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SOCIAL CAPITAL AND EMPOWERMENT IN GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZATIONS: A STUDY OF TWO ZONES IN SOUTHERN CHILE

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Abstract

The aim of the present study is to analyze the social capital in the leadership of diverse kinds of grass-roots organizations in two zones of southern Chile and how this inflows on the diverse empowerment levels. The results based on the social networks qualitative and quantitative data shows that the social capital, both external and internal, are focused on the leaders, which does not allow the rest of the community members to have access to existing resources inside and outside the organisation. This findings shows that is not enough with the development of the leaders psychological empowerment to develop organizational and community empowerment.

Keywords: leadership; organizational empowerment; community

Introduction

empowerment; analysis of social networks

Several decades ago Berger and Neuhaus (1977) proposed that the empowerment of people and communities occurred mediated by active participation in intermediate social structures (community organizations of various kinds), a position that has been shared by multiple authors (Ferullo, 2006; Reynoso-Vallejo, Miranda, & Staples, 2009; Sánchez, 1996; Ruiz,



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2004). These intermediate structures have the capacity to provide important psychosocial and cultural effects linked to the development of people and their communities. Some of these effects are: sense of identity, promotion of self-worth, strengthening of associativity, confidence, development of social skills, among others (Ferullo, 2006; Zambrano, 2004).

The work of these organizations as well as well-exercised community leadership can become a fundamental tool to identify issues of importance in the local space, to initiate action and mobilize neighbors to work towards shared objectives that allow desired changes. (Foster-Fishman, Pierce, & Van Egeren, 2007; Reyes, 2014). Studies that analyze community leadership suggest that the effectiveness of this leadership and the extension of social cohesion within the community are the two most relevant elements in differentiating communities that varied in their capacity to sustain community-based organizational structures, beyond the presence of external financing (Akukwe & Chapman, 2006).

The evidence obtained in studies carried out in the Araucanía region in Chile warns that the ways in which these processes occur do not necessarily contribute to the strengthening of organizations and communities; on the contrary, in some experiences these actions favor relationships of dependency., and sometimes even lead to the fragmentation of communities (Durston, 1999; Zambrano, Bustamante, & García, 2009). If we consider that the region of La Araucanía reaches one of the lowest human development indices at the country level, presenting structural factors that favor inequalities, poverty and discrimination, the aforementioned findings are worrying.

In contexts such as the one presented by the region of La Araucanía, processes are required at different levels that favor interventions relevant to local realities,



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articulation of resources and generation of processes of political influence on actors who normally lack formal power. Along these lines, community organizations can play a strategic role in promoting community actions that promote development. To do this, they must develop organizational capabilities that facilitate the empowerment of their members, promoting the development of social capital and favoring access to resources that allow achieving the objectives that the organization has set, and in this task leaders can contribute (Lupano & Castro, 2011). In this perspective,

Theoretical framework

Community action and the role of organizations and community leadership

Community action is understood as 'a form of inclusive social action, implemented by multiple actors - community leaders, development agents, neighbors, organizations -, which aims to achieve goals that are oriented in the direction of social transformation, according to needs and shared interests' (Barbero & Cortés, 2005).

The concept of organizational path proposed by Haggstrom (1971 cited in Reynoso-Vallejo et al., 2009) or that of organizational path used by Zambrano et al. (2009), allows evaluating the level of organizational growth achieved during the existence of an organization. For this evaluation, among other criteria, the following are used: the size of the group, the number of members who participate in it on a regular basis, the development of leadership, the relationships established between allies, the amount of resources, the effectiveness of the internal communication system. and external, strategic and tactical recognition, the achievement of objectives, organizational recognition and, finally, the degree of credibility (Reynoso-Vallejo et al., 2009, p. 155).



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Various empirical studies show that leadership plays an important role in the success of community initiatives. Ruiz (2004) highlights the value of empowering leadership, since by allowing the transition from individual leadership to that of teams, organizations and social networks, it favors the achievement of positive and broader results for some organizations studied in Latin America. Other authors (Metzger, Alexander, & Weiner, 2005) highlight the importance of the presence of leadership based and sustained on the consensus of its members, both regarding the meaning of the organization and in relation to the means that it will use to achieve its objectives. purposes. That is, effective leadership would involve leaders successfully guiding the creation of a vision and using the resulting vision strategically.

