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“We don't Talk about Undocumented Status...We Talk about Helping Children”: How School Leaders Shape School Climate for Undocumented Immigrants

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“We don't Talk about Undocumented Status... We Talk about Helping Children”: How School Leaders Shape School Climate for Undocumented Immigrants

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Abstract

The racial/ethnic tensions, policies, and practices in society can be mirrored in spaces and institutions like schools. In schools, sociopolitical discourses can be reproduced and protected in institutional policies. One way K-12¹ leaders can initiate change and limit marginalization of students is by creating a school environment that accepts and integrates students regardless of legal status. This study investigates how K-12 school leaders influence the school climate to enhance receptiveness for undocumented students and the children of undocumented immigrants. Study findings come from a Conversation/Talk Analysis (CTA) of nine school leaders in K-12 schools in two urban districts in Texas along the U.S.-Mexico border. Findings demonstrate that leaders acted to increase students' performance, sense of belonging at school, and their integration and participation in school as paths to producing a welcoming school climate. Leaders' talk revealed they used practices and strategies to reduce barriers between home and schooling cultures.

Keywords: Educational leaders, undocumented students, school climate, Conversation Talk Analysis

“No Hablamos de Indocumentados... Hablamos de Ayudar a Niños y Niñas”: Líderes Escolares que Generan un Clima Escolar para Migrantes Indocumentados

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Resumen

Las tensiones raciales/étnicas, las políticas y prácticas de la sociedad pueden verse reflejadas en los espacios e instituciones como las escuelas. En las escuelas, los discursos sociopolíticos de pueden reproducir y proteger por las políticas institucionales. Una forma en que los líderes de K-12 pueden iniciar cambios y limitar la marginalización de estudiantes es creando un clima escolar que acepta e integra al alumnado independientemente de su situación legal. Este estudio investiga cómo los líderes escolares de K-12 influyen en el ambiente escolar para mejorar la acogida de alumnado indocumentado y los niños y niñas de migrantes indocumentados. Los resultados del estudio provienen del Análisis de Conversación/Habla (ACH) de nueve líderes escolares en escuelas K-12 de dos distritos urbanos en Texas a lo largo de la frontera de México con Estados Unidos. Los resultados demuestran que los líderes actuaron para aumentar los resultados del alumnado, el sentimiento de pertenencia a la escuela, su integración y participación en la escuela como formas de generar un clima escolar de acogida. Las conversaciones de líderes revelaron que utilizaban prácticas y estrategias para reducir las barreras entre el hogar y las culturas escolares.

Palabras clave: líderes educacionales, estudiantes indocumentados, clima escolar, Análisis Conversación/Habla



There is a crisis of im/migration across the globe, with the movement of large populations of people across borders. Im/migrants take great risks in seeking shelter or refuge in a new destination, but the contexts of reception they experience can range from non-receptive to openly hostile or highly receptive. In 2015, Germany welcomed Syrian refugees fleeing violence and civil war, eventually taking in a million refugees (*The Guardian*, 2015). Other European Union countries like Poland closed their borders (*Broomfield*, 2016). Uncertainty over how to address the sheer number of people fleeing war-torn countries and simultaneously protect citizens from terror attacks has led nations ranging from Saudi Arabia to Estonia to urgently build physical barriers like walls and fences. These physical and symbolic attempt to control unauthorized migration, despite mixed evidence that borders and walls are effective deterrents to migration (*Jones*, 2016).

Around the world, “This new age of barriers is not just about chain links and concrete. It also reflects the rise of populist politicians” (*Granados, Murphy, Schaul, & Faiola*, 2016, para.3). The reception and treatment of “unexpected” im/migrants, from undocumented immigrantsⁱ to refugees in the United States is highly politicized and contentious. In the U.S., President Trump’s policy pledges and rhetoric about undocumented immigrants have prompted public outcry, resistance, and escalating court battles (*Liptak*, 2017). He has sought to ban the travel of immigrants from seven predominantly Muslim countries, halt refugee resettlement (*Pierce & Meissner*, 2017), and deter unauthorized immigration by lengthing the wall along the Mexico-U.S. border while chastizing Mexico to stop “the bad hombres” (*Salama*, 2017). Such discourses about undocumented immigrants have racist, xenophobic, and culturally prejudiced tones and texts. These discourses present Latino/as as especially threatening, and discourses can be characterized as “vitriolic” (*Chavez*, 2008; *Antony & Thomas*, 2017, p. 4). Mexican undocumented immigrants, who constitute the majority, but not all, of the 11.3 million undocumented population in the United States (*Krogstad, Passel, & Cohn*, 2017) are frequent targets of stereotyping and discrimination (*Ayón*, 2015).

The racial/ethnic tensions, policies, and practices in society can be mirrored in spaces and institutions like schools. In schools, sociopolitical discourses can be reproduced and protected in institutional policies. One way K-12² leaders can initiate change and limit the marginalization of students is by creating a school environment that accepts and integrates

students regardless of legal status. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001) identify an *ethos of reception* as the general climate that immigrants encounter, and it shapes how immigrants function in their socio-cultural environment. We assert that a welcoming ethos of reception and school climate that ensure undocumented students feel safe and a sense of belonging is crucial to their ability to connect to school.

Our purpose is to investigate how K-12 school leaders influence the school climate to enhance receptiveness for undocumented students and the children of undocumented immigrants. Leaders care about school climate as it is tied to school effectiveness, student achievement, and other student outcomes like pro-social behaviors (Halpin & Croft, 1963; Hoy & Hannum, 1997). Yet, it is unclear how climate may related to how undocumented students experience education. They have a legal guarantee to access free, public K-12 education (Plyler v. Doe, 1982), but their education is often hindered. Students can feel isolated, stigma, and shame about the undocumented label (Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco, & Dedios-Sanguinetti, 2013). Research shows undocumented students fear deportation (Chaudry, Capps, Pedroza, Castañeda, Santos, & Scott, 2010), struggle to build trust and connect with educators (Enriquez, 2011), hesitate to share legal status with educators (Murillo, 2017), and are affected by poverty (Ayón, 2015; Chavez, 1998). Further, these students and their families may not be able to access basic social services (Passel & Cohn, 2009). Any of these issues can impede whether a student feels comfortable at school and ready for instruction. Educators have a fundamental responsibility to critically examine, challenge, and work to change unjust policies and discourses that instigate or perpetuate students' marginalization.

Organizations like schools reflect the beliefs, assumptions, expectations, norms, and values of the people working with them (Lindahl, 2006). These values, expectations, norms, and beliefs are conveyed through talk and discussion. Little scholarly work explores how space and place discursively mediate climate, and how school leaders negotiate the environments that support the social, emotional and “physical quality and character of school life” (Cohen, McCabe, Michelli, & Pickerell, 2009, p.182) that undocumented students experience. We investigate the linkages among school space, “talk,” culture, and climate by examining leaders' discussions about newly arrived and undocumented students using Conversation/Talk Analysis (CTA). We specifically and discursively examine the talk structures (Boden, 1994; Boden & Zimmerman, 1991) school leaders use to

describe aspects of immigrant reception, and how space, place, and organizational norms contribute to (re)producing school climate. Study findings come from a CTA of nine school leaders in K-12 schools in two urban districts in Texas along the U.S.-Mexico border. In analyzing leaders' talk, the realities of the contexts in which K-12 leaders practice, and how they influence an ethos of reception for undocumented students, can be better understood.

U.S. Policy and the Political Climate for Undocumented Immigration

Federal immigration policy and undocumented immigration

The national policy climate and treatment of undocumented immigrants has fluctuated. The U.S. federal government placed limits on the number and origins of immigrants permitted into the country as early as the 1920s (Espenshade, 1995). However, the first national-level policy to consolidate immigration-related statutes was the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) in 1952 (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2016; n.d.). The INA undid previous policies allowing for race-based considerations (Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002). Throughout the first half of the 20th century, undocumented immigration grew or ebbed and flowed to the country though U.S. immigration policy attempted to limit it.

The Immigration Act of 1965 ushered in "...the centerpiece of current immigration policy" (Alba & Nee, 2003, p.127), and deportations escalated (Rincón, 2008). Between 1960 and 1965, apprehensions of undocumented immigrants surged from 30,000 to 100,000. Some scholars argue that undocumented migration from Mexico would have stagnated if pre-1965 immigration policies persisted (Massey et al., 2002). Since 1965, U.S. immigration policy has become more restrictive, but undocumented immigration rose substantially until 1985 (Massey et al., 2002).

The Immigration and Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) represented a major shift in national policy (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). IRCA intended to control the flow of undocumented immigration while diminishing the population already present. Nearly 3 million long-term residents gained reprieve from deportation and had access to pathways toward legalized status (Massey & Capoferro, 2008). However, IRCA only temporarily curtailed undocumented immigration (Espenshade, 1995), and may have exacerbated it (Espenshade, 1995;

Massey et al., 2002; Sobczack, 2010). Policy discourse also notably shifted: lax immigration enforcement became associated with compromised national security (Espenshade, 1995; Massey et al., 2002).

By 1990, the Immigration Act put limits on immigration visas and additional money to fortify the Border Patrol (Massey et al., 2002). In 1996, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) was designed specifically to target undocumented immigration. Immigration enforcement on the U.S.-Mexico border was stepped up, and deportation order reviews and deportations accelerated (Massey et al., 2002; Rincón, 2008; Romero, 2005). IIRIRA has been denounced as it anti-immigrant, punitive, and a catalyst for more anti-immigrant legislation (Romero, 2009). Under IIRIRA, states gained control to write the conditions under which both undocumented and legal immigrants are eligible or limited from receiving public assistance. Pertinent to education, IIRIRA's section 505 intersected with the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) to enable states to prevent noncitizens (e.g., undocumented students) from accessing postsecondary educational benefits (i.e., no in-state tuition rates; López & López, 2010; Olivas, 2008).

Undocumented Immigration and the Anti-Immigrant Policy Climate

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 refocused attention on linking undocumented immigrants to gaps in national security. Though demographers estimate that outflows and inflows of undocumented immigrants have brought the net balance of undocumented immigration into parity at 11.3 million persons (Passel, Cohn, Krogstad, & Gonzalez-Barrera, 2014), political rhetoric and policy responses create assumptions that undocumented immigration is growing. As an example, state-level immigration legislation have risen. In 2015, state legislation grew by 26 percent; 216 laws were enacted and 274 resolutions were passed (National Conference of State Legislatures [NCSL], 2016).

All state policy environments and immigration legislation cannot be characterized as anti-immigrant, however. The relationships and politics among the local, state, and federal levels of government are complex. Yet, anti-immigrant sentiment is inflamed by politicians who lead voters to believe that U.S. borders—especially the border shared with Mexico—are

easily penetrated. Though the Mexican undocumented population in the U.S. continues to fall (Gonzalez-Barrera, 2015), media stories and TV shows depict rare cases of undocumented immigrants crossing into the U.S. with ease, running drugs, and perpetrating serious crimes (e.g., “Smuggler caught by Border Patrol 24 times is sentenced to prison”; Ford, 2016). Despite anti-immigrant images and narratives (Antony & Thomas, 2017), public support for undocumented immigrants to have a path to legal residency is growing (Goo, 2015; Pew Research Center, 2015).

School Climate and Undocumented Students’ Schooling Experiences

Scholars have tried to define and assess “school climate” since the 1950s. To date, there is no one-size-fits-all definition of climate. However, there is overlap in its conceptualization, but educators and scholars often reference climate as the “atmosphere,” or “tone” of a school (Cohen et al., 2009; Freiberg, 1999). Climate has also been defined as the strength of the relationship between school employees and students, and the quality of their interactions (Cornell & Huang, in press). A positive climate advances feelings of safety that then facilitates learning, a sense of connectedness among people within the school, and teaching and learning that supports collaboration, mutual trust, and respect (Bradshaw, Waasdorp, Debnam, & Johnson, 2014; Thapa, Cohen, Guffey, & Higgins-D’Alessandro, 2013). Cohen et al. (2009) and Freiberg (1999) posit that, across the literature, climate is comprised of four fundamental dimensions: 1) safety, 2) teaching and learning, 3) relationships, and 4) environmental-structural. We follow Cohen et al.’s (2009) view that climate is “based on patterns of people’s experiences of school life and reflects norms, values and expectations that support people feeling socially, emotionally, and physically safe.” These components relate to the “quality and character of school life” (p.182). We tie this to space, place, and how school leaders create schooling environments more or less receptive to undocumented students.

Leadership, School Climate, and Obstacles to Undocumented Students’ Education

A rich body of literature speaks to principals’ influence in shaping the culture, conditions, and organization of schools, linking it to teaching

quality and student learning outcomes (Bryk et al., 2010; Leithwood & Jantzi, 1999; Louis, Leithwood, Wahlstrom, & Anderson 2010; Marks & Printy, 2003). Principals can effect school improvement processes by promoting a shared vision, building structures and practices to support that vision, and fostering strong relationships with the local community (Bryk et al., 2010; Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Scanlan & López, 2012). Concomitantly, schools that are considered “successful” are those where leaders champion student progress by focusing on social outcomes like students’ personal, social, and economic potentialities (Day & Leithwood, 2007; Ishimaru, 2013).

Research on undocumented immigrant students’ schooling experiences creates urgency for leaders to *intentionally* shape school climate to integrate them. Students have a legal right to a free, public K-12 education via the *Plyler* (1982) court decision. However, undocumented students likely attend segregated schools and those with histories of low performance (Orfield & Lee, 2006). They are also often placed in lower-track classes (Gonzales, 2010) and are likely to have trouble accessing resources, high quality teachers, and decent school buildings (Gandara, Rumberger, Maxwell-Jolly, & Callahan, 2003).

Outside of school, undocumented students contend with social, economic, and legal complexities that inhibit their participation in schooling. Undocumented immigrants usually live in poverty (Crawford, 2017; Ayón, 2015; Chavez, 1998) and may have transient living situations (Crawford, Witherspoon Arnold, & Brown, 2014; Piacentini, 2015). They are also likely to have infrequent access to health care (Passel & Cohn, 2009). Equally important, fear of deportation is ubiquitous (Chaudry, et al., 2010). At least two million people were deported during the Obama presidency. Under President Trump, immigration enforcement priorities have shifted to include people previously low-level priority; some K-12 schools have been disrupted by immigration enforcement (Hesson & Kim, 2017).

Undocumented students may hesitate to connect with school employees, except for some who connect with teachers or counselors (Enriquez, 2011). They may also feel stigma and shame about their lack of legal status (Gonzales, et al., 2013). Educators must navigate finding routes to build trusting relationships. Relationships can support student performance and engagement, encourage feelings of belongingness and student perceptions

of safety, and lessen a sense of divide between home and schooling cultures (Rumberger, 2004; Suárez-Orozco, Pimentel, & Martin 2009). These things affect student and family perceptions of the school climate (Cohen et al., 2009).

Frameworks

Scholars have called for research that shifts studies on immigrants away from an over-focus on individual immigrant characteristics toward greater acknowledgement of how institutional structures and contexts shape the schooling environment (Nelson & Hiemstra, 2008; Massey, 2008). Although sometimes used interchangeably, *school climate* is the subjective experience of school, and *school culture* refers to the actual condition of the school (National School Climate Center, 2016). Climate can be structural, attitudinal, or a combination of both. Structural issues of reception often include exclusion from opportunity or benefits. Attitudinal issues often include public hostility, discrimination, stereotyping, and other biases, represented both internally and externally. Institutional culture and climate affect receptivity in places like schools.

We consider the *ethos of reception* (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) that leaders promote for undocumented students based on how they talk about structural and attitudinal aspects of school climate where space, place, and culture intersect. The ethos of reception for immigrants is the “climate shaped by the general attitude and beliefs held by members of society about immigration and immigrants” (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p. 36). An ethos of reception has varying degrees of intensity, diversity, cultural responses, and sentiments towards immigrants; some spaces integrate immigrants with greater ease than others (Jaworsky et al., 2012).

Space and place fit significantly into discussions of immigrant reception and integration (Glick Schiller & Caglar, 2009). We intersect theories of geography and school reception to examine school climate, applying them to principals’ perceptions and practices in shaping spaces. *Critical geography* scholars have broadly theorized notions of how space is used and how meaning is contained within and around space, physically and conceptually, and how social relations and practices occur in social spaces (Helfenbein, 2006; Lefebvre, 1991). Space is a field and source for action

(Munn, 1996; Rockefeller, 2010). Lefebvre (1991) underscores three intersecting concepts while theorizing space: 1) representations of space, 2) spatial practices 3) and representational spaces—or “the conceived, the perceived, and the lived,” respectively (p. 33, pp. 38-9). Space always contains meaning (Lefebvre, 1991) and is not discursively neutral (Crawford, Witherspoon Arnold & Brown, 2014; Lefebvre, 1991).

