What concerns me is that most criteria and markers that most people have about leadership are different…a lot of people who you and I might think are leaders or potential leaders get kinda put back…. So it's up to us to see the leadership potential in everyone, mentor it, support it, and also model it.

—Paula Ximena, Participant

DOING LEADERSHIP: New Models of Chicana/Latina Leadership in Austin, Texas

Hortencia Jiménez

This article examines Chicana/Latina activist involvement in the Austin Immigrant Rights Coalition (AIRC) and reflections on leadership. I developed "Doing Leadership" as a sociological framework for understanding leadership as a continuous and regular accomplishment achieved through everyday practices. Doing leadership is not ascribed or static, but rather an action, a process that is relational, non-authoritarian, and non-hierarchical. My findings reveal three common modes of doing leadership: leadership that is shared, leadership behind the scenes, and leadership that serves the community. Doing leadership moves away from traditionally patriarchal and hierarchical models for understanding social organizing and leadership, thus capturing diverse Chicana/Latina leadership practices.

Scholars over the last twenty years have documented the leadership and activism of Chicanas and Latinas (Blackwell 2006; Delgado-Bernal 1998; Garcia 1989; Méndez-Negrete 1999; Montoya, Hardy-Fanta, and Garcia 2000; Pardo 1998; Rose 1990; Ruiz 1998; Segura and Pesquera 1992).[1] Hardy-Fanta notes that when compared to male-dominated activism, women's activism is generally discussed as "disorderly" action instead of political leadership (2002, 196). Indeed, early research analyzed the traits and characteristics of mostly male leaders with little attention to gender norms or differences (Lord, Devander, and Alliger 1988; Mumford et al. 2000; Northouse 2004; Yukl 2006).

This was the case until the late 1980s to early 1990s, when Chicana/Latina scholars challenge this white male definition of traditional leadership and argued that effective leadership should be relational rather than positional.[2] Chicana/Latina authors create new paradigms for understanding women's activism and organizing grounded in research on Chicana culture, community politics, and the everyday lives of women at home (Blackwell 2006; Delgado-Bernal 1998; Garcia 1989; Hardy-Fanta and Gerson 2002; Méndez-Negrete 1999; Montoya, Hardy-Fanta, and Garcia 2000; Pardo 1998; Rose 1990; Segura and Pesquera 1992).

 I build on these research traditions with ethnographic research conducted in Austin, Texas, by proposing the concept of *doing leadership* as a sociological framework to understand leadership as a continuous and regular accomplishment that is achieved through everyday practices. Doing leadership is not ascribed or static but rather an action, a process that is relational, non-authoritarian, and non-hierarchical. Chicanas/Latinas are doing leadership as they give birth to ideas, as they build relationships, as they

make connections within families and communities. Chicanas/Latinas also draw on their everyday experiences as women to organize their communities. They are both doing leadership and doing gender. This essay adopts a feminist lens by establishing a dialogue between the literature on leadership, social movements, and Chicana/Latina studies. In doing so, I illustrate the complex ways in which Chicanas/Latinas become self-reflective and critical of traditional patriarchal leadership styles.

By reviewing nine interviews, I analyze women's reflections on leadership within the context of immigrant rights advocacy. I identify three common modes of leadership amongst these women: shared leadership, leadership behind the scenes, and leadership that serves the community. This essay is organized in four parts: First, I examine three bodies of literature: conventional leadership theories, social movements, and Chicana/Latina studies. Second, I discuss my methodology and situate my case study. Three common narratives on how Chicana/Latinas discuss and practice leadership follow. I conclude with a discussion about what my findings hold for Chicana/Latina leadership.

Part I: Theoretical Trajectory of Defining Leadership

Approaches to Leadership
There are several traditional approaches to understanding what leadership entails and the factors that propel actors into leadership roles (Lord et al. 1986; Mumford et al. 2000; Northouse 2004; Yukl 2006). These approaches focus on (1) leadership traits, (2) leadership skills, and (3) leadership styles. The trait approach identifies the personality characteristics of a leader as well as the attributes associated with leadership such as intelligence, dominance, confidence, and masculinity (Lord et al. 1986). This approach suggests that

individuals have special innate characteristics to become leaders. For example, common theories surrounding leadership capabilities suggest people may be born with leadership skills or that such skills are natural. Fletcher (2004) writes that individualism, control, assertiveness, and skills of advocacy are socially ascribed to men and generally understood as masculine. Hardy-Fanta (2002) found that publications on political leadership conducted between 1977 and 1994 focused on masculine traits such as dominance, which is linked to power. Although the trait approach offers insight into what fosters leadership, it has been criticized for its inattention to gender and women's leadership.

The skills approach shifts our thinking from a focus on personality characteristics, which are usually viewed as innate and largely fixed, to an emphasis on skills and abilities that can be learned and developed (Katz 1955; Mumford et al. 2000). The skills approach focuses on teachable skill sets and identifies problem-solving skills that leaders use to solve organizational problems (Mumford et al. 2000; Northouse 2004). Katz suggests three effective skills: technical, human, and conceptual.[3] Katz's early work provided the underpinning for conceptualizing leadership in terms of skills, but it was not until the mid-1990s that the skills approach was widely adopted in leadership research. For example, Mumford et al. (2000) creates a skill-based model where knowledge and skills are the foundation of effective leadership. Although personality plays a role in leadership, the skills approach suggests that acquired knowledge and skills are needed for effective leadership.

