", considering the emptying of tradition and the devaluation of the past. Educators then find themselves in a conflicting situation that cannot resolve: They are practically unable to exercise their job, whose core lies in "serving as a mediator between the old and the new", while their "profession demands an extraordinary respect for the past" (p. 244).

Although Arendt's examination is discouraging for all who act as educators, both in the family and at school, it is crucial to recognize that the problem discussed in the essay and which still affects us today – the impossibility of protecting children and giving them a favorable environment for their development–had a beginning, modernity, constituting, therefore, a problem of historical nature. If we conceive history as a set of processes and events produced by the human being, a path of hope opens up regarding the possibility of acting to obtain its transformation.

References Références Referencias

1. Adler, L. (2007). *Nos passos de Hannah Arendt*. Record.
2. Almeida, V. S. (2011). *Educação em Hannah Arendt: entre o mundo deserto e o amor ao mundo*. Cortez.
3. Arendt, H. (2004). Reflexões sobre Little Rock. In H. Arendt (Ed.), *Responsabilidade e julgamento* (1st ed., pp. 261-281). Companhia das Letras.
4. Arendt, H. (2018a). O conceito de História – antigo e moderno. In H. Arendt (Ed.), *Entre o passado e o futuro* (1st ed., pp. 69-126). Perspectiva.
5. Arendt, H. (2018b). A crise na educação. In H. Arendt (Ed.), *Entre o passado e o futuro* (1st ed., pp. 221-247). Perspectiva.
6. Arendt, H. (2018c). *Entre o passado e o futuro*. Perspectiva.
7. Arendt, H. (2018d). Que é autoridade? In H. Arendt (Ed.), *Entre o passado e o futuro* (1st ed., pp. 127-187). Perspectiva.
8. Arendt, H. (2018e). A tradição e a época moderna. In H. Arendt (Ed.), *Entre o passado e o futuro* (1st ed., pp. 43-68). Perspectiva.
9. Arendt, H. (2019). *Origens do totalitarismo*. Companhia de Bolso.
10. Arendt, H. (2020). *A condição humana*. Forense.
11. Briskievicz, D. A. (2019). A dessegregação de Little Rock a partir de Hannah Arendt. *Pro-Posições*, *30*, 1-20.
12. César, M. R. de A., & Duarte, A. (2010). Hannah Arendt: pensar a crise da educação no mundo contemporâneo. *Educação e Pesquisa*, *36*(3), 823-837.
13. Correia, A. (2020). Pensar o que estamos fazendo. In H. Arendt (Ed.), *A condição humana* (1st ed., pp. 13-49). Forense.
14. Custódio, C. de O. (2011). *Educação e mundo comum em Hannah Arendt: Reflexões e relações em face da crise do mundo moderno* [Master's thesis, Universidade de São Paulo]. USP Digital

© 2023 Global Journals

Library. https://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/48/48134/tde-04072011-144919/pt-br.php
15. Fry, K. (2017). *Compreender Hannah Arendt*. Vozes.
16. Fry, K. (2020). Natalidade. In P. Hayden (Ed.), *Hannah Arendt: conceitos fundamentais* (1st ed., pp. 37-53). Vozes.
17. Klusmeyer, D. (2020). Hannah Arendt sobre autoridade e tradição. In P. Hayden (Ed.), *Hannah Arendt: conceitos fundamentais* (1st ed., pp. 184-202). Vozes.
18. Lafer, C. (2018). Da dignidade da política: sobre Hannah Arendt. In H. Arendt (Ed.), *Entre o passado e o futuro* (1st ed., pp. 9-27). Perspectiva.
19. Lalande, A. (1999). *Vocabulário técnico e crítico da filosofia*. Martins Fontes.
20. Young-Bruehl, E. (2020). *Hannah Arendt: una biografía*. Planeta.

© 2023 Global Journals

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2023 Global Journals

Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 23 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2023
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Personality and Jealousy as Attachment Trauma

By Gabriela Leuțanu
State Pedagogical University "Ion.Creangă

Abstract- *Objectives:* The main aim of this study is to identify the existing relationships between various inside and interpersonal factors and personality traits concerning to dysfunctional jealous behavior with individuals involved in romantic relationships.

Material and Methods: Quantitative (questionnaires, inventories and scales) and experimental data have been used to measure and test the study's hypothesis. A sample of 180 participants has been measured on personality traits, dysfunctional attitudes, and level of resilience in front of family stressful events.

Results: The findings show that jealousy, as a feature of attachment trauma, significantly correlates *(p<0.001)* with several personality factors, such as neuroticism *(r=0.57),* dependency *(r=0.49),* psychoticism *(r=0.45),* culpability *(r=0.57)* and ergic tension *(r=0.60)*. Contrary to previous research, the results indicate no significant effect *(F=1.69, p=0.172)* of life events and stressful family life on the experience of jealousy in the later years.

Keywords: *personality, jealousy, attachment, relationship, trauma.*

GJHSS-D Classification: *LCC: BF698-698.9*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2023. Gabriela Leuțanu. This research/review article is distributed under the terms of the Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). You must give appropriate credit to authors and reference this article if parts of the article are reproduced in any manner. Applicable licensing terms are at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

Personality and Jealousy as Attachment Trauma

Gabriela Leuțanu

Abstract- Objectives: The main aim of this study is to identify the existing relationships between various inside and interpersonal factors and personality traits concerning to dysfunctional jealous behavior with individuals involved in romantic relationships.

Material and Methods: Quantitative (questionnaires, inventories and scales) and experimental data have been used to measure and test the study's hypothesis. A sample of 180 participants has been measured on personality traits, dysfunctional attitudes, and level of resilience in front of family stressful events.

Results: The findings show that jealousy, as a feature of attachment trauma, significantly correlates ($p<0.001$) with several personality factors, such as neuroticism ($r=0.57$), dependency ($r=0.49$), psychoticism ($r=0.45$), culpability ($r=0.57$) and ergic tension ($r=0.60$). Contrary to previous research, the results indicate no significant effect ($F=1.69$, $p=0.172$) of life events and stressful family life on the experience of jealousy in the later years.

Conclusions: Personality traits start developing within early childhood, influenced mainly by the family environment a child is brought in. But as time goes by, individuals can become more attached to the new relationships they get involved in, displaying attitudes and behaviors guided mainly by their innermost fears and insecurities reflected in jealous behavior. Romanian individuals appear to discount the family background and hardships they come from, manifesting more loyalty to their family of origin, as seen in the findings of the quantitative data.

Keywords: personality, jealousy, attachment, relationship, trauma.

I. Introduction

Personality is undoubtedly a part of human nature and is the one designing our future. It shapes our life experiences and becomes the blueprint of our will, our karma, and our fate. Numerous researchers have studied some of its determining aspects, such as traits and dimensions.

Personality stands for the motivation and the argument through which we, humans, become different from each other, creating our bio-psycho-social uniqueness. Similar to a work of art, the dimensional parts of personality become a cast on our life screen, starting from a draft that turns into a piece of work in its entirety. No matter how stable it can be, personality gathers all sorts of nuances in its development.

My personal opinion is that personality development makes its contribution not only in defining an emotionally stable society that can adjust to universal needs but also in helping to discover other unknown universal facets.

It would be interesting to study the influence that the brain has on personality development, for example, which half of the brain, be it right or left, has the most profound impact in determining the direction of an individual's choice for life path. Another topic worth investigating: is to what extent the behavioral tendencies engendered by *the shadow* can impact personality development.

One should keep in mind that spirituality and intercultural differences are aspects that we imitate throughout the process of shaping our personalities. It is later on, as we take in new values and focus on inexhaustible resources, that character starts developing in attunement with ourselves, with our uniqueness that is confined to our environment.

The imprint left by parents' personalities on their children's personality is reflected by parenting style, secure attachment type, healthy relationships, assertive communication with peers, and orienting one's life itinerary towards the climax of one's self.

Throughout their life, children, the future adults, develop a prominent personality sustained not only by the attachment style they adhere to and the parenting type present in their family but also by the development of a child's emotional intelligence.

It's only natural to wish to become a parent, and to share our love as a couple with these wonderful souls. There is no one to teach us how to be parents; we merely take in roles that are shaped by the beliefs that travel with us as we grow old and sometimes we end up passing them on trans-generationally in a skewed way, or better said, adapted to the new lifestyle existing within the context of the society.

If, in the beginning, the love we have for our life partner reaches maximum intensity based on pleasure, with time, once the kids are around, this sheer pleasure turns into mutual needs and interests destined to serve the well-being of our family. Even with the love that partners nurture for each other and the life principles they hold, they will display the love for their kids in a different way creating rules for mutual living, rules that become beliefs that will eventually lead to divergent opinions in child rearing; as such, conflicts may appear inside the couple's dynamic followed by feeble signs of trauma. All of these will be perceived through the child's filter, often seeing herself as a guilty party while innocently witnessing her parents', grandparents', or

Author: Ph.D Student, "Developmental Psychology and Educational Psychology" of the State Pedagogical University "Ion.Creangă" from Chişinău, Republic of Moldova. e-mail: leutanug@yahoo.com

© 2023 Global Journals

tutors' disputes. The child starts creating her values and making use of her resources will be at war with the parental system. When the child won't be able to become fully aware of these resources, she won't trust her forces, thus giving in to those beliefs molded by her life experiences.

The child senses the intensity of parental love and is ready to judge those moments with the same passion when this love is not received. If she happens to be caught in between abuses, she will develop psychological and emotional traumas along with insecure attachment and altered personality development.

Several factors that exist in a child's personality development would be found in their adult life. Culture and religion will play their role through the beliefs passed on to the children. Once inside a group, children will take in the cultural and religious customs they find appealing since they haven't been found within their family experiences. This is why determination in child rearing becomes essential for the parents, as well as for the teachers in the education system.

Nowadays, we do not find the same emphasis on intercultural differences since there are families with partners who share different religions; as such, children grow within the ambiance of mixed concepts, gathering from there whatever is suitable to develop, to increase their resources and consolidate their values.

More often than not, spirituality becomes a close friend to those who went through traumatic experiences. They find a way to fend off the hostile environment, creating a supporting belief to guide them through life. Religious individuals will bring in their thoughts that will become part of their life as a couple or family. It is up to the child's personality whether or not she will adhere to these beliefs or practice them according to the traditions displayed within the family.

When it comes to psychotherapy, this intervention boils down to being there for the client and providing a trustful and supportive stance. The principles of psychotherapy are rooted in a co-created therapeutic relationship, wherein trust becomes transparent, and the path to self-knowledge and experientially integrating one's own needs becomes absolutely necessary.

To ensure a child's happiness, parents, as a couple, need to supply this happiness through stability, safety, care, and meeting one's needs. As long as there is marital satisfaction with affective expression reflected the couple's relationship, it is then worth studying to what extent spirituality, through religious coping, may play a role in delivering certain beliefs to the couple, thoughts that are then passed over to the children and which of these beliefs play a role in personality development.

Childhood traumas are defined by those intensely negative events lived or witnessed by a child, usually from 0 to 6 years of age. There are several events of this sort, called interpersonal traumas, that can overwhelm a child, such as abuse, neglect, and violence. But there are also traumatic events such as accidents, natural disasters, war, medical procedures, very severe diseases, or the loss of a parent or a person who had an affectionate and safe bond with the child.

It has been proven that early traumas can have a devastating effect on mental health in the adult years (Wolff & Shi 2012). Exposure to early trauma has been strongly correlated to children and adult psychopathology, including ADHD, depression, anxiety, and personality disorders (Cummings, Berkowitz, & Scribano, 2012).

Previous studies found that childhood traumas can lead to harmful consequences within one's social and psychological features, becoming the bridges between childhood traumas and future psychopathology. Nevertheless, the majority of these studies have been done with psychiatric patients raising some questions regarding the selection bias and the probe potential. Additionally, these studies have been conducted primarily on Western countries and less in Eastern countries (Li & al 2014), focusing mainly on limited aspects of psychopathology, such as depressive symptoms or personality deficits. It is interesting to note, though, that previous studies have set the foundation for intercultural variations of psychosocial development (Zhao & Zhang, 2018). Given these premises, it raises the necessity of conducting studies of the population at large to investigate the impact of childhood traumas on different psychosocial characteristics.

A study from 2018 investigated the prevalence of early traumas and their impact on psychosocial features in a large sample of university students. The findings indicated a high presence of childhood traumas with a negative effect on social and psychological development. These findings may be significant in understanding the social and psychological mechanisms of early life stress (Wang et al, 2018).

With the early disorganized attachment style, children develop a relationship pattern that revolves around strong feelings of anxiety and fear, leading to volatile behavior. Generally, when children become frightened or anxious, they will instantly look for the proximity of their mother's comfort and safety, still the disorganized style, this exact attachment figure becomes the source of anxiety. Once they try to get closer, the anxiety level can increase, leading to more pressure, and as a result, the child will be torn between the need to get comforted and the need to avoid the attachment figure. These children will become very nervous and emotionally triggered around their caregivers, not knowing how to react around them. It is interesting to note the similarity of features and reactions present in those children with disorganized attachment styles and those who went through traumatic events.

© 2023 Global Journals

"For a child going through her early and later childhood, attachment relationships represent the major environmental factors that influence and determine brain development as the child grows older. Attachment is the link to the interpersonal relationship which enables the immature brain to use the mature mechanisms of parent's brain to organize its mechanisms and processes." (Dr. Siegel, 1999, p. 67 and 85).

The present study has focused mainly on the experience of jealousy as a feature influenced by the traumatic events that marked the development of an individual's attachment style. I was primarily interested in investigating whether family relationships and life events marred by trauma and stress have a significant impact on the dimension of jealousy present in individuals. Another main point of investigation revolves around a potential link between jealousy as an attachment trauma and personality factors.

The research has included a sample of 180 individuals within the age range of 18 to 35. They have been presented with questionnaires to measure several dimensions of personality traits as well as dysfunctional attitudes and level of resiliency within family events contexts. Afterward, a sample of 24 participants was selected by using the criteria of similarity in results for the dimensions of interest. This sample got divided into two groups of 12, one group representing the intervention group while the other was used as a control group for comparison after the implementation of the rehabilitation program.

II. Material and Methods

To a sample consisting of 180 participants between the ages of 18 and 35, males and females (50% females), living in rural and urban areas (80.56% urban), high school graduates (48.9%), undergraduate (36.7%) and MS (14.4%) were administered the following instruments:

- The *Big Five Personality Test* with scales measuring: *Neuroticism*, *Agreeability* and *Openness* with internal consistency (Cronbach's Alpha) ranging from *.79* to *.85*
- *Eysenck Personality Questionnaire – R* with scales measuring *Psychoticism* and *Lie* with Cronbach's Alpha of *.78* for Lie and *.70* for Psychoticism
- *16 Personality Factor Questionnaire* (Cattell, 1950) using the scales to measure factors such as: *E – Conformity vs. Dominance, L – Alexia vs. Protense, O – Trust vs. Culpability, Q2 – Group dependency vs. Self-sufficient, Q3 – Weak self vs. Strong self, Q4 – Low ego tension vs. High ego tension.* Cronbach's Alpha ranges from *.50* to *.88*
- *Dysfunctional Attitude Scale* (Weissman, 1978) to measure the proneness for depression
- *Risk and Resiliency Inventory* (King, 2006) measuring the level of resiliency and risk when confronted with life adversities, stressful family events, and relationships with the family of origin.

Hypothesis

1. It is presumed that individuals with less stressful family events will manifest a lower level of jealousy as compared to those who passed through traumatizing life experiences and lived in families with stressful events.
2. It is presumed that there is a significant relationship between jealousy as an attachment trauma and personality factors.

Analyses

Analyses were conducted using R Programming for Data Science, version 4.2.3, and the descriptive analysis of amplitude indicates that variables such as *Openness, Agreeability*, *Neuroticism, Psychoticism, Lie, Dominance, Jealousy, Dependency, Life events,* and *Childhood* have a low amplitude to be treated as continuous variables. Therefore, they will be analyzed as non-parametric data. The rest of the variables, *Family Events (Skewness=-0.93, SE=0.18),* display a negative asymmetric distribution, *Culpability (Kurtosis=-1.15, SE=0.36)*, *Trust (Kurtosis=-1.18, SE=0.36)*, *Ergic tension (Kurtosis=-1.13, SE=0.36)* and *Dysfunctional attitudes (Kurtosis=-1.38, SE=0.36)* display platykurtic distribution, whereas *Family events (Kurtosis=4.03, SE=0.36)* presents a leptokurtic distribution of data.

