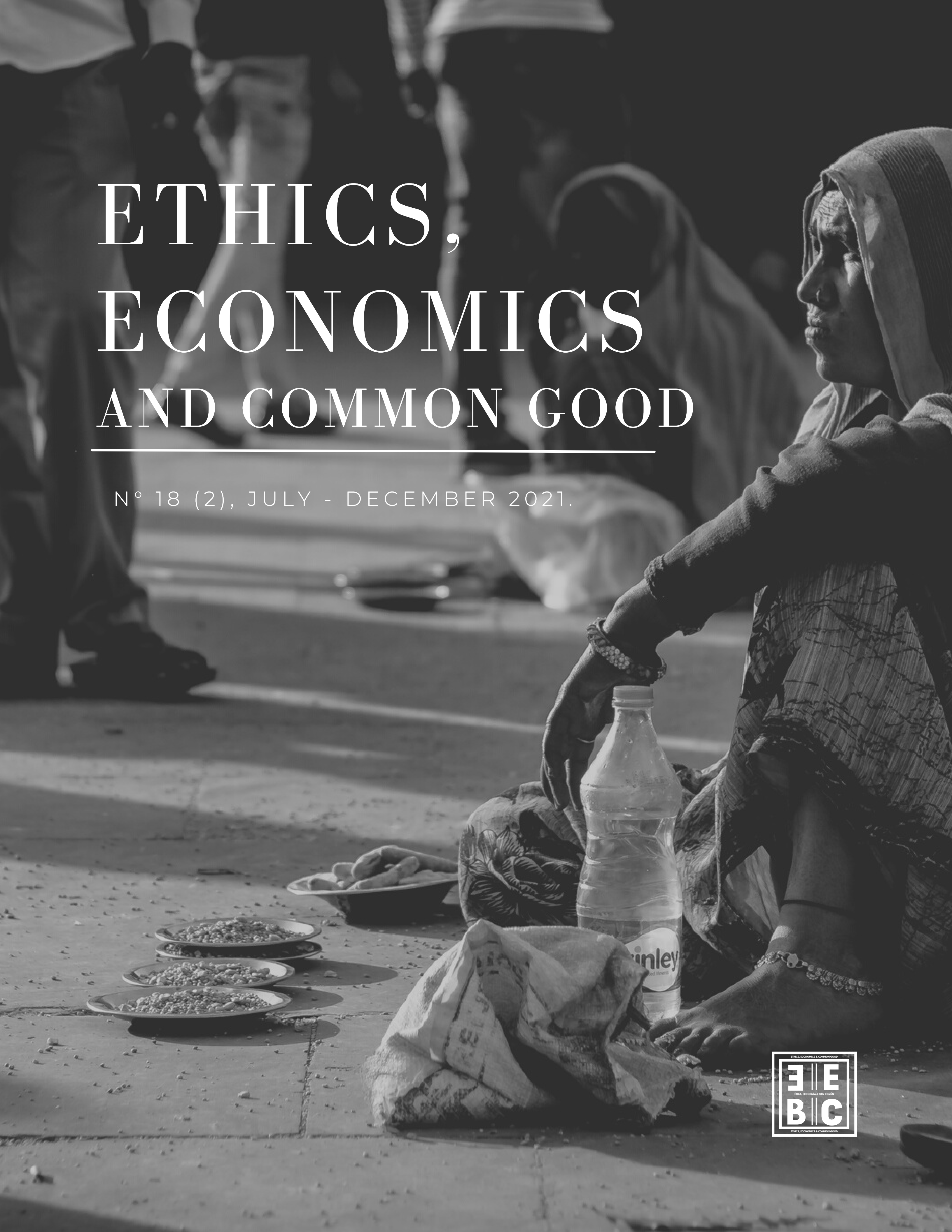
ETHICS, ECONOMICS AND COMMON GOOD

N° 18 (2), JULY - DECEMBER 2021.



ETHICS, ECONOMICS & COMMON GOODS, vol. 18, No. 2, julio-diciembre 2021, es una publicación semestral editada por la Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla A.C., calle 21 Sur 1103, Col. Santiago, C.P. 72410, Puebla, Puebla. Tel. (222) 2299400, https://ethics-and-economics.com/, callspapers@ethics-and-economics.com. Editor responsable: Manuel Alejandro Gutiérrez González. Reserva de Derechos al Uso Exclusivo No. 04-2022-071213543400-102, ISSN en trámite, ambos otorgados por el Instituto Nacional del Derecho de Autor. Responsable de la última actualización de este número, Universidad Tecnológica de Querétaro, TSU María Guadalupe García Guerrero, Av. Pie de la Cuesta 2501, col. Nacional, fecha de última modificación, 26 de febrero de 2022.