On the other hand, the style approach shifts the focus away from the particular traits or skills of successful leaders, to what leaders do and how they act (Chin 2007). This approach focuses on leadership as a process in influencing individuals to work toward a common goal (Northouse 2004). Feminist scholars (Fletcher 1995; Sinclair 1998) within leadership studies

have advanced leadership as a process via a paradigm shift called post-heroic leadership. Also known as shared leadership, post-heroic leadership articulates it as a social process that occurs in interactions and focuses on the mutual, less hierarchical leadership practices and skills needed to engage in collaborative and collective learning (Fletcher 1995, 650). The relational interactions that make up post-heroic leadership are understood as collaborative and fluid, with influence flowing in two directions (Fletcher 1995, 649). Sinclair (2002) describes post-heroic leadership as:

> …a paradigm shift in what it means to be a leader. It re-envisions the *who* of leadership by challenging the primacy of individual achievement, the *what* of leadership by focusing on collective learning and mutual influence, and the *how* of leadership by noting the more egalitarian relational skills and emotional intelligence needed to practice it. (1)

Hence, new leadership practices depend less on individual, heroic action and more on collaborative practice. This means moving away from the association between masculinity and leadership, since leadership has traditionally been associated with men. Chicanas/Latinas have to navigate institutional arrangements that privilege males, particularly in the nonprofit and grassroots sectors. My research builds on the post-heroic leadership paradigm by arguing that leadership must necessarily be understood as an active process that intersects with gendered and racialized experiences. In effect, just as Chicanas/Latinas "do gender," they "do leadership."[4]

Social Movement Leadership
Social movement literature has identified the dynamics that distinguish leaders and followers (Ganz 2009; Herda-Rapp 1998; Marullo 1988; Morris

1984; Morris and Staggenborg 2004; Nelson 1971). This approach, however, obscures diverse leadership roles. There have been calls by social movement scholars to "recognize the myriad levels of leadership and roles of participants" (Morris and Staggenborg 2004, 171) and recognize multiple layers of leaders (Aminzade et al. 2001; Goldstone 2001; Jones 1993; Robnett 1997; Taylor 1999). For example, Robnett (1996, 1997) and Jones (1993) argue that during the Civil Rights Movement, women were heavily involved in leadership roles even when they were not in top social movement positions or in roles that were in the public eye. Robnett (1996, 1997) discusses how African American women in the Civil Rights Movement often operated as bridge leaders who had ties with, and were in-between social movement organizations and the African American community. Jones (1993) also maintains that women usually engaged in leadership activities that established networks and ties with families and communities. Both authors agree that women were excluded from top formal leadership as charismatic male leaders commonly occupied these positions. Consequently, social movement actors as well as scholars often ignored the roles of these women. Morris and Staggenborg (2004) argue that Robnett and Jones's work push "us to broaden our conception of movement leadership by not limiting leadership to activities associated with formal roles and masculine activities" (177). Robnett and Jones's conceptualization resonates with Chicanas/Latinas who assert that leadership and organizing are not exclusively tied to formal positions, but found in the home and community.

Chicana/o and Latina/o Scholarship on Leadership
Like their civil rights scholar counterparts, Chicano scholars have replicated a androcentric argument in leadership research, marginalizing women or minimizing their activism by placing their analysis in the context of a male perspective.[5] Iconic figures such as César E. Chávez have prevailed in writings

on the Chicano Movement, as somebody who "was bestowed with recognition as a charismatic leader of a movement" (Méndez-Negrete 1999, 27). Chávez is considered the primary figure of the United Farm Workers (UFW), while Dolores Huerta, its vice president, has not received the same recognition as Chávez.[6]

Chicanas made significant inroads with the Chicano Movement. However, their leadership roles were marginalized, as notions of leadership were strongly associated with masculine traits evidenced in the "four horsemen of the Chicano Movement" (Méndez-Negrete 1999, 25). These include Rodolfo "Corky" González from the Crusade for Justice; José Angel Gutiérrez, one of the founding members of La Raza Unida Party; Reies López Tijerina, who led the land grants movement in New Mexico, and the iconic César E. Chávez of the farm worker movement in California (Gutiérrez 1998; Mariscal 2004; Muñoz 2007; Navarro 1995). Méndez-Negrete (1999) offers that, "The andocentric nature of the historical visibility of Chicano leadership and activism obscures Chicana leadership" (27). Chicanas did not receive the same level of attention, reflecting the patriarchal nature of the Chicano Movement, despite the fact that women were key organizers and offered leadership in a variety of ways (Delgado-Bernal 1998). Chicana scholars developed a critique of gender relations and patriarchy within the Chicano Movement and argued for an alternative discourse "that would integrate the eradication of patriarchy in the Chicano community within a struggle against race/class domination" (Segura and Pesquera 1992, 86). By posing a series of questions and assessing their participation within the Chicano Movement, Chicanas began searching for a "room of their own" (García 1989).

Chicana/Latina scholars from the turn of the 1980s to the present have written about mujeres as central actors and agents of social change (Anzaldúa 1999; Arredondo, Hurtado, Klahn, Nájera-Ramirez, and Zavella 2003;

Delgado-Bernal 1998; García 1989; Méndez-Negrete 1999; Pardo 1998; Rose 1990; Ruiz 1998; Ruiz and Noriega 2000; Trujillo 1997). For example, Margaret Rose (1990) examines the role of Helen Chávez, the wife of César E. Chávez, co-founder of the UFW. Rose argues that the farm worker insurgency during post-WWII focused on male leadership, or a "male centered interpretation" that excluded women and "distorted the history of the UFW and the role of women in its development" (26). As a corrective, Rose offers two models of Chicana leadership, or what she calls traditional and nontraditional patterns of female activism. These two models examine Chicanas behind the scenes as supporters, as well as in key roles as active Chicanas whose leadership "fit[s] a male model of labor organizing" (Rose 1990, 26). Rose's examination of Chicana leadership within the UFW is valuable yet problematic because it relies on the dichotomy of traditional and non-traditional leadership models of collective action, thus leaving little room for public and private spheres to intertwine. Chicana/Latina scholars argue that because of the class and racial organization of the labor market, Chicanas do not fit the discourse of public and private spheres in middle class analysis that bifurcate productive and reproductive spaces for men and women. Chicana/Latina women live in-between and inside both spaces (Jiménez 2010; Pardo 1998; Zavella 1987; Zentgraf 2002).