III. Results

Analyzing the first hypothesis through linear regression on jealousy as a criterion variable, we cannot reject the null hypothesis ($F(3, 142)=1.69$, $p = 0.172$), meaning that there is no significant effect of life events, childhood, and family events on the feeling of jealousy.

© 2023 Global Journals

Table 1: Coefficients of variables

	B	Beta	SE	t	p
(Intercept)	11.24		2.95	3.81	< 0.001
Life events	0.1	0.06	0.14	0.72	= 0.471
Childhood	0.18	0.16	0.09	1.99	= 0.049
Family events	0.09	0.06	0.12	0.72	= 0.473

Table 2: Characteristics of variables

Variables	N	Min	Max	Median	Average	Std. deviation
Jealousy	180.00	12.00	20.00	17.00	16.43	2.31
Life events	180.00	14.00	18.00	15.00	15.63	1.40
Childhood	180.00	12.00	18.00	14.00	14.26	2.07
Family events	180.00	3.00	14.00	12.00	11.97	1.57

The second hypothesis, through Spearman correlation, is confirmed, meaning that jealousy positively correlates with several personality factors, such as: *Neuroticism* (*=0.25, p < 0.001*), *Psychoticism* (*=0.45, p < 0.001*), *Culpability* (*=0.57, p < 0.001*), *Dependency* (*=0.49, p< 0.001*), and *Ergic tension* (*=0.60, p < 0.001*).

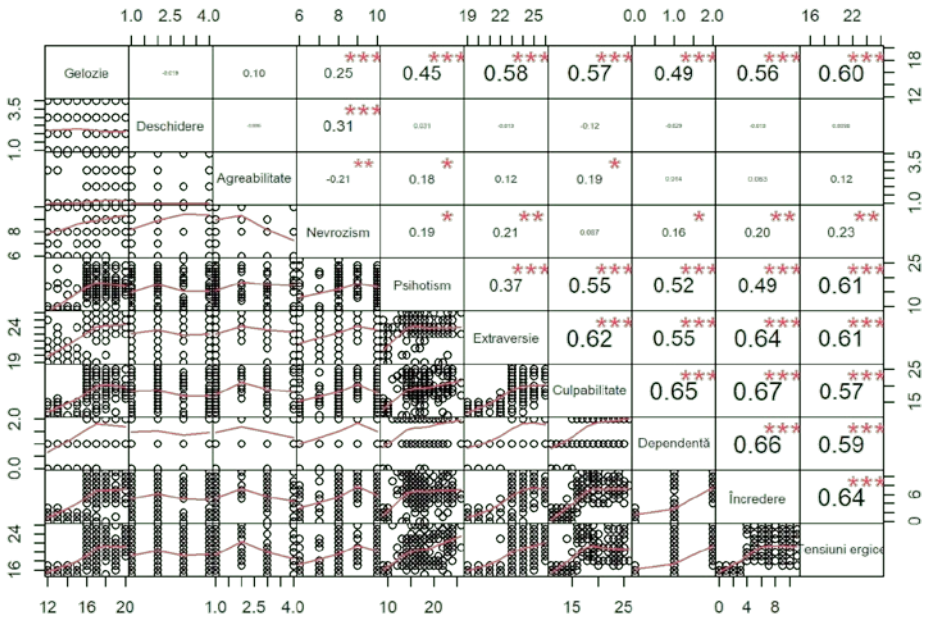


Figure 1: Spearman correlation matrix

IV. Conclusions

Findings indicate that stressful life events during childhood within the family of origin are less likely to influence the dimension of jealousy in individuals, which can be explained by the fact that individuals today do not find their past life experiences as harmful as one would think. In Romanian culture, we are educated to see families as a supportive environment regardless of the emotional turmoil that might come across it.

Other findings indicate a strong correlation between jealousy and personality factors, such as neuroticism, psychoticism, guilt, dependency, trust, and ergic tensions. More than that, with aging and going through stressful life events, dysfunctional attitudes can increase, which is explained by the social-economic downfalls individuals confront nowadays. The good news is that resorting to a rehabilitation program at any time in life can become a first step into bettering one's attitudes in existing relationships, such as the findings indicate after an intervention for the dimension of jealousy seen here as an attachment trauma feature.

With the rehabilitation program provided for the experimental group, the attachment issues are brought out in the open, ensuring, a better understanding of the importance this aspect has in the life of individuals and their emotional relationships.

© 2023 Global Journals

References Références Referencias

1. Cattell, R. B. (1950). *Personality: A systematic theoretical and factual study*, 1st ed. McGraw-Hill. https://doi.org/10.1037/10773-000
2. Cummings, M., Berkowitz, S. J., & Scribano, P. V. (2012). Treatment of childhood sexual abuse: An updated review. *Current Psychiatry Report, 14*, pp. 599–607. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-012-0316-5.
3. Li, X., Wang, Z., Hou, Y., Wang, Y., Liu, J., Wang, C. (2014) *Effects of childhood trauma on personality in a sample of Chinese adolescents.* Child Abus Negl. 38: pp. 788–796. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu. 2013.09.002.
4. Siegel, D. (1999). *The Developing Mind: Toward A Neurobiology of Interpersonal Experience*, The Guildford Press, p. 67; p. 85.
5. Siegel, D. (2007), *The Mindful Brain: Reflection and Attunement in the Cultivation of Well-Being*, W.W. Norton & Company.
6. Wang, D., Lu, S., Gao, W., Wei, Z., Duan, J., & Hu, S. et al. (2018). The Impacts of Childhood Trauma on Psychosocial Features in a Chinese Sample of Young Adults. *Psychiatry Investigation*, *15*(11), pp. 1046-1052. doi: 10.30773/pi.2018.09.26.
7. Wolff, N., & Shi, J. (2012). Childhood and adult trauma experiences of incarcerated persons and their relationship to adult behavioral health problems andtreatment. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 9*, pp. 1908–1926. https://doi.org/10.3390/ ijerph9051908.
8. Zhao, S., Zhang, J. (2018). *The association between depression, suicidal ideation and psychological strains in college students: a cross-national study. Culture, medicine and psychiatry, 42*, pp. 914–928. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11013-018-9607-6

© 2023 Global Journals

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2023 Global Journals

Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 23 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2023
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Proceso de Turistificación en Santa Clara del Cobre, Pueblo Mágico de Michoacán

By Claudia Alejandra Pureco Sánchez
Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Unidad 163-Uruapan

Introducción: Santa Clara del Cobre Como Destino Turístico- Con la llegada del Ferrocarril a finales del siglo XIX al sur oriente de México, Michoacán se convertiría en un referente muy importante como destino turístico, algunos autores (Hiriart 2016, Zúñiga 2019) coinciden en que fue durante las décadas de 1920 y 1930 que se puede hablar ya de un importante proceso de "turistificación" del destino, sobre todo vinculado con el Lago de Pátzcuaro, lugar icónico de la cultura P'urhépecha. Para el caso de Santa Clara del Cobre fue a mediados de la década de 1940, con la primera Exposición y Concurso de Artefactos de Cobre que se realizó en septiembre de 1946 que se inició un importante proyecto de turistificación de la región, refiriendo que la razón era superar el retroceso económico que se vivía en el pueblo, resultado de los estragos de la Revolución Mexicana y en pro de la construcción de un Estado Nación Posrevolucionario, apostando al turismo para la reactivación de la economía local y regional.

Palabras clave: *turistificación, pueblo mágico, santa clara del cobre, michoacán.*

GJHSS-D Classification: *LCC: HM548-HM548.5*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



© 2023. Claudia Alejandra Pureco Sánchez. This research/review article is distributed under the terms of the Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). You must give appropriate credit to authors and reference this article if parts of the article are reproduced in any manner. Applicable licensing terms are at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

Proceso de Turistificación en Santa Clara del Cobre, Pueblo Mágico de Michoacán

Claudia Alejandra Pureco Sánchez

Palabras clave: *turistificación, pueblo mágico, santa clara del cobre, michoacán.*

I. Introducción: Santa Clara del Cobre Como Destino Turístico

Con la llegada del Ferrocarril a finales del siglo XIX al sur oriente de México,Michoacán se convertiría en un referente muy importante como destino turístico, algunos autores (Hiriart 2016, Zúñiga 2019) coinciden en que fue durante las décadas de 1920 y 1930 que se puede hablar ya de un importante proceso de "turistificación" del destino, sobre todo vinculado con el Lago de Pátzcuaro, lugar icónico de la cultura P'urhépecha. Para el caso de Santa Clara del Cobre fue a mediados de la década de 1940, con la primera Exposición y Concurso de Artefactos de Cobre que se realizó en septiembre de 1946 que se inició un importante proyecto de turistificación de la región, refiriendo que la razón era superar el retroceso económico que se vivía en el pueblo, resultado de los estragos de la Revolución Mexicana y en pro de la construcción de un Estado Nación Posrevolucionario, apostando al turismo para la reactivación de la economía local yregional. [1]

La promoción de este evento incentivó a que el siguiente año (1947), se formara un primer comité organizador que propuso la creación de la primera Feria del Cobre con la idea de que se celebrara anualmente, para la tercera edición en 1949 se conformó un nuevo comité conocido como Comité Amigos del Cobrero quienes consideraron cambiar la fecha para que coincidieran con las fiestas patronales del pueblo en el mes de agosto, comité que funcionó hasta el año de 1958. La visita a Santa Clara a partir de esas fechas incluiría conocer otros destinos, situación por la que el 3 de junio de 1950 el presidente municipal envió al presidente estatal de Turismo una lista informativa sobre otros lugares importantes en la región: 1.- Pueblo y lago de Zirahuén con 1600 habitantes y como medio de transporte un camino de herradura; 2.- Irícuaro y Rancho de Huero con nacimientos de agua y como medio de transporte un camino de herradura; 3.- Cerros y zonas boscosas, cerro de la cantera, cerro de San Miguel, Cuitzitan y el Jaboncillal, y 4.- en la cabecera municipal (Villa Escalante ahora Santa Clara del Cobre) la Feria del cobrey la venta de artefactos de cobre en el mes de agosto, frazadas de lana corriente y costuras manuales de la mujer, "para cuyo efecto las exportaciones de este lugar se hacen por ferrocarril embarcando en Pátzcuaro". [2]

Para los siguientes años fueron ya los recien llamados *artesanos* quienes se encargaron de su organización, situación que cambió en 1964 cuando el presidente municipal en turno integró un nuevo comité llamado: Comité Organizador de la Feria del Cobre, año que se designó por primera vez a la Reina de la Feria tomando el carácter de Feria Nacional del Cobre. [3] En estas ediciones se incluyó también un desfile donde participaba la Comunidad Indígena de Villa Escalante, legalmente creada en 1940, y los barrios tradicionales quienes en su recorrido mostraban las etapas de la siembra de maíz en escenarios montados sobre carretas jaladas por yunta de bueyes, a este desfile se fueron incluyendo otros personajes importantes como "Pito Pérez" personaje de la obra de "La Vida Inútil de Pito Pérez " del escritor José Rubén Romero y el pelotón de hombres a píe y a caballo de Salvador Escalante, reconocido por liderar el movimiento revolucionario en el municipio en 1911.

Author: *Doctora en Antropología Social por el Colegio de Michoacán, Miembro del Comité Ciudadano "Santa Clara del Cobre, Pueblo Mágico" del año 2010 al 2019. Docente de la Universidad Pedagógica Nacional Unidad 163-Uruapan. Este trabajo se enmarca en el proyecto del grupo de trabajo: Proyecto Ciencia de Frontera, Comunidades y Futuros, CONAHCYT: CF-2023-G-1370.*
e-mail: xaratanga1203@gmail.com

[1] El pueblo de Santa Clara del Cobre, se encuentra ubicado en el centro del Estado de Michoacán a2100 metros sobre el nivel del mar, abarca una superficie de 486 kilómetros cuadrados con tres tenencias: Opopeo, Istaro y Zirahuén, y 62 rancherías. Valle enclavado en la Sierra Madre Occidental, hidrografía conformada principalmente por la cuenca del Lago de Zirahuén, clima templado-húmedo con lluvias en verano. El municipio tiene 42,217 habitantes de los cuales 14,359 viven en la cabecera municipal. Información obtenida en el Archivo de la Dirección de Cultura y Turismo del Municipio de Salvador Escalante, Michoacán (2019). Es interesante como en esta primera Exposición y Concurso no se refiere al concepto de artesanías.

[2] Fuente: Archivo Municipal de Salvador Escalante, 3 de junio de 1950 en Pureco, 2017.

[3] El Comité Amigos del Cobrero funcionó desde 1949 hasta 1957 (Rojas, 1966).

© 2023 Global Journals

Con la Feria Nacional del Cobre formalizada como producto turístico, la Dirección de Arte Popular de la Secretaria de Educación Pública con el apoyo de algunos artesanos, instituyeron una escuela en 1973 a la que llamaron "Casa del Artesano", escuela que fue administrada por los propios artesanos y dirigida en un primer momento por el maestro cobrero Félix Parra Espino, creada con la finalidad de enseñar a los jóvenes y niños las nuevas técnicas para la industria del cobre, en este proyecto, los maestros eran remunerados por el gobierno y las artesanías elaboradas se vendían al Fondo Nacional del Fomento de las Artesanías (FONART) con sucursal en la ciudad de Morelia desde donde se exportaban a Estados Unidos, Canadá y Alemania.[4] Durante el año de 1976 se instituyó también el Centro de Capacitación para el Trabajo Tecnológico e Industrial No. 166 (CECATI) (Barriga, 2004) incentivando y fortaleciendo el trabajo artesanal, así año con año, la Feria Nacional del Cobre se fue transformando en el escaparate más importante para la promoción y venta de artesanía de cobre del Estado de Michoacán.

Así para finales del siglo XX y principios del siglo XXI, Santa Clara del Cobre figuraba ya como uno de los destinos turísticos más importantes del estado de Michoacán, una población que conservaba una gran diversidad de expresiones culturales así como monumentos históricos y arqueológicos,[5] es por esta riqueza cultural que el 23 de marzo de 2001 el Presidente de la República, Vicente Fox Quezada a través del Diario Oficial de la Nación, manifestó que el Gobierno Federal estaba interesado en preservar y difundir la riqueza cultural de la Nación como elemento de identidad y unidad del Pueblo Mexicano, y que reconociendo el valor histórico, social, político y artístico con fundamento en los artículos de la Constitución Mexicana de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, la Ley Federal Sobre Monumentos y Zonas Arqueológicos, Artísticas e Históricos, La Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos, Ley de Planeación, Ley General de Bienes Nacionales, Ley Orgánica del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia y la Ley Orgánica de la Administración Pública y Federal, establecía el Decreto de Santa Clara del Cobre como Zona de Monumentos Históricos.[6]

La protección legal de la Zona de Monumentos Históricos incluía el centro histórico con inmuebles construidos desde el siglo XVI hasta el siglo XX, siendo uno de los más icónicos para Santa Clara la Capilla del Hospital o Huatapera, un espacio que funcionaba para la organización del ciclo ceremonial de fiestas del Sistema Normativo de Cargos y la Comunidad Indígena de Villa Escalante. Por la existencia de la Capilla del Hospital de herencia quiroguiana y la elaboración de artesanías de cobre se incluyó a Santa Clara del Cobre en el proyecto de la Ruta Don Vasco, creado por la Secretaria de Turismo Estatal en 2008.

Hiriart y Mínguez (2016) refieren que la Secretaria de Turismo de Michoacán conceptualizó y desarrolló La Ruta Don Vasco, que surgió como un producto turístico emergente para impulsar el desarrollo endógeno del territorio de la región lacustre de Pátzcuaro mediante un corredor turístico-cultural-religioso, y que el proyecto conceptual fue presentado en 2011 en FITUR (España) resultando ganador del premio al Mejor Producto Turístico Internacional.

La ruta incluyó dos circuitos territoriales: *El alma de don Vasco* y *Esencia purépecha*, en ambos recorridos el argumento temático eran los templos, capillas y conventos, la espiritualidad, los pueblos-hospital, la cocina de siempre y el entorno natural, en teoría los objetivos planteados por la Secretaria de Turismo de Michoacán eran buscar el beneficio económico de las comunidades receptoras y mejorar su calidad de vida, así como conseguir la preservación del medio ambiente y del patrimonio cultural material e inmaterial.