ISSN: in process

ETHICS, ECONOMICS AND COMMON GOODS

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July - December 2021

GENERAL INFORMATION

Ethics, Economics and Common Goods Journal aims to be a space for debate and discussion on issues of social and economic ethics. Topics and issues range from theory to practical ethical questions affecting our contemporary societies. The journal is especially, but not exclusively, concerned with the relationship between ethics, economics and the different aspects of the common good perspective in social ethics.

Social and economic ethics is a rapidly changing field. The systems of thought and ideologies inherited from the 20th century seem to be exhausted and prove incapable of responding to the challenges posed by, among others, artificial intelligence, the transformation of labor and capital, the financialization of the economy, the stagnation of middle-class wages, and the growing ideological polarization of our societies.

The journal Ethics, Economics and the Common Goods promotes contributions to scientific debates that combine high academic rigor with originality of thought. In the face of the return of ideologies and the rise of moral neopharisaisms in the Anglo-Saxon world, the journal aims to be a space for rational, free, serious and open dialogue. All articles in the journal undergo a process of double anonymous peer review. In addition, it guarantees authors a rapid review of the articles submitted to it. It is an electronic journal that publishes its articles under a creative commons license and is therefore open access.

NATURE OF CONTRIBUTIONS

Research articles, research reports, essays and responses are double-blind refereed. To be published, articles, reports, essays must obtain favorable opinions. Responses, however, may be accepted with a single positive opinion and rejected with a single negative opinion. The journal is biannual and publishes two issues per year, in June and December. At least one of these two issues is thematic. The journal is pleased to publish articles in French, English and Spanish.

Further details regarding this paragraph are given in the Editorial Notes.

ESENTIAL IDENTIFICATION

Title: Ethics, Economics and Common Goods
Frequency: Semi-annual
Dissemination: International
ISSN online: in process
Place of edition: Mexico
Year founded: 2003

DIRECTORY

Editor in charge
Manuel Alejandro Gutiérrez González

Associate Editor
Miguel Cruz Vásquez

Design
Cecilia Urrea Flores

INDEX

ARTICLES

ESSAYS

ARTICLES

LES AMBIGUÏTÉS AXIOLOGIQUES ET NORMATIVES DU LEADERSHIP

Received: January 2022 I Accepted: February 2022

Michel Dion*

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article, cinq styles de leadership (leadership authentique, leadership du service, leadership transformationnel, leadership éthique, leadership spirituel) seront analysés, en regard de leurs ambiguïtés. Deux types d'ambiguïtés seront pris en considération, en retenant la distinction, faite par Paul Ricoeur, entre moralité et éthique: l'ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l'action morale (accent sur la normativité morale: Kant) et l'ambiguïté liée à l'optimalité morale de l'action (accent sur la visée éthique d'une vie bonne et d'institutions justes: Aristote). Deux styles de leadership n'ont démontré qu'un seul type d'ambiguïtés: le leadership du service (l'ambiguïté axiologique) et le leadership spirituel (l'ambiguïté normative). Pour les trois autres styles de leadership, les deux types d'ambiguïtés étaient impliquées.

ABSTRACT

In this article, some ambiguities of five styles of leadership (authentic leadership, servant leadership, transformational leadership, ethical leadership, spiritual leadership) will be analyzed. Two types of ambiguities have been described while referring to Paul Ricoeur's distinction between morality and ethics: the ambiguity related to the grounds of the moral action (emphasis on moral normativity: Kant) and the ambiguity related to the moral optimality of the action (emphasis on the ethical aim of a good life and just institutions: Aristotle). Two styles of leadership have shown only one type of ambiguities: the servant leadership (axiological ambiguity) and the spiritual leadership (normative ambiguity). In the other three styles of leadership, both types of ambiguities were involved.