Setha Low (1996, 2000) expanded these concepts to explain how culture is spatialized. She uses a four-pronged lens to describe the intersection of space and culture: the *social production of space* includes anything that produces the formation of the setting physically and materially; the *social construction of space* refers to the spatial constructs generated through peoples’ social interactions, within and without places, that communicate particular meanings; *embodied space* views individuals as spatio-temporal units who consciously and unconsciously possess their own feelings, thoughts, preferences, intentions, and cultural beliefs and practices; and *discursiveness*, or how language and discourse expand conceptualizations of space. This occurs by examining talk and other forms of communication, seeing how it is arranged to create and maintain meaning in practices and spaces (Duranti, 1992). Low’s (1996, 2000) lens for culture is useful due for this paper for its attention to the power of discourse in communication and emphasis on language as we explore the relationships among climate, space, and talk.

Conversation/Talk Analysis

Conversation/Talk Analysis (CTA), is similar to other types of discourse analysis and is often used to study social texts (talk and written text in social contexts), but it is also employed to examine “the everyday” social realities as discursively constructed and maintained through language (Ashmore & Reed 2000). CTA highlights the ‘talked’ and ‘textual’ nature of everyday interactions in organizations...[focusing] on the determination of social reality through historically situated discursive moves” (Alvesson & Kärreman. 2000, p. 1126).

Talk structures are intermediaries that give order to organizations. Ethnomethodologists and conversation analysts have studied how the micro-processes of talk become the macro-structures of organizations (Button, 1991; McNall & Johnson, 1975). Macro-social norms are reflected

in discussions and other communications, which influence organizational structures like climate. Studies of work across different professions revealed that most communications among organizational parties are communications about what is “associated/expected/ required of them as the occupants of specific categories of persons, whether these be doctor, nurse, police dispatcher,” (Psathas, 1995, p. 140). We focus on school leaders’ “talk.”

Data Collection

Researcher 1 collected data in spring 2015 in two urban school districts on the U.S.-Mexico border in Texas using snowball sampling (Bodgan & Biklen, 2007). Data collection methods included conducting interviews, observed discussions with coworkers and researchers, and taking observation field notes. Participants were interviewed between 45 minutes to an hour. Researcher 1 also conducted observations in and outside of schools, gathered policy documents, and wrote field notes to make sense of participant accounts and engage in initial data analysis. Researcher 2 reanalyzed study data using CTA methods for this work. We selected nine leaders for reanalysis of data from a larger study, and specifically focused on leaders’ talk about newly arrived and undocumented students and their families.

Table 1: Participant Characteristics

Participant	Race/Ethnicity	School Level	Role	Time at Current School
Carlos	Latino	Elem. School	Principal	2 years
Carolina	Latina	Elem.School	Principal	4 mos.
Gabriela	Latina	Elem.School	Principal	5
Hilaria	Latina	Elem. School	Assist. Principal	3
Diego	Latino	Middle School	Assist. Principal	3 years
Patricia	Latina	Middle School	Principal	5 years
Marco	Latino	High School	Assist.	3 mos.

Principal				
Alejandro	Latino	High School	Principal	3 years

Texas was chosen for the case study as it has approximately 13% of the U.S. undocumented population (Zong & Batalova, 2015); nearly 10% of Texas K-12 students have an undocumented parent (Passel & Cohn, 2009). A key informant helped identify school leaders in two school districts serving undocumented families. The districts’ contexts were similar: participants’ schools were located close to the border. Leaders served in low-income communities where government housing was prevalent, and English Language Learner (ELL) students were a large majority of the student population. The schools also received new immigrant and undocumented students. Alejandro, a high school principal, said, “A lot of our students have come here that are brand, brand new. It's either because the family has moved into the community, and [in] a lot of the cases, because we're only two blocks away from the International Bridge, there are students that cross the border every single day.”

Analysis

For data analysis, we problematized traditional talk analysis, expanding the scope from talk-in-interaction analysis to both the “social and practical” (Psathas, 1995, p. 143) talk. Methods and analysis followed several of Psathas’ (1995) tenets: Talk 1) is not analyzable apart from social and institutional contexts; 2) should be ground in how individuals perform or perceive actual, ongoing situated practices, and work competencies; 3) phenomena are discoverable by examining individuals’ talk in their settings as it happens or after; and 4) investigates social actions locatable in everyday discursive practices in sayings/tellings/speaking/talking. We focused particularly on institution-specific concepts, analyzing talk to gain understanding of the climate of an institution, its importances, and its norms (Drew & Heritage, 1992).

We analyzed audio recordings, transcribing the "naturally-occurring" verbal interactions during observations, guided discussion, and from field notes. For analysis, we centered on participant discussions, isolating extracts of discussions for aspects of space, school climate and

organizational norms related to 1) Goals tied to participants' work-relevant roles, 2) Constraints or mediators of space, school climate, organizational norms, and emergent themes; and, 3) Explicit and inferential frameworks and procedures particular to specific institutional contexts (i.e., discursive arrangements that impact climate and reception). This approach helped us scrutinize the structural and attitudinal components that can create an ethos of reception.

Findings

We sought to understand how school leaders' talk and actions may create an ethos of reception and school climate for undocumented students. We do so by illuminating how discourses are replicated, protected, and preserved—or challenged—in spaces in institutions like schools. Our findings show that leaders' talk emphasized the relationships and the environmental-structural components of climate across all schooling levels. The CTA analysis revealed three themes 1) Supervising the Creation of a Culture-based Schooling Climate, 2) Status-blind Schooling? Un/Tying the Double Knot of Dispossession, and 3) (Re)Producing Climate Conflicts and Constraints. Participants worked to lead their teachers to see and mediate culture and the “contradictions...in the local community and the larger world” (Ladson-Billings, 1992, p. 382). They advocated, nurtured, and sustained a school climate conducive to student learning and professional growth, engaging in dialogue and practice with their teachers and other educators in a way to advance a school climate that supported school diversity. However, talk analysis also revealed that with scarce resources, attitudes and actions were complex and fluctuated according to perceptions of students' or families' behaviors and conformation to schooling policies and norms.

Supervising the Creation a Culture-based Schooling Climate

The crux of leaders' practice was to “supervise” school climate and employ culturally applicable practices as a norm in fostering an ethos of reception. Supervisory transactions were multi-faceted, including consideration of school culture and climate. Jackson (2011) conceptualized a “pedagogy of confidence,” positing that all students benefit from value placed on high

intellectual performance. True benefit occurs when learning spaces promote interactions among culture, language, and cognition. Leaders in this study constructed school spaces to imbue in students that student learning and participation in schooling activities was a leadership priority, but a positive culture and learning relied on *students'* contributions.

Leaders tried attracting students and families through programming initiatives and education to engage them in learning spaces. High school principal, Alejandro, said,

The successes obviously are going to be those that—I think the family culture is critical to the expectation of the family, and I think to the success of the student. If you have a student that has a good, strong backing from the family, they're going to be very successful here. They're going to be individuals that are going to want to learn and exit [ESL classes] as quick as possible. They don't leave. They don't put anything on the pathway to say, 'I'm not going to be able to do this because of that—...because 'I'm a 17-year old that is coming here that doesn't know English.' That is put aside.

Alejandro linked student success to familial support, including for newly arrived immigrant students, but his work-relevant role as leader was to create a climate where *students* knew they had to succeed. Programming complemented academic expectations: he said, “We try to get them involved into extracurriculars, whether it's student leadership, we try to get them into ROTC. We try to get them into athletics. We really try to engage the student into something that they like doing....”. Carlos, an elementary principal facing the potential closure of his school, focused on communicating high and clear expectations. He explained to students,

Look. At home, there's only so much I can do. I can give you advice. I could ask the counselor to speak to you. But I can't control your home life. But what I can help you with is how you engage here in school, with your teachers, with your classmates. And if you make that a more positive approach, then you won't have to have problems here at school and then [have] problems over there at home.

Carlos communicated that being fully part of school life was in students' control; schooling spaces were co-constructed and students' efforts shaped positive or negative experiences.

Marco, a secondary school assistant principal, described a school initiative: "...we're trying to establish here right now is called 'Padress,' P-a-d-r-e-s-s. This Saturday will be our first—I'll say cadre. Something where we bring parents and we actually have eight lessons that we go over with parents on how to help your sons or daughters academically." Marco expressed the desire to engage in culturally responsive leadership practices. He and other administrators, through their talk, conveyed using asset-minded approaches to incorporate families, saying, "So our first thing parents are going to learn about is 'why is it important to maintain our culture'? And how do we embrace that culture into our school? 'If we're not doing enough to embrace your culture, let us know, because we don't want to seem like your culture doesn't matter to us.'" Marco's talk demonstrated supervising culturally responsive leadership practices by seeking to integrate diverse community discourses.

Leaders used practices of embodying space (Low, 1996; 2000) to stimulate student and familial connections to school and efforts to center school in parents' lives: Alejandro's school had multiple programs, like a child development lab for parents to learn tools to strengthen family relationships. The ESL department met monthly with families to share school programming information. They provided food and babysitting, and held meetings in Spanish. Leaders attempted to make school attractive to families and to make them feel welcome and supported.

Diego, an assistant principal, spoke of providing students as much assistance as possible. He mediated the use of space in a climate where human and material resources were at premium. His school had a School Support Team (SST), a social worker, a parent volunteer center, and "one SPED/inclusion teacher, one regular teacher, [plus one] counselor" to improve student learning and opportunities. Teams figured out and evaluated areas to strengthen:

Everybody comes back, brings their pieces together. They have a discussion. And they say, 'okay, well, is this working? Is this helping the child?' And if you happen to be involved in it as the administrator, you just kind of oversee and make sure that all the steps are being

followed through with, and it's kind of done in a timely manner, so the child can receive services to see if it works or doesn't work.

For leaders, the ethos of reception depended on communicating expectations to students and norms for student success. Leaders like Diego engaged teachers in student learning processes; others like Marco made space for their own learning with community input. Diego and other administrators built cultures and climates to amplify student strengths, nurturing high performance and providing enrichment experiences. However, some participants conveyed to students that they mediated spaces and places: contexts external to the schooling environment should have a limited effect students. Alejandro commented, "That is put aside." He drew distinctions between school matters and home matters, and his acceptance of students' excuses to not do well in school.

Participants utilized official and unofficial spaces of learning to value, promote and support practices as useful tools of climate and as means to create counter-discourses. However, they also intentionally produced space, physically and materially (Low, 1996; 2000). Home spaces were sometimes supported as potentially problematic, or hindering the "work" of school. Some leaders' messages were that school was a positive counter-space to home or cultural contexts. Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López and Tejeda (1999) theorized that hybrid language and schooling practices that bridge home and school promote and sustain learning zones

Status-blind Schooling? Un/Tying the Double Knot of Dispossession

Participants sought to create what we call status-blind schooling norms where legal status was *intentionally* ignored or pushed aside. Participants also engaged in "relabeling" students (Achinstein, Curry, & Ogawa, 2015). Carolina, an elementary principal, purposefully set aside consideration of legal status. She said, "When they [students and families] walk through that door, whether it's the front door or my office door, I'm not even thinking about documentation, because people made the same assumption about me and my family, simply because we didn't speak English; however, we're United States citizens. My siblings and I, and so I don't make that assumption, and I'm certainly not going to ask, because I don't need to know."

Carolina's approach developed from personal experiences she perceived as unjust. As a leader, she did not want biases against students' legal status replicated. She said, "We don't talk about undocumented status [with] staff. We talk about helping children. We talk about 'so and so is having behavior problems, so let's talk to mom. Let's have them do the mentor program.' Their status never comes up." Instead, status came up indirectly, like if a child needed medical care, or a family needed Medicaid. Carolina set a school ethos so that school personnel did not willfully look for legal status markers. Echoing other leaders, Diego, said, "... I'm not here to dictate who should come to school, who shouldn't come to school. I'm here to provide a safe learning environment for students, and that's it. Period."

Cahill, Gutiérrez, and Cerecer (2016) used the phrase "the double knot of dispossession" to describe how the discursive nature of illegality (the first knot), entwines with racialized cultural marginalizations (the second knot). Together, they normalize certain everyday practices. "Illegality" is frequently a narrative of construction and control, constructing an ethos of place in educational settings that are often already sites of exclusion. However, participants attempted to influence a positive school climate by removing stigma around legal status. These acts meant to challenge inequitable social structures, norms, and values. As undocumented families deeply fear their lack of legal status could be used to their detriment, Carolina and Diego's approach can be viewed as promoting safety, which is essential to a healthy school climate (Cohen, et al., 2009).

Alejandro also proactively worked to build trust with the school community and students, intentionally crafting the expectation that legal status would be used to limit student educational access. For Alejandro, it was essential to students' feeling safe. He said,

The environment that we create with those students is once you're here, you're going to get it. What goes on that you don't want us to be privy to, we really don't cross that line. I think it's critical in having a student that is comfortable, coming in and knowing that their immigration status is not going to play a factor or role in what they're going to get here at the campus. We go through staff development with our teachers about questions that we shouldn't be asking our students about. We go through that every single year, because it's

important to us that the student knows and the family knows that is not of importance to us and none of our business, I guess...

Alejandro's talk revealed he constructed a school norm of equitable treatment for undocumented students by training personnel. His tactic potentially reduced pressure on students fearful about their status or conscientious of it used as a stigmatizing label. He emphasized to personnel and students that *students* had choice and security over their information.

Participants recognized legal status could replicate inequalities in school, so the intent was to make students feel safe. This was salient, as other socially constructed labels could further marginalize students: "Taken individually, the constructs of language proficiency, socioeconomic status, immigration status, and race/ethnicity pose challenges for Latino youth and parents in American society and its schools. A convergence of these four constructs creates greater vulnerability" (Olivos & Mendoza 2010, p. 347). Leaders worked to undo the "the double knot of dispossession" (Cahill, Gutiérrez, & Cerecer, 2016), preventing students from scrutiny.

It may seem counterproductive for schools to be status-blind when "immigration status still remains a significant obstacle for first and one-and-a-half generation Latino youth in U.S. schools, for second generation students and beyond" (Olivos & Mendoza, 2010, p. 343). In *denying* personnel opportunities to talk about status in schooling spaces and its implications, opportunities to acknowledge the realities and complexities status has on students' lives can also be denied. Teachers in Alejandro's school were told, "[status] is not of importance to us and none of our business...". Without talk and guidelines for appropriate contexts for talk of status, personnel may paradoxically not communicate to students that the undocumented label is not shameful, or understand how it colors student experiences inside and outside of school.

(Re)Producing Climate Conflicts and Constraints

The third finding highlights that despite participants' efforts at inclusivity, they could be unintentionally complicit in larger discursive, deficit-oriented narratives about newly arrived and undocumented immigrants. Patricia expressed deep frustration with the school district in pressuring her to raise student test scores without providing resources for additional personnel and

supports. She remarked, “We should hire, and it should be easy for us to. We should have all the funds, we should have all the resources, all the stuff that I should get, and it's the opposite in this district.” Diego was frustrated with the amount of testing his school did, saying, “I'll be honest with you, ‘we're trying to make sure that you are complying with all of the mandates.’ There's district mandates...state mandates...federal mandates. And by the time you're doing everything, you're trying to keep every plate spinning on every stick that you have, it's difficult.”

Immigrant students are often funneled to schools that are over-tested and under-resourced (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). Even in diverse schools with positive climates, an academic hierarchy can impact and be influenced by the social capital of parents and students (Portes & Rumbaut, 2011). The emphasis on testing, the scarcity of resources, and the impact of serving in low-income, high-need communities could strain and constrain relationships with families. Accountability discourses increased the pressures and difficulties for leaders to best serve their communities. Participant accounts of their relationships intersected in nuanced and conflicting ways; pressures for student performance were high.

Talk vacillated between values of compassion and commitment to communities and expectations for contributions back to the school or U.S. society. Patricia felt accountability pressures, but showed concern for student wellbeing and the hardships for students who commuted over the border, remarking,

....I mean, the kid comes in late every day and I'm here, like, ‘why are you late?’ And he'll tell you, ‘It's because I'm coming from [Mexican City], and I have to walk.’ They leave [Mexican city] at 4:00 in the morning to take a bus to get over here. You know the danger? We're talking little kids, 12-years-old. And then they go home. There's tutoring here, and they stay here tutoring until 4:00, 4:30, and they walk to the bridge, and then they still have to go home to who knows where, and they're getting home at 8:00, 9:00. When do they have homework time? When do they have ‘me’ time? They have to go home and do chores and take care of all the other little kids. Or work.