Aunque el proyecto incluía en su propuesta diferentes comunidades ubicadas en la región del Lago de Pátzcuaro, la Cañada de los Once Pueblos y la Sierra, también a tres Pueblos Mágicos: Pátzcuaro, Santa Clara del Cobre y Tzintzuntzan, además de tres zonas arqueológicas: Tzintzuntzan, Ihuatzio y Tingambato, así como la inclusión de las declaratorias de la UNESCO: Noche de Muertos, la Cocina mexicana y el Canto Tradicional de la *Pirekua,* sin embargo no se tuvo el impacto esperado en las comunidades, por un lado, ocasionado por la inseguridad social vivida en el Estado de Michoacán, y por otro, el desinterés por parte de muchas comunidades indígenas las cuales no habían sido consultadas:

> Elementos culturales que, si bien contribuyen a la creación de ese imaginario turístico y social sobre ese "Michoacán Indígena", es conveniente mencionar que el turismo no representa interés alguno para la mayoría de los habitantes de estas poblaciones. Lo que ocurre es un proceso de cosificación de las comunidades y los actores sociales vistos como meros recursos atractivos (Zúñiga, 2019: 94).

[4] Revista: El pescador, año XXXVIII, domingo 21 de mayo de 1978, No. 503, Tacámbaro, Michoacán,Pág. 6.

[5] Los recientes estudios arqueológicos en Santa Clara del Cobre han estado a cargo del arqueólogo José Luis Punzo del INAH-MICHOACÁN.

[6] El documento además señala que para su preservación como legado histórico, se le otorga la protección que las Leyes de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos establecen para esos casos, incorporándose a partir de esa fecha al régimen previsto por la Ley Federal de Monumentos Históricos, Zonas Arqueológicos, Artísticos e Históricos, la cual dispone que es de utilidad pública la investigación, protección, conservación, restauración y recuperación de los monumentos y zonas demonumentos históricos como parte integrante del Patrimonio Cultural de Nación (Documento en Archivo Personal).

© 2023 Global Journals

II. Santa Clara del Cobre: El 8vo Pueblo Mágico de Michoacán



Recibimiento del nombramiento de Santa Clara como Pueblo Mágico: J. Uilde Carlos Pureco Ruiz, Claudia Alejandra Pureco Sánchez, 16 de junio de 2010.

Hace poco más de una década, Santa Clara del Cobre recibió el nombramiento de Pueblo Mágico (16 de junio de 2010), mismo año en que fue declarada la *Pirekua* y la Cocina Mexicana como Patrimonio Cultural de la Humanidad por la UNESCO,[7] un reconocimiento que se integraba a la larga lista de proyectos de la población que privilegiaban al turismo como principal derrama económica local y regional. Algunos de los principales elementos que integraron el expediente, elaborado por el Comité Ciudadano, fueron la elaboración de artesanía de cobre que recuperaban técnicas de fundición prehispánicas, espacios arquitectónicos catalogados como patrimonio cultural, una amplia oferta de cocina tradicional, la existencia de un calendario anual de fiestas cívicas y religiosas, la activa participación de una organización barrial tradicional y el Lago de Zirahuén.[8]

Así que el patrimonio natural, material e inmaterial convertido en un producto turístico contó con la colaboración de las autoridades municipales y de los Comités Ciudadanos, a quienes se les solicitaba un inventario sobre sus monumentos históricos, su patrimonio gastronómico y artesanal, así como de sus costumbres y tradiciones. En Santa Clara del Cobre el Comité Ciudadano se integró por representantes de la sociedad civil (mayormente empresarios locales), representantes del H. Ayuntamiento (Dirección de Turismo), representantes de la Secretaria del Estado de Michoacán y Representantes del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (Centro INAH-Michoacán) y algunos sacerdotes parroquiales, durante los años que ha permanecido el nombramiento, el programa ha designado recursos, sobre todo para la modificación de los centros históricos de las poblaciones nominadas, mayormente con la intención de ser un atractivoturístico que cubra todas las necesidades en ese sentido. El turismo que ha llegado a Santa Clara "Pueblo Mágico" se ha conformado mayormente por turismo nacional, seguido por el turismo norteamericano y el resto en un menor porcentaje de Europay Latinoamérica.[9]

La incorporación de Santa Clara al Programa Nacional de Pueblos Mágicos no sólo trajo consigo un nuevo impulso al destino turístico, que implicó la creación de nuevos productos, sino también la vinculación con otras poblaciones del municipio como la tenencia de Zirahuén y Opopeo, además de diversos conflictos entre la población por la falta de consulta ciudadana ante las constantes modificaciones estéticas del centro histórico y una disputa entre el sistema de Barrios y la Iglesia que resultó en su invisibilización ante el proyecto de potencializar al "Pueblo Mágico".

La inclusión de las tenencias de Opopeo y Zirahuén al proyecto de Pueblo Mágico se estableció a partir de dos criterios, el primero de ellos era la oferta artesanal, natural y gastronómica que ambas poblaciones poseían, y la segunda era lacercanía a Santa Clara del Cobre, es a partir de su nombramiento

[7] 16 de noviembre la Cocina Mexicana, 17 de noviembre la *Pirekua*.
[8] Hoy día Michoacán cuenta con 9 "Pueblos Mágicos": Pátzcuaro, Santa Clara del Cobre, Tacámbaro, Tzintzuntzan, Cuitzeo del Porvenir, Tlalpujahua, Mineral de Angangeo, Jiquilpan de Juárez y Paracho.

[9] En 2016 la empresa PERFITUR (Perfil de turista) y la Empresa IKER Análisis de Mercados S.A. de C.V. realizó un monitorio en los pueblos mágicos de Tacámbaro, Santa Clara del Cobre, Tzintzuntzan y Pátzcuaro, refiriendo que durante este año esta región estimó 1 millón 805 mil turistas y visitantes, con una derrama económica aproximada de $1,900 millones de pesos. Particularmenteen Santa Clara del Cobre ese año el 86% de los turistas y visitantes son mexicanos, 8.8% de EstadosUnidos y 5.2% procedentes de otros países. Sobre los turistas nacionales, estos eran mayormentedel propio estado de Michoacán y otros del Distrito Federal, Jalisco, Guanajuato, Estado de México y Querétaro (Información obtenida de Archivo Personal del Comité Pueblo Mágico).

© 2023 Global Journals

en 2010 que se comienzan a planificar los programas anuales entre los miembros del Comité Pueblo Mágico y las autoridades municipales, dichos programas incluían modificaciones al centro histórico, festivales artesanales y gastronómicos así como la vinculación con todos los Comités Ciudadanos de los otros pueblos Mágicos de Michoacán. La vinculación con los Comités Ciudadanos tenía como objetivo potencializar los destinos, recibir capacitaciones, la creación de nuevos productos turísticos en común y sobre todo seguir las reglas de operación para no perder el nombramiento, por lo que año tras año todos los Pueblos Mágicos eran evaluados por la Secretaria de Turismo del Estado de Michoacán.



Personaje de Pito Pérez interpretado por Cesar Urincho (Archivo personal Claudia Pureco).

Sin duda el nombramiento de la Gastronomía Mexicana con su paradigma michoacano fue una de las propuestas más impulsadas a nivel estatal y local, las muestras gastronómicas se fueron convirtiendo en un referente de las actividades organizadas por el Municipio, creando nuevos platillos integrados a la lista de lo "tradicional" como la torta de tostada de carne apache en Santa Clara del Cobre, el mole rojo con tortillas de maíz criollo de Opopeo y el caldo de pescado de Zirahuén, iniciativas que mediaban los conflictos entre Cabecera y tenencias donde además se destinaban nuevos recursos del programa Pueblo Mágico como un mecanismo de inclusión.[10]

En el sector artesanal se continuó el impulso a la artesanía de cobre y se incluyeron en las muestras artesanales las sillas tejidas en palma de Opopeo y los bordados en punto de cruz y artesanía de madera de Zirahuén. Del mismo modo, se creó la Ruta de las fraguas, un recorrido por los talleres artesanales que implicó la inversión en infraestructura, en la que sólo se incluyeron 12 talleres, los cuales tuvieron un importante impulso económico.[11]

Como parte de los nuevos productos, se desarrollaron algunos festivales con la intención de promover el destino desde un enfoque cultural, así en el año 2012 por iniciativa de un grupo de ciudadanos se realizó el primer Festival Nacional Cultural Pito Pérez en el contexto de la Semana Santa y que se centraba en el personaje de Jesús Pérez Gaona originario de Santa Clara del Cobre, quién fue inmortalizado por la pluma del escritor José Rubén Romero y llevado a la pantalla grande en varias ocasiones, y aunque este festival sólo tuvo 3 ediciones, posicionó la imagen de Pito Pérez no sólo en lo local, sino a nivel regional y entre los Pueblos Mágicos de Michoacán. Así mismo, desde el año 2016, Santa Clara del Cobre y Zirahuén se han sumado a los eventos de la Noche de Muertos con los concursos de los altares y el paseo de las catrinas como una propuesta alterna a la ribera del Lago de Pátzcuaro.

Pero también como referí antes, a la par de proyectos turísticos, surgieron algunos conflictos por las constantes modificaciones estéticas al centro histórico, así como disputas internas que en un principio fueron invisibilizadas por las autoridades municipales para proteger el nombramiento de Pueblo Mágico. El primer conflicto se dio entre la Organización Barrial tradicional desde agosto del 2010, año en que iniciara una disputa con el sacerdote parroquial por la intromisión de éste en la organización barrial, un conflicto que se visibilizó sólo hasta el año 2016 tras un complejo proceso de judicialización que se centraría en los Derechos Humanos, la libre determinación y la autonomía promovido por una parte de la organización Barrial tradicional contra la Secretaria de Asuntos Religiosos del Estado de Michoacán. Parte del reclamo de la organización barrial se centraba en el respeto del patrimonio cultural tanto tangible como intangible, del cual se consideraban sus salvaguardias. Dicho conflicto permitió a los cargueros barriales preguntarse sobre aquello que consideraban sus propios patrimonios

[10] En Zirahuén se destinó presupuesto del Programa para la formalización de las cocinas tradicionales del muelle general.
[11] Información recabada durante trabajo de campo (2018).

© 2023 Global Journals

frente a otros elementos que ellos no salvaguardaban.[12] A esta preocupación por reconocer el patrimonio cultural material e inmaterial se incorporó también el del patrimonio biocultural salvaguardado por la Comunidad Indígena de Villa Escalante, quienes durante la última década habían iniciado una serie de proyectos turísticos centrados en la puesta en valor de sus bosques.[13]

Por otro lado, la disputa por la no consulta ciudadana de la modificación del centro histórico se dio en el año 2018 tras una publicación en las redes sociales, en éstas se veía la destrucción de dos pilas de agua y el piso de la plaza, estas imágenes indignaron a la población, quienes solicitaron al Presidente Municipal una reunión urgente para conocer el proyecto de modificación, ésta se llevó a cabo en la Casa de Cultura entre ciudadanos y autoridades, ahí el arquitecto a cargo presentó los planos del proyecto, refiriendo que éste había sido aprobado con anticipación por los miembros del Comité Pueblo Mágico, INAH y Autoridades del Municipio, como conclusión de esta reunión fueron algunos cambios a los planos originales por parte de los pobladores y en común acuerdo con las autoridades, comprometiéndose el Presidente Municipal a crear un Consejo Consultivo Ciudadano, lo que a la larga resultó en nuevas tensiones por la reubicación de vendedores ambulantes y de las actividades culturales que tradicionalmente se realizaban en la plaza, derivando en su desplazamiento a otros espacios fuera del centro incluyendo a los eventos de la tradicional Feria Nacional del Cobre.

A partir del año 2019, con la pandemia del COVID-19, la oferta turística tuvo un importante retroceso en el destino, no así la producción de artesanías de cobre pues los artesanos refieren que comenzaron a tener mayor demanda en la elaboración de muebles, tinas y tarjas de baño, así como utensilios de cocina para exportación pues el cobre "ayuda para que no se propague la enfermedad".[14]

Así, en el contexto de la pandemia surgió en Santa Clara un nuevo proyecto vinculado a la producción de mezcal, a esta iniciativa se sumó el Presidente Municipal y los productores de la Unión de Mezcaleros del Estado de Michoacán, fue la familia Hernández, que por generaciones había elaborado alambiques de cobre para la destilación del mezcal, quienes en noviembre del 2020 se vincularon a este nuevo proyecto instalando un punto de venta de mezcal michoacano, participando activamente en los "mercaditos mezcaleros" y creando marcas propias desde la iniciativa de las mujeres con importantes vínculos con la asociación Mujeres mezcaleras y Magueyeras de Michoacán A.C.[15]

Por otro lado, la Comunidad Indígena de Villa Escalante también reinauguró su proyecto ecoturístico La Huachisca a finales del año 2020 con un Torneo Nacional de Gotcha, este proyecto que iniciara en el 2008 con el nombre de El Gran Escape impulsaría un nuevo proyecto ecoturístico que oferta los bosques comunales, el senderismo y una nueva tirolesa para los deportistas extremos y de naturaleza, proyecto vinculado a las actividades acuáticas que ya se han llevado a cabo años anteriores en el Lago de Zirahuén.

Para noviembre de 2021, la nueva alcaldesa de Santa Clara del Cobre ha lanzado la marca turística *Santa Clara del Cobre, el Corazón de Michoacán* la cual tiene "la finalidad de contar con una marca propia dentro del sector turístico, es impulsar la reactivación a través de la actividad artesanal y prestadores de servicio".[16] la cual ha promovido durante los 3 años de su administración, sin resolver otros asuntos como el conflicto del Sistema Normativo de Cargos y el despojo de la Huatapera a la Comunidad Indígena de Villa Escalante, conflictos que siguen latentes y en continua desestabilidad social. Finalmente este 23 de abril de 2023, el Gobernador de Michoacán, Alfredo Ramírez Bedolla y el Secretario Federal de Turismo, Miguel Torruco Márques, entregaron a los 9 presidentes de los pueblos mágicos la actualización de sus nombramientos en Paracho, el último pueblo en recibir su denominación.

III. Reflexiones Finales

Sin duda el nombramiento de Santa Clara del Cobre como Pueblo Mágico impulsó la puesta en valor de nuevos productos turísticos incluyendo a otras poblaciones como Opopeo y Zirahuén, a la par de abrir nuevos campos de disputa como el caso de los barrios tradicionales y la Comunidad Indígena de Villa Escalante. Tras 13 años de haber recibido el nombramiento, no existe una apropiación del proyecto pues éste ha servido para invisibilizar los conflictos, las desigualdades y ha beneficiado a unos cuantos, sin embargo, año tras año las autoridades municipales

[12] El desplazamiento y conflicto entre Barrios e Iglesia incluiría también un cambio en la fecha de la Feria Nacional del Cobre que se realizaba tradicionalmente en el mes de agosto junto con las fiestas religiosas, a partir del año (2018) las fiestas se dividieron en culturale y religiosas.

[13] Este conflicto se encuentra documentado en mi tesis doctoral: La disputa por la autonomía, la identidad étnica y el patrimonio cultural: el caso de los Barrios Originales de Santa Clara del Cobre, Michoacán, El Colegio de Michoacán, 2020.

[14] Información personal de artesanos cobreros de Santa Clara.

[15] Entrevista a Estrella Castillo Reyes al frente de "Cobre Mezcal Los Hernández" y su primera marca "Puritito Corazón" de Santa Clara del Cobre, Michoacán, 2021. La marca "Mercadito Mezcalero" realizó su 7ª Edición en el Festival de las Ánimas 2021 en Quiroga Michoacán del 31 de octubre al 1º de Noviembre".

[16] eldiariovision.com.mx (8 de noviembre de 2021).

© 2023 Global Journals

hacen todo lo posible por cubrir los requisitos para la permanencia del nombramiento y continuan en la creación de nuevos productos, "inventando" nuevas tradiciones en aras de satisfacer las políticas neoliberales de consumo.

Fuentes Consultadas

1. Hiriart Pardo, Carlos Alberto y Mínguez García, Ma del Carmen (2016) Coyuntura, Retos, Oportunidades y Estrategias para el desarrollo de un producto turístico cultural en México: la Ruta de Don Vasco en Michoacán en International Journal of Scientific Managment, Tourism, Vol. 2, No. 3, Pág. 369-396.
2. Pureco Sánchez, Claudia Alejandra (2012) Gobierno Tradicional y sistema decargos en una comunidad mestiza: El caso de la Huatapera de Santa Clara del Cobre, Michoacán (1940-2007), Editorial Académica Española, Germany.
3. Pureco Sánchez, Claudia Alejandra (2014) Santa Clara del Cobre y su organización social tradicional en Santa Clara del Cobre, Zona de Monumentos Históricos, México, INAH-CONACULTA (Pág. 49-48-57).
4. Zúñiga Bravo, Federico Gerardo (2019) Espacio Turístico y Turismo Cultural a través de la Ruta Don Vasco en Revista Geografía de América Latina, No. 63, Julio/Diciembre, Pág. 75-100.