Organizational and community empowerment

Different authors agree in underlining that empowerment, by addressing power relations, would highlight the asymmetry between different social actors (Craig & Mayo, 1994; Vasconcelos, 2011), to achieve the desired change or obtain certain objectives that allow them to live. the life they want (Le Bossé & Dufort, 2002). From this approach, empowerment can be understood as 'the process through which we try to generate mechanisms that reduce said asymmetry, trying to reverse power relations in favor of those who are disadvantaged to balance the situation' (Zambrano & Bustamante, 2012).

Rappaport (1987), assuming the socially complex nature of the concept, defines it as "a process, a mechanism through which people, organizations and communities achieve control over their affairs" (p. 122), containing three key elements: a) the effort to gain access to resources; b) participation with others to achieve objectives and c) a critical understanding of the sociopolitical context. From an ecological perspective it can be argued that empowerment is 'a



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process that occurs at multiple interdependent levels, such as the individual, organizational and community levels' (Zimmerman, 2000). Since this article aims to address organizational and community empowerment, reference will be made to them below.

At the level of organizational empowerment, processes and structures are required that encourage member participation and stimulate the effectiveness of the organization (Zimmerman, 2000). This process of collective organization into a set of operations and relationships of subjectivities, norms and structures that, bringing together certain characteristics, have the potential to favor the individual and collective development of the people who make it up (Dumas & seguiré, cited in Barbero & Cortés, 2005) and provides its members with opportunities so that they have control of their lives.

At the community level, it refers to a set of strategies to strengthen power, autonomy and the ability to organize to obtain shared purposes (Dimenstein et al., 2012); Community empowerment involves collective actions to improve living conditions and the establishment of connections between community organizations and between these and other instances or agencies (Zimmerman, 2000). A community is competent when its members have the skills, desires and resources to engage in activities that improve the life of the community (Zimmerman, 2000), including a higher level of psychological empowerment of its members, in addition to a component of political action where members actively participate. In this sense,

Social capital and social networks

Social capital is understood as the resources, specifically information, obligations of reciprocity and social norms, from which individuals can benefit thanks to the they maintain with others within social networks that may be a



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family, a group, an organization or association, a community or other form of stable social connection (Coleman, 2011). This perspective has the virtue, in terms of its explanatory potential, of allowing the analysis not only of how they circulate and what consequences the circulation of social capital resources brings within a network, but also of studying these aspects around the circulation of resources between different social networks. Particularly interesting is the identification and investigation of that connect subnetworks, In organizational and community action aimed at promoting empowerment, considering local leaders as key elements, it is necessary to adequately know the logic of action that is generated in organizations and communities. In this article, it is postulated that to promote the processes of organizational and community empowerment through local leaders, it is essential to know how access to social capital occurs for the members of organizations and communities, which, if conceived As social networks inserted in particular sociocultural and institutional contexts, they are possible to analyze as channels for the circulation of social capital resources. Specifically, this study aims to analyze, on the one hand,

Regarding social capital, it was pointed out that access to resources from the networks is unequal, according to the positions that the nodes have in the network, positions that are differentiated according to the degree of connection with other nodes in the network and that It is also related to the effective volume of existing in the network. For the purposes of this research, the following properties and indicators of social networks ¹ were considered (Scott & Carrington, 2011):

• *Cohesion:* indicates the level of interweaving of the nodes in the network, measured from density and cliques. Density is understood as the



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proportion between the that actually exist in the network in comparison to the number of possible according to the number of nodes in the network. The implication of network density for the study of social capital is that the greater the density of the network, the greater the possibility of access by members to social capital resources. For its part, cliques are defined as a subgroup of at least three nodes directly connected to each other. In relation to social capital, it can be noted that resources circulate with greater intensity (frequency and quantity) among those who make up the clique or subgroup.

• Centrality: It refers to the position that the nodes have in the network based on their. A measure of centrality is degree centrality, conceived as the total number of direct that a node has. Regarding social capital as resources, it is possible to indicate that those who have direct ties in the network have more access to resources, such as information. Another centrality measure is betweenness, defined as the index of the sum of all the shortest paths between two nodes, where a reference node is a step. Those with high betweenness centrality are important for their ability to control resource flows in the network. Given its strategic position as an "intermediate station" or "passage bridge",

Methodology

A descriptive qualitative methodology was used, analyzing leadership in community organizations in two locations in the Araucanía region, selected through intentional sampling by criteria. First, communes in the La Araucanía region with which there was prior contact with the corresponding municipality were selected, defining Quillem (commune of Perquenco) and urban Puerto Saavedra as localities. The organizations from each locality were chosen



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according to two criteria: 1) that they had a history of at least one year and 2) that they were of different types (e.g. sports, territorial, youth).