Delgado-Bernal (1998) offers an alternative approach that considers gender in the analysis of social movement leadership and resists the distinction between organizing and leading. She identifies five dimensions of grassroots leadership in her study of nine Chicanas involved in the 1968 walkouts in East Los Angeles: networking, holding office, developing consciousness, organizing, and acting as a spokesperson (124). This typology has no hierarchical order since all dimensions are of equal importance and not every leader needs to participate in every dimension. Delgado-Bernal (1998) reminds us that we

need to make the "invisible visible" (136) by moving away from traditional notions, so as to identify the ways in which women offer their leadership.

Similarly, in her study of Chicanas, Méndez-Negrete (1999) asserts that Chicanas in Milagro County draw on their understanding of raced, classed, and gendered interactions to carry out their leadership and activism. Moreover, their awareness and consciousness of the structures of inequality allowed Chicanas to understand the nuances of power. Méndez-Negrete's study contributes to an understanding of relational leadership that is "anchored in relationships" (29). This notion of leadership is akin to that found in Hardy-Fanta's (2002) study of Latina and Latino politics in Boston, where Latinas deployed gendered forms of leadership that "emphasize the relational rather than positional aspects of leadership" (203). The women in her study were less concerned with positions, titles, or dominance, and instead emphasized community connectedness and interpersonal relationships.

Leadership that is part of women's lives and anchored in individual and collective empowerment is the model of Líderes Campesinas, a statewide women's farmworker organization in Pomona, California (Blackwell 2006). Líderes Campesinas teaches women to recognize that they are leaders since they have all at one point organized a family event (i.e. a wedding, a birthday party) and have also advocated for relatives, friends, or co-workers. Líderes Campesinas work to "demonstrate women's histories of leadership and community advocacy while simultaneously demystifying leadership and naturalizing it in the social worlds and lives of their members" (Blackwell 2006, 39). Líderes Campesinas articulates women's gendered activities as part of leadership.

Doing Gender, Doing Leadership
In 1987 Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman proposed a sociological

understanding of gender "as a routine, methodical, and recurring accomplishment" to account for the reproduction of gender through social interaction (125). This became known as *doing gender*. They view gender as an accomplishment where individuals "do" gender through interaction, rather than a set of ascribed traits. Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided activities that accompany particular expressions of masculine and feminine expectations.[7] Far from enacting a "role," according to West and Zimmerman, doing gender is conceived as a social arrangement, or something we do as part of everyday life by engaging in appropriate attitudes and "micropolitical activities" for particular sex categories (West and Fenstermaker 1995; West and Zimmerman 1987, 126). Enacting gender must be suitable to a situation and modified or transformed as the occasion demands. Doing gender consists of managing such occasions so that the outcome is seen as gender-appropriate or gender-inappropriate (West and Zimmerman 1987, 135).

A parallel can be made between West and Zimmerman's (1987) work of doing gender and our conceptions of leadership. Our recognition of who has leadership is embedded in broader social relations, largely springing from our early-socialized experiences and expectations of leadership (Sinclair 1998, 34). The concept of doing gender provides a relevant explanation for why leadership is more readily recognized in men. Sinclair writes that the masculinity of leadership is self-perpetuating because the more men are perceived as possessing leadership qualities, the more status and influence they are accorded; they thus command resources and are offered more formal leadership opportunities (1998, 25–26). This puts pressure on women to be like men in order to be judged as "real" leaders. The association of leadership with masculinity persists because it is embedded in "our experience of history, religion, and politics; our upbringing and experience of families, schools and workplaces" (Sinclair 1998, 27). The idealized images of masculinity

exert subtle but real pressure on women and men to do gender by defining themselves in relation to these stereotypes (Fletcher 2004, 650).

Henceforth, leadership is not something that just is, but is always accomplished and achieved through practices enacted within social structures. As Sinclair comments, "Leadership is produced in words and actions, in images and artifacts, and it requires constant demonstration to be sustained" (1998, 13). This demonstrative production is exposed in the work of Chicana/Latina scholars such as Baca Zinn (2000), Segura and Pierce (1993), Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994), and Martinez (2010). Baca Zinn writes that gender organizes every aspect of family life, including "roles, everyday practices, images, and power" (2000, 46). When women are socialized to care for others, they develop an ethic of care, Gilligan (1982) argues. This role has been described in various ways including maternal thinking, activist mothering, racial uplift, and community carework (Gray White 1999; Naples 1998, 2002; Ruddick 1995; Tuominen 2003).[8] Similarly, Segura and Pierce (1993) observe that features related to the Chicana/o family structure, such as a working-class status, higher fertility rate, familism, and compadrazgo, shape Chicana/o gender identities and explain why Chicanas and Chicanos have focused their interests on la familia and the community. Segura and Pierce also remind us that Chicanas/os share a collective identity derived from their socially and historically specific context (i.e. second class citizenship, inequality, discrimination, and exploitation). This shapes gender identity but also racial/ethnic group identity, "helping to explain the strong commitment to culture and community" (Segura and Pierce 64). Like Chicanas, Latina immigrants' political activism has been tied to their identities and needs as mothers. For example, immigrant women in Hondagneu-Sotelo's (1994) study were involved in their children's school organizations, as active parish members, participants in and as members of self-help groups, as well as civic and religious organizations.