© 2023 Global Journals

Global Journal of human-social science: D
History, Archaeology & Anthropology
Volume 23 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2023
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Molino Carcarañá de Thomas Thomas y Asociados. Su Rol en la Construcción del Paisaje Cultural Pampeano (Santa Fe, Argentina 1875-1908)

By Irene Dosztal & Gabriel Asorey
Universidad Nacional de Rosario

Abstract- Time works, slowly or vertiginously transforms the material world through human actions and natural processes or as consequences thereof.

For this reason, the understanding of the material, tangible world of human production processes allows us to access the works associated with said processes; opening up a specific and particular field of culture, of practices, with a primary purpose, which is to apprehend aspects of the historical development that originates these constructions.

In this article we focus on the construction of the *Pampean* cultural landscape that took place in the second half of the 19th century, particularly in the Province of Santa Fe (Argentina), taking as analysis variables the railway line of the *Central Argentino* and the first hydraulic mill in colonia Carcarañá.

Keywords: cultural landscape, pampas, hydraulic mill, railway, xix century.

GJHSS-D Classification: LCC: HT169.A7



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2023. Irene Dosztal & Gabriel Asorey. This research/review article is distributed under the terms of the Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). You must give appropriate credit to authors and reference this article if parts of the article are reproduced in any manner. Applicable licensing terms are at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

Molino Carcarañá de Thomas Thomas y Asociados. Su Rol en la Construcción del Paisaje Cultural Pampeano (Santa Fe, Argentina 1875-1908)

Irene Dosztal [α] & Gabriel Asorey [σ]

Abstract- Time works, slowly or vertiginously transforms the material world through human actions and natural processes or as consequences thereof.

For this reason, the understanding of the material, tangible world of human production processes allows us to access the works associated with said processes; opening up a specific and particular field of culture, of practices, with a primary purpose, which is to apprehend aspects of the historical development that originates these constructions.

In this article we focus on the construction of the *Pampean* cultural landscape that took place in the second half of the 19th century, particularly in the Province of Santa Fe (Argentina), taking as analysis variables the railway line of the *Central Argentino* and the first hydraulic mill in colonia Carcarañá. Both understood as products of political decisions whose final objective was to position Argentina in the international market through the export of raw materials and their derivatives; in this particular case the flour.

Thus, through a holistic analysis and taking industrial and landscape archaeology as a guide, we approached the study of a production process that characterizes the region to this day: production of raw materials of agricultural origin and the associated industry.

Keywords: cultural landscape, pampas, hydraulic mill, railway, xix century.

I. Introduction

Este escrito puede considerarse la articulación y profundización de dos trabajos publicados con anterioridad (Dosztal, 2018 y 2021), en los cuales la autora ha combinado el abordaje de la construcción de un paisaje cultural pampeano y rol que cumplió, en dicho proceso, la inmigración extranjera radicada en la provincia de Santa Fe durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX.

En esta oportunidad vamos a retomar el papel que jugó Thomas Thomas, ingeniero gales devenido en empresario rural y sus asociados en la construcción de este paisaje cultural pampeano de corte agroindustrial; particularmente en colonia Carcarañá a través de la instalación del primer molino hidráulico de la región.

Author α: Investigaciones Socio Históricas Regionales ISHIR-UNR. Facultad de Humanidades y Artes – Universidad Nacional de Rosario e-mail: dosztal@ishir-conicet.gov.ar
Author σ: Facultad de Arquitectura Planeamiento y Diseño – UNR. e-mail: gabasorey@hotmail.com

Para ello rescataremos el abordaje realizado sobre la obra del tendido ferroviario del Central Argentino (*Central Argentine Railway*) como principal motor de transformación territorial ya que su ejecución abrió las puertas para la fundación de colonias y habilitó el ingreso de inmigrantes calificados que se transformaron en inversores empresariales y dejaron una impronta definitiva en el territorio que sigue siendo el motor productor de la región.

Caracterizaremos, además, el contexto socio-geográfico de colonia Carcarañá; escenario del proyecto inversor de Thomas Thomas explicando porque es elegida por sobre los otros asentamientos fundados a lo largo del tendido ferroviario.

Para luego abocarnos a dar cuenta de su primer proyecto agroindustrial: el molino hidráulico Carcarañá desde la perspectiva de la arqueología del paisaje industrializado; ya que nos proporciona las herramientas metodológicas para abordar su materialidad (el edificio y su tecnología), su caracterización social y el hábitat transformado por la instalación de una industria sobre un paisaje donde supervivían resabios productivos del período colonial.

Antes de abocarnos al desarrollo del artículo consideramos necesario expresar que entendemos por paisaje cultural pampeano a la consolidación de un proyecto que tuvo como eje la fundación de colonias agrícolas pobladas y explotadas por inmigrantes europeos y nativos. Es decir, las tierras, que parecían infinitas, se delimitaron con alambrado; y las construcciones de ladrillos fueron emergiendo en el ambiente y lo convirtieron en un paisaje ruralizado con pautas de ocupación del espacio, relaciones sociales y formaciones socioeconómicas que representaron un panorama dispar al anteriormente conocido en la región (Dosztal, 2021). En esta oportunidad, como dijimos anteriormente, lo abordaremos desde la arqueología del paisaje industrializado. La cual además de reconocer los objetos, sitios, estructuras y paisajes creados por la industrialización, se ha de interesar por las actividades desarrolladas en su contexto, la red de asociaciones y los vínculos que se establecieron a través de ellas, de tal manera que sea importante llegar a entender la relación entre los componentes de sitios complejos, pero más aun su simbolismo social (Palmer & Neaverson, 1998, Therrien, 2008).

© 2023 Global Journals

II. Ferrocarril Central Argentino el Principio de Una Transformación Que Perdura

En los artículos que anteceden a éste (Dosztal, 2018 y 2021) la autora ha abordado a la empresa llevada adelante por la compañía del Central Argentino como un sistema de reorganización territorial; tanto de sus tierras colindantes que por contrato le pertenecían (Dosztal, 2018) así como de su *hinterland*, revalorizando áreas que hasta la fecha fueron consideradas fronterizas (Dosztal, 2021).

En esta oportunidad retomaremos y ampliaremos lo trabajado en relación a las tierras colindantes ya que son el sustrato natural donde se llevará adelante la obra de ingeniería aquí estudiada.

¿Cuáles son los procesos que intervienen en el paso de un hábitat cuyos elementos no presentaban reglas y formas reconocibles a un paisaje estructurado? En el escenario estudiado es el trazado del Ferrocarril Central Argentino[1] (FCCA) el que convierte a un paisaje que permaneció casi inalterado tras trescientes años de ocupación española en un sistema de explotación agraria estricto y regulado compuesto por campos de explotación agropecuaria que se sostiene hasta la actualidad. Es decir, los espacios naturales se transforman en espacios ordenados por estructuras artificiales derivadas del sistema de movilidad, dotando al espacio de jerarquías, bordes, escalas y ritmos, junto con una nueva identidad (Pulley, 1966 y Vera, 2019).

La ejecución de esta obra vino a subsanar graves inconvenientes heredados del período colonial, a saber: un sistema obsoleto y costoso de transporte, el escaso poblamiento y la baja productividad de las tierras. El ferrocarril favoreció y facilitó el traslado de personas, mercancías y materia prima. Permitió la llegada de inmigrantes a las colonias fundadas a su vera lo que contribuyó a un crecimiento demográfico inusitado para la región y la puesta en producción de miles de hectáreas, así como la instalación de industrias. Se convirtió en el nexo entre la producción local y el comercio internacional tan deseado por la clase gobernante.

Para que esto fuera posible y por contrato, el gobierno concedió a la compañía la propiedad total de una legua (5 km) a cada lado de las vías en toda su extensión, que comenzaba a una distancia de cuatro leguas de las estaciones de Rosario y Córdoba (Miguez, 1985) y para su manejo la compañía ferroviaria creó: T*he Central Argentine Land Company* (Calco). Para la época, esta fue la compañía monopólica que administró el espacio continuo de tierras lindantes a los 396 km de rieles que unían al interior del país con el puerto (Figura 1). Se trataron de unas 346.727 hectáreas que, previo a la plena concesión, debían ser expropiadas[2] a sus dueños quienes hasta la fecha las habían explotado (Dosztal, 2018) bajo la división territorial conocida como *river frontage long lots*.

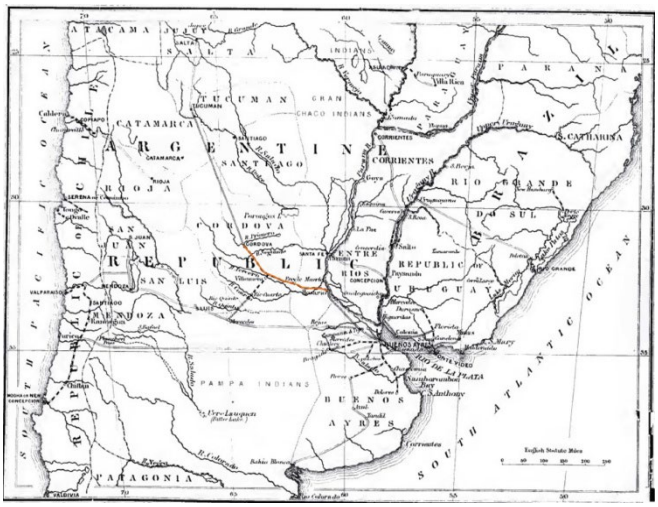


Fig. 1: En anaranjado está marcado el trayecto del Ferrocarril Central Argentino a partir de 1870 desde Rosario a Córdoba, Argentina mapa modificado de Desiré Charnay, 1876.

A lo largo de esa extensión de tierras la empresa implementó un sistema que ya había sido aplicado en Estados Unidos conocido como *Township and Range Land Surveying System*, que transformó las grandes e irregulares estancias coloniales preexistentes en concesiones rectangulares distribuidas regularmente a lo largo de la red ferroviaria del Ferrocarril Central Argentino (FCCA) (Figura 2) (Macguire Randall, comunicación personal, octubre 2015 y Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, 2015). “The section can be further subdivided into quarter sections of 160 acres, which was the basic unit under the Homestead Act of 1862. Quarter sections can be divided into half-quarter sections of 80 acres or into quarter-quarter sections of 40 acres, etc.” (BML, 2002). Bajo el sistema de reconocimiento rectangular se pudieron describir y localizar fácilmente cualquier parcela de tierra, al no poder coexistir otra con la misma identificación.

[1] Comienzo de obra en Rosario en 1863 y finalización en 1870 en Córdoba.

[2] Los detalles de ese proceso de expropiación pueden leerse en Dosztal (2021) y para el estudio de la misma problemática en provincia de Córdoba se recomienda Calderone, A., & Ferrari, M. (1992).

© 2023 Global Journals

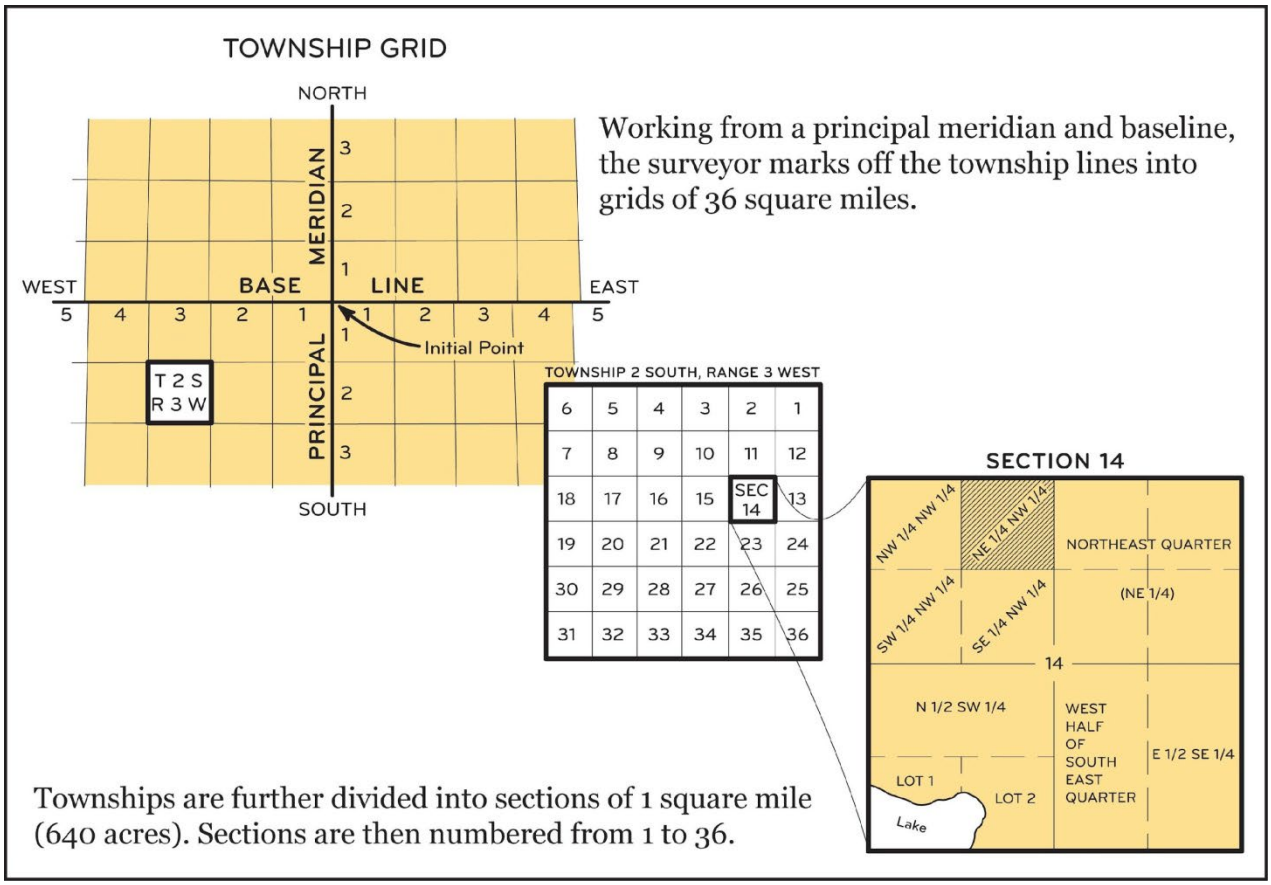


Fig. 2: Township and Range Land Surveying System, proveyó límites bien definidos evitando disputas fronterizas muy comunes en períodos anteriores en donde las grandes extensiones de tierras no los tenían (Wisconsin Department Of Natural Resources, 2015).

A este nuevo sistema de fraccionamiento de tierras, innovador para la Argentina del momento, la compañía de tierras lo aplicó con algunas modificaciones al ser impuesto en una franja continua de terreno y no tipo damero en áreas dispersas como en Estados Unidos y en Canadá (Zalduendo, 1975). A su vez, no solo promovió la formación de una pequeña o mediana propiedad agraria, sino que, en ciertos sectores, como en colonia Cañada de Gómez, conservó concesiones de mayor tamaño lo que le permitió a la compañía maximizar los beneficios. Para la compañía de tierras del ferrocarril, la dominación del territorio no fue solo a través de su ordenación y estructuración sino también económica, productiva y social.

El objetivo de la empresa fue fundar, en un principio, colonias a cuatro leguas de distancia y que cada una sirviera de antecedente y sostén de la siguiente para luego acortar la distancia a 2,5 leguas. Cada una de ellas, planteadas como unidades territoriales, se componía de ocho leguas cuadradas distribuidas equitativamente a cada lado del ferrocarril (cuatro al norte de la línea y cuatro al sur), y contaban con un pueblo delineado y una estación ferroviaria (Wilcken, 1873).

Hacia 1872 las colonias fundadas en territorio santafesino eran cuatro: Bernstadt (estación Roldan), Carcarañá, Cañada de Gómez y Tortugas (frontera provincia de Córdoba). Las primeras familias comenzaron a llegar desde Europa hacia principios de 1870 y con el pasar del tiempo se le unieron colonos locales, así como de Uruguay. Williams Perkins fue el encargado de organizar el sistema de instalación de estas familias, así como de garantizar que a su llegada cuenten con una casa de madera, implementos, alambre para cercos y provisiones (Wilcken, 1873). Los terrenos que conformaban las concesiones disponibles para arriendo o compra, contaban con una superficie de 20 a 40 cuadras cuadradas financiados a 4 años.