*Michel Dion est professeur titulaire à l'Ecole de gestion de l'Université de Sherbrooke (Québec, Canada). Ses principaux domaines de recherche sont les suivants : éthique des organisations, leadership éthique et discours moral corporatif, prévention et lutte contre la criminalité financière, liens entre littérature, philosophie et organisation.
tel: 1-819-821-8000, poste 62913
Courriel: Michel.Dion@USherbrooke.ca

INTRODUCTION

Les multiples styles de leadership développés depuis la seconde moitié du vingtième siècle ont donné lieu à d'innombrables recherches théoriques et empiriques. Au fil du temps, divers paradoxes et ambiguïtés liés à des styles particuliers de leadership ont été révélés. Pina e Cunha *et al.* (2021) ont bien fait ressortir jusqu'à quel point l'essence même du leadership est remplie de tensions et de contradictions. Cependant, les auteurs n'ont pas insisté sur les ambiguïtés d'ordre moral/éthique et leurs implications pour la vie organisationnelle. On peut dégager deux principales formes d'ambiguïtés du leadership, l'une se rapportant à la normativité morale (ambiguïté normative) et l'autre à l'approfondissement de valeurs et de vertus (ambiguïté axiologique). Cette dualité renvoie directement à la notion de morale ou d'éthique. Paul Ricoeur (1996, 199-277; 1999, 258-270) distinguait très clairement la morale (centrée sur l'universalisation de normes: Kant, 1983) et l'éthique (centrée sur la visée d'une « vie bonne, avec et pour les autres, dans des institutions justes »: Aristote, 1996). Un premier type d'ambiguïté du leadership a trait à l'impossibilité d'être assuré que les fondements de l'action (les valeurs et principes de décision) soient ceux qui devraient être retenus pour choisir l'action optimalement morale. Il s'agit ici d'une « ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l'action morale ». Elle met en jeu la notion de normativité morale, et par conséquent, le questionnement sur l'universalisation de normes morales. Lorsqu'il y a une ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l'action morale, les leaders sont alors incapables d'identifier clairement le fondement moral de leurs décisions. On est alors en présence d'une ambiguïté normative (issue de la normativité morale). Un second type d'ambiguïté du leadership suppose que lors d'une prise de décision, articulée par la visée éthique d'institutions sociales et d'organisations plus justes, l'individu est incapable de savoir s'il choisit l'action « optimalement morale » parmi toutes les alternatives d'actions possibles, en favorisant telles ou telles valeurs/vertus. Il s'agit alors d'une « ambiguïté liée à l'optimalité morale d'une action ». On est alors en présence d'une ambiguïté axiologique (issue de valeurs et vertus dont l'application n'est pas inconditionnelle et dont le choix n'est pas obligatoirement « le meilleur dans les circonstances »). Les deux types d'ambiguïtés (normative et axiologique) peuvent coexister dans un style de leadership particulier. Mais un seul des deux peut également être présent.

Dans cet article, il sera question de cinq styles de leadership, dont plusieurs sont en interaction avec l'un ou l'autre, soit parce qu'ils partagent certaines caractéristiques du leadership, soit parce qu'ils sont considérés comme étant intrinsèquement liés à l'un ou l'autre de ces cinq styles de leadership. Certains éléments d'humanisation des milieux organisationnels se retrouvent dans ces styles de leadership: l'attitude de prendre soin des membres organisationnels et de favoriser leur plus grand bien-être (leadership authentique); l'encadrement et le renforcement du comportement éthique dans l'organisation (leadership éthique, leadership transformationnel, leadership du service). Cependant, la recherche de l'harmonie relationnelle et de la sérénité intérieure paraît relativement absente de ces modèles de leadership.

Par ailleurs, ces modèles de leadership tiennent compte de deux préoccupations fondamentales: d'une part, l'ouverture à la pluralité des quêtes de sens (leadership du service); d'autre part, la reconnaissance de la complexité des réalités organisationnelles, sociales, culturelles, économiques, politiques et religieuses (leadership transformationnel, leadership spirituel). Pour chacun des cinq styles de leadership, la présence des ambiguïtés normatives et axiologiques sera analysée, en portant attention à la spécificité des valeurs et des normes morales impliquées et du leadership qui est sous étude.