The work of Segura and Pierce (1993) and Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) is useful in understanding the ways that community-based organizations reached out to women during the pro-immigrant rights marches in the spring of 2006.[9] Martinez (2010) recounts the central participation of women in recruiting and mobilizing their family members to participate in the pro-immigrant rights marches in Colorado. Grassroots organizations mobilized women by framing H.R. 4437 as a family issue that emphasized women's responsibilities within their families and the relevance of their involvement for the benefit of their children (141).[10] These gendered dynamics of reproductive labor reflect the ways in which leadership is embedded in the everyday practices in the home, community, work, and all social spheres (Glenn 1992).

For that reason, I use doing leadership as a sociological framework to understand leadership as a continuous and regular accomplishment, rather than ascribed or static. Chicanas/Latinas do leadership through everyday activities and their roles are significant and crucial to building grassroots movements, such as the contemporary immigrant rights' movement (Jiménez 2011).

Part II: Tracking Mobilization

Methods
This essay derives from a larger ethnographic study of the 2006 immigrant rights marches in Austin, Texas, in which I explored how immigrant rights coalitions were formed and sustained so as to understand the ways in which they produce leadership roles for women.[11] Open-ended, semi-structured interviews were conducted with students, allies, community activists, heads of non-profit organizations, and service providers.[12] Respondents were asked a series of questions related to their community involvement and activism. I asked the following questions: (1) Have you participated in protests? (2) Did

you participate in the 2006 immigrant rights protests? (3) Were you involved in the planning of the 2006 marches? (4) Are you involved with, or are you a member of, the Austin Immigrant Rights Coalition? (5) In your opinion, what makes a person a leader? Based on your answer do you consider yourself a leader? (6) Was there a leader in the 2006 Austin marches?

The information presented in this narrative was culled from transcribed interviews with nine Chicana/Latina students and activists. At the time of the interview, the participants' ages ranged from twenty-two to sixty-four, with the average age being thirty. Educational attainment ranged from fifth grade to higher education degrees. Most held a wide range of jobs and varied in citizenship status.

The Chicanas I interviewed were college educated and were in their mid-to-late twenties. Their critique of leadership emerged from their lived and college experiences, as well as from their work in the non-profit, grassroots sector. Their involvement in immigrant rights is not surprising since many come from immigrant parents who experienced discrimination. Figure 1 provides an overview of the participant profiles. I use pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality.

The Austin Context
The Austin Immigrant Rights Coalition (AIRC) was formed in the spring of 2006 to mobilize against the threat of H.R. 4437. The AIRC participated in the national wave of marches on April 10, 2006, attracting over 10,000 people, making it one of the largest demonstrations in Austin in thirty years (Castillo 2006, A01). The pro-immigrant rights protests of 2006 instigated a national debate about the role of undocumented immigrants in the United States. Much of the discourse centered on whether immigrants had a right to live and work in the United States and become citizens (Martinez 2010). This

discourse is not new, nor is their activism. The immigrant rights movement has slowly and consistently been making headway over the years, from activists of the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and 1970s and activists who have honed their advocacy and organizing skills before and after the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (Bada, Fox, and Selee 2006; Fox 2010). These generations came together in 1994 against California's Proposition 187 and in 2006 against H.R. 4437, but this time they came together primarily under immigrant leadership (Fox 2010).

The 2006 mobilizations reveal a different type of leadership, not an absence of one (Jiménez 2011; Ramírez, Perales-Ramos, Arellano 2010). According to these scholars, it is a decentralized leadership that is inclusive of women's everyday experiences and interactions. This is important to consider when understanding Chicana/Latina immigrant rights activism today. There is a break from the long past of Chicano/Latino activism that was largely directed by men, and in this phase a new type of leadership can be found. I argue that doing leadership is a situational accomplishment that allows Chicanas/Latinas to navigate institutional arrangements that privilege male domination. This is evident in Austin, Texas, where Chicanas/Latinas were on the frontlines calling for and organizing the 2006 marches. Additionally, during the execution process, they were behind-the-scenes doing grassroots outreach for the rally (Jiménez 2011).

Part III: The Three Modes of Doing Leadership
Doing leadership is achieved. It is a process and act of social engagement. It involves interactional activities and is situated in the performance of these activities. It is a continuous and recurring accomplishment that is carried out behind the scenes and in front of others. For Chicanas/Latinas in my study, doing leadership is part of their everyday life experiences as daughters, mothers, wives, and workers, rather than detached from their daily life.