Dos años después, al momento que el inspector Guilllermo Coelho recorre la provincia, solo releva las colonias de Bernstadt, Carcarañá y Cañada de Gómez (Coelho, 1875). Tanto para Wilcken (1873) como para Coelho (1875), los asentamientos iban avanzando a diferente ritmo, pero de forma prometedora, opiniones que no fueron compartidas por los accionistas de la compañía quienes no estaban conformes con las ganancias obtenidas y expresan que no tienen la intensión de sobreprotegerlas y malgastar fondos en el llamado desarrollo de las colonias (Miguez,

© 2023 Global Journals

1985). Por lo que en 1876 deciden apartar a Perkins de la dirección y colocar a James Lloyd, terrateniente inglés quién se desempeñó como administrador de Alexandra Colony (Dosztal, 2017), quién aplica una política general tendiente a una pronta adquisición de la propiedad en vez del arriendo. Sin embargo, para 1882 las condiciones de colonización, expresa Zeballos tras su recorrido por la región, no se han cumplido sino en un tercio de la extensión del tendido ferroviario[3] (Zeballos, 1984 [1883]). En ese mismo año Víctor Bouchard, lleva adelante otro relevamiento de las colonias a pedido de las autoridades provinciales, y a la lista de las colonias antes nombradas incluye entre Bernstadt y Carcarañá a San Gerónimo Sur (Bouchard, 1883). Siete años después el tendido ferroviario contaba con siete poblados, ubicados de Este a Oeste, que actualmente superviven: Roldan, San Gerónimo Sur, Carcarañá, Correa, Armstrong y Tortugas (Peyret, 1889).

En síntesis, el complejo sistema territorial implantado por la compañía de tierras y que caracteriza la región en la actualidad puede ser identificado en las vías férreas trazadas, en el diseño de centros urbanos creados y en el parcelario agrícola que conforman una marca identitaria propia; vinculada de forma directa e ineludible al proceso económico agroexportador.

A continuación, nos detendremos en caracterizar a una de estas colonias: Carcarañá; elegida por Thomas y sus asociados para instalar el primer molino hidráulico del *hinterland* pampeano.

a) Colonia Carcarañá sede del proyecto agroindustrial de Thomas Thomas

Como expresamos en el apartado anterior, colonia Carcarañá forma parte del centro productivo conformado por las colonias del ferrocarril.

Colonia Carcarañá originariamente abarcó una superficie total de 9358 hectáreas (Coelho, 1875). Las cuales se subdividieron en cuatro secciones (las número 9; 10; 11 y 12 del plano de Wilcken, 1873); cada una de éstas ocupaba un espacio de una legua cuadrada (2339 ha.) subdividida en 80 concesiones de 49,71 cuadras cuadradas o sea 29,24 hectáreas (ha.) aunque el contrato estipulaba que a los colonos se les debía otorgar chacras más pequeñas de 20 o 25 cuadras[2] que las familias, con algo de capital, ampliaron hasta cuatro. En la figura 3 se detalla las concesiones vendidas a lo largo de diez años a diferentes colonos de la legua 12, las cuales concuerdan con los tamaños estipulados en el contrato. La particularidad que al estar esta colonia atravesada por el río homónimo las concesiones a su vera no eran regulares por lo que sus medidas podrían variar con el resto.

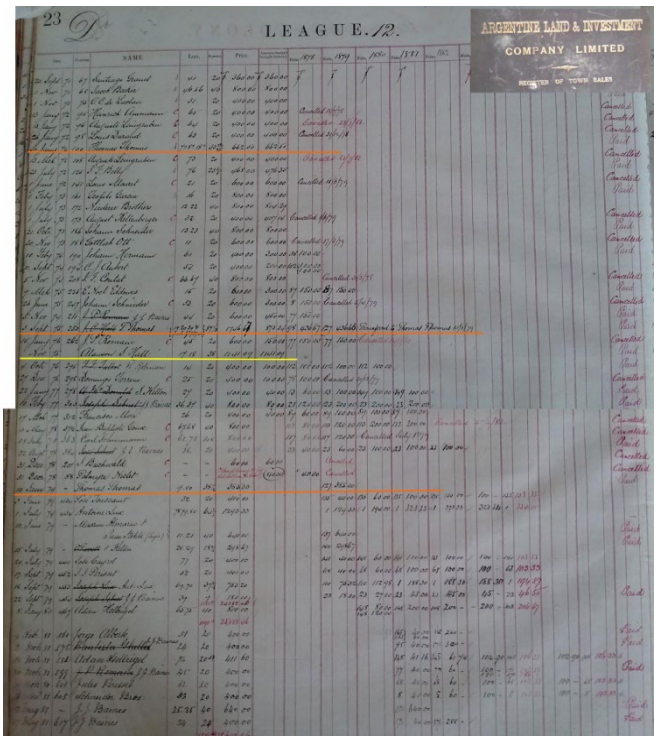


Fig. 3: Libro de registro de ventas de tierras de Argentine Land & Investment Co. Lmt. (1878), resaltadas en anaranjado y amarillos son las concesiones compradas por Thomas y Hall (Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Córdoba).

Sus terrenos son altos y ondulantes, originalmente contó con dos estaciones, una a cada lado del río. El pueblo se limitó en un área de 200 cuadras, y se ubicó en el lado Este del río. En el lote 56 de la legua número 11, al Oeste, la compañía formó una chacra modelo compuesta de 250 cuadras de terreno regada por las aguas de la cañada de Gómez, las cuales se estancaban por medio de diques de material (Wilcken, 1873).

En el trazado del área urbana la compañía planteó una retícula ortogonal asociada al urbanismo de tradición británica (Figura 4), en donde coexistieron las formas cuadradas y rectangulares de sus manzanas ya que el trazado de las vías establece un diseño general cuadrado y esos espacios se subdividen luego en dos manzanas rectangulares separados por un callejón de servicio (Capel, 2002), utilizado para el ingreso de vehículos y personal doméstico. Se genera, así, una

[3] La bibliografía especializada no coincide al respecto en este tema. Existen autores como Miguez (1985), quien, tomando como herramientas de análisis a los informes oficiales de la compañía de tierras, dice: "En 1884, el total de ventas alcanzaba a 170.158 acres, y llegó a 191.165 en 1885 y a 198.528 al año siguiente. Es decir que para 1886, de los 233.520 acres (94.576 ha) colonizados, que incluían todas las tierras de Santa Fe y la sección de Córdoba más próxima al límite, sólo 34.992 acres (14.177 ha) se hallaban sin vender" (Miguez, 1985: 182-183). Por su parte Zalduendo (1975), expone que si bien gran parte de las tierras santafesinas fueron vendidas con la fundación de las primeras colonias; la empresa conservó por años un remanente de tierras que le permitió especular con su revalorización y venta a mayor precio. Coincidiendo con Zeballos, Scalabrini Ortiz (1975) toma el informe de los hermanos Mulhall quienes en 1883 dicen que las propiedades de las compañías permanecían desiertas.

© 2023 Global Journals

forma de ciudad jardín con edificaciones aisladas rodeadas de vegetación.



Fig. 4: Primer plano oficial del ejido urbano del pueblo de Carcarañá que data de 1902 (Servicio de Catastro e Información Territorial, Provincia de Santa Fe, Argentina).

Al momento que Wilcken recorre el territorio provincial para realizar su relevamiento, colonia Carcarañá contaba con un año de existencia, con 168 concesiones de 20 cuadras cada una, arrendadas o vendidas y una población de 89 familias agricultoras y 13 familias industriales (sic) radicadas en el área urbana (Wilcken, 1873). Dos años después, el inspector de colonias Guillermo Coelho contabilizó una población de 386 habitantes (Coelho, 1874), siendo la población suiza la más numérica y, diez años después, los residentes cuadriplicaron su cantidad. Contando con 1650 personas, Carcarañá, se posicionaba como un floreciente centro productivo, industrial, comercial y de veraneo (Carrasco, 1886).

Al momento de realizarse el segundo censo nacional en 1895, la población seguía en aumento, pero de un modo mesurado. La misma solo había ascendido a 1750, prevaleciendo la urbana (1419 hab.) por sobre la rural (331 hab.). Es así como a los albores del siglo XX, Carcarañá se proyectaba para ser una ciudad con buenos y espaciosos hoteles, baños, molinos y hermosas quintas de recreo (Zeballos, 1984 [1883]). La industria agrícola estuvo representada por dos grandes molinos a vapor y otro hidráulico, a ellos se sumaron grandes almacenes para depósito de mercadería (trigos y frutos del país) (Carrasco, 1886). Convirtiéndose en el tiempo en el pueblo de moda de veraneo de la sociedad aristocrática de Rosario (La Capital, 1908a).

Este paisaje construido a partir de datos oficiales pudo ser percibido o vivido de manera diferente por personas que directamente fueron parte de él y dejaron su testimonio escrito. Por ello para reconstruir este paisaje cultural pampeano se tomarán los testimonios de dos inmigrantes suizos que no solo habitaron colonia Carcarañá sino también Bernstadt y ambos coinciden en que el modo de vida era igual de sacrificado (Dürst, 1892 y Weihmüller, 1932).

Por su parte Dürst (1892) busca mostrar la vida de los inmigrantes y colonos en las nuevas tierras para luego enfocarse en el desarrollo del sistema educativo de las colonias del ferrocarril ya que él fue maestro de oficio; profesión que ejerció cuando tomó conciencia de que no iba a ser un rico agricultor (Dürst, 1892). Mientras que en el testimonio de Weihmüller (1932)[4], las percepciones personales de su vida como inmigrante son intercaladas con datos de las particularidades y funcionamiento formal de las colonias.

Por ejemplo, gracias a este último es posible conocer las características de las casillas de madera que la administración le brindaba a las familias colonas. Las misma contaban con dos habitaciones de 4x4 metros, cada una con una sola ventana, cielo raso de madera y techo de tejas de material; no contaban con piso por lo que el pasto servía de alfombra. Estas casas se construían en Roldan, se trasladaban en carretas al lugar elegido (Weihmüller, 1932) y en ellas podían vivir hasta diez personas.

Tanto Dürst como Weihmüller forman parte de los primeros inmigrantes llegados a principios de la década de 1870. El primero, se instaló junto a cinco coterráneas en un rancho de una estancia ovejera en Carcarañá y luego migró a otros parajes y por su parte, Weihmüller vino junto a sus padres y hermanos a vivir a colonia Bernstadt para luego a fines de dicha década radicarse en Carcarañá.

A lo largo de las páginas escritas por ambos se percibe un fuerte penar por la dureza de la vida y ninguno escatima adjetivos para describir al paisaje como desolado, yermo, con pastizales cubiertos por mangas de langostas. A esto se le sumaba la escasa o nula experiencia de muchos inmigrantes en trabajar la tierra; el propio Dürst cuenta que tuvieron que pedir ayuda para poder domar a los bueyes y así empezar a labrar la tierra con arados muy livianos lo que dificultaba más el trabajo (Dürst, 1892 y Weihmüller, 1932).

Si bien la administración de las colonias proveía de alimentos (carne, harina, café, arroz, azúcar, etc.) que se retiraban a principio de mes en las oficinas de abastecimiento; muchos de los empobrecidos habitantes no tenían con que pagarlo por lo que faenaban en sus chacras o incluyeron fauna autóctona en sus dietas. Al respecto Dürst cuenta que en una jornada en la que se dirigía a pie a Rosario en búsqueda de trabajo se pierde, lo que era muy común por aquellos tiempos por la falta de referencias en la vasta llanura, y tras dormir en la intemperie identifica la casilla de madera de un amigo que le brinda abrigo y una merienda a base de tortuga que pescó en el río Carcarañá. Del relato del amigo, el autor, rescata que todos los domingos iba al río a pescar tortugas, cazar

[4] Publicación en alemán traducida por Fernando U. Pandolfi, gentileza de Martín Perisset, Biblioteca Popular Centro 3, Carcarañá, Santa Fe.

© 2023 Global Journals

vizcachas y mulitas garantizando su manutención sin mayores gastos.

Como en otras colonias de la provincia, muchos inmigrantes no se adaptaron a la vida de agricultor (siendo el caso del mismo Dürst) y migraron a la ciudad en búsqueda de una nueva ocupación. Al respecto, Weihmüller (1932) dice, diez años después quedamos la mitad de los colonos, supervivimos aquellos que pudimos soportar sequías, exceso de lluvias, granizo, heladas y la ya nombrada invasión de langostas. Del escrito de Dürst es posible rescatar otro testimonio de un amigo, Emilio Hunziker quien en 1873 deja su concesión en Carcarañá y alienta a su amigo a hacer lo mismo. De haberme quedado, expresa en una carta transcripta por el autor, el año próximo no tendría con que comprar zapatos y estaría en quiebra (Dürst, 1892).

Weihmüller, si rescata, que para el momento que se radica en Carcarañá la colonia contaba con dos emprendimientos industriales. Un molino harinero hidráulico y una cremería, ambos de Thomas, que le brindó un espacio de inserción laboral a la comunidad suiza y dieron impulso al progreso (Weihmüller, 1932).

En términos generales las colonias del Central Argentino prosperaron por la incesante labor de su población y devinieron en ciudades con un marcado perfil agro-industrial. A pesar de su crecimiento es posible reconocer sus trazados originales y su ejido urbano interactúa con las chacras rurales; los establecimientos industriales desarrollados por una nueva burguesía rural, otrora en entornos casi rurales, han quedado integrados a las tramas urbanas (Rainero, 2012).

Uno de estos establecimientos es el Molino Carcarañá construido por Thomas Thomas y administrados por una red societaria de amigos y familia, que en los primeros años de la colonia junto al ferrocarril convirtieron un paisaje chato en uno con alturas, tangible y reconocible desde la distancia; es decir fueron *landmark*; hitos que referenciaban el paisaje. Juntos pusieron en marcha la cadena completa de producción agroexportadora: producción de materias primas en Carcarañá y la región, procesamiento de la misma, traslado y comercialización.

b) El Molino hidráulico Carcarañá, red societaria y devenir

Para estudiar la red de asociaciones que hizo posible la construcción de esta obra de ingeniería que cimentó las bases de este paisaje cultural pampeano de corte agroindustrial fue necesario analizar escrituras y contratos sociales. A partir de ellos fue posible identificar a los socios, sus roles, el capital invertido, y, además, permitió conocer el ámbito de las interacciones entre iguales, es decir, la esfera de los que comparten intereses y actividades (Serna y Pons, 1998).

A continuación, intercalaremos lo que dicen los documentos con la caracterización del grupo societario, sus lazos e intereses. Información que se contextualizará con bibliografía especializada.

Thomas Thomas no fue uno de esos inmigrantes que vinieron, como se describe en el apartado anterior, a probar suerte. Él llegó a Rosario de la mano de Weelwright para trabajar en el tendido ferroviario del Central Argentino[5] (Peyret, 1889) y a pocos años de radicado contaba con un capital traducido en miles de hectáreas tanto en provincia de Santa Fe como en la de Córdoba (Dosztal, 2018); así como de proyectos societarios de carácter industrial que en la década de 1870 ya estaban en marcha como es el caso del Molino Carcarañá.

Thomas a lo largo del proceso de construcción del tendido ferroviario fue reconociendo la calidad de las tierras y observando el potencial del contexto geográfico, es así que reconoce en el caudal del río Carcarañá un recurso invaluable por el cual elige a la colonia homónima como lugar de residencia por sobre las otras poblaciones fundadas por la compañía de tierras.

El primer registro de Thomas[6] y sus asociados en Carcarañá data de 1872 y es relevado por Wilcken (1873). Quién lo ubica como uno de los dueños de concesiones, particularmente del número 8 y a Alanson S. Hall de las 17 y 18. Estas últimas son en las que el molino será construido. Es relevante mencionar que en el registro de compras de la Compañía de Tierras la adquisición de dichos lotes no se ve registrado hasta noviembre de 1875 (Argentine Land & Investment, 1878); fecha que coincide con la escrituración de los mismos por parte de Hall y Thomas. En la misma se lee "por parte de la Compañía apoderados Guillermo Perkins y Enrique Fisher dueña de los terrenos de ambas riberas concede al comprador el derecho de hacer en las aguas del rio las represas que considere necesarias para establecer un molino u otra fábrica, según artículo 35 y 36, título sexto libro tercero del Código Civil" (Archivo de Protocolos Notariales, 1908: 21).