While Carolina, Patricia, and Diego were proud of their schools and students, their talk revealed tensions and challenges concerning families' undocumented status. Patricia said,

So you could have—technically have a child who is—doesn't have any English skills, major gaps in instruction—years and you could have a lot of people from Mexico, they come down here, they really want to bring their kids down here, because there's no special ed services in Mexico. So they know their kids are needing special ed. So they find a way to come over here or hand them over to a guardian. Sometimes they even pay people to—‘can you take care of my kid so he can come to school here?’.... They don't understand the education system here. They think that because a child is born here in the U.S. that they have the right to get an education here. And they don't understand the fact that you have to live here and pay taxes and all that. They don't understand that.

Patricia held families to specific standards of behavior, expecting families to “pay” for students' education. She reified discursive constructions of undocumented immigrants by asserting they do not pay taxes. Carolina also set expectations, or “rules” for families' behavior:

I had a parent in here that week before we went on spring break, and I already told her, ‘if I have something like this happen again, I will ban you from this campus. I will not have you come on campus ever again’....And I mean it, because she's violent, she's mean, she's ugly, she's rude, and she does not live here. I have been told that she commutes from [Mexican city]. ‘If you're going to be ugly, I will target you.’ As awful as that sounds, there are a lot of parents who follow the rules who want their kids really— they truly do want the best for their child, but they can't afford to live here. I think it's a very personal decision that the administrator has to make....

Carolina prioritized school safety, but a perceived violation of her rules could prompt prompt to report immigration status and residency issues. Participant talk revealed a mix of asset and deficit-minded codes. Leaders occasionally and unknowingly (re) produced deficit-oriented discourses of

undocumented immigrants as undeserving of educational or other public services. Some families were expected to prove they *earned* the right to participate in school, potentially highlighting leaders' discriminatory use of power.

Conclusion

Leaders acted to increase student performance, sense of belonging at school, and to enhance student integration and participation in school as paths to a welcoming school climate. Their talk revealed they used practices and strategies to reduce barriers between home and schooling cultures. These components of a school environment are essential for newly arrived and undocumented students (Rumberger 2004; Suárez-Orozco, et al., 2009). Talk was also used to encourage culturally responsive leadership, displaying awareness of the social realities situating their leadership (Khalifa, Gooden, & Davis, 2016). Even in diverse schools with positive climates, however, an academic hierarchy can impact and be influenced by the social capital of parents and students (Portes & Rumbaut, 2011). In this study, leaders' relationships were mediated through their sense of accountability pressures, limited resources, legal status, and expectations student and family behavior.

Leaders also explicitly expressed that, in school, biases against students or families without legal status was unacceptable. Yet, policy and rules were occasionally viewed with flexibility. Carolina and Patricia used their positions to generate positive schooling experiences for every student. However, if confronted with a “troublesome” or complaining parent, they demonstrated susceptibility to immigrant biases and discourse. Legal status was used as a way to exert control over families and became salient to decision making, conflicting with other school practices where discrimination or talking about legal status was expressly discouraged. This underscores how marginalized groups are often expected to be grateful or simply “content with what they have.” Immigrants, both documented and undocumented can suffer from hyper-visibility, and an increasing intensification of issues of citizenship and stigmatized identity (Chaudry et al. 2010). It is also often presumed that immigrant families are deficient *because* of their status (Ngai, 2001; Valencia & Black, 2002). Truly, marginalized people have not always passively accepted social inequity.

Immigrant and U.S.-born Latino communities have a significant history of challenging the educational system to increase educational opportunity, even taking their cases to court as acts of resistance (Valenzuela, 1999). However, educators must also critique their pedagogical practices and personal and institutional biases that alienate Latino/a youth and families and protect social inequities (Olivos & Mendoza 2010, p. 343).

In relation to policy, no participant talk included discussions of law or de facto policies pertaining to newly arrived or recent immigrant students. There was talk about policies concerning residency requirements for school attendance, but no broader conversations about district, local, or state-level policies. Alejandro alone referenced it in his training sessions, noting questions personnel should not ask students. This sensitivity to legal status that may match U.S. Department of Education (2015) guidelines for educators working with undocumented students. Additional research should explore leaders' training around district policies that influence the intake and care of students whose legal status.

Schools are the first spaces where immigrant students are likely to have constant contact with members of the receiving community. It is where students internalize the rules of engagement of their new spaces and places and discourses of reception (Kenway & Youdell, 2011). All leaders, even those sensitive to their community's context, may benefit from exercises that bring to light overt and implicit biases. Social justice-minded educators, politicians, and community member must resist and protest damaging rhetoric that perpetuates stereotypes of undocumented immigrants.

NOTES

¹ In the U.S., K-12 education includes kindergarten, primary, and secondary school.

² The term undocumented immigrants is often used to refer to immigrants who do not have official government approval to be in the country.

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Leadership in Social Movements: The Case of *Ojo con tu Ojo*

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Abstract

Leadership has been a topic of much interest in the analysis of social movements. Drawing from qualitative fieldwork, this article analyses the leadership that was developed by Ester Quintana, who was the last victim to be injured by a rubber bullet during a demonstration in Barcelona (Spain). Together with her friends and other people, Quintana created the *Ojo con tu ojo* movement (Watch out for your eye). Specifically, the article explores the relevance of Quintana's prior experiences in participatory and dialogic movements and identifies the way that she transferred this knowledge to *Ojo con tu ojo* as the key to the success of the movement. In only 12 months, *Ojo con tu ojo* achieved something that other similar social movements in Spain had not achieved in the past: a legislation change that bans the use of rubber bullets by the police.

Keywords: Rubber bullets, social movement, dialogic, leadership



El Liderazgo en Movimientos Sociales:

El Caso de *Ojo con tu Ojo*

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Resumen

El liderazgo ha sido un tema de gran interés en el análisis de los movimientos sociales. Partiendo de un trabajo de campo cualitativo este artículo analiza el liderazgo desarrollado por Ester Quintana, que fue la última víctima en ser herida por una bala de goma durante una manifestación en Barcelona (España). Junto con sus amigos y otras personas, Quintana creó el movimiento *Ojo con tu ojo*. En particular, el artículo profundiza en la relevancia de las experiencias anteriores de Quintana en movimientos participativos y dialógicos e identifica la forma en que transfirió este conocimiento a *Ojo con tu ojo*, aspecto que se considera clave para el éxito del movimiento. En sólo 12 meses, *Ojo con tu ojo* logró algo que otros movimientos sociales similares en España no habían logrado en el pasado: un cambio de legislación que prohibía el uso de balas de goma por parte de la policía.

Palabras clave: balas de goma, movimiento social, dialógico, liderazgo

On November 14, 2012, the call for a general strike led to a peaceful and legal demonstration in Barcelona. During the final moments of this demonstration, Ester Quintana, a 42-year-old woman, was attacked by the police. The first moments after the incident were marked by uncertainty, but the information and the evidence that were uncovered showed that she was a victim of a legal projectile in Catalonia, namely, a rubber bullet, which was fired by a policeman. Ester had to be operated on that night. Three days later, the doctors confirmed that she had lost her left eye. The next day after the incident, a series of initiatives emerged among her friends, which lead to the creation of *Ojo con tu ojo*¹, a solidarity platform. Because of the efforts of the *Ojo con tu Ojo* movement, Ester's story aroused public interest, and an official claim to determine what occurred became the central focus. Because of the activities that were undertaken by the movement, in less than a year, *Ojo con tu ojo* forced a legislative change that led to the ban of the use of rubber bullets by the security forces of Catalonia (Spain).

This study analyzes the case of *Ojo con tu ojo* and explores how the leadership that was exercised by Ester contributed to the success of the movement. In recent decades, the study of leadership has become a topic of interest in the literature on social movements and organizations, and it has become important to understand the influence of leadership on the outcomes of social movements and explore how it contributes to social change (Aminzade et al., 2001; Ganz, 2011; Melucci, 1996; Morris, 2000; Morris & Staggernborn, 2004). Mainly, these scholars support the idea that the traditional 20th century social theory on social movements has not typically examined the role of leadership as a key element to the social movements' effectivity and success. From this theoretical standpoint, a deep interest emerges in studying how effective forms of leadership have been informed by leaders' previous experiences in dialogic movements or in ascertaining the key role that social agency plays in shaping leadership in social movements and collective actions. The argument that is presented in this article is framed in the dialogic perspective that recognizes the potential of human agency to promote changes in social structures.

Drawing on prior work, the two research questions of this study are the following: 1) which previous experiences in the life of Ester strengthened her leadership skills? and 2) how has Ester transferred these previous experiences to *Ojo con tu ojo*?

First, this article presents a literature review on effective leadership, social movements and the dialogical approach and emphasizes the need to identify real examples of the leadership on social movements that contribute to transform social structures. The methodology, data collection and analysis strategies that are used in this research are detailed next. Then, the results of our analysis are presented regarding the relevance of Ester's previous life experiences in social movements and dialogic organizations and the transference of these principles to the *Ojo con tu ojo* organization, which became an authentic social movement that banned the use of rubber bullets by the security forces in Catalonia.

Leadership in Social Movements

The works of scholars such as Einwohner (2007), Ganz (2010), Morris (2000), and Morris & Staggenborg (2004) have been very relevant to explain how leadership determines the outcomes of social movements. In this regard, Morris and Staggenborg argued that movement leaders are strategic decision-makers who inspire and organize others to become involved. Because the motivations to participate in collective actions and social movements are not always the same (Gomez-Roman & Sabucedo, 2014), these scholars suggest that social movement theory would benefit from an analysis of the different ways in which leaders can trigger social change and generate conditions that activate other potential participants' agency. Through sharing stories, socially constructing meanings and exploring new ideas, leaders develop the capacity to persuade other individuals to join their campaigns and movements (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). In addition, the ability of leaders to tell moving stories has been emphasized. The connection between leadership and narratives has been deeply explored by several authors (Couto, 1993; Davis, 2002; Ganz, 2011; Soler, 2015). Couto (1993) emphasized that these narratives provide the group with historical precedents of individual and collective resistance. Thus, narratives constitute a formative element of local leadership and emerge as a visible political element of social movements. Morris and Staggenborg's (2004) approach focuses on using narratives and encouraging their creation in shared spaces, and leaders offer frames, tactics and organizational vehicles that empower participants to construct a collective identity and engage in collective action.

More recently, storytelling and social relations have been identified as key tools of leadership in social movements. Ganz (2000) defines leadership as accepting responsibility to create interpersonal, structural and procedural conditions to enable others to achieve a shared purpose in the face of uncertainty. Contrary to considering leadership as a position that is held by a single, charismatic individual in the traditional Weberian sense (Weber, 1978), Ganz conceives leadership as a process, a relationship that is created between leaders and their constituencies: leaders are the individuals who provide resources to their constituencies to address their interests and vice versa. As Ganz, a Harvard-based sociologist says, leadership requires engaging the “heart” (the values), the “head” (a strategy) and the “hands” (actions) of people, and it requires mobilizing their feelings and values (Ganz, 2010). When leaders organize, they tell a new story or adapt a public story that is based on their past personal experiences; this story is the collective story of “the us” and the story of the present situation that requires change now, which Ganz calls a public narrative. According to Ganz, this is a leadership art and the discursive process through which individuals, communities and nations make choices, construct identities, and inspire action. Thus, leaders use narratives to motivate people to act (Ganz, 2009). Ganz conceives leadership not only as the capacity to create a public narrative but also as a collective relationship, or leadership as a team. According to him, leaders can be at different levels and all of them can contribute to the formulation of a strategy, which is a core category in the process of organizing (Ganz, 2000). Ganz also addresses the importance of leaders’ background and the likelihood that they will develop an effective strategy. According to him, the differences in strategic capacity can be attributed to the specificities of each leader’s life experiences, the networks and repertoires of collective actions and the deliberative process, and the resources and accountability structures of their organizations (Downey, 2006).

Ganz’s idea of leaders’ life experiences, networks and repertoires of collective actions resembles what other scholars such as Morris and Staggernborn (2004) call the social composition of leadership when exploring how leaders with different backgrounds and experiences make different strategic choices. These choices, in turn, may cause social movements to either succeed or fail. Leaders shape and acquire their skills through very different means, namely, as an accumulation of previous life

experiences; thus, leaders acquire their skills and are influenced by their social origins, life experiences, relationships and practical learning, which provide them with the lenses through which they see the world (Banaszak, 1996; Bandura, 1989; DiMaggio, 1997; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Veltmeyer & Petras, 2002; Zerubave, 1997) through the formal education and knowledge that is gained in their communities and prior movement experience. Morris & Staggernborn (2004) indicate that pre-existing organizations and institutions have a major role in producing movement leaders.

Additionally, consistent with the importance of relationships in social movements, studies such as the one by Shemtov (2003) suggest that the establishment of friendships among social movements' participants promotes promote goal expansion.

There is consensus that leadership as conceived under the relationship approach is a constructed reality, which is influenced by individuals' life experiences and their background. In this regard, the literature analyzes how the participation in civic associations or other similar public spaces of dialogue constitutes a source of inspiration for its members in terms of promoting collective actions and shaping leadership skills (Lynch, 2016).

In this regard, Padrós & Flecha (2014) have coined the concept of dialogic leadership to describe the process through which the leadership practices of all members of the educational community are created, developed and consolidated including teachers, students, families, non-teacher staff, volunteers and other community members. Framed within the approach of leadership as a dialogic relationship, a core element in practicing leadership is the promotion of diverse and multiple dialogic and egalitarian interactions among the entire educational community, including the interactions that occur not only at home but also in the community. These authors argue that all social actors, in their commitment as dialogic leaders, can seek mechanisms to work together to support and promote actions that enhance the transformation of both the school and the community. Other research has analyzed how the dialogic approach is based on different social movements that have appeared in recent years in Spain, such as the 15 M and the Affected by the Mortgage Platform (Rivero, 2013) movements. In this way, the social movements' leadership resembles what Flecha, Gómez & Puigvert (2003) have called the dialogic turn of societies and social sciences, that is, the citizenry's claim in

contemporary information society to substitute old forms of hierarchical decision-making processes for more dialogic-based ones.

Consistent with this prior work, the present article analyzes specific features of the leadership that was developed by Ester in *Ojo con tu ojo* (Watch out for your eye). In particular, this study explores the extent to which Ester's prior involvement in participative organizations that operated on the basis of dialogic and egalitarian principles contributed to the development of the movement. This study also examines how her particular form of leadership has been instrumental to the success of the organization, which has achieved important legislative changes regarding the use of rubber bullets by the Catalan police.

Methods

This study used the communicative methodology of research (Gómez, Puigvert & Flecha, 2011). This approach seeks spaces for egalitarian dialogue to break with the epistemological imbalance and interpretative hierarchy between the researcher and the participant. Thus, the data that are collected from reality are interpreted in an intersubjective fashion. This approach acknowledges the capacity of social agents to interpret and therefore transform social reality (Gómez, Munté & Sordé, 2014).

Participants and Data Sources

The following four data collection techniques were used and triangulated to bolster validity: (1) a communicative daily life story; (2) in-depth interviews; (3) communicative observations; and (4) a documentary analysis of the information that relates to the case. Table 1 summarizes the participants' profiles, as well as the different data collection techniques that were used in this study. Table 2 provides an overview of the communicative observations.

Table 1

COMMUNICATIVE DAILY LIFE-STORIES AND INTERVIEWS

Technique	Code	Profile	Occupation	Age	Gender	Academic level
Life story	RC1	Leader	Unemployed	42	Woman	Secondary education
Interview	E1	Movement's participant	Dancer	38	Woman	Graduate in theater
Interview	E2	Manager's campaign	Unemployed	40	Man	Graduate in industrial engineering
Interview	E3	Economy's manager	Childhood educator	30	Woman	Graduate in Geography and History

Table 2

OBSERVATIONS

Code	Technique	Description	Participants' number
O1	Observation	Community dinner. November 17, 2012	500
O2	Observation	Faculty of Economy and Business and <i>Ojo con tu ojo</i> in support of Ester Quintana. December 19, 2012	100
O3	Observation	Community lunch "Paellada popular". November 10, 2013	1.500

A communicative daily life story was conducted with Ester, the leader of *Ojo con tu ojo*. This dialogue was structured around different sessions in which the interviewer and Ester jointly reflected on the background of the social movement, the characteristics of the leadership in this movement and how her participation in previous movements had influenced her and consequently influenced the *Ojo con tu ojo* movement. The narrative was developed over two meetings of more than two hours each.

Furthermore, three communicative in-depth interviews were conducted with *Ojo con tu ojo* activists. These interviews were based on an intersubjective dialogue between the interviewer and the study participants. The focus was on analysing how the participatory process had been developed and the role of Ester's leadership in this movement.