Figure 1
Participant Profiles

Pseudonym	Age	Self Identification	Country of Birth	Immigration Status	Arrived in U.S.
Rosalía	46	Mexican	México	Visa	1995
Antonia	39	Mexican	México	Dual citizenship	1991
Clarisa	24	Xicana	United States	U.S. citizen	N/A
Jimena	64	Latina	México	H1B Visa	1992
Berenice	30	Mexican	México	Tourist visa	2004
Esmeralda	22	Mexican American	United States	U.S citizen	1986
Daniela	27	Latina	Venezuela	Permanent resident	2000
Veronica	36	Latina/ Colombian	Colombia	Naturalized citizen	2001
Monica	30	Mexican	México	Permanent resident	1991
Pilar	50	Mexican	México	Resident	1980
Karina	33	Latina/Mexican	México	U.S. citizen	1986
Alma	25	Latina	México	Permanent resident	1990
Barbara	22	Chicana	United States	U.S. citizen	N/A
Flor	45	Nicaraguan	Nicaragua	Permanent resident	1994
Rebeca	27	Latina/Mestiza	United States	U.S citizen	N/A
Gloria	33	Mexican	México	Undocumented	1990s
Sonia	47	Latina/Hispanic	Venezuela	U.S citizen	1978
Marlene	29	Latina	United States	U.S. citizen	N/A
Francisca	32	Colombian	Colombia	Refugee	2004
Paula Ximena	Mid 30s	Chilean	Chile	U.S citizen	1980s
Ester	38	Mexican	México	Undocumented	1999
Norma	Not given	Nicaraguan	Nicaragua	Undocumented	1992
Xenia	Mid 40s	Hispanic	México	Permanent Resident	2006
Violeta	Late 30s	Mexican	México	Undocumented	2006

	Education	Status	Occupation	# Children
	8th grade, México	Married	Coordinator, nonprofit	2
	B.A.: Ethnic Studies and Spanish, United States	Divorced	Elementary school teacher	0
	B.A., United States	Single	Community organizer	0
	Ph.D., United States	Divorced	Coordinator, nonprofit	3
	Culinary certificate, México	Single	Radio host	0
	B.A.: Public Relations, United States	Single	Student	0
	M.S.: Public affairs, United States	Married	Staff, Travis County	0
	University, Colombia	Married	Coordinator, nonprofit	0
	M.A., United States	Married	Bilingual teacher	Not given
	B.A.: History, México	Single	Self-employed	2
	Ph.D. candidate, United States	Single	Executive director, nonprofit	Not given
	B.A., United States	Single	State Representative Communications Director	Not given
	B.A., United States	Single	Student	Not given
	High school equivalent, Nicaragua	Married	Hospital employer	1
	B.A., United States	Single	Executive Director, nonprofit	Not given
	5th grade, México	Single	Self-employed	3
	B.A., Venezuela	Married	Evaluator (teacher certification)	2
	M.A., United States	Single	Prevention Specialist	Not given
	B.A., Colombia	Married	Staff, nonprofit	Not given
	B.A., United States	Single	Consultant	2
	9th grade, México	Married	Schlotzsky's Deli	3
	6th grade, Nicaragua	Married	Babysitter	4
	B.S., México	Divorced	Self-employed	3
	7th grade, México	Married	Full-time mom	3

For example, when Rosalía, an immigrant from Monterrey, México, arrived to the United States in 1995, she enrolled her daughter in kindergarten. Daily contact with the educational system compelled Rosalía to learn and navigate the school system in order to advocate for her daughter's education, "You can say that since I arrived to this country I got involved as a volunteer in my daughter's school."

For Rosalía and many immigrant parents, the school system is their first experience with civic engagement (Terriquez 2010). Rosalía is doing leadership as she takes her daughter to school and volunteers in the classroom and school activities. Similarly, Xenia, who at the time of the interview was a steering committee member for the Austin Immigrant Rights Coalition, said, "I have been a leader all my life with my sisters, with my brothers, with my friends, in my community. All my life I have led groups." Xenia, who is in her mid-forties and immigrated from Coahulia, México, more than seven years ago, views leadership as part of her everyday life. She feels that she has demonstrated leadership in all her facets of life.

Shared Leadership
The women in this study described leadership as collective and shared, rather than a responsibility that one leader must bear. For them, shared leadership means that "the leader is not above others but remains part of the group" (Bordas 2007, 80). Consider, for example, the quote by Paula Ximena, a Chilean immigrant who has more than fifteen years of community organizing experience. She critiques traditional leadership models on two fronts: 1) the traditional icon of the male charismatic leader and 2), the notion that one person should hold leadership. She argues that replacing a male with a female leader is not the solution. Rather, she believes in collective leadership. She explains:

We shouldn't replace one individual male charismatic leader for an individual female charismatic leader. Part of the gender analysis is about new models of leadership, you know, that is more collective, that it isn't where if you take one person out, the whole thing falls apart, which is usually the case where a lot of these other things, or how movements have fallen apart when they literally take them out, when they get rid of someone.

Paula Ximena's argument stresses the need to offer collective engagement that is inclusive and sustainable for families and, in particular, mothers with children. For her, collective leadership will sustain long-term change and it is untenable to rely on one or a few individuals to do the work. Moreover, with shared leadership, everyone is accountable to each other, thus preventing individuals from usurping power or co-opting the broader collective. Paula Ximena emphasizes this by saying:

We know that power corrupts everybody—any of us can be corrupted by power, any of us can be co-opted, cualquiera, but we make sure that we don't have that happen to us. It's that collective accountability of working with each other in a formalized kinda collective leadership structure. So, si a una se le va los humos a la cabeza, alguien les va a decir—so when their leadership goes to their head, some one has to say, "What's wrong with you? Come back down here, you know, quién te crees? Who do you think you are?"… Thus, reminding ourselves that it isn't about some kinda individual self-promotion.

Clarisa, a self-identified Xicana in her mid-twenties, is also critical about the traditional approach to leadership and suggests leadership be shared because

everyone has "the potential to be leaders." She acknowledges that César E. Chávez and Martin Luther King Jr. contributed significantly to the Chicano and Civil Rights Movement, but also argues that the movement did not end with their passing. She explains,

> Yo creo que, I think that we should redefine this whole idea of leadership. Like one of the criticisms many people have of the Chicano Movement of the '60s, especially with regard to César Chávez and the farmworkers movement…the idea that there was this one leader, César Chávez…or Martin Luther King who…made all these changes.