Alanson S. Hall y Thomas fueron cuñados y, como lo expresa Thomas en su testamento[7], hermanos políticos. Thomas se casa en primeras nupcias con la

[5] Henry Fisher, quien fuese director del Central Argentino desde 1872 fue testigo de su casamiento. http://www.argbrit.org/SanBart/marrs 1877-82.htm

[6] Thomas se radica primariamente en la ciudad de Rosario, ciudad con la que nunca cortó los lazos y allí es censado en 1869 junto a Alason S. Hall como residentes de la segunda sección correspondiente al área ubicada tras los bulevares Pellegrini y Oroño hasta lo que hoy son las avenidas 27 de Febrero y Francia.

[7] Escritura Jacinto Correa, 18 de agosto de 1892. Archivo de Protocolos Notariales. Colegio de Escribano. 2da circunscripción Provincia de Santa Fe.

© 2023 Global Journals

hermana de Hall, quien fallece durante la epidemia de cólera de 1868 en Rosario. Bajo esas misma circunstancias Hall pierde a su esposa y Thomas, además, a su hija de 8 meses[8].

En 1871 Hall contrae segundas nupcias con Julia Wolcott; hermana de Olive quién se casará con Thomas en 1877[9]. Las hermanas Wolcott nacidas en el estado de New York emigran junto a su padre y se radicaron en Carcarañá a finales de la década de 1860 (Pérez Calvo, 2007). Hall participó en la guerra civil norteamericana. Llegó a Rosario junto a Thomas y llevaron adelante diferentes emprendimientos comerciales (Dosztal, 2018). Además, se dedicó a la compraventa y remate de propiedades, comisiones y consignaciones en general (Lanciotti, 2002) y ejerció en Rosario entre 1872 y 1874 la función vicecónsul norteamericano. Si bien a principios de siglo XX regresa a Estados Unidos conserva propiedades en Argentina (Delius, 2018).

Entonces, volviendo a los documentos notariales podemos afirmar que en noviembre de 1875 Thomas y Hall escrituran los lotes números 17 y 18 de la legua 12 por los cuales habían pagado $f1141,08 (Argentine Land & Investment, 1878), sin embargo, la nota periodística publicada en el diario La Capital de la ciudad de Rosario con fecha 21 de noviembre de dicho año dice que la obra ha sido totalmente terminada y caracteriza al molino por su fuerza poderosa, productor de harina que abastecerá a Rosario y su región (La Capital, 1875). Si a esto le sumamos la fecha indicada en los planos de obra agosto de 1875, podemos presuponer que el proceso de establecer esta industria es previo a lo que figuran en los documentos oficiales.

Una vez escriturados los terrenos, Thomas y Hall forman una sociedad con el objetivo de explotar el molino junto a Stephen (Esteban) Fuller y Henry (Enrique) Hill. El primero de origen británico y el segundo norteamericano.

Lamentablemente, de S. Fuller no fue posible encontrar información detallada sobre su vida. Fue censado en 1869 junto a otros coterráneos como residente en la ciudad de Rosario, de profesión carpintero, 35 años de edad, viudo. Fue testigo de casamiento de Thomas en 1877.

De Henry (Enrique) Hill la información también es escasa. Además de los documentos asociados al molino solo lo hemos podido identificar en el primer censo poblacional de la provincia de Santa Fe realizado en 1887 (Carrasco, 1887). De dicho registro extraemos que en ese momento tenía 64 años casado de Julia Mamy también norteamericana con un hijo que no fue censado. Ingeniero de profesión y según se observa en dicho registro fue el encargado de administrar el molino.

Dicha sociedad se creó bajo contrato ante el escribano Javier Manuce el 7 de diciembre de 1875 con el objetivo de adquirir el Establecimiento Molino Carcarañá y llevar adelante su explotación bajo la denominación Hill, Fuller y Compañía. Del documento se extrae que el capital social lo constituía la cantidad de $F105000[10] que correspondía a los socios por cuartas partes iguales y que de cuyo capital la cantidad de $F 85.000 pesos estaba representada por el valor del establecimiento, sus maquinarias, dependencias y terrenos de su ubicación (Archivo de Protocolos Notariales, 1908).

Esta sociedad se mantuvo hasta 1881, año en el cual Alason Hall y Stephen (Esteban) Fuller venden a la sociedad Alejandro Maderna[11] y Compañía la cuarta parte indivisa que a cada uno de ellos les correspondiera en el molino, dependencias y terrenos. Dos años después Thomas y Hill forman una sociedad para la explotación del Molino Carcarañá, pertenecientes a ellos y a Don Alejandro Maderna. Esta sociedad estará compuesta solo por ellos dos y se denominará Hill y Thomas cuyo capital sería de $F 20.000 (Registro de Comercio, 1883). En dicho período, el establecimiento funcionaba con la fuerza de 6 caballos provista por la potencia del agua del río Carcarañá, ocupa un personal de 12 hombres y elabora 120 fanegas por día (Bouchard, 1883).

De este modo, dos de los socios fundadores continuarán con la explotación del molino hasta la fecha de sus muertes sucedidas en 1892 a pocos meses de diferencia y por el cual abonaban a Don Maderna por mes $B[12] 300 efectivo (Archivo de Protocolos Notariales, 1892a).

Esta sociedad se ocupará de la explotación del molino recibiendo y procesando trigos de cuenta propia o por cuenta ajena y de la compra de cereales y venta de los mismo, de harina y de los demás productos. Como sucedió anteriormente, la administración del molino estará a cargo de Hill por lo recibirá una compensación mensual de $F200.

Al igual que con otra de sus sociedades (Dosztal & Valentini, 2021) antes de su muerte Thomas se convertirá en socio mayoritario, en este caso, adquirió en mayo de 1892 en propiedad y pleno dominio la parte mitad indivisa que Alejandro Maderna tenía del molino; con todos sus edificios, maquinarias, útiles, enseres y demás que lo constituye y su terreno propio. La enajenación se llevó adelante por el mismo

[8] http://www.argbrit.org/SanBart/AntCemRos1860-1880.htm
[9] http://www.argbrit.org/SanBart/marrs1877-82.htm

[10] Pesos fuertes
[11] Alejandro Maderna comerciante porteño de origen oriental perteneció a una familia tradición molinera que en tiempos de Rosas migró a Montevideo (Uruguay) y allí, su padre, levanta un molino y establece una panadería (Castro Arrúe, 2011). No es un dato menor decir que Thomas Thomas fue su prestamista para la compra de las partes del Molino Carcarañá.
[12] Pesos bolivianos

© 2023 Global Journals

precio de compra o$s 25.833, 38[13] (Archivo de Protocolos Notariales, 1892b).

Tras la muerte de sus socios fundadores, Alejandro Maderna reaparece en escena tras la firma de un contrato de arriendo con los herederos de Thomas y Hill el 31 de diciembre de 1892. En el mismo se estipula que: Maderna toma en arrendamiento el molino con todos sus depósitos, galpones, casas, maquinaria, enseres, acciones, terrenos, animales e incluyendo el galpón en Armstrong desde el 1/1/1893 y pagará una suma de m$n 22.000[14] (Archivo de Protocolos Notariales, 1892c).

A mediados de la década del '90 la producción harinera sufre una fuerte crisis. Es así como entre 1890 y 1898 los molinos de toda la república disminuyen su producción al 50% de su capacidad (Lahitte, 1908 y Kornblihtt, 2002)[15] y es en este contexto que Molino Carcarañá cierra sus puertas en 1896 y no es reactivado hasta su venta[16] en 1908 a Juan Semino.

En relación a este tema no contamos con documentos que den cuenta de esta situación particular en el Molino Carcarañá, pero consideramos que el análisis de los registros censales de la época (1887 y 1895)[17] pueden acercarnos a dicha problemática; a su vez que la bibliografía producida localmente da cuenta de que sucesivas cosechas desfavorables hicieron escasear y encarecer el trigo lo que incidió en la abrupta paralización de establecimiento (Benedetto y Vadillo, 2009).

En 1887 se realiza el primer censo poblacional de la Provincia de Santa Fe y en él bajo la dirección de Hill se ha podido identificar la clasificación laboral de los operarios contratados.

Sin contar al socio fundador y a su esposa, bajo su rol de patrón del establecimiento harinero fueron censadas 53 personas. Consideramos necesario adelantar un dato que será desarrollado en el siguiente apartado y es que el molino contaba con espacios residenciales para sus trabajadores por lo que algunos de sus operarios fueron censados junto a sus familias. Sin ignorar esta información, a continuación, solo se detallamos los datos de quienes tenían una relación laboral con el emprendimiento industrial.



Fig. 5: Fotografía de una cuadrilla del Molino de la cual no hay fecha ni mayores detalles, podemos inferir por la cantidad de operarios y sombreros estilo "rancho" (chatos de paja) sería de la década de 1890 (Archivo de la Municipalidad de Carcarañá, Santa Fe).

Es así que tomando como base las hojas censales pudimos identificar a siete operarios que se desempeñaban como molineros[18] y bajo la categoría de oficiales tenían a su cargo diferentes grupos de jornaleros que en total sumaban 39. Además, el molino contaba con empleados calificados encargados de la parte administrativa y contable (2 tenedores de libros[19]).

En relación al origen de los operarios, pudimos establecer, que 24 eran argentinos, 10 alemanes, seis estadounidenses, cuatro suizos, tres italianos, dos chilenos, dos ingleses y un colombiano.

Con respecto al género de los 53 censados solo siete eran mujeres y solo cuatro tenían relación de dependencia con el establecimiento, a saber, lavado y curado.

Los operarios en su mayoría eran solteros (31 de los 48) y entre ellos pudimos identificar una cuadrilla de hermanos que no superaban los 14 años de edad[20]. En aquella época, los hermanos se trasladaban en grupo de un lugar a otro siguiendo al mayor de ellos[21].

Dada la modalidad de relevamiento, explicada en el pie de página número 16, del censo de 1895 no nos es posible realizar una comparación directa de ambos documentos. Solo nos atrevemos a indicar que en el libreto censal donde son relevadas las familias

[13] Pesos oro sellado
[14] Pesos nacionales monedad legal
[15] En relación a esta problemática se recomienda la lectura de: Balán (1978), Fernández (2000), Pons & Ruiz (2005), Kornblihtt (2010), Martiren & Rayes (2016) y Martiren (2017).
[16] Ambas sucesiones venden el molino a m$n 155.000.
[17] Consideramos necesario hacer la salvedad que la modalidad de relevamiento censal de 1895 es diferente a la de 1887. En este último, el mismo se llevaba adelante a través de la identificación de unidades productivas reunidas bajo la categoría de patrón. En cambio, en 1895 son censados grupos familiares o residenciales por lo que es más dificultoso identificar si existe una relación laboral de los censados por fuera de esas agrupaciones (De La Fuente, 1898).
[18] A continuación, los nombraremos por orden en que fueron censados: Giles Fernando (primer molinero - estadounidense), Gumartuchi Mariano (molinero - italiano), Gaitan Juan (molinero - alemán), Bugin Federico (segundo molinero - alemán), Bugin Augusto (molinero - santafesino), Plumer Hsfer (segundo molinero - estadounidense) y Plumer Guillermo (primer molinero - estadounidense).
[19] Castañeda Genaro, colombiano y Jsendorf Víctor, alemán.
[20] Los 14 años era la edad oficial para la inserción laboral pero ya entre los 8 y 10 años los niños colaboraban en la economía familiar.
[21] Los hermanos Santuchi bajo el mando de la hermana mayor Magdalena fueron 5. Magdalena con 14 años se desempeñaba como lavandera y el resto de los varones jornaleros.

© 2023 Global Journals

Thomas, Hill y Maderna son censados cuatro molineros y uno de ellos fue Guillermo Plumer; quien fuese molinero también en 1887. Si planteamos la posibilidad que estos cuatro molineros trabajaban en el Molino Carcarañá, nos permite inferir que en los ocho años que separaron a ambos censos la baja en operarios contratados se pude deber al descenso en su producción o a la mejora tecnológica en el método de procesamiento por medio de cilindros.

Como se dijo en unas líneas más arriba, al año siguiente, en 1896, el molino cierra sus puertas provocando una crisis económica y social en la tan nombrada localidad. En el siguiente apartado abordaremos sus características técnicas y arquitectónicas para dar cuenta de la influencia que tuvo en la construcción del modernizado paisaje cultural pampeano.

c) *El Molino hidráulico Carcarañá, su innovación tecnológica y la conformación de un nuevo paisaje cultural*

En términos generales, los ejemplos arquitectónicos o de paisajes arquitectónicos de la industria harinera presentan una tipología de fábrica que contiene determinados elementos que se repiten y pueden ser identificados en varios molinos harineros en la ecorregión central pampeana[22]. A saber: naves industriales centrales, represa/dique, silo molino, edificios de apoyo enclavados en un paisaje pampeano.

El molino diseñado por Thomas Thomas fue una obra de excelente factura para un emplazamiento rural periférico y en incipiente desarrollo como vimos que era colonia Carcarañá en su período de construcción.

De acuerdo a planos y cortes dibujados por el mismo Thomas pudimos identificar que el molino responde a una composición formal funcionalista[23], con naves a dos y cuatro aguas, y un notable aventanamiento ventilación academicista, de formas rectangulares. Es decir, la arquitectura industrial del período no buscó establecer un modelo estético -tipológico hacia el exterior-, sino un modelo a medio camino entre la máquina y la arquitectura y así cumplir ambas funciones: la de crear espacio y la de transformar materias primas o energía (Saus, 2012 y Sanmartín, 2013). La estética de la fachada, como dijéramos academicista, se evidencia de manera muy simple en las decoraciones de los vanos de ventanas, con los guardapolvos (elemento arquitectónico decorativo) que la bordean en su perímetro, en las rectangulares y también evidenciando los vanos de arcos de medio punto (de origen romano) y molduras de remate, como son las cornisas y modillones en esquina. Conjuntamente, también estaban presentes ojos de buey, pilares y contrafuertes, vigas y reticulados (estos últimos elementos estructurales). Entonces, el edificio primario del molino puede sintetizarse como una torre rectangular, con 5 niveles y con 4 aguas en su cubierta. Contaba, además, con equipamientos aledaños para funcionamiento del sistema de producción y almacenamiento (graneros, depósitos de harina, una casa habitación para el molinero, casas para peones, una herrería, una carpintería y caballerizas).

Al molino, como parte de este sistema productivo, lo abordamos desde su sistema de estructuración territorial que incluye un elemento geográfico central: el rio Carcarañá; las obras de infraestructuras para la generación de la energía necesaria para poner en movimiento al molino, su dique y la vinculación vial: el ferrocarril.

Entonces, desde medio físico biológico el molino fue pensado por Thomas directamente asociado al río que le proveería de la fuente energética necesaria para su funcionamiento.

El río Carcarañá es de directa continuación del río Tercero por lo que su nacimiento se localiza en la provincia de Córdoba. Al atravesar el límite interprovincial recibe los aportes del arroyo Tortugas e ingresa en la provincia de Santa Fe, a la que cruza de oeste a este desembocando en el río Coronda (Puerto Gaboto) (Díaz Lozada, 2014). En el último tramo recorrido en la provincia de Córdoba y a lo largo de los 200 km de extensión en territorio santafesino el Carcarañá tiene características de un río de llanura, por lo que tiende a adquirir morfologías estables con tendencia a minimizar progresivamente su pendiente (Farías, 2005) (Figura 6).



Fig. 6: Recorrido del Río Carcarañá a través del territorio santafesino con detalle de la ubicación del molino y su dique en relación al tendido ferroviario del Central Argentino (fuente Google Earth).

[22] Para conocer en detalle los tipos de molinos en funcionamiento se recomienda consultar los resultados del censo provincial de 1887 a los cuales se puede acceder desde https://biblioteca.indec.gob.ar/bases/minde/1c_s_fe1887_1.pdf

[23] Esta corriente buscaba junto con el diseño la utilidad de obra, la misma tiene intima vinculación desde la Revolución Industrial y fue formulada por Louis Sullivan (1856-1924) (Córdova González, 2010).

© 2023 Global Journals

Si hacemos una recapitulación, Thomas y sus socios hacia 1875 deciden implantar un molino harinero hidráulico en una incipiente colonia agrícola que contaba con factores alentadores que mitigaban el retraso socio-económica de la misma: su cercanía al puerto de Rosario, el ferrocarril como principal vía de comunicación y un río que les iba a proveer la energía necesaria.