To gain a greater understanding of the leadership model of *Ojo con tu ojo*, three communicative observations were conducted. The first observation was conducted three days after the general strike in which Ester lost her eye. In a community dinner that was organized for the neighborhood's feast day and in front of an audience of 500 people, Ester's friends explained what had occurred and shared with the audience their plan to start a campaign for justice. Most importantly, this space was shared by many people who knew and appreciated Ester. Furthermore, discussions with different community members on this issue were held at this community dinner. The second observation occurred at an event that was held at the Faculty of Economics at the University of Barcelona. At this event, a member of *Ojo con tu ojo* presented the movement to students and faculty members. The third observation was held one year after the incident at the "Paellada popular", a community lunch that was organized during the neighborhood's feast. During the Paellada, an information booth on *Ojo con tu ojo* dispensed information concerning the movement to raise awareness regarding the actions had been undertaken and to engage in conversations with the people at the festivity.

Similar to participatory observations, communicative observations imply the direct participation of the researcher. However, in communicative methodology, the observer and the subject of the observation interact and share the meanings and interpretations regarding the actions and realities that are the objects of study.

Finally, the information that was gathered through communicative data collection techniques was complemented with a documentary analysis of

the non-technical literature (Corbin & Strauss, 2014) regarding Ester and the *Ojo con tu ojo* movement, including reports, news and media releases.

All of the information that was collected through the different data collection techniques was analysed to reconstruct Ester's experiences of democratic participation in different stages of her life and to identify the extent to which she transferred these prior experience to *Ojo con tu ojo*.

Setting the Scene: Ester Quintana, the last victim to be injured by a rubber bullet in Catalonia

Ester participated in the demonstration that was held in Barcelona on November 14, 2012. When she was leaving the demonstration with her friends, Ester was hit by a projectile that was shot by the Catalan Police. As a result, she lost her left eye and had several bone fractures in her face and additional traumatic impact. She was brought to the hospital that night and was not discharged until November 20. Since then, she has undergone several surgeries.

The use of non-lethal projectiles by the Spanish police was introduced more than 40 years ago. Non-lethal projectiles are also used by the anti-riot police in France and Portugal, whereas in Italy their use is much more restricted; in Germany, Greece and Norway, they are forbidden (STOP Bales de Goma [Stop rubber bullets], 2013). In the UK, the use of non-lethal projectiles dates back to 1970 (British Parliament, 2006). Over the years, the composition of non-lethal projectiles has changed, but they still remain a controversial weapon. The Human Rights Nineteenth Report of the British Parliament states that "Although these developments in the weapon have been presented as reducing its potential for injury, their claims to provide less lethal alternatives have been disputed" (2006, para 172). Wright (1998) warned against an extension of the use of non-lethal weapons and emphasized the need for democratic control over their use and dissemination.

In Spain, rubber bullets have other victims in addition to Ester: 9 people have been killed by rubber bullets and 26 have lost an eye, 7 of whom lost an eye during the last three years in Catalonia. More than 30 people have suffered permanent injuries (Ombudsman of Catalonia, 2011; STOP Bales de Goma, 2013). The European Commission advocated the ban of rubber bullets by the end of 2012 at the latest. However, despite European

directives, the prohibition of rubber bullets was not achieved until late 2014 and was caused by the pressure of the *Ojo con tu ojo* campaign.

The responses to the injury that Ester suffered were twofold. On the one hand, the police commanders and their political leaders denied that there was any connection between the loss of her eye and the police's performance. Initially, officials denied that policemen with guns had been near the scene of the incident and that rubber bullets had been used. This denial lasted until the Catalan Minister of Home Affairs was replaced. Additionally, the officials' attitude towards Ester was marked by a lack of communication and interest in her well-being. Only in July 2015, during the trial, one of the alleged policemen admitted that he had fired rubber bullets at the time and place where Ester suffered its impact.

On the other hand, immediately after the incident, Ester's friends began to organize. For instance, they set up a press conference on the day that Ester was released from the hospital to obtain citizens' support videos, images and information regarding what had occurred during the demonstration and to show the real cause of Ester's injury. In response to this call, many citizens, shops and other establishments, and several journalists provided videos that showed images of the area where Ester was attacked to help clarify the events.

One month after the incident, the case became not only a part of the public debate but also a part of the political agenda. The Catalan Minister of Home Affairs was forced to provide explanations, apologize to the Parliament of Catalonia and rectify its previous versions of the facts. There were several dismissals within the Catalan Police. Finally, on December 27, 2012, a new Minister of Home Affairs was appointed. On February 2, 2013, the board of the spokespersons of the parliamentary groups of the Catalan Parliament accepted a proposal to create a commission to discuss the use of anti-riot projectiles, which was established on April 26, 2013. Simultaneously, a judge was still investigating the actions of the policemen and accused one officer as the person who fired the gun and consequently, also accused his superior officer. Recently, the prosecutor who is handling the case has requested two years of prison for the two accused officials because of the aggression that Ester suffered.

After the work of the commission and hearing the testimony of the victim, the police and the experts, the commission of the Catalan Parliament suggested among other measures "the immediate withdrawal of

rubber bullets, to be gradually replaced, so that on April 30, 2014 a total ban would be effective” (Parliament of Catalonia, 2013, p.56). The proposal that bans the use of rubber bullets has been approved by the Parliament of Catalonia (Parliament of Catalonia 2013, p.71). In September 2015, the Catalan government has compensated Ester with 260,000 euros, which recognizes that she lost her eye in the general strike of November 14, 2012 because of police action. However, she went to trial and asked for 2 years for a police officer and a sub-inspector, but in May 2016 Barcelona Court absolved them.

Findings

First, we present the results regarding the dialogic background that Ester gained in her previous participation in social movements and dialogic experiences. Second, by drawing on this previous experience, the results on how this previous knowledge has been transferred to *Ojo con tu ojo* by Ester are presented.

Ester Quintana’s previous participation in grassroots dialogic movements

Ester’s trajectory has been marked by numerous experiences in grassroots social movements, which have significantly contributed to shape the leadership strategies that she has utilized in the *Ojo con tu ojo* movement. After finishing high school, Ester decided to look for a job rather than to continue studying. To be eligible for benefits, the employment office obliged her to participate in vocational training at the Escola Taller Can Cadena [Vocational Training School Can Cadena] in the neighborhood of La Verneda-Sant Martí² in Barcelona. During this experience, she met the vast majority of the men and women who years later would create the *Ojo con tu ojo* movement. The friendships that were established over the years have created and strengthened the relational and emotional bonds that have shaped what Nepstad (2004) defines as a sense of activist identity. As expressed by Ester,

I ended at the Vocational Training School Can Cadena. There, I learned to share experiences with other people. I met lots of different people and

some of them were from the La Verneda neighborhood, and I started to participate there. (RC1)

There, Ester first came into contact with and participated in different grassroots social movements, from feminist to anti-military movements. Ester and her friends decided to launch activities for young people in the neighborhood and created the NGO Espai Jove [Youth Space]. In the following quote, Ester describes her start in participatory movements.

At the vocational training school, I met many people from different movements, Mili- kaka, Eix-violeta. I didn't know them before. When all of these young people got organized and decided to throw a party, that's when Espai Jove was born. I have participated since it started, and now we have Ojo con tu ojo. Not everyone from Espai Jove is here (in Ojo con tu ojo) now, because life changes. My involvement in grassroots social movements began there. (RC1)

Once she finished the vocational training course, Ester started to volunteer in the ICT section of the Adult School of La Verneda-Sant Martí. This school, which is located in a working-class neighborhood in Barcelona, provides education to more than 1,700 participants, many of whom belong to vulnerable groups (i.e., young people with a low educational level, elderly women, people with a disability, migrants, etc.). The school's methodology is based on Freire's (1970) theory of dialogic action and Flecha's (2000) theory of dialogic learning (Aubert, Villarejo, Cabré, & Santos, 2016). This basis is represented in the democratic governing bodies that comprise the adult students who manage the school, and these theories depart from Habermas's (1984) validity claims instead of power claims. At La Verneda, Ester had the opportunity to relate to many people (in terms of age, culture, religion and political orientation) and to learn about the dialogic approach under which the institution is organized. The school is fully managed by its participants, who are responsible for the decision-making on issues such as funding, scheduling and the selection of projects and activities to develop (Tellado, 2007). Ester identifies how her participation in La Verneda was a critical learning experience for her, which she has applied to her life.

I volunteered at the Adult School. There, I changed; I started to be a person who communicated with other people. The fact that there were elderly people opened my mind. (RC1)

While she volunteered at the La Verneda Adult School, Ester had the opportunity to work at CREA, the Community of Research on Excellence for All. There, she received research training and became involved in projects that followed the communicative perspective of research. During her time in CREA, she participated in the *Seminar with the book in hand*, where she read the seminal works of Habermas, Freire and Touraine, among others, and discuss them with people with different academic backgrounds and mindsets. The principle that guided these discussions was the validity of the arguments rather than the status of the participants who formulated them. According to Ester, this experience was an intellectual revolution because, similarly to the La Verneda Adult School, in CREA, everything revolved around an egalitarian and intersubjective dialogue where all opinions were respected and encouraged, especially the voices that were traditionally silenced in academic circles such as hers from people without a university degree. According to Ester,

So through the school, I started to work at CREA. I worked there for three years until 2002. CREA (for me) was the “revolution of the letters”, because suddenly I was in the academic world and fitting into it. I love the objectives of the work they do and the fact that their projects do not serve the purpose of making money but of giving people tools so that people can fulfill their own personal goals. There, I could participate in many intellectual debates, and I read Habermas. (RC1)

Furthermore, Ester’s participation in egalitarian terms in academic discussions was an empowering experience that allowed her to be aware of the transformative potential of the interactions that occur in particular social and cultural settings as tools to promote social change (Freire, 1970; Mead, 1934; Vygotsky, 1978). In the following quote, Ester explains the relevance of these experiences.

I am “an object of study” of the projects of CREA and of what I learned there. It was very clear: I learned at CREA that talking and working

together is the way to achieve more things rather than by using force.
(RC1)

In addition to her research experience at CREA, Ester continued her involvement in Espai Jove and organized activities that included music and cultural exhibitions. For more than 20 years, Espai Jove has organized every year a "Paellada" during the neighborhood celebrations¹³. This event has become a multicultural and multigenerational space for the neighborhood. In this space, hundreds of people from the neighborhood showed their support for Ester after she was injured.

Furthermore, prior to her injury, Ester was managing the Sandaru bar in the Community Center of her neighborhood. During this occupational experience, she attempted to implement the principles that she had learned in her previous experiences. She transferred a democratic orientation to the management of the bar and involved people from the neighborhood in the organization of the social and cultural initiatives that were being promoted. The analysis of Ester's trajectory reveals the relevance of the former participatory experiences that shaped her leadership strategies in the new *Ojo con tu ojo* movement. Particularly, Ester emphasized the impact of her participation at the La Verneda Adult School where she was able to participate in its dialogic and democratic organization regarding the functioning of the school and the educational approach that was implemented there. Additionally, Ester emphasizes her experience at CREA, where she learned the most influential theoretical and practical approaches in the social sciences that attempt to overcome inequalities and participated in a dialogic environment that is open to the inclusion of all voices

Transfer of Ester's prior experiences to *Ojo con tu ojo*

This section analyzes the extent to which Ester's experiences in grassroots movements and at CREA has been transferred to the leadership that she developed in *Ojo con tu ojo*. Particularly, we focus on three principles that have guided the organizing of *Ojo con tu ojo*, namely, 1) egalitarian dialogue, 2) solidarity for social transformation and 3) embracing diversity.

Egalitarian dialogue

The dialogic processes that Ester has experienced are based on principles such as the egalitarian dialogue (Flecha, 2000), the establishment of agreements on the basis of validity claims (Habermas, 1984) and the monopolization of expert knowledge (Beck, 1992). These principles embrace the concept that all people can reflect and create knowledge regardless of their academic level and social status. The dialogic principles that have been learned by Ester in various experiences have been transferred to the participatory process of the *Ojo con tu ojo* movement. Ester clearly states how the participatory structure of *Ojo con ojo*, where all the participants have the right to be heard, was created because of her prior experiences in truly dialogic spaces, such as the La Verneda Adult School and CREA.

I learned that at CREA; I didn't learn that when I was a kid. I had a good basis, but I developed it there: to be more communicative, to promote more dialogue and participation among all people. And from the adult school, I also learned a lot. Everything at La Verneda School is very participatory, everything is decided among all, and I think that I took this way of doing things from these two places. Everything I learned there turned out to favor me, and it helped me very much. I try to put everything I learned into practice and now in *Ojo con tu ojo*. (RC1)

Ester enhanced this dialogic process by promoting collective leadership (Ganz, 2000). The strategy of the movement was built on a deliberative process. Since the days after the incident, when Ester and some close friends decided that they would react, each step and each action have been shared and discussed jointly. This process is because of Ester's goal to turn her story into a collective struggle. As she explains, "*Ojo con tu ojo* shares my philosophy; we are people who share the same ideas about how to act and we know each other very well" (RC1).

The leadership of *Ojo con tu ojo* relies on a participatory and democratic system of decision-making. Similar to other participatory movements in which Ester has participated, in *Ojo con tu ojo*, all members meet once a week and organize themselves into committees for specific tasks.

Consistent with the research evidence on the benefit of friendship to the success of social movements (Shemtov, 2003), the role of friendship in *Ojo con tu ojo* has also been essential in promoting dialogic processes that are free from individual interests or desire for prominence. The feeling of friendship and esteem for Ester is the driving force that unites the promoters of *Ojo con tu ojo* and makes it possible for them to reach consensus, because they all want the best for their friend. A close friend of Ester's who is a member of *Ojo con tu ojo* states

The motivation to initiate *Ojo con tu Ojo* was the bond that resulted from our friendship. That's why we are so devoted and motivated and why we have achieved the incredible support that we got through social networks. (E2)

The important role of friendship among the promoters of the movement, as well as the leadership of Ester, is also recognized by another friend who is involved in *Ojo con tu ojo*.

The assembly works according to the criterion of confidence; we made the decisions without hoping to be the main figure. We were all guided by her. We reached consensus because we are friends. The esteem that we have for Ester was crucial for that. (E1)

Solidarity for social transformation

Solidarity for social transformation has been identified as one of the main principles of dialogic action (Flecha, 2000; Freire, 1970). Because of her previous experiences in which she got to know the potential of solidarity as a driving force for collective action, Ester was confident that this principle should be a main leadership feature of the movement.

Solidarity in *Ojo con tu ojo* has been visible in different dimensions. First, solidarity was instrumental in the definition of the movement's mission and scope. Since the incident, Ester was clear of her willingness to avoid new aggressions that are similar to the one that was perpetrated on her. Considering her situation, she did not resign and complain about it; instead, she put all of her knowledge into practice and in service of the public to help prevent other people from experiencing what happened to

her. Ester's reaction to the aggression that she suffered and the actions that were taken by her and her friends show that solidarity is a pillar of this movement. Habermas (1994) analyzed the existence of three resources through which modern societies can address the process of exchange between the system and the life world, namely, money, power and solidarity. Ester's case is a clear example of a struggle that is based on commitment, solidarity and overcoming the feeling of being in an iron cage (Weber, 1978) that often invades individuals. In Ester's words, solidarity emerges as the basis of the movement.

I am a peaceful person and to be honest, I'm not very brave. I'd have never gotten into a place where I could see people who might cause a [potentially violent] situation ... so that this has happened to me is a very hard situation. I wouldn't wish it on anyone. I don't want this to happen again to anybody anymore. What you don't want for yourself you don't want it for others either, this is my philosophy. (RC1)

Second, solidarity has also become visible in the initial mobilization that reacted to Ester's injury, which enabled the beginning of the movement. The information that was gathered shows how the creation of *Ojo con tu ojo* was also an immediate supportive response for Ester's family and friends. Ester immediately made clear to them what type of movement should be organized. Thus, one of the main principles of this movement is the idea of turning Ester into "the last victim of rubber bullets" and distancing their claim from any feeling of vengeance or revenge. One of her friends expressed this movement of orientation towards solidarity with Ester and other victims during an event that was organized at the University of Barcelona.