The number of organizations to be interviewed in each location was established once there was an updated diagnosis of the existing ones and their type of operation in each of the locations. Similarly, municipal officials from both communes were interviewed.

Instruments

The information collection/production techniques used were: semi-structured interview, unstructured interview, group interview, participant and non-participant observation and documentation analysis. These techniques provided information regarding various dimensions. In this article, the results on the dimension of community leadership are specifically presented.

Participant and non-participant observation techniques provided information regarding the real established between the leaders of the organizations and agents of the municipality. The interviews investigated information regarding the history of the town and the trajectory of the organization, the relationship between leaders and the municipality and the projection of the organization's work. The interviews with municipal actors examined the types of relationships established with the organizations and their leaders, the vision of the local organizations and the approaches to working with the organizations.

To analyze the social networks made up of the of the members of the community organizations of the towns of Puerto Saavedra and Quillén, and specifically, to study the of the leaders of the organizations that constitute channels of access to social capital resources with potential To circulate within organizations and communities benefiting their members, the properties and indicators of social networks indicated above were considered. To obtain



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relational data, a name-generating questionnaire was applied, in which each person was asked who they interacted with within the organization to which they belonged and, in addition, with which municipal official they interacted in the life process of the organization.

TABLA 1 Organizaciones participantes del estudio

Organización/Localidad	Quillem	Cantidad integrantes	Puerto Saavedra	Cantidad integrantes
Juntas de Vecinos	1	30	1	5 dirigentes 120 familias
Comités de Vivienda	1	46	1	60 familias
Club de Adulto Mayor	1	15	1	30
Organizaciones juveniles	1	16	1	5 directivas, estudiantes del Liceo Reino de Suecia
Total	4	107	4	100 de forma estable

Fuente: elaboración propia

Analysis of the information

The information that could be transcribed and processed in electronic format was subjected to a qualitative analysis with the AtlasTi software version 4.04. The analysis was carried out following the grounded theory approach, specifically using open and axial coding. For the analysis of the relational data, a relational matrix was created, which was processed with the UCINET 6 program, obtaining the values of the density, clique, degree centrality and betweenness measures.

Results

From the analysis of the data produced in the field work, the main results were obtained that social organizations have low levels of internal social capital available from networks or social ties, there are few significant relationships between their members, and that the leaders are the only ones that generate connections within the organizations and that also concentrate the relationships between the organization and the municipality and other external organizations,



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without being able to transmit their linking capacities to the other members of the organization. A leader from Puerto Saavedra points out: "It is important to know the officials, you know how to get there, they always listen to me because they are acquaintances of mine."

Meanwhile, the external social capital of organizations is centralized by leaders and oriented toward short-term goals to obtain resources that allow the internal functioning of the organization. For their part, municipalities establish paternalistic relationships that instrumentalize leaders, which generates an effect of passivity and dependence on the members of the organizations. A Quillem leader expresses it this way: "People believe that it is the president who has to do everything (...) they want him to always be the one to move from here to there with the efforts."

Both from the qualitative data and from the analysis of social networks, it is observed that the characteristics of the social capital of the organizations are generally homogeneous, with no significant differences existing either by location or by type of organization, except in the case of youth that seem to establish types of internal and external of their own and the specific case of a neighborhood association.

So, if we look at the data from social network analysis based on the theory of social capital, four aspects can be highlighted. First, access to social capital resources is unequal within the networks studied, since the majority of people have few ties and only have resources such as information, thanks to the direct contacts they have. Second, those who have greater access to social capital resources given their high degree centrality are the leaders, who, in addition, can make strategic use of these resources due to their position as intermediaries in the network. Third, and as a consequence of the above, the membership of



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community organizations is highly dependent on the leaders of the organizations' access to social capital resources. Fourth, the leaders, As distributors of social capital resources within organizations, they access these resources, particularly information, from their with municipal officials. In fact, from the analysis of the networks between members of the organizations and representatives of the municipalities, it was noted that the leaders have a high value of centrality and also of intermediation. In the following table, these similarities can be seen in terms of network structural analysis. It was noted that leaders have a high value of centrality and also of intermediation. In the following table, these similarities can be seen in terms of network structural analysis. It was noted that leaders have a high value of centrality and also of intermediation. In the following table, these similarities can be seen in terms of network structural analysis.