Siendo así, nos vamos a detener en la infraestructura circundante a este establecimiento industrial: el dique y el ferrocarril. Para generar la energía hidráulica, Thomas, diseña un dique de madera curvo y anclado a ambas orillas cuyas cuatro turbinas se encontraban en la ribera este al pie de la planta principal. Este dique tenía un largo lineal de 48 metros y 6,27 metros de altura por sobre el nivel del río. La central hidráulica estaba compuesta de turbinas de madera dura ajustadas sobre un núcleo de acero fundidos donde convergía un preciso sistema de ejes, poleas y correas que trasmitían movimiento a los molinos y a los generadores de electricidad tras recibir el agua que provenía de un canal de 3,50 metros de ancho por 25 metros de largo (Benedetto y Vadillo, 2009). Este dique fue reemplazado en 1885 luego que una fuerte crecida del río destruyera el original (Álvarez, 2016); la nueva obra fue construía de ladrillos, cal y cemento Portland por el constructor italiano Miguel Pinchetti y contaba con cimiento cuya profundidad variaba entre los diez y veinte pies de profundidad (Figura 7).

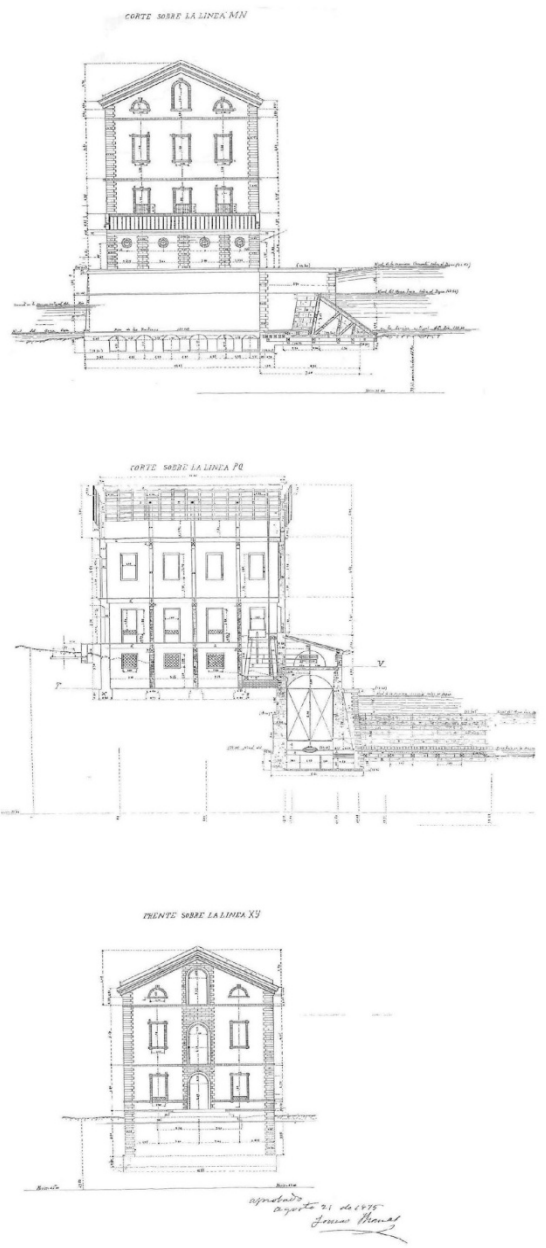


Fig. 7: Planos del molino diseñados por Thomas en los cuales pueden observarse el estilo arquitectónico y la tecnología hidráulica a implementar (Gentileza de Martín Perisset, Biblioteca Popular Centro 3, Carcarañá, Santa Fe).

El ferrocarril Central Argentino construye un desvío ferroviario que ingresaba al terreno del molino permitiendo la carga y descarga de forma directa (Figura 8) y una conexión ininterrumpida con el ramal principal Rosario-Córdoba; a su vez que con los subramales que se desprendieron de éste con él y enlazaron al molino con la producción cerealera de la región.

© 2023 Global Journals

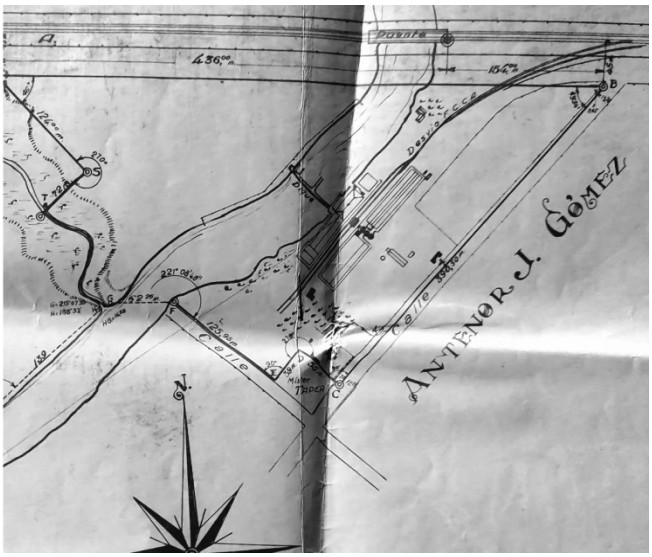


Fig. 8: Plano catastral del molino del año 1932 en los que se puede observar el desvío ferroviario y el dique. (Gentileza de Martín Perisset, Biblioteca Popular Centro 3, Carcarañá, Santa Fe).

Entonces, las edificaciones que conforman al complejo industrial molino Carcarañá se constituyeron en una huella de modos y de relaciones de producción pretéritos que con el transcurso de su devenir se fueron reestructurando permitiéndole supervivir hasta la actualidad. En el período histórico abordado el molino colocó a colonia Carcarañá en el centro del área agrícola circundante al ser el articulador de una cadena productiva que implicaba la siembra y cosecha de materias primas, su transporte por las vías férreas que desembocaban en su puerta, el depósito y procesamiento de las semillas y la comercialización interna y exportación de excedentes a través del puerto de Rosario.

III. Conclusion

La construcción del paisaje cultual pampeano fue una decisión política que implicó el ingreso de capitales, de inmigrantes calificados, de inmigrantes en masa para trabajar la tierra. En este contexto, la arquitectura industrial asociada al modelo de modernización agroexportador constituyó, a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, un episodio central, una parte inseparable y esencial del paisaje pampeano. Produciendo, como vimos, una transformación inédita al imprimir fuertes marcas en las extensas planicies surcadas por las primeras líneas férreas como en las riberas de los principales ríos y conformó enclaves productivos articulados que permitieron la consolidación de dicho modelo económico.

La arqueología del paisaje industrializado, como método interdisciplinario, nos permitió abordar la evidencia presente tanto en los documentos, como en las estructuras industriales y en el escenario natural, es decir, el molino fue estudiado como parte de un proceso; de un todo.

En la carta de Nizhny Tagil sobre El Patrimonio Industrial (2003) los molinos forman parte del conjunto de obras características de la cultura industrial poseedora de un valor histórico, tecnológico, social, arquitectónico o científico. Agregándole nosotros el valor de la fuerza del trabajo (cultura del mundo del trabajo y sus saberes) característico del sistema de producción inédito en la argentina decimonónica.

A modo de síntesis y tomando de referencia la propuesta de Rainero (2012), el establecimiento industrial de Thomas lo definimos como un nodo, a sus silos como mojones territoriales, al molino como un hito, al trazado ferroviario como sendas y a las estaciones de ferrocarril como la puerta de entrada al nuevo paisaje cultural pampeano moderno y modernizante.

Como nodo, por su ubicación geográfica, el complejo industrial harinero tuvo accesibilidad a la materia prima, al mercado local y recursos humanos, como a la conectividad con los centros de almacenamiento, producción y distribución.

Como mojones sus edificios se convirtieron en señales permanentes de referencia en el contexto plano infinito de la pampa.

Como hito, el molino, marcó un límite territorial urbanizado en un paisaje ribereño, así como una bisagra en el proceso socio-económico de la región.

A lo largo del artículo vimos como Thomas y sus socios pusieron en un segundo plano el estar emplazado en una localidad en proceso de formación y prevalecieron el espacio geográfico que lo sostendría. El peso lo tuvieron los recursos naturales (la altura del terreno y el río) y la proximidad con la fuente de aprovisionamiento de materia prima. Es así como dentro de la estructuración territorial, el molino, se constituyó en ese nodo necesario entre los agricultores y el mercado.

Entonces y en forma de cierre el objetivo del artículo fue dar cuenta como el molino fundador de la agroindustria se convirtió en un centro de producción regional y tuvo como socio principal a la infraestructura ferrocarrilera.

References Références Referencias

1. ÁLVAREZ, G. (2016). *El molino de Carcarañá. Una historia de dos ciudades iniciada en rosario en 1865.* Biblioteca Pizzurno.
2. ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO DE LA PROVINCIA DE CÓRDOBA. (1901). *Register of Town sales. Argentine Land & Investment Co. ltm. (1878).* Colección Ferrocarril y Colonia, Tomo 4, Inv. 13-000256
3. ARCHIVO DE PROTOCOLOS NOTARIALES. (1892a). Escritura pública Nº23 Escribano Jacinto Correa. Rosario.

© 2023 Global Journals

4. ARCHIVO DE PROTOCOLOS NOTARIALES. (1892b). Escritura pública Nº173 Escribano Jacinto Correa. Rosario.
5. ARCHIVO DE PROTOCOLOS NOTARIALES. (1892c). Escritura pública Nº23 Escribano Jacinto Correa. Rosario.
6. ARCHIVO DE PROTOCOLOS NOTARIALES. (1908). Escritura pública Nº225 Escribano Estevan Peyrano, p.21. Rosario.
7. BALÁN, J. (1978). Una cuestión regional en la Argentina: burguesías provinciales y el mercado nacional en el desarrollo agroexportador. *Desarrollo económico*, 49-87. https://doi.org/10.2307/3466376
8. BENEDETTO, A. J. M. & VADILLO, N. L. (2009). *Historia de Carcarañá. Su gente y sus costumbres.* Ministerios de innovación y cultura. Santa Fe.
9. BOUCHARD, V. (1883). *Informe de la inspección de colonias*. Ministerio del Gobierno: Tomo 107, Legajo 10. Archivo General de la Provincia de Santa Fe.
10. BML. (2002). *Surveying our public land*. U. S. Department of the Interior Bureau of Land Management. United States.
11. CALDERONE, A., & FERRARI, M. (1992). La incorporación de la tierra pública al dominio privado. *Revista de Economía y Estadística*, 21-32.
12. CAPEL, H. (2002). *La Morfología de las Ciudades*. *Tomo 1. Sociedad, Cultura y Paisaje Urbano*, Estrella Polar, Ediciones del Serbal.
13. CARRASCO, G. (1886). *Descripción Geográfica y Estadística de la Provincia de Santa-Fé*. Cuarta Edición. Corregida, aumen- tada é ilustrada con planos, vistas y cuadros gráficos. Stiller & Laass. Buenos Aires. Argentina.
14. CARRASCO, G. (1887). Padrones con Información Nominativa. Primer Censo General de la Provincia de Santa Fe. https://www.santafe.gob.ar/censo1887/censo.php, 1887.
15. CASTRO ARRÚE, D. (2011). Descendencia de don Pedro Piñeyrúa en *Orgullo y Prejuicios de las Familias Patricias*. http://elpatriciadodelriodelaplata.blogspot.com/2011/12/los-areta-arrue-y-arrue-areta.html
16. CHARNAY, D. (1876). Through the Pampas and the Cordillera, from Montevideo to Santa Rosa (Chile). https://www.alamy.com/map-of-the-trip-from-montevideo-in-uruguay-to-santa-rosa-in-chile-made-by-desir-charnay-in-the-year-1876-south-america-through-the-pampas-and-the-cordillera-from-montevideo-to-santa-rosa-chile-by-desir-charnay-1876-image464893205.html?imageid=F2BC8193-7EA6-475F-81E8-501A15A7D809&p=1224554&pn=1&searchId=8caf160008f58440dbc94382fbaad183&searchtype=0
17. COELHO, G. (1875). *Memorias presentadas al exmo. Gobierno de la Provincia de Santa Fe*. Imprenta de la Unión Argentina.
18. CÓRDOVA GONZÁLEZ, L. A. (2010). Funcionalismo: modernidad y espacio. https://www.repositoriodigital.ipn.mx/bitstream/123456789/25270/1/8-Funcionalismo.pdf
19. DE LA FUENTE, D. G. (1898). *Segundo Censo de la República Argentina, mayo 10 de 1895*. Taller tipográfico de la Penitenciaria nacional.
20. DELIUS, J. D. (2018). Reseña acerca de los campos que circundan la antigua estancia Monte Molina, Saladillo, Córdoba. http://kops.uni-konstanz.de/handle/123456789/42263
21. DÍAZ LOZADA, J. M. (2014). *Cuantificación y caracterización del escurrimiento superficial en el sistema fluvial del río Carcarañá* (Master's thesis, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba. Facultad de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales.).
22. DOSZTAL, I. (2017). *Alexandra Colony: Arqueología Histórica en su Sede Administrativa, Colonización Británica en Santa Fe, Argentina*. Omni Scriptum.
23. DOSZTAL, I. (2018). Thomas Thomas: empresario rural inserto en un proceso de transformación territorial (Colonia Carcarañá, Santa Fe, Argentina 1871-1908). *Cadernos do Lepaarq*, *XV*(30), 38-55.
24. DOSZTAL, I. (2021). Un paisaje cultural pampeano en construcción: ordenamiento territorial de la frontera oeste santafesina (Argentina, 1858-1908) [A Pampean cultural landscape under construction: territorial organization of the western frontier of Santa Fe (Argentina, 1858-1908)]. *Estudios Fronterizos*, *22*(e084), 1-28. https://doi.org/10.21670/ref.2121084
25. DOSZTAL, I., & VALENTINI, M. (2021). Thomas Thomas y su rol en graneros y muelles del Rosario consolidación de una red social en un contexto de capitalismo periférico (Rosario, Santa Fe, 1879-1892). *Anuario de Arqueología*, 13, 105-114
26. DÜRST, P. (1892). *Alegría y tristeza. Veinte años de vida de campamento en Argentina. Memorias de Pedro Dürst, maestro en Roldán-Bernstadt*. Sociedad de maestros alemanes de Buenos Aires.
27. FARÍAS, H. D. (2005). Forma en planta de ríos de llanura. Conciliación de criterios empíricos y analíticos para la identificación de umbrales morfológicos. In *Principios y aplicaciones en hidráulica de ríos. Segundo Simposio Regional sobre Hidráulica de Ríos, AIC-INA Neuquén*.
28. FERNÁNDEZ, S. (2000). La industria molinera en Santa Fe, modernización y cambio tecnológico en un ámbito regional pampeano. Un estudio de caso en el cambio de siglo (XIX-XX). *Cuadernos de Historia. Serie Economía y Sociedad*, (3), 77-112.
29. KORNBLIHTT, J. (2002). La ley del más fuerte. Una aproximación a la centralización del capital en la rama harinera (1870-1920). *Razón y Revolución*. 9. https://razonyrevolucion.org/la-ley-del-mas-fuerte/
30. KORNBLIHTT, J. (2010). Los empresarios molineros argentinos ante los límites de las exportaciones harineras a principios de siglo XX. H-industri@; 4; 6; 1-23.