Immediately (after the incident) we met friends and family to respond in solidarity to what had happened to Ester and to denounce police violence. At that meeting, some profound doubts came up. Why the name *Ojo con tu ojo*? When we thought about the name of the movement, the first thing that came to mind was the expression "An eye for an eye". However, then we see that this wouldn't make sense, it reflects violence and revenge and that was not what we wanted. So we changed it to *Ojo con tu ojo* [Watch out for your eye]. (O2)

The campaign that *Ojo con tu ojo* initiated had a significant impact and was highly participative. The first action that they undertook was to use social networks such as Facebook and Twitter to ask citizens for evidence of what had occurred. One of the promoters of *Ojo con tu ojo* explains it as follows:

On Facebook and Twitter, we asked for the participation of people who had been in the same place as the incident and to provide proof, testimonies and videos of it. Furthermore, as her friends, we needed to make it public. The first thing we did was to look for other cases on the Internet, information, write e-mails to the people we knew to have a background in what had happened, and we made a network with friends.
(E2)

Third, the solidarity that was the driving force of *Ojo con tu ojo* was transferred from Ester and her friends to the general public. The activities that were developed by *Ojo con tu ojo* addressed many aspects; in legal terms, a report was filed against the police and a public complaint was initiated regarding Ester's experience, and generally, the movement sought an absolute ban on rubber bullets. One of the strengths of this campaign was a video³ that was posted on the *Ojo con tu ojo* website on December 14, 2012, a month after the incident. In this video, Ester provides her version of the facts and complains about the police's refusal to accept responsibility for this matter. *Ojo con tu ojo* also granted interviews to selected media to assure that the reported news did not cause pity but rather awakened the collective solidarity with the victim to achieve a recognition of the facts and a total ban on the use of rubber bullets.

The reaction of the public was immediate. The movement obtained dozens of testimonies and recordings concerning the incident. One of these recordings was key for the Catalan Minister of Home Affairs to finally acknowledge that the police had used rubber bullets. The solidarity campaign that was launched by *Ojo con tu ojo* was impressive. More than 2,500 people, including famous people (writers, artists, musicians and journalists), entire families, elderly people, inhabitants of Ester's neighborhood and many others took pictures of themselves with one eye covered and posted them on social networks. Through the social networks,

thousands of diverse people showed their solidarity with Ester. In this way, a movement that started in Barcelona soon spread to the rest of Spain and to the international arena. One of the spokespersons of *Ojo con tu ojo* explains how they achieved the support of so many diverse people.

First we had the support of people from the world of music, actors, and gradually we gained support from all kinds of people, from writers, journalists and well-known intellectuals to people of all types. (O2)

Similarly, Quintana reports some of the countless signs of public support that she received from many different people.

For example, the guy who works at the veterinary center in the neighborhood. One day when I passed by, he came out of the door and said, "You're Ester Quintana, right?" And he squeezed my hand so hard that I had to say, "wow, you're hurting me". Or on the bus many people approach me and give me their support. Or, for example, today I have been to Encants⁴ and three people stopped me. There was a guy who was making a delivery and he said, "You are Ester Quintana, right?" I was overwhelmed, it's incredible. "You're the girl!" they said, "you're the girl!". (RC1)

Ojo con tu ojo is an unusual and participatory social movement that changed the police system through the solidarity of the life world (Habermas, 1984) through a collective leadership and strategy that achieved considerable support from society. Creating a public debate on the use of rubber bullets against citizens had an unprecedented political and social impact. This process is consistent with the explanation of the analysis that Flecha, Soler-Gallart & Sordé (2015) developed regarding how social impact can be achieved.

Embracing diversity

Strategic capacity and collective leadership are crucial to the effectiveness and success of social movements (Ganz, 2009). Some of the strategies that Ester promoted, such as collective decision-making, directly relate to the diverse processes of interaction and deliberation in which she had

previously participated. Ester learned leadership from many different interactions such as the dialogue with young and elderly people, with people without an academic degree, and with people of diverse ideologies. She also learned from the dialogue with academics and social scientists that was based on arguments instead of on their power positions. Ester puts it very clearly: “I also do not know if the response that I had would have been the same if it had been someone else. The context I am navigating and all the things in which I have participated before, and my way of being and seeing things might have influenced [the response].” (RC1)

According to Ester and her friends, the diversity of the interactions that she had during her process of leadership learning has been essential for the *Ojo con tu ojo* movement to be pluralistic, pacific, consistent with the rejection of police violence, and based on communicative processes with the participation of diverse people. Ester's position has been crucial in providing the movement with this orientation. According to Ester,

Ojo con tu ojo is a peaceful movement because we didn't adhere to any particular ideology, because we welcome any of them. We are against violence, against projectiles and for more security. We have always decided that our actions should not be violent. I told them from home (to her friends from *Ojo con ojo* when she was still a convalescent) that it mustn't be violent; it is better to give badges than to throw tomatoes on the Ministry. (RC1)

Apart from this position and character, *Ojo con tu ojo* is a non-political, non-official organization. It is a group of people without association status. However, considering the increase in governance proposals that emerge from deliberative processes (Elster, 1998), *Ojo con tu ojo* is building a radicalized democracy that emphasizes the gestation of new policies that reflect the dialogic character of both *Ojo con tu ojo* and society. The members never wanted the movement to be considered a political movement or be politically labelled because they felt distant from politicians. However, *Ojo con tu ojo* understood the importance of having political impact, which it has fully succeeded in. Additionally, the movement did not take a stand in favor of or against any political party. Rather, *Ojo con tu ojo* attempted to not lose sight of its goal. Ester explains this perspective as follows:

“They are this, they are that”. No! What I stand for is that if you (politicians) agree with us, great, but we don’t go against the one who disagrees with us, because the only thing you will achieve with that is to have the general public against you. This is not a struggle among us, but we need to join forces among all of us. (RC1)

For *Ojo con tu Ojo* to reach people, it was crucial not to be labelled as a youth or anti-system movement. The movement wanted people to identify with the victim and her story. Ester explains how she insisted to the members of *Ojo con tu ojo* that they must respect everybody and how they had decisive conversations on this issue with all members.

Of course there were people who would have wanted to do different kinds of actions. Once I saw graffiti of *Ojo con tu ojo* on the walls of the subway. I explained it in a meeting and we talked about it. I don’t want people to think that we’re drawing on the subway walls. We need to take into account that other people feel differently about that. We always need to respect the thoughts of others. (RC1)

The movement gathers highly diverse people from other movements that struggle for the same cause. Some *Ojo con tu ojo* members and Ester explain this recruitment as follows:

We had to reach out to all collectives, and it had to be a nice campaign, attempting to seek the positive aspects to promote, strengthen the identification with Ester, and that what happened to her could have happened to anybody. (E2)

We had to fight against impunity and raise people’s awareness. (E1)

Many people identified themselves with me, a middle-aged woman who is not antisocial. I’m not a squatter, I’m not radical in any sense, you know, so any woman could identify with me, and I know this was important. One of the things we did was to reach out not only to people of our age or our lifestyle. We wanted the message to get across widely. (RC1)

The members of *Ojo con tu ojo* were also considerate in their discourse and the image that they presented at all times so that it would not build on hatred, aggression, or violent images but rather on a constructive discourse that would not criminalize the police and that would make everybody think that this could happen to them. The members wanted to develop an attractive movement to raise awareness through a well-designed campaign that promoted social change. Ester and two of her friends expressed it in the following terms.

It wasn't made with hatred in the sense of I want to wipe out this or that (politician or policemen) but explaining what happened in first person. I explained what happened to me. Now I want an answer, [I want to see] that justice is being done, and nobody else has to live this. This discourse of no more victims has been a hook for the people. This was very important because the day after uploading the video (in which Ester explains the facts), I received a call from Home Affairs (the Ministry of Home Affairs). Until that day, I hadn't received any call from anybody in the government asking how I felt or to officially apologize. However, after uploading the video to the social networks on November 29, I received a call the day after from Home Affairs asking me how I felt. (RC1)

We didn't criminalize the police. We didn't use any violent images. (E2)
The criteria were to have an attractive campaign to everyone, to do things right and to be effective. (E1)

The pluralistic and inclusive orientation of *Ojo con tu ojo*, which was caused by Ester's efforts to transfer the characteristics that define the truly dialogic organizations to the movement, was instrumental to the result that was obtained. *Ojo con tu ojo* reached the structures and transformed the policies regarding the use of rubber bullets and other projectiles by the Catalan security forces.

Conclusion

Ester Quintana and the *Ojo con tu ojo* movement achieved in only one year what other movements had been attempting to do for many years: ban the use of rubber bullets by the police. The literature on leadership has shown

that leaders' previous experiences have a decisive influence on the strategies that are developed in social movements (Nepstad, 2004; Nepstad & Bob, 2006; Morris & Staggernborn, 2002). Moreover, the ability of leaders to transfer the elements that have been effective in one movement to other movements and to promote collective forms of leadership may contribute to their success (Andrews et al. 2010; Baggetta et al. 2013; Morris & Staggernborn, 2002). The data that were presented here corroborate these studies and add new knowledge to the study of leadership in social movements from the case study of *Ojo con tu ojo* and the analysis of the principles that were transferred by its leader, Ester, because of her previous participatory experiences.

This study has analyzed how Ester transferred all of her knowledge that was gained from her previous participatory and dialogic experiences to the development of *Ojo con tu ojo*. This participatory background is characterized by principles such as the egalitarian dialogue among all participants, solidarity for social transformation, and the importance of embracing diversity in all the spaces of debate and decision-making. Our analysis shows how this participatory background has been instrumental to the effectiveness of *Ojo con tu ojo* in successfully achieving one of its principal objectives – a legislative change – in a short period of time. Thus, Ester channeled her previous experiences through her prior history in participatory organizations to construct a narrative that empowered and mobilized many people to join her movement (Ganz, 2009; Morris & Staggernborn, 2002). The *Ojo con tu ojo* movement that is led by Ester turned an individual injury into a collective struggle that was shared by many people who were in favor of banning the use of rubber bullets by the police.

Ojo con tu ojo continues to work against the violation of rights by unjustified police violence and to achieve justice for Ester. Although the police finally acknowledged the use of rubber bullets at the time when Ester was injured and there are two policemen who have been charged with the incident, the trial in which the citizen's jury will decide whether they will be held responsible for her injuries is still ongoing.

This study has advanced the available knowledge concerning leadership in social movements. With this research, specific knowledge on how the participatory and dialogic background of a leader can be transferred to new social movements may impact their results. More research on specific cases

is needed to inform participatory and dialogic social movements and collective actions to increase their social and political impact.

NOTES

1 *Ojo con tu ojo*'s official website and Facebook page: http://www.ojocontuoyo.org/en_US; <https://www.facebook.com/ojocontuoyo2012>

2 La Verneda is a working-class neighborhood which received immigration from the south of Spain during the 1950s. The neighborhood is marked by its struggles to improve the quality of life.

3 Ester Quintana's video "Perder un ojo" [Losing an eye] with English subtitles <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ksm7f3ey1bc>

4 Encants is an antiques market.

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Estudio sobre Liderazgo Estudiantil desde un Enfoque Socio-político en la Universidad Santo Tomás de Bucaramanga (Colombia)

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Study on Leadership Student at the University of Santo Tomás Bucaramanga (Colombia)

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Abstract

The article presents an descriptive study and analysis of the perceptions of the student leaders in positions of representation in university governance; of principals and teachers on leadership dimensions as: qualities, training, social and political leadership, appreciation and recognition to determine their characteristics and leadership profiles in order to create a training program for social and political leadership at the university of Santo Tomás in Bucaramanga. A non-experimental method for research was followed, mixed applying quantitative tools as the questionnaire. Some of the results confirm the importance of exercise of student leadership in elected positions in the university government the development of the required capabilities and the need for institutional support for training programs.

Keywords: Leadership; Micropolitics; Social and Political Leadership; participatory democracy

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Resumen

El artículo presenta un estudio descriptivo del análisis de las percepciones de los líderes estudiantiles con cargos de representación en el gobierno universitario, así como de los directivos y docentes, respecto a dimensiones de liderazgo como: cualidades, formación, liderazgo social y político, valoración y reconocimiento para determinar sus características y perfiles de liderazgo con el fin de crear un programa de formación para el liderazgo social y político, en la Universidad Santo Tomás de Bucaramanga. Se siguió un método no experimental de investigación, aplicando instrumentos cuantitativos como el cuestionario. Algunos de los resultados confirman la importancia del ejercicio del liderazgo estudiantil en los cargos de representación en el gobierno universitario el desarrollo de las capacidades requeridas y la necesidad de apoyo institucional en programas de formación.

Palabras clave: Liderazgo; Micropolítica; liderazgo social y político; democracia participativa

Las sociedades enfrentan grandes desafíos y retos que deben resolver para alcanzar las metas de un desarrollo humano integral y sostenible. Estos retos que van surgiendo en esta sociedad cambiante incluyen la necesidad de la edificación de nuevos consensos y de desarrollar visiones sobre la sociedad donde los aspectos más importantes sean disminuir las desigualdades sociales, paliar los altos índices de pobreza; recalcar el papel de la justicia social y ser abanderados de los Derechos Humanos. Es inherente a la consecución de estos fines diseñar una serie de estrategias que tengan en cuenta modelos alternativos de actuación y resolución de problemáticas. Por tanto, al asumir estos retos, se requiere de una reorientación de la acción social y política a través de estrategias que caminen hacia la búsqueda del bien común. Precisamente la búsqueda del bien común exige la renovación de la práctica política y el requisito suscito de incorporar a los ciudadanos a la propia construcción de la democracia desde el empoderamiento y la participación social, libertades, derechos y deberes. El alcance de estas metas son posibles si se fomenta en los jóvenes un liderazgo orientado al servicio de lo público, con formación política, valores éticos, comprometidos socialmente, capacitados para promover las transformaciones que el país requiere. En su proyecto educativo la universidad busca formar integralmente jóvenes estudiantes con un perfil de liderazgo humanista, servidor, crítico, ético, que contribuya a la transformación cultural y política de sus comunidades.

Aspectos y factores relacionados con la práctica del liderazgo

Se debe tener en cuenta que el liderazgo es un proceso y no una posición. Las posturas ante la conceptualización del término liderazgo son diversas y mantienen perspectivas diferentes. Algunos investigadores en la temática se han enfocado en los rasgos de la personalidad, los rasgos físicos o los comportamientos del líder; otros han estudiado cómo las características de los ambientes y los contextos en los que se desenvuelve el líder, afectan a su actuaciones de manera concreta (Barnett y McCormick, 2012; Cáceres Reche, Lorenzo Delgado & Sola Martínez, 2009; Lorenzo Delgado, 2011; Neumerski, 2012). Otra de las perspectivas desde la que se ha abordado el liderazgo ha sido desde la inclusión y la justicia social (Ainscow, Booth & Dyson, 2006; Byrne & Rees, 2006; González, 2008; Murillo, 2006; Theoharis, 2007). Incluso hay quienes han tomado una visión más radical

manteniendo que el liderazgo no existe en sí, sino que son los éxitos y fracasos organizacionales los que a menudo son atribuidos al líder. Las consecuencias de cómo funciona la organización son mayores más allá de cualquier individuo y el rol desempeñado dentro del contexto (Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987).

De esta manera se define el liderazgo como un proceso mediante el cual un agente induce a un subordinado a comportarse de la manera deseada (Bennis, 1959), dirigiendo y coordinando el trabajo de los miembros del grupo (Fiedler & Chemers, 1967) y donde las relaciones interpersonales no se dan por obligación, sino por el propio deseo de los individuos (Merton, 1969). También implica un proceso de transformación al crear diferentes visiones sobre las metas a conseguir, además de una articulación de los objetivos que sean alcanzables (Bass, 1985; Tichy & Devanna, 1986). El liderazgo se erige como un proceso en el que la influencia del líder es básica para encaminar a un grupo de personas y organizado hacia el éxito y el cumplimiento de las metas, todo ello mediante diversas acciones enfocadas a la creación de oportunidades y condiciones para que el equipo sea eficiente y efectivo (Campbell, 1991; Roach & Behling, 1984). Por tanto, las finalidades del liderazgo incluyen la obtención de resultados a través de otros a través de la construcción de equipos cohesionados y orientados hacia las metas; los buenos líderes son los que consiguen formar equipos que afronten una variedad de situaciones y cumplan las metas delimitadas (Ginnet, 1996; Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994). Por otro lado, Vázquez (2012) considera que el liderazgo es la destreza directiva inscrita en el ámbito de la empresa, siendo fácil de reconocer en cualquier entorno. Muñoz (2012) se centra en el rol del líder en sí, mantiene que es la persona que guía a su equipo hacia una meta común, mostrando un camino en el que todos los miembros del grupo se sientan activamente involucrados y con un papel claro y definido. El líder no representa a un jefe, sino a la persona que posee un compromiso para llevar adelante el proyecto.

Desde principios del siglo XX hasta nuestros días han surgido numerosos enfoques sobre liderazgo, sobre todo desde los aspectos que definen a una persona en líder. En primer lugar, desde una perspectiva sustancialista se considera el liderazgo como algo innato y donde los líderes poseen una serie de características como el autocontrol, inteligencia, valor, credibilidad, empatía, entre otras (Vázquez, 2010). Por otro lado, el enfoque comportamental busca una serie de conductas comunes en los individuos.