Her perception is that the Civil Rights Movement was a historical moment that ended with the death of Chávez and King. Clarisa argues, "No! ...We all have the potential to be leaders and the power needs to be shared collectively…. It should not only come from…individuals who think they have all the answers to all our problems." Clarisa recalled a time when she organized a vigil and press conference to bring attention to a family detention center in Hutto, Texas. She invited an activist known for raising awareness of family detention centers in the United States through the use of walkathons along the U.S.-Mexico border.

For Clarisa, the news stories focused exclusively on this one male activist as a "super amazing activist," thus rendering invisible the role of women in organizing the Hutto vigil.[13] She said:

> He introduced himself as being the person who brought Hutto to light, [but] that's not true because we have been involved in this organizing since the very beginning. Who's this guy who is saying he started the movement against Hutto?

A college-educated activist, Clarisa exposed how traditional media—both ethnic and mainstream—align with male representations that disregard Chicana/Latina leadership. Her critique of the Hutto vigil calls for a leadership that is shared and collective.[14] Juana Bordas (2007) observes that shared leadership is a time-honored practice for contemporary Native Americans who have historically relied on a circular approach to leadership, so that no one is elevated above others. Bordas writes, "Just as identity is collective, so too the source of leadership is collective. A leader serves and is responsible to his or her community, tribe, and people" (77).

Paula Ximena and Clarisa's understanding of leadership and who enacts it is embedded in broader social relations and springs from their organizing, academic, and socialized experiences. For them everyone has the potential to be leaders and just because women are not in formal positions or visible in movement struggles does not mean that they are not doing leadership. They are often doing leadership behind-the-scenes.

Leadership Behind the Scenes
Doing leadership is complementary, not mutually exclusive. That is, shared leadership can occur simultaneously with leadership behind the scenes. Barbara, a self-identified Chicana in her early twenties was actively involved with MEChA at The University of Texas, Austin, during the 2006 mobilizations and their aftermath. Doing leadership for Barbara occurs behind-the-scenes. This is what she said about several Latina heads of non-profit organizations in Austin who work on immigrant rights:

> I haven't had much interaction with Rebeca and Caroline as much as with Suzanna and Fabiola pero creo que ellas también—but I think that they—in their own right have done lots and continue to organize. I

think that they are leaders who are willing to stay behind, no necesitan estar enfrente todo el tiempo—they don't need to be in the frontlines. They are willing to put the hours in. I consider that leadership.

For Barbara, doing leadership is willingness to put in the hours and stay behind-the-scenes. This is what Veronica, a Colombian immigrant in her mid-thirties who has lived in the United States for eleven years, did as part of the outreach for the May 1st march in 2006. Veronica distributed flyers at local grocery stores where Latinas/os shop, "like Fiesta, La Hacienda Market, and even the barrios." Veronica's actions may at first appear trivial but it was leadership behind-the-scenes, as well as a political stance because she had to negotiate her activism during her work hours. Veronica works for a social service organization that focuses on low-income families. She regularly makes presentations at elementary schools regarding the work that she does at her organization. Her access to several schools allowed her to distribute information to parents regarding H.R. 4437. This is what she had to say:

> I remember that I tried taking information to the schools and my boss told me that I couldn't take a stance. [He said] that I could have my beliefs and opinions but that I could not take information to the schools during work hours. I said to myself, I need to take that information to the people, so I stayed at the parking lot after work. I am no longer an employee, I am just a human being that is distributing information to the people in the parking lot and they [parents] would smile because they knew who I was.

In negotiating her role as a worker for a social service organization and her political beliefs, Veronica decided that after work she would inform parents about H.R. 4437 and the upcoming march. Veronica said she "was never

really in the planning process" but rather "in the execution process." This captures the reality of many Latinas in the immigrant rights movement in Austin, Texas. They are not involved in the planning and decision making of the marches but doing leadership behind the scenes.

This is what Flor did with NICA, a grassroots group that was formed in 2008 to advocate for the rights of Nicaraguan immigrants in Austin. Flor is a Nicaraguan immigrant in her forties who came to the United States in the mid-1990s for economic reasons. At the time of the interview she was working as a full-time nanny, and she now works as a hospital employee, and had been involved with NICA for years. Before joining NICA, Flor was involved at her local Catholic parish. Attracted to the idea of meeting other compatriots and doing "something good for the community," Flor has been involved with NICA since its inception. I had the opportunity to observe Flor and NICA members during the planning of the May 1st march with the Austin Immigrant Rights Coalition in 2008 and an immigration conference in 2009. Flor is friendly, committed, and a very quiet person. She gives her opinion when asked and does not hesitate to help when called upon. Flor's activities have ranged from calling people to attend meetings, cooking to raise funds, and helping organize for the May 1st march. In recounting her participation in the planning of the march, Flor said she would rather be "behind the cameras," a metaphor for being behind-the-scenes. She explains, "I am not much of a speaker. I do not have that ability, but I do like everything that has to do with the computer, write letters, send e-mails, invite people to rallies; I like that type of movement."

Flor is doing leadership behind the scenes by recruiting people to the coalition's activities and NICA's events. Jimena, an immigrant from México City in her mid-sixties said, "sometimes you work behind the scenes and

nobody takes that as leadership and that's a form of leadership." Chin (2007) reminds us that women engage in leadership that is often not visible and calls us to move away from defining leadership from the perspective of white middle-class society that views leadership in terms of formal positions of power. Thus, nurturing leadership behind the scenes and mentoring emerging leaders is a way of doing leadership.