TABLA 2 Síntesis de resultados del análisis de redes sociales

Localidad	Organización	Cohesión (Densidad)	Subgrupos
Quillem	Grupo Adulto Mayor	19% Baja cohesión social	6 cliques 1 dirigente con centralidad 10 (centralidad de intermediación = 41.5)
	Comité de Vivienda	19.8% Baja cohesión social	9 cliques 2 dirigentes presentes en todos los cliques y con centralidad de 10 y 12 cada uno respectivamente
	Grupo juvenil	56% Cohesión media	1 clique formado por 2 dirigentes
	Junta de Vecinos	17% Baja cohesión social	6 cliques 1 dirigente está presente en 6 cliques y otro dirigentes en 4 cliques, cada uno con centralidad de grado 10
Puerto Saavedra	Club de Adulto Mayor	10.53% Baja densidad	No hay cliques Mayor centralidad de grado está presente en 2 dirigentes (9 y 5, respectivamente)
	Comité de Vivienda	36% Baja densidad	6 cliques 2 dirigentes presentan mayor centralidad de grado (6 y 7, respectivamente)
	Junta de Vecinos	100%	1 clique formado por todos los miembros

Fuente: elaboración propia



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In terms of the internal social capital of organizations, their social networks are of low cohesion, which means that the between people are scarce. This becomes evident when considering the data on the density of the networks, where, with the exception of the Neighborhood Council No. 4 "Las Palmeras" of Puerto Saavedra (density of 100%) and the Youth group "Los Artesanos" from Quillem (56% density), the values are low and average, without considering the network density of these organizations, 20.4%. Furthermore, it is possible to affirm that social networks have low local cohesion, since cliques are not detected in them or they exist but are made up of few people. In short, regarding the cohesion of networks,

Social networks analyzed from the centrality property are also similar. In most organizations, few members have advantageous positions based on their ties. The majority of members have few direct with others, that is, as nodes they have low degree ² centrality, while the leaders of community organizations have high degree centrality and intermediation centrality, which positions them in an advantageous situation regarding of the other members of the organization.

The panorama described is nuanced by youth organizations and one of the neighborhood associations (Las Palmeras de Puerto Saavedra). In the case of youth organizations, their motivation to organize is related to the search for belonging as well as the desire to "make themselves heard" to improve their current living conditions. Developing internal networks and beginning to connect with external networks, which they share with each other: "Get rid of bad habits, make us notice (...) that the authorities take us into account as we have achieved so far," says a group leader, young people from Quillem.



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While the Las Palmeras Neighborhood Council shows a clear orientation towards collective action to achieve shared purposes, which, without being exempt from conflicts, results in an attempt to strengthen internal networks: "(.) one is not alone and needs to participate in meetings to obtain help (...) one has to be associated, united to a group because that is how resources are obtained" (Neighborhood Board leader, Puerto Saavedra).

When focusing the analysis on the characteristics of the organizations, in general terms, we see an operation focused on achieving short and medium-term objectives, which have largely been directed at obtaining economic resources. In this task, leaders allow their organizations and their members to connect with vertical-level organizations and institutions. In the case of leaders of youth organizations, they express more critical views of their relationships with political authorities. Additionally, leaders allow their organizations and their members to connect with other grassroots organizations of the same associative level and of a higher associative level (communal unions of Neighborhood Councils of the Senior Citizens' Club), to achieve their own objectives as well as other shared ones. Internally,

The characteristics of the leaders interviewed are heterogeneous. From the perspective of their experience, there are some who have recently assumed this role, while others have extensive experience in different organizations, with management roles in them. From the perspective of motivations to be leaders, those interviewed agree on bringing together motivations for the achievement of personal/family and collective objectives.

Regarding external social capital, the social networks composed of the established between the members of the organizations and municipal officials have low global (density) and local (clique) cohesion and, in addition, people



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with the highest centrality values are, on the side of the organizations, the leaders. In both localities, interface styles of assistance, paternalism, passive clientelist and vertical types predominate, where the mayor acquires a central role to define the type of interaction from the municipality with the leaders and organizations. In this scenario, the leader becomes the main interlocutor and reproduces the clientelist-paternalistic style with his organization.

In both locations, a distance between the municipality and the community is perceived, less intense in the case of Quillem, where, based on the mayor's motivation, direct with organizations and not only with leaders have been favored. However, it is the leaders who allow the most stable link between both entities. In a framework of competition for resources, leaders, using their contacts, manage them in favor of their organization. However, its excessive prominence produces dependence and passivity on the part of the community, which approves its management since they perceive this dynamic as the only way to access scarce resources. In this way, the leaders are empowered, but the organizations they represent are not, mostly presenting a low capacity for self-management.