© 2023 Global Journals

31. LAHITTE, E. (1908). "La cuestión molinera, 1901", en E. Lahitte, *Informes y estudios de la División de Estadística y Economía Rural*, Bs. As.
32. LANCIOTTI, N. S. (2002). Mercado inmobiliario en Rosario: inversores, empresas y empresarios en la expansión urbana de entre siglos, 1880-1914. En Actas *Séptimas Jornadas Investigaciones en la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Estadística. Universidad Nacional del Rosario.*
33. LA CAPITAL. (1875). *Molino de Agua del Carcarañá*. Rosario. Santa Fe.
34. LA CAPITAL. (1908). *El Molino Carcarañá*. Rosario. Santa Fe.
35. MARTIRÉN, J. L. (2017). La industria harinera pampeana durante la gran expansión agraria, 1880-1914. *La historia argentina en perspectiva local y regional Compaginado desde TeseoPress (www. teseopress. com)*, 351.
36. MARTIREN, J. L., & RAYES, A. (2016). La industria argentina de harina de trigo en el cambio de siglo. Límites y alcances, 1880-1914. *H-industria. Revista de historia de la industria y el desarrollo en América Latina*, (18), 1-27.
37. MIGUEZ, E. (1985). *Las tierras de los ingleses en la Argentina (1870-1914)*. Editorial de Belgrano.
38. PALMER, M. & NEAVERSON, P. (1998). *Industrial Archaeology. Principles and Practice*. Routledge.
39. PEREZ CALVO, L. (2007). *Norteamericanos en la Argentina*. Universidad de Michigan.
40. PEYRET, A. (1889). *Una visita á las colonias de la Republica Argentina.* Tribuna nacional.
41. PONS, A., & RUIZ, R. (2005). Tras el velo del comercio, la materia prima se transforma. Una aproximación al perfil Industrial-Manufacturero de Rosario (1873-1914). *Imaginarios y Prácticas de un orden burgués en Rosario*, *1930*.
42. PULLEY, R. H. (1966). The Railroad and Argentine National Development, 1852–1914. *The Americas*, *23*(1), 63-75. https://doi.org/10.2307/980140
43. RAINERO, C. (2012). Registro y re-valorización del paisaje de la producción en el área metropolitana de Rosario [Santa Fe], Argentina: el caso del Ferrocarril Oeste Santafesino. *Labor e Engenho*, *6*(1), 27-48.
44. REGISTRO DE COMERCIO. (1883). *Sociedad Don tomas Thomas y Don Enrique G. Hill.* Rosario.
45. SANMARTÍN, L. (2013). Patrimonio Industrial, molinos y hangares. IAA / *Seminario de Crítica* 183.
46. SAUS, M. A. (2012). Ferrocarril Central Norte Argentino: Arquitectura de la estación y articulación de la estructura urbana de Santa Fe. *Geographos: Revista Digital para Estudiantes de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, *3*(23), 1-20.
47. SCALABRINI ORTIZ, R. (1975 [1940]). *Historia de los ferrocarriles argentinos*. Editorial Reconquista.
48. SERNA, J., & PONS, A. (1998). La escritura y la vida. El notariado y el estudio de las redes personales burguesas en la época isabelina. *Ayer*, (29), 109-138.
49. TAGIL, N. (2003). Carta de Nizhny Tagil sobre el patrimonio industrial. *The International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH): Paris, France*.
50. THERRIEN, M. (2008). Patrimonio y arqueología industrial: ¿investigación vs. protección? Políticas del patrimonio industrial en Colombia. *Apuntes: Revista de estudios sobre patrimonio cultural-Journal of Cultural Heritage Studies*, *21*(1), 44-61.
51. VERA, R. C. (2019). Formas y sistemas territoriales: Una revisión de las estructuras territoriales generadas por el ferrocarril en la región central argentina. *Registros. Revista de Investigación Histórica*, *15*(1), 22-40.
52. WEIHMÜLLER, L. (1932). *Memorias de la fundación de las colonias suizas del Ferrocarril Central Argentino*. Schwazer Echo
53. WILCKEN, G. (1873). *Las Colonias. Informe sobre el estado actual de las colonias agrícolas de la República Argentina*. Comisión Central de Inmigraciones.
54. WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES. (2015). Tutorial on the Public Land Survey System Descriptions.
55. ZALDUENDO, E. (1975). *Libras y Rieles*. El coloquio.
56. ZEBALLOS, E. (1984 [1883]). *La Rejión del Trigo*. Hyspamérica Ediciones.

© 2023 Global Journals

Global Journals Guidelines Handbook 2023

www.GlobalJournals.org

Memberships

Fellows/Associates of Social Science Research Council

FSSRC/ASSRC Memberships



Introduction

FSSRC/ASSRC is the most prestigious membership of Global Journals accredited by Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS). The credentials of Fellow and Associate designations signify that the researcher has gained the knowledge of the fundamental and high-level concepts, and is a subject matter expert, proficient in an expertise course covering the professional code of conduct, and follows recognized standards of practice. The credentials are designated only to the researchers, scientists, and professionals that have been selected by a rigorous process by our Editorial Board and Management Board.

Associates of FSSRC/ASSRC are scientists and researchers from around the world are working on projects/researches that have huge potentials. Members support Global Journals' mission to advance technology for humanity and the profession.

FSSRC

Fellow of Social Science Research Council

FELLOW OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL is the most prestigious membership of Global Journals. It is an award and membership granted to individuals that the Open Association of Research Society judges to have made a 'substantial contribution to the improvement of computer science, technology, and electronics engineering.

The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Fellows are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Fellow Members.

Benefit

To the institution

Get letter of appreciation

Global Journals sends a letter of appreciation of author to the Dean or CEO of the University or Company of which author is a part, signed by editor in chief or chief author.



Exclusive Network

Get access to a closed network

A FSSRC member gets access to a closed network of Tier 1 researchers and scientists with direct communication channel through our website. Fellows can reach out to other members or researchers directly. They should also be open to reaching out by other.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation



Certificate

Certificate, LOR and Laser-Momento

Fellows receive a printed copy of a certificate signed by our Chief Author that may be used for academic purposes and a personal recommendation letter to the dean of member's university.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation



Designation

Get honored title of membership

Fellows can use the honored title of membership. The “FSSRC” is an honored title which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FSSRC or William Walldroff, M.S., FSSRC.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

Recognition on the Platform

Better visibility and citation

All the Fellow members of FSSRC get a badge of "Leading Member of Global Journals" on the Research Community that distinguishes them from others. Additionally, the profile is also partially maintained by our team for better visibility and citation. All fellows get a dedicated page on the website with their biography.

Career | Credibility | Reputation

© Copyright by Global Journals | Guidelines Handbook

Future Work

Get discounts on the future publications

Fellows receive discounts on future publications with Global Journals up to 60%. Through our recommendation programs, members also receive discounts on publications made with OARS affiliated organizations.

Career | Financial



GJ Account

Unlimited forward of Emails

Fellows get secure and fast GJ work emails with unlimited forward of emails that they may use them as their primary email. For example,
john [AT] globaljournals [DOT] org.

Career | Credibility | Reputation



Premium Tools

Access to all the premium tools

To take future researches to the zenith, fellows receive access to all the premium tools that Global Journals have to offer along with the partnership with some of the best marketing leading tools out there.

Financial

Conferences & Events

Organize seminar/conference

Fellows are authorized to organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journal Incorporation (USA). They can also participate in the same organized by another institution as representative of Global Journal. In both the cases, it is mandatory for him to discuss with us and obtain our consent. Additionally, they get free research conferences (and others) alerts.

Career | Credibility | Financial

Early Invitations

Early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences

All fellows receive the early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences and webinars hosted by Global Journals in their subject.

Exclusive



Publishing Articles & Books

Earn 60% of sales proceeds

To take future researches to the zenith, fellows receive access to all the premium tools that Global Journals have to offer along with the partnership with some of the best marketing leading tools out there.

Exclusive | Financial

Reviewers

Get a remuneration of 15% of author fees

Fellow members are eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get a remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper.

Financial

Access to Editorial Board

Become a member of the Editorial Board

Fellows may join as a member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) after successful completion of three years as Fellow and as Peer Reviewer. Additionally, Fellows get a chance to nominate other members for Editorial Board.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

And Much More

Get access to scientific museums and observatories across the globe

All members get access to 5 selected scientific museums and observatories across the globe. All researches published with Global Journals will be kept under deep archival facilities across regions for future protections and disaster recovery. They get 10 GB free secure cloud access for storing research files.

© Copyright by Global Journals | Guidelines Handbook

ASSRC

ASSOCIATE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

ASSOCIATE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL is the membership of Global Journals awarded to individuals that the Open Association of Research Society judges to have made a 'substantial contribution to the improvement of computer science, technology, and electronics engineering.

The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Associate membership can later be promoted to Fellow Membership. Associates are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Associate Members.

Benefit

To the institution

Get letter of appreciation

Global Journals sends a letter of appreciation of author to the Dean or CEO of the University or Company of which author is a part, signed by editor in chief or chief author.



Exclusive Network

Get access to a closed network

A ASSRC member gets access to a closed network of Tier 2 researchers and scientists with direct communication channel through our website. Associates can reach out to other members or researchers directly. They should also be open to reaching out by other.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation



Certificate

Certificate, LoR and Laser-Momento

Associates receive a printed copy of a certificate signed by our Chief Author that may be used for academic purposes and a personal recommendation letter to the dean of member's university.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation



Designation

Get honored title of membership

Associates can use the honored title of membership. The “ASSRC” is an honored title which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., ASSRC or William Walldroff, M.S., ASSRC.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

Recognition on the Platform

Better visibility and citation

All the Associate members of ASSRC get a badge of "Leading Member of Global Journals" on the Research Community that distinguishes them from others. Additionally, the profile is also partially maintained by our team for better visibility and citation.

Career | Credibility | Reputation

Future Work

Get discounts on the future publications

Associates receive discounts on future publications with Global Journals up to 30%. Through our recommendation programs, members also receive discounts on publications made with OARS affiliated organizations.

Career | Financial



GJ Account

Unlimited forward of Emails

Associates get secure and fast GJ work emails with 5GB forward of emails that they may use them as their primary email. For example, john [AT] globaljournals [DOT] org.

Career | Credibility | Reputation



Premium Tools

Access to all the premium tools

To take future researches to the zenith, fellows receive access to almost all the premium tools that Global Journals have to offer along with the partnership with some of the best marketing leading tools out there.

Financial

Conferences & Events

Organize seminar/conference

Associates are authorized to organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journal Incorporation (USA). They can also participate in the same organized by another institution as representative of Global Journal. In both the cases, it is mandatory for him to discuss with us and obtain our consent. Additionally, they get free research conferences (and others) alerts.

Career | Credibility | Financial

Early Invitations

Early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences

All associates receive the early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences and webinars hosted by Global Journals in their subject.

Exclusive



Publishing Articles & Books

Earn 60% of sales proceeds

Associates can publish articles (limited) without any fees. Also, they can earn up to 30-40% of sales proceeds from the sale of reference/review books/literature/publishing of research paper.

Exclusive | Financial

Reviewers

Get a remuneration of 15% of author fees

Associate members are eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get a remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper.

Financial

And Much More

Get access to scientific museums and observatories across the globe

All members get access to 2 selected scientific museums and observatories across the globe. All researches published with Global Journals will be kept under deep archival facilities across regions for future protections and disaster recovery. They get 5 GB free secure cloud access for storing research files.

Associate	Fellow	Research Group	Basic
$4800 **lifetime designation**	$6800 **lifetime designation**	$12500.00 **organizational**	APC **per article**
Certificate, LoR and Momento **2** discounted publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **10** research contacts/day **1 GB** Cloud Storage **GJ** Community Access	**Certificate,** LoR and Momento **Unlimited** discounted publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **Unlimited** research contacts/day **5 GB** Cloud Storage **Online Presense** Assistance **GJ** Community Access	**Certificates,** LoRs and Momentos **Unlimited** free publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **Unlimited** research contacts/day **Unlimited** Cloud Storage **Online Presense** Assistance **GJ** Community Access	**GJ** Community Access

Preferred Author Guidelines

We accept the manuscript submissions in any standard (generic) format.

We typeset manuscripts using advanced typesetting tools like Adobe In Design, CorelDraw, TeXnicCenter, and TeXStudio. We usually recommend authors submit their research using any standard format they are comfortable with, and let Global Journals do the rest.

Alternatively, you can download our basic template from https://globaljournals.org/Template.zip

Authors should submit their complete paper/article, including text illustrations, graphics, conclusions, artwork, and tables. Authors who are not able to submit manuscript using the form above can email the manuscript department at submit@globaljournals.org or get in touch with chiefeditor@globaljournals.org if they wish to send the abstract before submission.

Before and during Submission

Authors must ensure the information provided during the submission of a paper is authentic. Please go through the following checklist before submitting:

1. Authors must go through the complete author guideline and understand and *agree to Global Journals' ethics and code of conduct,* along with author responsibilities.
2. Authors must accept the privacy policy, terms, and conditions of Global Journals.
3. Ensure corresponding author's email address and postal address are accurate and reachable.
4. Manuscript to be submitted must include keywords, an abstract, a paper title, co-author(s') names and details (email address, name, phone number, and institution), figures and illustrations in vector format including appropriate captions, tables, including titles and footnotes, a conclusion, results, acknowledgments and references.
5. Authors should submit paper in a ZIP archive if any supplementary files are required along with the paper.
6. Proper permissions must be acquired for the use of any copyrighted material.
7. Manuscript submitted *must not have been submitted or published elsewhere* and all authors must be aware of the submission.

Declaration of Conflicts of Interest

It is required for authors to declare all financial, institutional, and personal relationships with other individuals and organizations that could influence (bias) their research.

Policy on Plagiarism

Plagiarism is not acceptable in Global Journals submissions at all.

Plagiarized content will not be considered for publication. We reserve the right to inform authors' institutions about plagiarism detected either before or after publication. If plagiarism is identified, we will follow COPE guidelines:

Authors are solely responsible for all the plagiarism that is found. The author must not fabricate, falsify or plagiarize existing research data. The following, if copied, will be considered plagiarism:

- Words (language)
- Ideas
- Findings
- Writings
- Diagrams
- Graphs
- Illustrations
- Lectures

- Printed material
- Graphic representations
- Computer programs
- Electronic material
- Any other original work

Authorship Policies

Global Journals follows the definition of authorship set up by the Open Association of Research Society, USA. According to its guidelines, authorship criteria must be based on:

1. Substantial contributions to the conception and acquisition of data, analysis, and interpretation of findings.
2. Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.
3. Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

Changes in Authorship

The corresponding author should mention the name and complete details of all co-authors during submission and in manuscript. We support addition, rearrangement, manipulation, and deletions in authors list till the early view publication of the journal. We expect that corresponding author will notify all co-authors of submission. We follow COPE guidelines for changes in authorship.

Copyright

During submission of the manuscript, the author is confirming an exclusive license agreement with Global Journals which gives Global Journals the authority to reproduce, reuse, and republish authors' research. We also believe in flexible copyright terms where copyright may remain with authors/employers/institutions as well. Contact your editor after acceptance to choose your copyright policy. You may follow this form for copyright transfers.

Appealing Decisions

Unless specified in the notification, the Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed before making the major change in the manuscript.

Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

Declaration of funding sources

Global Journals is in partnership with various universities, laboratories, and other institutions worldwide in the research domain. Authors are requested to disclose their source of funding during every stage of their research, such as making analysis, performing laboratory operations, computing data, and using institutional resources, from writing an article to its submission. This will also help authors to get reimbursements by requesting an open access publication letter from Global Journals and submitting to the respective funding source.

Preparing your Manuscript

Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11'", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.

Format Structure

It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

.

Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



© Copyright by Global Journals | Guidelines Handbook

Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



© Copyright by Global Journals | Guidelines Handbook

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.

Criterion for Grading a Research Paper (Compilation) by Global Journals

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

INDEX

A

Ambiguity · 7
Amendment · 1
Ancestral · 4, 7
Apparent · 7
Auspices · 16

B

Brutality · 8

C

Carved · 6
Coherent · 1
Conducive · 5
Consortium · 5, 8, 15
Contradict · 4
Culpability · 11
Cumulative · 2
Curious · 10

D

Decentralised, · 6
Densely · 3
Durability · 3, 4, 7

E

Echoed · 8
Elucidated · 7, 9
Emanated · 8
Entrusted · 11, 12
Envisaged · 9
Equivalent · 11, 3

I

Inexhaustible · 11
Inherently · 8
Instructive · 2
Intangible · 1, 7, 33

M

Multipronged · 8

N

Natality · 3, 4, 9
Negligence · 1

O

Occurrence · 11

P

Perceptible · 3
Persistent · 2, 6
Persuasion · 6
Plausible · 3, 7
Poured · 7
Precisely · 14, 2, 7
Predictable · 4, 6
Premises · 12
Prevalence · 12
Privatised · 2, 5

R

Radically · 9
Regression · 13
Relevant · 7, 2, 3
Reluctantly · 14
Replication · 8
Revealed · 4, 7

S

Spontaneity · 5, 6
Steadily · 5
Superfluous · 5
Syntactic · 2, 6

V

Varied · 1, 9
Vertiginously · 16



save our planet



Global Journal of Human Social Science

Visit us on the Web at www.GlobalJournals.org | www.SocialScienceResearch.org
or email us at helpdesk@globaljournals.org



ISSN 975587

© Global Journals