Leadership Serves the Community
Serving the community is another key factor of leadership for the women I interviewed. The idea of service and serving others may at first sound heterosexist and patriarchal, acts that Chicana/Latina feminist scholars have ungendered. However, for Veronica, leadership as service is having the ability to listen and negotiate for the common good of all and not for personal gain. Veronica has volunteered for Inmigrantes Latinos en Acción (ILA) for more than six years and says "leaders look after the community interests, interests that benefit everyone." Similarly, Gloria, an undocumented immigrant in her early thirties, has been living in the United States for over ten years and continuously has been involved in immigrant rights advocacy. For her, doing leadership is being involved in the community with no ambition for personal gain: "A leader for me does not have to have personal gain—nothing. It has to be a benefit for the community, because if a leader is thinking about personal gain, that person is not working for the community."

Doing leadership as a good steward also involves caring and being able to listen and help others without being paternalistic. Rosalía said:

> For me a leader is a person that has a heart to serve the
> community…and understands the problems and needs of the
> community. [A leader] guides you, [a leader] doesn't feel sorry for

you. On the contrary, [a leader] educates you and [a leader] gives you educational material. For me, a leader teaches you how to adapt to the life in this country…without being paternalistic…in a self-sufficient way.

She rejects paternalistic forms of leaderships and instead subscribes to the notion of a leader that helps others to realize their own potential to be self-sufficient. For Rosalía, a leader is not self-centered, but rather cares for the well-being of others in a non-paternalistic manner. For example, Rosalía mentions Maria Loya, a community activist who worked for El Buen Samaritano, a non-profit and social ministry of the Episcopal Diocese of Texas:

She taught me many simple things that I did not know. For example, learning how to use the computer…. [And] I saw her act on issues. She would invite me to meetings in the community, city council, [and at] the Capitol. When she saw injustices she tried to find a solution to the problem, but she did not try to find the solution on her own. She would include people and would say you have to do it, you can do it; you have to learn.

Rosalía realized that she could help change and find solutions to problems that plagued her community because Loya was modeling leadership as service to others. Hence, for Rosalía, a leader is someone who is able to address and serve the needs of others without being paternalistic. Instead, leaders encourage women's self-esteem and self-confidence. Bordas reminds us that serving is "being a good steward of one's community" (2007, 117). The women in this study are taking ownership of language as they redefine more nuanced, creative ways of understanding service.

Part IV: Reflections on Doing Leadership

Academic literature continues to focus on the heroic leadership framework that implies the association of masculinity and leadership. The trait approach, for example, focuses on attributes such as intelligence, dominance, confidence, and masculinity (Lord et al. 1986). This approach suggests that individuals have special innate characteristics to become leaders. Sinclair (1998) argues that society has a stake in heroic leadership because it has to do with traditional gender relations and with supporting the implied association of masculinity and leadership. The skills approach is an attempt to move away from personality characteristics to a focus on teachable skills and abilities that can be learned and developed (Katz 1955; Mumford et al. 2000). Unlike the previous two approaches, the style approach focuses on what leaders do and how they act (Chin 2007; Northouse 2004). In the 1990s, feminist scholars in the area of organizational management leadership called for a post-heroic leadership. Post-heroic leadership views leadership as a social process that occurs in interactions and focuses less on hierarchical practices and instead as collaborative practices, with influence flowing in two directions (Fletcher 1995; Sinclair 1998).

This paradigm change disrupts the stronghold of masculinity in leadership, since leadership has traditionally been associated with men. Most literature remains largely silent on the Chicana/Latina leadership that is involved in social movement activism and grassroots organizing. Social movement and Chicano scholars who write about leadership often do so within the framework of the leader and follower, and often focus on males as great social movement leaders (Morris and Staggenborg 2004). As a corrective, Chicana/Latina scholars have published numerous studies criticizing the western, paternalistic, and Eurocentric view of masculinist leadership that excludes women.

This study on Chicanas/Latinas involved in the immigrant rights movement in Austin, Texas, extends the aforementioned literature. As a sociological framework, I propose that doing leadership facilitates an understanding of leadership as a continuous and regular accomplishment that is achieved through everyday practices. Doing leadership is not ascribed or static, but rather an action, a process that is relational, non-authoritarian, and non-hierarchical. Three common modes of doing leadership were explored: shared leadership, leadership behind the scenes, and leadership that serves the community. Doing leadership is a situational accomplishment that allows Chicanas/Latinas to navigate institutional arrangements that privilege male domination. Doing leadership is everyday life leadership.

Notes

[1] Chicanas are women of Mexican-descent who are born and/or raised in the United States and also include Mexican immigrant women who may identify themselves with Chicana/o politics. The term Chicana/o was widely used during the Chicano Movement and is used today as self-identification. It conveys a commitment to political struggle for the betterment of Chicano families and their communities (see Denise Segura and Beatriz M. Pesquera. 1992). Latina refers to women from Latin America and the Caribbean. Latinos and Latinas who explicitly identify themselves as black use the terms Afro-Latino and Afro-Latina and trace their origins to Latin America and Caribbean countries with significant numbers of people of African descent. Since the women in my study self-identified themselves as Chicanas and Latinas, I use the terms Chicana and Latina. The majority of Latinas in my study come from México.