Discussion

The data available from the interviews and social network analysis provide background information to, in general, understand the characteristics of leadership in community organizations and their trajectories. The results include a characterization of the relationship of the organizations and their leaders with the municipalities and provide background information that facilitates the analysis of the processes of organizational and community empowerment. From the four aspects stated, it is in turn possible to extract two implications for the strengthening of organizations, one of them is positive and the other



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negative. The positive is that leaders have a fundamental role because, thanks to them, organizations such as networks access external resources other than those they possess, which in these cases,

In this sense, it can be concluded that the role of the leaders, based on their position in the social networks studied, favors the achievement of some resources and objectives pursued by the organization. However, and here is the negative implication, the dynamics that occur at the interface between community organizations and the municipality, dynamics in which, as has been said, the leaders are protagonists, their individual empowerment is strengthened, but not organizational or community empowerment. An important part of the difficulties for community organizations to obtain achievements with greater impact on their objectives lies within them. The low density of relationships, the centralization of ties in the person of the president of the organization,

As mentioned, there are important barriers to the development of empowerment in most of the organizations participating in the study. According to the conditions proposed by Maton (2008) to promote community empowerment processes, it can be seen that an important part of them are not met. Thus, at the level of organizations, the following stand out: the weaknesses in the structure of opportunities among members to exercise roles (leaders centralize relationships and decisions), the characteristics of leadership (paternalistic or autocratic) and the characteristics of the central activities developed by organizations (oriented towards the reception of passive resources). Youth groups are an exception, to the extent that they show greater internal cohesion.

The results of this study show that community leaders, even when they manage to channel the interests of their organizations to access resources (Zimmerman,



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2000)—one of the key aspects in the empowerment process—this does not occur within the framework of a process that enhances the development of individual and group capabilities in the organization. Although the component of access to resources (Zimmerman, 2000) is a priority in sectors with extensive social and economic difficulties, the means and dynamics that are configured around this process allow or restrict access to other important resources. For a large part of the organizations in this study—to a lesser extent for organizations of older adults and youth—organization and participation acquire a strictly instrumental value. So,

In the field experience in the region of La Araucanía (Zambrano LeBlanc, 2008), it is shown that the predominant style in many community organizations is similar to that described in this study, requiring a process of training and accompaniment of leaders and organizations in the exercise of democratic leadership, to promote community empowerment. Among the aspects that must be promoted in leaders to support a more participatory, democratic and critical group management, the following can be mentioned, as reported by the evidence

empirical: personal skills to stimulate relationship and communication between members of the organization; competencies to identify common themes, initiate action and mobilize the community (Norton et al., 2002 in Foster-Fishman, Cantillon, Pierce, & Van Egeren, 2007); knowledge of the needs and resources of the members of the organization and the ability to offer a vision to the community (Wells, Ward, Feinberg, & Alexander, 2008).

It is also important to promote, in the rest of the community, participatory processes, the priority challenge being to rescue the interests and cultural values of the community to facilitate the relationship of local actors in a context of



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coexistence. From this, we can slowly move to a more active and reflective type of participation, through transversal educational processes.

Finally, and mentioning future complementary lines of research around the topic analyzed in this article, it is pointed out that to understand the dynamics of the relationships of leaders with their community organizations and with state organizations, in the present case, with municipalities, and the implications of these relationships in the distribution of social capital and in the generation of individual and organizational empowerment, it is key to ask what the interests and motivations of each actor are when they come to establish with others, which determines how They configure action systems (Coleman, 2011), in which a game of interdependence occurs around the exchange of material and symbolic relational resources (such as social capital). In this sense, It is essential to study the community-state interface (Long, 2007), especially for its potential and explain that, although normatively organizational understand empowerment processes are desirable, they are not always viable, as they are fragile in the face of local relational dynamics such as political clientelism (García, 2011). Although with the State constitute a ladder of social capital for local organizations, thanks to which they can access valuable resources other than those they have, as a result of these same, individually empowered community leaders can, for the same reason, be captured. in clientelistic relations by local political actors, given their potential as trusted intermediaries or Although organizational empowerment processes are normatively desirable, they are not always viable, as they are fragile in the face of local relational dynamics such as political clientelism (García, 2011). Although with the State constitute a ladder of social capital for local organizations, thanks to which they can access valuable resources other than those they have, as a result of these



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Footer

¹ In a structural sense, a social network is understood as 'the set of at least two nodes directly connected to each other'.

² This is consistent with the analysis of cohesion presented above: people have few with others in community organizations, dyadic relationships predominate and, consequently, there are cliques made up of few people and, therefore, at an aggregate level, the network density is low.

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