LEADERSHIP AUTHENTIQUE

Le leadership authentique n'a pas un effet direct sur le raisonnement moral et sur les actions éthiques des leaders. Cela explique, selon Sendjaya et al. (2016, 135), que des leaders authentiques puissent être à l'aise dans le raisonnement moral, tout en adoptant certaines pratiques non-éthiques (comme le mensonge). Il est, pour le moins, étonnant de constater qu'une perception de l'authenticité d'un leader puisse coexister avec la conscience que le leader en question se permet des pratiques non-éthiques comme le mensonge. Il s'agit là plutôt d'une contradiction entre un raisonnement moral (d'aspiration normative) et ses effets sur les paroles, gestes, attitudes et actions qui sont adoptées, ce qui ne peut que démontrer le manque d'enracinement des convictions et valeurs éthiques dans des normes morales relativement stables, voire universalisables. On est alors en présence d'une ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l'action morale (ambiguïté normative).

Les leaders authentiques sont souvent perçus comme étant conscients de leurs propres limites. Ils/elles peuvent donc tolérer l'imperfection des autres, dans l'accomplissement de leurs tâches de travail. Les leaders authentiques considèrent qu'étant donné les limites de tout un chacun, les membres organisationnels devraient s'entraider de manière à apprendre les uns des autres et ainsi à s'orienter, comme groupe, vers un succès collectif (Duignan et Bhindi, 1997, 206). Seule l'humilité peut permettre de venir à bout des résistances à accueillir la sagesse pratique des autres. Il ne serait pas déraisonnable d'attendre une telle humilité de la part des leaders authentiques. Une telle conception de l'authenticité s'harmonise très bien avec une prise de conscience de sa propre finitude existentielle – ce qui caractérise l'authenticité de type heideggerien (Heidegger, 1962).

Mais si l'authenticité implique la reconnaissance de la finitude existentielle, elle devrait également pousser les leaders à développer une articulation plus étroite entre leurs convictions et valeurs éthiques et leurs conduites organisationnelles. L'ambiguïté liée à l'optimalité morale de l'action (ambiguïté axiologique) révèle qu'une telle articulation est absente chez un leader. Novicevic *et al.* (2006, 70) ont démontré que la capacité de créativité morale est une composante fondamentale du leadership authentique. Les auteurs ont ainsi expliqué comment un leadership peut être: (1) inauthentique quand le leader se laisse abattre par une détérioration morale de son leadership, (2) pseudo-authentique, ou bien quand le leader perfectionniste tombe dans une paralysie d'ordre moral (de sorte qu'il se trouve stagner dans l'immobilisme), ou bien quand le leader narcissique se désengage de toute réflexion ou jugement moral, (3) authentique, quand le leader est caractérisé par sa créativité morale, face aux diverses situations rencontrées. L'inauthenticité et la pseudo-authenticité pourraient ainsi être le fait de l'incapacité à faire disparaître l'ambiguïté liée à l'optimalité morale de l'action (ambiguïté axiologique).

Un leader authentique devrait être fondamentalement préoccupé à mettre en pratique ses valeurs et croyances et à stimuler les membres organisationnels à faire de même (Avolio et Gardner, 2005, 329-330). Un leader authentique devrait s'intéresser à comprendre l'étendue des valeurs et croyances de ses subalternes ainsi que la manière dont ceux-ci/celles-ci les mettent en application dans la vie organisationnelle. Le leadership authentique peut influencer le comportement des membres d'une équipe de travail, d'une unité ou d'un département de l'organisation, dans la mesure où il favorise leur réflexivité (Lyubovnikova *et al.*, 2017, 66). Mais cela devrait exiger, de la part du leader authentique, de développer autant (sinon beaucoup plus) sa propre réflexivité, avant d'exiger quoi que ce soit de la part de ses subalternes. Oh *et al.* (2018) ont trouvé que le leadership authentique exerce une influence directe sur l'engagement organisationnel des subalternes. Le leadership authentique peut même encourager les subalternes à lancer une alerte éthique, dans le cadre des processus internes de l'organisation, dans la mesure où les subalternes se sentent dans une certaine sécurité d'ordre psychologique. L'effet du leadership authentique sur l'intention de lancer une alerte éthique est donc indirect (Anugerah et al., 2019, 565). Cependant, cet encouragement à lancer une alerte éthique ne sera effectif que si les subalternes considèrent leur leader authentique comme ayant des convictions et valeurs éthiques bien ancrées dans ses conduites et pratiques organisationnelles. La crédibilité morale du leader authentique (ainsi que sa conduite irréprochable qui en fait un modèle de rôle, au niveau moral) est une condition sine qua non pour que l'encouragement à lancer une alerte éthique influence positivement les subalternes à aller de l'avant. L'ambiguïté liée à l'optimalité morale de l'action (ambiguïté axiologique) sera ainsi une pierre d'achoppement dont les leaders authentiques devront tenir compte, s'ils/elles veulent réduire ou éliminer les déviances organisationnelles.