Una de las aportaciones con más importancia dentro de este campo ha sido la de los autores Blake & Mouton (1980), ya que plantean un método que permite indentificar los estilos organizacionales y gerenciales, habido sido aplicado con éxito en la selección de personas de acuerdo a las preferencias y exigencias de un determinado puesto directivo.

También se ha visto el liderazgo desde una visión situacional donde la intención es demostrar si un mismo estilo de liderazgo es generalizable a todas las circunstacias y, de no ser así, cuál serie el estilo correcto. Se debe tener en cuenta que son muchas las variables que inciden en una situación determinada: cultura de la orgnización, exigencias de los superiores, etc. El aspecto clave para cualqueir modelo es la madurez de los colaboradores, dada por la competencia técnica de los mismos y el interés prestado a las tareas, así aparecen cuatro figuras o roles: el díder con mucho interés por la tarea, líder que dirige proporcionando apoyo; líder que instruye, sin dirigir técnicamente y líder que delega sus funciones. Un líder situacional es aquel capaz de crear diferentes estilos según situaciones y personas (Hersey & Blanchard, 1993). Blank (1995) define el liderazgo desde un enfoque personalista, el liderazgo se sustenta en el carisma personal y en la perseverancia y coherencia que mantienen en la búsqueda del éxito, siendo conscientes de las limitaciones y posibilidades. Por último, Senge (2005) nos aproxima al liderazgo desde una perspectiva futurista a través de la creciente necesidad de éste para los puestos gerenciales, las características principales que presentan son las de individuos visionarios, dialongantes, abiertos a colaborar y compartir sus ideas, etc.

El liderazgo en Colombia

En nuestro contexto, los países de América Latina viven en una situación de crisis política, sobre todo debido al proceso de construcción de la independencia de los Estados que se ha venido afianzando en el último siglo. Lejos de la ética política de la búsqueda del bien común, los gobiernos se han ido formando por las élites de poder guiadas por intereses particulares. Esta situación ha provocado actitudes de apatía e indiferencia en los jóvenes ante lo político y actividades sociales destinadas al bien de la comunidad o bien público.

La violencia que se vive en el fuero interno de algunos países latinoamericanos ha originado situaciones de miedo y temor a cualquier

participación política. Los jóvenes universitarios han ido enfrentándose a problemáticas políticas como el clientelismo, la demagogia, el gamonalismo, paramilitarismo, etc., y ante la impotencia de una lucha vana han abandonado esa participación política y social, mostrando actitudes de desprecio y negación. Hay que tener en cuenta que la crisis política se agudiza cuando las instituciones políticas son ineficaces ante las acciones de las élites, haciendo especial hincapié en las financieras. También existe una clara incidencia de la toma de decisiones, cada vez más internacionalizadas, y por la carencia de control que los ciudadanos poseen ante las burocracias políticas (Cuadros, Cáceres Reche & Hinojo Lucena, 2016; Max-Neef, 1995).

En Colombia son memorables las luchas estudiantiles en la década del 60, inspiradas por ideologías marxistas y que dieron origen a los actuales movimientos alzados en armas, actualmente en proceso de paz. Fueron movimientos de líderes utopistas que soñaron con sociedades libres e igualitarias. Líderes inspirados en el heroísmo, dar la vida por sus ideales de cambio y transformación social. Hubo quienes optaron para hacer realidad sus proyectos políticos por el camino de la violencia armada, que ha traído tanto dolor y sufrimiento al país.

La universidad como el contexto de los saberes académicos y culturales, está llamada a participar en la creación de un futuro mejor para su sociedad. Para esto se requiere asumir críticamente el pasado, no haberlo hecho generó un estudiantado universitario, que ha pasado de la Utopía, a la apatía y la indiferencia.

En Colombia, exceptuada la histórica participación del movimiento universitario con un papel protagónico, pero coyuntural en la convocatoria a la Asamblea Nacional Constituyente de 1991, que posibilitó una nueva Constitución para Colombia la mayoría de los jóvenes estudiantes universitarios, demuestra apatía, indiferencia, desilusión e impotencia frente al futuro del país. Esto demuestra carencia de formación para el liderazgo social y político en nuestros jóvenes estudiantes universitarios problema grave para toda la sociedad. Todo el país espera el liderazgo de las instituciones de Educación Superior para los procesos de transformación social y política. Se espera de la juventud que defina una utopía de futuro, no solo ideal o deseable sino posible, que ilumine los caminos y que haga realidad sus sueños. Se hace necesario que las universidades eduquen y

motiven para el liderazgo social y político, con las características de liderazgo humanista, servidor, transformador y crítico.

La formación para el liderazgo estudiantil, en lo social y en lo político, se enmarca en la legislación educativa Colombiana de la ley 30 de 1992, no de manera específica, pero se interpreta dentro de los fundamentos y objetivos de la Educación Superior. Los objetivos de la ley 30, son muy claros en determinar el tipo de profesional que el país requiere, líderes que contribuyan al cambio y posibiliten el desarrollo humano y económico del país, que construyan el conocimiento científico y tecnológico y las identidades culturales propias de nuestra historia. La ley de Educación Superior, requiere reformas, para hacerla viable en las actuales circunstancias históricas. Faltan políticas educativas por parte del Estado. Falta presupuesto para las Universidades públicas, para la investigación científica. Mejorar la calidad en todos los niveles. Se debe promover la circulación de cerebros y no la fuga. Aumentar la cobertura educativa, dar mayores libertades democráticas para las manifestaciones y actitudes de resistencia frente a las políticas del Estado, en el marco de la armonía y el respeto a la convivencia ciudadana. Menos inversión para la guerra y más para la educación. Apoyar las iniciativas de los estudiantes, en lo social, en lo político, lo científico y lo cultural.

En los últimos días los estudiantes han realizado, manifestaciones públicas de protesta contra la propuesta del gobierno para la reforma de la Educación Superior, especialmente en lo referente a la inversión de capital de las empresas privadas a la Universidades Públicas, por el peligro de la tendencia a la privatización del Derecho a la Educación. No existen en Colombia programas de formación para el liderazgo en lo social y lo político. Existen algunos programas institucionalizados de formación para el liderazgo social y político, en la ESAP. Escuela Superior de Administración Pública, y en el SENA. Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje, para el liderazgo Empresarial. Algunos Institutos de carácter privado, ofrecen cursos y seminarios para el liderazgo Empresarial, pero no hacen parte de la política educativa del Estado.

Metodología

Se trata de un estudio de naturaleza descriptiva y no experimental, ya que pretendemos describir y analizar la realidad sobre el liderazgo desarrollado

por los representantes estudiantiles de la Universidad Santo Tomás a partir de las percepciones de los mismos, los directivos y docentes de la institución.

Participantes

La Universidad Santo Tomás de Bucaramanga cuenta en la actualidad con 14 programas de Pregrado y 22 programas de posgrado. La población a la que se dirigió el estudio fue a los representantes estudiantiles, directivos y docentes de la Universidad Santo Tomás de Bucaramanga. La muestra, seleccionada por muestreo aleatorio simple, finalmente se ha compuesto del 64,41% de representantes estudiantiles y el 35,59% de directivos y docentes.

La edad media de individuos pertenecientes al ámbito de la representación estudiantil poseen una edad media entre los 19 y 25 años, conformando el 78,9% del total, mientras que aquellos con edades menores representan cerca del 16%. Atendiendo al género se refleja que el 44,7% de los participantes son mujeres y el 55,3% hombres. Respecto a la formación académica las carreras con más tasa de estudiantes son Derecho (21,1%), Odontología (13,2%), Economía (10,5%) y Negocios Internacionales (10,5%). El 71,1% son representantes del curso en el que se encuentran, el 18,4% son los representantes adscritos al consejo de facultad, el 7,9% representantes académicos particulares y sólo un 2,6% pertenecen a los representantes académicos generales. En cuanto al tiempo en el cargo, el 73,1% permanece en el cargo entre 1 y 2 años, el 23,7% de 3 a 4 años y el 2,6% más de cuatro años. Por último, un 52,6% de los estudiantes realiza su trabajo de representatividad en el primer año de programa académico y un 31,6% en años posteriores al inicio del programa académico; en años finales del programa académico el 5,3%.

Respecto a los docentes y directivos, es significativo que la representación femenina sólo comporte el 23,8% de la muestra, frente a más del 75% de representación masculina. La edad oscila entre los 20 y 40 años de edad con un 28,6%, el 38,1% entre los 51 y 50 años, el 14,3% los 51 y 60 años y los 61 y 70 años, respectivamente y un 4,8% entre los 71 y 75 años. Así mismo, el 66,7% son Docentes, el 14,3% son Decanos, 9,5% Coordinadores de departamentos, el 4,8% Secretarios de División, el 4,8% Jefes de laboratorio.

Objetivos del estudio

El objetivo general del estudio ha sido el de analizar el liderazgo desarrollado por los representantes estudiantiles de la Universidad Santo Tomás a través de las percepciones de estudiantes, directivos y docentes. Partiendo de este objetivo se desarrollan otros más específicos, enumerados a continuación:

- Conocer las cualidades personales de los líderes estudiantiles.
- Identificar la práctica y las necesidades de formación para el ejercicio del liderazgo social y político en la universidad

Instrumentos

Se utilizó un cuestionario que evalúa las percepciones del liderazgo estudiantil diseñado por el grupo A.R.E.A. a cargo del director, el profesor Lorenzo Delgado (Cáceres Reche, Lorenzo Delgado & Sola Martínez, 2008), a través del estudio piloto que se desarrolló en el 2005 en el Departamento de Didáctica y Organización Escolar; realizándose algunas modificaciones para adecuarlo al contexto de la Universidad de Santo Tomás. Se compone de 25 ítems con una escala tipo Likert con una graduación de 1 a 4 (desde el total desacuerdo al total acuerdo), más 6 variables de carácter profesional y personal, como figura en la tabla 1.

Tabla 1
Dimensiones del instrumento.

Dimensión A. Cualidades del liderazgo (5 ítems).
Dimensión B. Formación para el liderazgo (5 ítems).
Dimensión C. Práctica del liderazgo (5 ítems).
Dimensión D. Expectativas (5 ítems).
Dimensión E. Valoración y reconocimiento (5 ítems).

Resultados

Son factores importantes internos que influyen para su elección las características de su personalidad, el carisma, la inteligencia interpersonal, las habilidades comunicativas para el debate y el consenso, el ser extrovertidos, sinceros, abiertos, receptivos, humildes, honestos, facilitadores del diálogo, servidores, creativos, seguros, generadores de confianza, visionarios, críticos, dispuestos al cambio y a la transformación, comprometidos con las metas y objetivos del grupo, sensibles a la problemática social, con propuestas políticas, contextualizadas, dinámicas, con desarrollo de la inteligencia emocional, con capacidades para resolver conflictos y enfrentar las incertidumbres.

En la tabla 2. se muestran los resultados obtenidos de manera comparativa entre las percepciones de los representantes estudiantiles y las percepciones de los directivos y docentes que han participado en el estudio. En un primer momento, en cuanto a las características personales o cualidades que debe reunir un líder según el grado de total acuerdo confirmado por los estudiantes son: el compromiso (92,1%), la honestidad (92,1%), la decisión (78,6%), la coherencia (76,3%) y la fidelidad (76,3%). Las cualidades que destacan, aunando el grado de acuerdo con el grado de total acuerdo, ya que representan una gran mayoría muestral son: tener una personalidad fuerte (81,6%) y el carisma (97,3%). Es significativo que los representantes no afirmen no estar de acuerdo con la importancia de la presentación de candidaturas son organizadas por profesorado y directivos. En referencia a la percepción de directivos y docentes vemos como el carisma se erige como cualidad indispensable en un buen líder, el 100% de la muestra se reparte entre el grado de acuerdo y total acuerdo; también ocurre con la percepción sobre la importancia de mantener una buena inteligencia interpersonal, la empatía; una buena presencia y presentación personal y la sensibilidad social.

Tabla 2

Porcentajes de la percepción de la muestra sobre las cualidades de liderazgo

Representantes estudiantiles				
	Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo
Carisma	,0	2,6	36,8	60,5
Coherencia	,0	,0	23,7	76,3
Compromiso	,0	,0	7,9	92,1
Fidelidad	,0	7,9	15,8	76,3
Honestidad	,0	,0	7,9	92,1
Inteligencia interpersonal, habilidades sociales	,0	7,9	44,7	47,4
Personalidad fuerte	5,3	13,2	60,5	21,1
Decisión	,0	5,3	15,8	78,9
La experiencia en cargos de representación estudiantiles y en liderazgo social política son motivos para la elección.	7,9	18,4	44,7	28,9
La presentación de la candidatura ha sido organizada por los profesores y directivos.	23,7	42,1	10,5	23,7
Sensibilidad social	2,6	15,8	36,8	44,7
Directivos y docentes				
Buena presencia, la buena presentación personal, la empatía son importantes para el liderazgo estudiantil.	,0	,0	61,9	38,1
Ser excelente estudiante.	,0	9,5	28,6	61,9
Carisma	,0	,0	61,9	38,1
Inteligencia Interpersonal	,0	,0	47,6	52,4
Sensibilidad social, la cercanía con la problemática del contexto político, influyen en la elección de un representante estudiantil.	,0	4,8	47,6	52,4

Se reconoce que el liderazgo se aprende, aunque se posean aptitudes y cualidades, y se desarrolla en procesos de aprendizaje y de formación –

experiencias y situaciones que posibilitan el ejercicio del liderazgo social y político.

El país, para la renovación y el cambio de sus instituciones, requiere de la formación y capacitación de nuevos líderes con valores éticos, humanistas, críticos, con vocación de servicio y dispuestos a generar los cambios para el desarrollo integral humano dentro sus comunidades.

La universidad debe crear un programa curricular transversal a todas las facultades de formación para el liderazgo social y político, el país requiere con urgencia renovación de los partidos y la construcción de la auténtica democracia activa y participativa. Dicha renovación vendrá determinada por los sujetos inscritos en las organizaciones e instituciones de Educación superior, como líderes regeneradores de las organizaciones que dirigen el país.

Los docentes en sus cátedras deben formar para el liderazgo social y político y la educación para la formación de la sociedad civil, con cultura política y compromisos de cambio.

Los proyectos de extensión universitaria son espacios que deben ser aprovechados para la formación y la práctica del liderazgo social y político. Los directivos y docentes son conscientes de la necesidad de una formación para el liderazgo social y político y están dispuestos a apoyar a los estudiantes en las cátedras de sus programas académicos.

Tabla 3

Percepciones de la muestra sobre la formación y práctica para el liderazgo

	Representantes estudiantiles			
	Totalmente en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	De acuerdo	Totalmente de acuerdo
Se aprende a ser líder universitario.	2,6	7,9	44,7	44,7
Obligación de formarse para el liderazgo social y político.	,0	2,6	34,2	63,2
Conocimiento de la institución universitaria es fundamental para el ejercicio del liderazgo.	,0	7,9	28,9	63,2
Los docentes deben formar para el ejercicio del liderazgo estudiantil universitario.	,0	5,3	26,3	68,4
La transformación social y política del país requiere líderes	,0	,0	26,3	73,7

universitarios en lo social y político.				
La preparación de los docentes es vital para la motivación del liderazgo estudiantil.	,0	10,5	34,2	55,3
Debería existir formación para el liderazgo social y político para los representantes del estudiantado.	,0	2,6	34,2	63,2
La universidad debe ofrecer un programa curricular de formación para el liderazgo estudiantil en lo social y lo político en todas las facultades	,0	10,5	31,6	57,9
La cátedra actual de emprendimiento que se imparte en la universidad satisface plenamente las expectativas de formación en liderazgo	2,6	23,7	44,7	28,9
Directivos y docentes				
Conocimiento de la institución universitaria es fundamental para el ejercicio del liderazgo.	,0	,0	4,8	95,2
Los docentes deben formar para el ejercicio del liderazgo estudiantil universitario.	,0	47,6	47,6	4,8
La transformación social y política del país requiere líderes universitarios en lo social y político.	,0	4,8	28,6	66,7
Los programas de proyección social son el espacio para la práctica del liderazgo estudiantil en lo social y lo político	,0	23,8	66,7	9,5
La universidad ofrece un programa curricular de formación para el liderazgo estudiantil en lo social y lo político en todas las facultades	,0	57,1	42,9	,0
El liderazgo estudiantil en lo social exige recoger ayudas para las personas en condiciones de pobreza y marginalidad	33,3	42,9	9,5	14,3
El ejercicio del liderazgo en lo social y lo político es un peligro y una amenaza para la estabilidad institucional de la universidad.	38,1	33,3	14,3	14,3

La práctica del liderazgo exige un conocimiento de la filosofía institucional, la organización y las funciones propias de la representación en

cada uno de los órganos del gobierno universitario. Las diversas situaciones que se presentan al interior de la comunidad educativa, son oportunidades para la práctica del liderazgo, así como el apoyo a las funciones de los líderes posibilitan el trabajo eficaz de los líderes estudiantiles.