[2] Leadership as relational is not unique to Chicanas/Latinas. Saul Alinksy, founder of the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), founded this approach. Relational organizing is about relationship building and bringing community leaders together to find a common ground for action and to act in the interests of the broader community. For more on the relational approach to organizing, see Saul D. Alinsky. 1971. *Rules for Radicals: A Pragmatic Primer for Realistic Radicals.* New York: Random House; Mark R. Warren. 2001. *Dry Bones Rattling: Community Building to Revitalize American Democracy.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

[3] Technical skill is knowledge about and proficiency in a specific type of work or activity. For example, in a computer software company, technical skill might include knowing software language and programming. Human skill is the knowledge about and ability to work with people. Human skills allow a leader to assist group members in working cooperatively as a group to achieve common goals. Being a leader with human skills means being sensitive to the needs and

motivations of others and taking into account other's needs in decision making. Conceptual skills include the ability to work with ideas and concepts. A leader with conceptual skills is comfortable talking about the ideas that shape an organization and the complexities involved. He or she is good at putting the company's goals into words and can understand and express the economic principles that affect the company (see Katz, Robert L. 1955).

[4] Doing gender is accomplished through interactional activities that call for particular expressions of masculine and feminine notions. From this perspective, gender is not an individual attribute but something that is accomplished in relation to others. For further reading see Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987, and Sarah Fenstermaker. 1995. "Doing Difference." *Gender and Society* 9, no. 1: 8–37.

[5] For more on Chicano leadership, see Albert Camarillo, 1971; Mario T. Garcia, 1989; Juan Gómez-Quiñonez, 1990; Jorge Mariscal, 2004; Tom Romero II, 2004; Rodolfo Acuña, 2007; Carlos Muñoz, 2007; Randy Shaw, 2008; Marshall Ganz, 2009.

[6] Important exceptions include Stacey Sowards. (2010). "Rhetorical Agency as Haciendo Caras and Differential Consciousness through Lens of Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Class: An Examination of Dolores Huerta's Rhetoric." *Communication Theory* 20, no. 2: 223–247; Margaret J. Harden. 2003. *A Lifetime of Labor Activism: Dolores Huerta and the United Farm Workers*. University of Georgia, Master's thesis; Rebeca Avalos. 2011. "Lost Leader in History: The Transformation and Empowering Partnership of Dolores Huerta & César Chávez." *McNair Scholars Research Journal* XV: 1–13.

[7] Other scholars have used this framework to examine racialized femininities, class, religion, and heteronormativity. See for example Karen Pyke and Denise Johnson. 2003; Mary Nell Trautner. 2005. "Doing Gender, Doing Class: The Performance of Sexuality in Exotic Dance Clubs." *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6: 771–788; Kristen Schilt and Laurel Westbrook. 2009. "Doing Gender, Doing Heteronormativity." *Gender & Society* 23, no. 4: 440–464.

[8] Nancy Naples (2002) illustrates how political activism shapes mothering practices of the African American and Puerto Rican women she interviewed; what Naples identified as activist mothering. The women in her study desired to improve the lives of their family and neighbors, "namely, doing just what needed to be done to secure economic and social justice for their communities" (219).

[9] The political threat that prompted the 2006 mass mobilizations across the United States was the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, also known as the "Sensenbrenner bill" or house bill H.R. 4437. House bill H.R. 4437 was introduced by Congressman James Sensenbrenner from Wisconsin, on December 16, 2005. The legislation passed the House of Representatives in late 2005 but it failed to pass the Senate. Had H.R. 4437 passed it would have defined undocumented immigrants and those that aid them as felons. It would have required state and local law enforcement agents to turn over to federal authorities any undocumented immigrants they detained, and increased criminal penalties for document fraud. The bill also called for more miles of fencing to be added along the U.S.-México border. For further reading on H.R. 4437 see Siskind Susser Bland. 2005; Roberto Suro and Gabriel Escobar, 2006. In places like Austin, supporters of immigrant rights coordinated an unprecedented mobilization of grassroots support and mass defiance.

[10] H.R. 4437 opened up women's participatory space to organize around the bill. While H.R. 4437 allowed women to frame immigration reform as a family issue, such anti-immigrant legislation constrains women's activism by making them targets of deportation, like the case of Elvira Arellano and Flor Crisostomo, two undocumented immigrant women who took sanctuary in Adalberto United Methodist Church in Chicago to avoid deportation. Arellano was deported to México in 2007 while Crisostomo is still in sanctuary. See Martinez, Lisa. 2010.

[11] The AIRC was housed at a local worker's rights organization from 2006 to 2008 until the AIRC received seed funding from an anonymous donor in 2008 to hire a full time coordinator. Caroline Keating-Guerra, a self-identified Latina, became the coordinator for the AIRC from 2008 to 2010. In May 2010, Ester Reyes, a Latina immigrant, became the coordinator for the AIRC.

[12] Of these fifty-three interviews, thirty-seven respondents identified as female, one as queer, and fifteen as male. Of the thirty-seven female, twenty-four are Latina, eight are white, three self-identified as biracial (Latina/white), and two self-identified as Southeast Asian.

[13] Ricourt and Danta (2003) say that Hispanic men want the recognition of their own community and are competitive with each other for that recognition. Women on the other hand see personal interrelationships and connections as more important. See Ricourt, Milagros, and Ruby Danta. 2003.

[14] Collective leadership is reflected in other activist communities. For example, Sista II Sista (SIIS), a collective composed of women of color of varying ages, is a Brooklyn-wide community-based organization located in Bushwick, New York. SIIS has a collective body structure where the organization's leadership and decision-making model is non-hierarchical. They believe that long-term sustained change comes through collective leadership and struggle.

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