Entre los valores que se destacan para la práctica del liderazgo están la capacidad para el trabajo en equipo, la efectividad, la igualdad, la justicia social, la libertad, los buenos modales, la sensibilidad social, el inconformismo, la intolerancia con la mediocridad, la creatividad, la sabiduría, la seguridad y la auto-confianza.

Existen lagunas de aprendizaje para la práctica del liderazgo como los relacionados con el desarrollo de las competencias comunicativas: hablar bien en público, oratoria, habilidades sociales, resolución de conflicto, diseño de proyectos en lo social y lo político.

El estudiantado espera que sus líderes sean defensores de sus derechos, los mantengan informados de las políticas de la Universidad, les ayuden a solucionar sus conflictos, sean mediadores con los directivos y profesorado, presenten propuestas para la integración y el bienestar universitario.

Discusión y conclusiones

A partir del análisis e interpretación de los resultados obtenidos, extraemos las siguientes conclusiones dentro del contexto de la Universidad Santo Tomás de Bucaramanga (Colombia). Por un lado, es necesario asumir funciones de liderazgo estudiantil en los cargos de representatividad en el gobierno universitario, ya que contribuye al crecimiento integral como personas, a desarrollar las potencialidades humanas y a trabajar por la construcción de la democracia en las instituciones educativas (Murillo & Castilla, 2014; Savino et al., 2015). Uno de los objetivos específicos fue el de conocer las cualidades que debe tener un líder estudiantil desde la percepción de estudiantes, directivos y docentes, se ha comprobado que más allá de las actitudes inherentes a la personalidad de algunos individuos, existen una serie de factores externos que influyen en la construcción de un líder como la buena presencia, la formación, la resolución de problemas desde la creatividad, etc.

Otro de los aspectos clave ha sido la estructura vertical de la relación de autoridad que se da a nivel de estamentos pertenecientes a las

universidades, esa visión jerárquica donde se aparca la participación de la representación estudiantil. Todo ello, propiciando impedimentos para la construcción de un ambiente democrático a nivel universitario (García Hernández, Espinosa Meneses & Pelalosa Castro, 2015). Unido a esto, se destaca que existen prejuicios respecto a los líderes estudiantiles en cargos de representatividad debido a la asociación presupuesta entre política universitaria y política estatal, basada en prácticas corruptas y la búsqueda de intereses particulares. También se considera prioritario establecer puntos de encuentro para atender las necesidades de cada facultad y buscar acuerdos para trabajar en base a las necesidades y los intereses del estudiantado.

En cuanto a la identificación de la práctica del liderazgo y la detección de posibles necesidades formativas, se admite que el liderazgo se aprende en la práctica y es una función compartida en el grupo. Eso sí, cabe destacar que la práctica de liderazgo no se da solo para responder a situaciones de crisis, problemas o conflictos que subyacen en el interior de las instituciones o de las organizaciones, sino también para integrar y direccionar al grupo hacia los cambios y las transformaciones que la sociedad requiere (Robinson, Lloyd & Rowe, 2016). Respecto a la formación, queda patente la existencia de lagunas de aprendizaje para la práctica de liderazgo, sobre todo las relacionadas con el desarrollo de las competencias comunicativas: hablar bien en público, oratoria, habilidades sociales, resolución de conflictos, diseño de proyectos en lo social y lo político.

La institución universitaria tiene la obligación de crear un programa curricular transversal a todas las facultades de formación para el liderazgo social y político. El país requiere con urgencia la renovación de los partidos y la construcción de la auténtica democracia, activa y participativa. Tiene especial valoración y reconocimiento la labor de los representantes estudiantiles en materia de mediación en la resolución de conflictos entre profesores y estudiantes, la capacidad para enfrentarse a nuevos retos y desafíos, las propuestas de cambios en el ámbito educativo la tolerancia y el logro de nuevos espacios de participación democrática. Por tanto, se concluye que la universidad debe hacer reconocimiento público de la labor meritoria de los líderes estudiantiles, creando espacios para socializar experiencias de egresados con alto nivel de liderazgo en los cargos públicos y privados tanto a nivel local, regional y nacional (González Cruz et al.,

2014). La práctica del liderazgo debe tener en cuenta que la acción social no sólo es referida carencias materiales, sino también a las materiales, culturales, de relación, de participación, etc.

Queda constancia de la problemática naciente a partir de este estudio, debe producirse una escisión entre las diferentes perspectivas que comparan el liderazgo estudiantil con las políticas estatales, que si éstas últimas influyen irremediabilmente en el desarrollo de la institución universitaria, no hay que establecer una relación de dependencia entre ambas a través de conceptos como la corruptibilidad. Además, es premisa indispensable romper el sentimiento de hastío de estudiantes, directivos y profesorado ante la posibilidad de resolución de conflictos, ya que existe la percepción de que no importan las acciones llevadas a cabo porque no se tendrá la oportunidad de dar solución a las demandas surgidas. Por último, arraigar a la sociedad la visión del bien común, donde todas las acciones establecidas y realizadas irán estarán basadas en el esfuerzo de la propia sociedad para afrontar las necesidades y dirigidas hacia la mejora y el aumento del bienestar de los individuos de la sociedad y todos los grupos que la conforman (Cáceres Reche; Aznar Díaz & Raso Sánchez; Lorenzo Delgado et. al., 2013).

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The Task of Reviewing and Finding the Right Organizational Change Theory

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The Task of Reviewing and Finding the Right Organizational Change Theory

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Abstract

Organizational change is probably the singular most important undertaken that many organizations wish they could do to affect their productivities/profitability performances. This review paper will highlight some of the well-known theories and approaches to organizational change. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, America had one of the best economies in decades and many of her citizens were able to benefit from it both financially and educationally; the economy (and educational aspirations) grew expeditiously and lifted millions of Americans out of poverty. These economical and educational turnarounds were achieved due in part to innovative and transformational leaders who understand that in order for businesses to grow, organizational change has to be an integral part of the process. However, the issue now is that there seems to be too many complex and confusing change theories that profess to have the remedies for ‘fixing’ the organizational problems. Ideally, however, this review paper will try to highlight the essentials of the selected organizational change and leadership theories and simplify them by making them accessible and understandable. Additionally, this review will try to ease some of the confusions of the theories and potentially help guide the change agents to the appropriate organizational change theories.

Keywords: organizational change, change theory, change leadership, organizational leadership

La Tarea de Revisar e Identificar la Teoría del Cambio Organizacional Correcta

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Resumen

El cambio organizacional es probablemente el singular más importante emprendido que muchas organizaciones desean que pudieran hacer para afectar sus productividades / desempeño de rentabilidad. Este documento de revisión destacará algunas de las teorías y enfoques bien conocidos del cambio organizacional. A finales de los años noventa y principios de los años 2000, América tenía una de las mejores economías en décadas y muchos de sus ciudadanos podían beneficiarse de ella tanto financiera como educativamente; La economía (y las aspiraciones educativas) creció rápidamente y levantó a millones de americanos de la pobreza. Estos cambios económicos y educativos se lograron debido en parte a líderes innovadores y transformacionales que entienden que para que las empresas crezcan, el cambio organizacional debe ser una parte integral del proceso. Sin embargo, la cuestión ahora es que parece haber demasiadas teorías de cambio complejas y confusas que profesan tener los remedios para "arreglar" los problemas organizacionales. Idealmente, sin embargo, este documento de revisión tratará de poner de relieve lo esencial de las teorías de cambio organizativo y liderazgo seleccionadas y simplificarlas haciéndolas accesibles y comprensibles. Además, esta revisión tratará de aliviar algunas de las confusiones de las teorías y, potencialmente, ayudará a guiar a los agentes de cambio hacia las teorías de cambios organizacionales apropiadas.

Palabras clave: cambio organizacional, cambio de teoría, cambio de liderazgo, liderazgo organizacional

The conceptualization of organizational change theories and approaches have been written and discussed for over 30 years with very little true mechanisms to use in turning organizations around. Some of the older theories are much simple and straight-forward in their approach to organizational changes (i.e. Lewin, 1947, theory on unfreezing, moving, and refreezing). However, the newer and more complex change theories are more theoretically based than practical. In this literature review, attempt will be made to organize and simplify many of the newer theories and approaches on organizational change to help develop an understanding of how the change concepts have evolved and broaden. The truth of the matter is that, there is a need for organizational change to re-conceptualize how to safely and practically implement changes in organizations without over-stressing and over-burden both the organizational structures and members of the organizations. In the past decade or so, we've seen corporations of various sizes and reputations go from prosperities to receiverships and/or bankruptcies, partly because of the unscrupulous and unethical leaderships who control those organizations. However, there are leaders who are equally concern about the volume of change theories that professes to have the 'cures' for organizations that are going through problems; the fact of the matter is that there are too many proliferations of untested and badly conceived change theories. The proverbial problem of statement questions that need to be asked is how and where can innovative and transformational leaders who are facing problems at their respective organizations find the right change theory (or approach) that will help turn their organizations around? Additionally, what exactly constitute a good change theory? This review will attempt to look into some of the established theories and highlight their potent quality and authenticity in the world of organizational change.

The different types of organizational change theories

The implementation of organizational change in a troubled company (or organization) might sound simplistic and easy to do, but the truth of the matter is that it is not; implementing any kind of change can be difficult and problematic for both the change agents who will be implementing the change and the personnel whose life is going to be touched and impacted by the change. The fact is that every organization that is properly managed has

at its helm a dynamic and transformational leader. Therefore, if the right leadership is not there to create the atmosphere for lasting change, no amount of organizational changes would rectify the problems that the organization is going through. Therefore, the question now is how can an organization that is ready for change find the appropriate change mechanism? Van de Ven and Poole (1995) discussed the interplay of different ideologies and perspectives that can help draw a clear picture of what organizational change and development is all about. The fact is that no one discipline with a singular ideology can explain the full range of organizational change and development. However, with diverse disciplines and their worldviews on issues related to organizational change and development, Van de Ven and Poole (1995) stated that, that will “provides opportunities to develop new theory that has stronger and broader explanatory power than the initial perspectives” (p. 511). Explaining the difference among organizational change is perhaps the hardest thing to do because of the diversity among the organizational change theories and approaches. However, Ven de Van and Poole (1995) explained that “It is the interplay between different perspectives that helps one gain a more comprehensive understanding of organizational life, because any one theoretical perspective invariably offers only a partial account of a complex phenomenon” (p. 510-511). To illustrate the differences, they gave three approaches to explain how and why changes in organization occur. The first approach is basically four types of theories needed in organizational change:

- Life-cycle change theory described organization as a living organism. Even though organizations need to go through changes, the organizations nevertheless keep and maintain themselves throughout the change process.
- Teleological change theory basically explains that organization has a purpose and goals, and can be very adaptable. This theory also encourages cooperation among like-minded people when it comes to organizational change.
- Dialectical change theory encourages oppositions and conflicts between two or more distinct entities via mergers and/or take-over embattlements. Basically, dialectical theory is a theory that is complex and engaged in conflict.

- Evolutionary theory is all about change. In this theory, no organization stays static. Change is on-going (continuous) and the organization has to be adaptable to new changes.

The second approach, according to Van de Ven and Poole (1995), is to “arrange these four ideal-type process theories into a typology by distinguishing the level and mode of change to which each theory applies” (p. 511). And finally, the third approach; this approach basically tries to analyze how useful the typology is to understanding the organizational change process.

In order to demystify the change process, Weick and Quinn (1999) came up with a way of highlighting the two different organizational change mechanisms. They stated that “The contrast between episodic and continuous change reflects differences in the perspective of the observer” (p. 362). The important thing to know about organization change is that change just doesn’t appear out of thin air; it is a sort-after mechanism that is in demand because there are organizational problems that needed to be fixed and/or changed; as Czarniawska & Joerges (1996) stated “First there were losses, then there was a plan of change, and then there was an implementation, which led to unexpected results” (p. 20). To explain the difference between the episodic and continuous change theories, Weick and Quinn (1999) gave the following definitions:

The phrase “episodic change” is used to group together organizational changes that tend to be infrequent, discontinuous, and intentional. The presumption is that episodic change occurs during period of divergence when organizations are moving away from their equilibrium conditions. Divergence is the result of a growing misalignment between an inertial deep structure and perceived environmental demands. (p. 365)

They then described continuous change, as “The phrase “continuous change” is used to group together organizational changes that tend to be ongoing, evolving, and cumulative” (p. 375). Both episodic and continuous change theories are theories that are very similar to the revolutionary and evolutionary change theories that Burke (2011) discussed in his ‘organization change theory and practice’ book. Episodic and revolutionary

theories described a change mechanism that is wholistic in nature, and the continuous and evolutionary theories described a change mechanism that is applicable on continuous bases even in a well-managed organization.

Open system theory and the environmental effects

The theoretical premise behind organizational change is to find equilibrium within an organization vis-à-vis running a smooth production operation and making healthy profit for its stakeholders. The survivability of any business organization depends on an open-system theory and its characteristics and attractiveness to the external resources for energy (investments) sustainability. In an open-system theory, Burke (2011) reiterated that “Any human organization is best understood as an open system. An organization is open because of its dependence on and continual interaction with the environment in which it resides” (p. 56). For any organization to operate smoothly with little or no production slow-down, it is imperative that the organization look for resources (external energy sources) that would finance the purchase of needed raw materials and other expenditures. Money allows for organization to invest in itself; organizations, in today’s market, need to be agile and competitive. In other words, every organization that wants to be relevant, need the external energy (external financial resources) to invest in capital expenditures that the organization need to have a fighting chance of survival.

According to Burke, there are three operative stages that are synonymous with survivability of any organization in an open system theory, they are the following:

- Input – The first stage is when the organization gets all of its resources (external investments, loans from the banks, etc.) for acquiring all the needed expenditures (i.e. raw materials, machineries, hiring of employees etc.).
- Transformation – This is the stage of conversion of raw material into finished products (the manufacturing stage).
- Output – This last stage is the shipping of the products to the general public to be sold for regeneration of resources back to the organization for continuous production.

Open-system theory allows for a systematic recycling process in an organization to navigate its way around the market system for external source of investment. According to Burke (2011), he stated that “a bank loan (input) provide money to purchase raw materials (more input) so that a product can be made (transformation) and then sold (output) to consumers, and their payments provide money for further input, reactivating the cycle” (p. 56). In other words, it is a recycling mechanism that keeps a strong organization alive and running.

The concept of open system theory is basically the interaction between organizations and its environments; however, the impacts of environments on organizations are immeasurable to say the least. Davis and Powell (1992) discussed the relationship between organizations and their environments. Parts of their discussions were the three theoretical approaches that may be impacted by some environmental constraints. The three approaches are (1) Thompson’s (1967) contingency theory, (2) Pfeffer and Sallancik’s (1978) resource dependence theory, and (3) Williamson’s (1975, 1981 and 1985) transaction costs economics (TCE) theory. Each of these approaches explains how the external factors have some impacts on the performances and functionalities of many organizations in the global marketplaces. A brief context on the three theories would help explain why the authors thought that the environmental factors would create uncertainty in the performance and function of an organization.

The first approach was Thompson’s (1967) contingency theory; this theory saw organization as an open system with three levels of responsibilities and controls: (a) According to Thompson’s theory, technical level must be controlled and sealed off from the outside; (b) The managerial level is seen as uncertain because of the mediation contact it has to negotiate between the technical level and the outside environment. And finally (c), the institutional level is believed to have the highest level of uncertainty, because it operates from an environment in which it has little or no control. The second approach was Pfeffer and Sallancik’s (1978) theory of resource dependence; this theory was based on a premise that organizational behaviors can be explained by looking at the organization’s context. Resource dependence theory believes that because the organization operates within a domain that is controlled by an external source, and also because it is an open system organization, it is at risks of external interference. Hence, it tries to secure enough resources to protect its

survivability. The third approach was Williamson's (1975, 1981 and 1985) Transaction Costs Economics theory (TCE); the third theory (TCE) agenda was to monitor the economic conditions of the financial marketplaces to understand its volatility (the ups and downs trajectory of the marketplaces). According to Davis and Powell (1992), they alluded to the fact that "Several assumptions are critical for this approach" (p. 326). There are two behavioral factors that go with the assumptions: (a) the first assumption assumed that people have good intentions, but are limited in their financial resources, (b) and secondly, some people are perceived to be opportunistic even though it is hard to identify this people from the rest of the population.

Organizational change theories in the educational setting

Perhaps this is one of the untold myths about organizational change, many people believed that organizational change is only synonymous with business organizations alone; however, implementation of organizational change does have a major presence in the educational systems in North America. According to Hallinger (2003), a university professor and a former principal, he stated that for over 25 years, selecting and promoting principals in the United States school systems has largely and primarily been based on finding an instructional leaders; someone who can lead by showing that he/she has the capacity to supervise, control, coordinate and develop curriculum for schools. However, the leadership preference shifted to transformational leadership in the 1990s when school principalship positions were reversed from top-down position to bottom-up leadership style. As a transformational leader, principals would exemplify a bottom-up leadership approach, a second-order target for change approach, and have the ability to show a people-orientation (transformational) leadership skill toward the teaching staff and clientele. However, Hallinger (2003) described the instructional leadership principals as leaders who would manage from the top-down approach, using the first-order leadership approach and manage in a transactional style.

Hargreaves (2009) moved the educational change theory forward by conceptualizing a new educational change theory that he called the fourth way based on "five-pillar" concept. These five-pillar concept is partially based on the three previous systems that were in operation in North America, and partially based on international components that have being

tested and proven to work in the nomadic countries of Europe. According to Hargreaves (2009), he stated that the pillars are “A viable theory-in-action of educational change must rest on the basic principles of sustainability” (p. 22). A brief description of the pillars according to Hargreaves:

- Pillar 1: An inspiring and inclusive vision: This pillar is about the moral and inspiration of change. Change that encourages team-work and selflessness – Hargreaves (2009) stated that “An inspiring and inclusive moral purpose steers a system, bind together, and draws the best people to work in it” (p.23).
- Pillar 2: Public engagement: According to Hargreaves (2009), he stated that “The purposes that define a society’s future vision are not for governments or their educational advisors to decide. They are a matter for public engagement and for leaders who can tap into and elevate the public’s spirit” (p. 24).
- Pillar 3: No achievement without investment: Couple of years ago, we saw the increase in partnership between the state/local governments and the school districts, helping to create opportunities for children of underprivileged families in our society. However, that sense of partnership has shifted to a state of normlessness by some of the state/local governments. The fact of the matter is that without reasonable and sustainable investments in the school systems, it is almost impossible to achieve the goals that the government set out. Therefore, it is important for the stakeholders to know that investment is very important to the education of our children
- Pillar 4: Corporate educational responsibility: The environment is gradually changing to involve the American corporations in the education of our children. Hargreaves (2009) stated that “The environmental movement has shifted many corporations’ sense of responsibility. More and more businesses now practices corporate social responsibility” (p. 26).

- Pillar 5: Students as partner in change: Hargreaves (2009) stated that “Students are usually the targets of change efforts and services; they are rarely change partners. But students are highly knowledgeable about the things that help them learn, such as teachers who know their material, care for them, have a sense of humor, and never give up on them” (p. 27)

The different types of organizational leadership

In order for organizational change to take root in the fabric of everyday activities of organizations, it has to be done under the leadership of someone who is dynamic and innovative (i.e., transformational-charismatic and change leaderships); these two leadership styles can transform and efficiently implement any needed organizational changes. Burnes and By (2011) discussed how for the past 30 years, leadership and change has been synonymous with organizational change in the corporate world. At the beginning, organizational leadership was based on the idea of someone whom the organization could see as been in control; a top-down executive with power. However, with too much power come ethical issues and problems. Thus ushered in the charismatic-transformational leader; someone who is bottom-up leader. A leader who has the charisma and self-confidence to engage his/her staff in decision making processes; and a leader who is ethical and willing to lead by example.

Organizational change and change leadership are concepts that try to find a balance between change and the change agents. Krysinski and Reed (1994) suggested that systemic change is an unpredictable fluid rotational change that can take approximately four phases and many years in-between to accomplish. According to Krysinski and Reed (1994), the first phase would be the stage that will build on the awareness and identification for change. The second phase will be the time to start training and implementing the change processes. The third and fourth phases will be the time to monitor the change plan. Krysinski and Reed also discussed the three critical occurrences that can happen during the change implementations. The first is the involvement of the CEO in the change project. The advocacy and involvement of the CEO of the organization is vitally important in pushing ahead the likelihood and possibility of the change ever being implemented. The second is the shared meaning.

Shared meaning basically means that all the parties involved are sharing what it means to them for the change project to be implemented. And finally, the third is the uncertainty that comes with change. In essence, the uncertainty, anxiousness, and the ambivalence that occurs when organizational change converged on the employees.

Change leadership concept is when leaders commit to a change and actually stand-by and implement the change. These kinds of leaders tend to have the charisma to influence employees. There are two types of leaders with these kinds of leadership pedigrees. According to Krysinski and Reed, the first is a leader with authority mode; these kinds of leaders are charismatic and traditional, they have the ability and charisma to influence others to follow their directives. The second types of leadership are leaders who utilize power as a means to influencing others. This is a leader who influence via the power mechanism; this is a leader who uses rewards and sanctions to get their way.

Herold, Fedor, Caldwell & Liu (2008) described the transformational leadership style as a leader who is more compassionate and understanding of the employees' needs. And on the other hand, they depicted the change leadership as a leader who is an ultimate change agent. Someone whose job it is to go into a dysfunctional organization and get the problem fixed, with minimal or no real input from the employees' in terms of their needs and concerns been taken into consideration. Though, both leadership styles were said to be efficient and capable of getting the job done; however, the idea behind the study was to see which of the two leadership styles will win the commitments of the employees. Naturally, it would seem as though the employees would follow the transformational leader, someone who is more compassionate than the change leader who is task oriented. However, what the study discovered was that, even though the employees would like to have followed the transformational leader under normal circumstances, the study showed that they would not hesitate to follow the change leader if he/she could moderate his/her positions and behaviors. That goes to show that organizational change and leadership styles need the commitment and cooperation of the employees before any meaningful change/changes can be accomplished. Therefore for organizational change to be successful in any organization, it is imperative for both the transformational and change leaderships (especially change leadership) to moderate their positions and

behaviors vis-à-vis the employees' needs and concerns in order for the leadership to get the employees' commitments.

The effects of organizational change on humans

To better understand the effects of organizational change on humans, Chin and Benne (1985) dig deeper into the strategies that affect change in human systems. As they elaborated on their strategies, they categorized them into three groups and in each group there were series of strategies that were discussed. The first group was labeled Empirical-Rational Strategies. The premise behind these groups is based on the belief that people are rational and naturally will follow their rational self-interest once they understand that it is in their best interest to do so.

Under the first category of Chin and Benne's (1985) there are six strategies, and the following brief descriptions explain each strategy: (1) the first strategy is about dissemination of knowledge to the people for understanding and approval, so that they can act on it; (2) the second strategy is about replacing the wrong people who are in a position that they were not supposed to be in; (3) the third strategy is about system analyst using computer to deliver knowledge in a rational and systematic way; (4) the fourth strategy basically believed that sound research should be used to promote change; (5) the fifth strategy is basically an utopian (fantasy) belief-system that believed that change can make the society a better place for all (a better future for the society); and finally (6), the sixth strategy basically suggested that in order to dissolve or disarm any potential enemy, the best thing to do is to purify the language. The idea behind this strategy is to allow experts to see things clearly; communicate clearly with fewer barriers, and finally be able to reason with commonality.

The second category of Chin and Benne's (1985) human system is called the Normative-Re-educative Strategies. This category basically has two strategies in it: (1) the first strategy is about problem solving capacities of the human system; (2) and the second strategy is about putting people first (the growth of an individual takes precedence over any and everything else).

Finally, the third category of Chin and Benne's (1985) human system is labeled Power-Coercive Strategies. This category is primarily based on using power in all ways possible, and it comes with three strategies: (1) the

first strategy is using power in a non-violent way; (2) the second strategy is basically about using political and governing power in the society; and finally, (3) the third strategy is to reconstitute the power structure in favor of the less-privileged (or the less powerful) in the society, like been a member of an organized union. The interesting fact is that the true human effects brought on by organizational change have never been truly studied to understand the impacts and ramifications of organizational change on human beings.

There have been studies done to investigate the reason why there are employees' dissatisfactions and resistances in organizational change. Perhaps the reason why there are resistance and ambivalence by employees toward organizational change is not necessarily because the employees are not committed to change, but because organizational change, itself, can be unpredictably stressful and damaging, especially on the employees who work for those organizations. Piderit (2000) weighted on the side of the employees when she stated that "Successful organizational adaptation is increasingly reliant on generating employee support and enthusiasm for proposed changes, rather than merely overcoming resistance" (p. 783). As a matter of fact, many of the organizational change writers have come to the realization that not every employee resistance is counterproductive and anti-change. The most important thing that the change agents and change writers have to understand and take into consideration is the fact that both the employees and the organizations need each other. The fact is that employees need organizations just as much as the organizations need the employees. Employees need a place to go to fulfill their days' worth of work and at the end of the day, take home their earnings to feed their families. On the other side, the organizations need the productivity of their innovative and energetic employees to work hand in hand and as partners in moving forward the overarching mission statement of the organization. Hence the reasons why both parties need to recognize that they need each other as much as the shareholders need the organizations to be profitable.

Summary

This review tries to give a clear picture of the different organizational change theories that are out there, including the educational change and

leadership theories. These reviews were centered on theories believed to be practicable and implementable. Though many theories have been theorized and professed to be a 'cure-all' theory for any organizational problems, however, many of these theories have been found to be practically unworkable. Many studies have come to the conclusion that over half of the change theories have a failure rate, hence the reason why many change agents are confused and frustrated with many of the change theories and approaches that are out there; many of these change agents don't know what works and what doesn't. In this review, several change theories were discussed and reviewed. These theories include the life-cycle, teleological, dialectical, and evolutionary that Van de Ven and Poole (1995) discussed. Then comes the episodic and continuous organizational change theories discussed by Weick and Quinn (1999). These theories were similar to the change theories (revolutionary and evolutionary) that Burke (2011) discussed in his book called 'Organization Change theory and practice'. These change theories were meant to infuse a wholistic and systematic change in an organization. The first change theories (revolutionary and episodic) are theories that can literarily and completely transform an organization in an wholistic way, while the second change theories (evolutionary and continuous) emphasizes a continuous change even in a profitable and well run organizations.

However, to have a truly viable organization that change mechanism can improve, the organization requires an open system theory. Open system organizations dependent on a continual interaction with the external environments in which it resides and operate from. Burke (2011) laid out the systemic way that an open system organization operates. He discussed the input, transformation, and output operational system in an open system organization, and the importance of external resources (outside investments and the environments that it operates out of). To fully understand the extent of external impacts on organizations, Davis and Powell (1992) gave three examples of theoretical approaches: (a) Thompson's (1967) contingency theory, (b) Pfeffer and Sallancik's (1978) resource dependence theory, and (c) Williamson's (1975, 1981 and 1985) transaction costs economics (TCE) theory. However, looking at organizational change from an educational setting change perspective, Hallinger (2003) alluded to the fact that for over 25 years, selecting and promoting principals in the United States school systems has largely been based on finding an instructional leader. He

alluded to the fact that leadership preference shifted to the transformational leadership in the 1990s when school principalship positions were reversed from top-down to bottom-up leadership style. To improve the educational systems in North America, Hargreaves (2009) came up with the five-pillar change concept that is partially based on the three previous educational systems in North America, and infused with an international component that is tested and proven in the nomadic countries of Europe. This change theory emphasizes and deliberates on the sustainability of the North American educational systems for the long haul.

The change leadership is another leadership theoretical concept that is based on leaders who are committed to change. These kinds of leaders tend to have the charisma and fortitudes to lead and influence the employees through involvement of the employees in the change process. According to Krysinski and Reed (1994), there are two types of leaders with these kinds of leadership pedigrees, the first is a leader with authority mode; these kinds of leaders are leaders who have the charismatic and traditional ability to influence others to follow their leads and directives. The second types of leadership are leaders who utilize power as a means to influence others; this second kind of leaders influences the employees via the power mechanism which is a reward and sanction mechanisms to get the employees to follow their leads. Herold, Fedor, Caldwell & Liu (2008) described the transformational leadership style as a leader who is more compassionate and understanding of the employees' needs. On the other hand, they described the change leader as someone who is an ultimate change agent; someone whose job it is to go into a dysfunctional organization and get the problem fixed. To further strategize the impacts of organizational change on humans, Chin and Benne (1985) came up with the following three theories: The first is called Empirical-Rational Strategies: the premise behind this category is based on the belief that people are rational and naturally people will follow their rational self-interest once they understand that it is in their best interest to do so. The second is called Normative-Re-educative Strategies: this category basically has two strategies in it: (a) problem solving capacities of the human system; (b) putting people first before anything else. And the third theory is called Power-Coercive Strategies: This category is primarily based on using power in all and any way possible and it comes with three strategies: (a) using power in a non-violent way; (b) using political and governing power in the society; and (c)

is to reconstitute the power structure in favor of the less-privileged in the society.

Finally, Piderit (2000) discussed the issue of employee resistance at workplaces. As humans, every human being has as their primary responsibility the welfare of their families; therefore any organizational change that is going to impact that reality is going to encounter some kind of resistance if the employees are not involved in the change process. As such, Piderit (2000) said it best when she stated that “Successful organizational adaptation is increasingly reliant on generating employee support and enthusiasm for proposed changes, rather than merely overcoming resistance” (p. 783)

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is true that there are too many organizational change and leadership theories that seem to come out every time you pick up an organizational change and leadership journal articles. Additionally, there seems to be no shortage of theories that professes to have the key mechanism for organizational change solution. However, many of these theories have been found to be impracticable and plainly unworkable. Many of the change theories are contradictory and un-implementable; the failure rates of these theories make the implementation of organizational change confusing and frustrating for many of the organizations and their leadership teams (Balogun and Hope-Hailey, 2004; Burnes, 2004; Doyle, 2002; Edmonstone, 1995; Guimaraes and Armstrong, 1998).

The fact of the matter is that many of the organizational change theories that are out there have no theoretical base to stand on. Moreover, many of them are personal intuitions and assumptions that the authors of the theories turned into theories without proper research to back up the findings and results. Therefore, as it is in any life endeavors, practical and research experience of these authors (theorists) should be taken into consideration before their articles are published. However, the question that needs to be asked is how can the organizations find the right organizational change theory that is implementable and workable for them? Well, in my opinion, many of the above reviewed theories are well-researched and proven theories that are practicable and workable. Even though not every theory

work the same way in every organizations, however, the above theories seem to have been thoroughly researched and vetted for applicability. In any case, many of the above theories can be used as a ‘starting point’ in any organizational change process, and if it doesn’t work to the satisfaction of the change agents, another one can be tried until the right one is found.

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School Leadership, Citizenship Education and Politics in China

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Review

Xu, S. (2016). *School Leadership, Citizenship Education and Politics in China*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. ISBN: 2365-6263

Este libro permite aproximarnos a la realidad en China sobre el liderazgo escolar, la educación por la ciudadanía y la política. Teniendo en cuenta el papel de la globalización, se abordan cuestiones que van más allá del ámbito educativo para explorar sus sinergias con ámbitos diversos, desde la economía o la política pública. Se parte del papel que tiene la educación en aspectos de justicia social y por tanto, se identifica la importancia de promover una educación que incorpore esa dimensión.

En los primeros capítulos, la autora contextualiza y nos acerca de forma rigurosa y clara a los debates sobre liderazgo escolar en China, la integración de la educación y la política en ese país, el contexto social y educativo de Shangai o su sistema de liderazgo escolar. A continuación, se indican cuatro escenarios posibles sobre las percepciones y respuestas de los líderes escolares a las políticas estatales y sus requerimientos, que se resumirían en: aceptación activa, aceptación pasiva, modificación de apoyo y modificación de no apoyo. Las consecuencias para la práctica de cada uno de estos escenarios se desarrollan de manera precisa, permitiendo al lector tener una aproximación y conocimiento muy útiles. En los capítulos finales, se plantean algunos retos sobre el liderazgo escolar y educación por la ciudadanía, haciendo hincapié en su rol como ejercicio político.

En resumen, la autora identifica a través de su trabajo que los líderes escolares ejercen un papel activo en respuesta a los actores escolares macro y micro-políticos. Además, sugiere futuras líneas y temáticas de investigación a partir de su trabajo para continuar investigando en las sinergias entre la educación por la ciudadanía y el liderazgo escolar. Sin duda, abre posibilidades para desarrollar próximas contribuciones en el contexto de Shangai.

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