Il existe un lien très étroit entre le leadership authentique et le renforcement de la confiance mutuelle en milieu organisationnel. Le leadership authentique peut ainsi contribuer à réduire le comportement de déviance organisationnelle, étant donné qu’il valorise la confiance mutuelle et le respect des engagements de tout un chacun envers l’organisation elle-même (Erkutlu et Chafra, 2013, 840). Le leadership authentique valorise la responsabilisation (*empowerment*) face aux tâches de travail. Mais cela n’est rendu possible que dans la mesure où le leader authentique approfondit sa connaissance de soi et cherche constamment à mettre en pratique ses valeurs et principes de décision. Sinon, tout effort de responsabilisation des subalternes est voué à l’échec, car il manque l’élément d’authenticité, essentiel à ce type de leadership (George *et al*., 2007). L’incapacité de mettre ses valeurs et principes de décision en pratique, dans chacune de ses décisions et prises de position, reflète, chez le leader authentique, l’ambiguïté liée à l’optimalité morale de l’action (ambiguïté axiologique).

LEADERSHIP DU SERVICE

Le leadership du service est, comme le qualificatif l’indique, centré sur le service à l’ensemble des membres organisationnels et aux parties prenantes externes de l’organisation, dans une perspective de bien commun. En soi, ce style de leadership n’a aucun contenu religieux ou spirituel. Le leadership du service peut influencer la perception que les subalternes ont de la spiritualité du milieu de travail, suggéraient Williams et al. (2017, 187-188), mais seulement dans la mesure où le leader a de grandes habiletés politiques. Étant sans contenu religieux/spirituel spécifique, le leadership du service ne peut donc pas, par lui-même, renforcer quelque perception de la place de la religion/spiritualité en milieu de travail. Le type de service dont il est question ici est, selon Shirin (2014, 23), très différent de celui qui serait attendu de la part de leaders chrétiens. Il n’est pas étonnant de constater quelque tentative de rapprochement entre le leadership du service et le christianisme, compte tenu que la notion de leadership du service a été créée dans des pays de tradition judéo-chrétienne. Mais, le leadership du service peut s’appliquer dans des contextes culturels et religieux/spirituels fort différents, tels que la Chine (Correia de Sousa et Van Dierendonck, 2014, 891; Li et al., 2018, 1089). Le modèle du « leadership du service » pourrait être considéré comme une forme de leadership vertueux (Caldwell et al., 2015). Cependant, cela n’est vrai que si les valeurs typiquement liées à ce style de leadership deviennent, pour les personnes en question, de véritables vertus. La distinction fondamentale entre valeurs et vertus, c’est que contrairement aux valeurs – dont l’application varie selon les événements et la sensibilité morale de la personne –, les vertus exigent d’être appliquées à chaque instant, et pour chacune de nos pensées, émotions paroles, gestes, attitudes et actions. Han et al. (2010, 278) ont montré que le modèle du leadership de service peut être grandement influencé par la spiritualité dominante dans une culture sociétale donnée, mais également par l’environnement politique. En l’occurrence, il s’agissait de la société chinoise, où l'influence taoïste et confucéenne se joignait aux influences provenant de l'idéologie communiste. Cependant, il faut voir ici l'absence de référence au bouddhisme. Or, le bouddhisme est, en Chine, l'une des trois spiritualités fondamentales. Il faut, par ailleurs, admettre que l'influence du bouddhisme sur le comportement quotidien des Chinois n'est pas aussi déterminante que celle du confucianisme. Il demeure que le leadership du service semble avoir une tendance à tenir compte des principales influences spirituelles dans une société donnée. Le service aux autres est commun au leadership du service et au leadership spirituel (Campbell, 2007, 144). En Chine, le leadership du service s'applique dans un contexte social et culturel où est valorisée une grande distance entre les détenteurs de différents pouvoirs dans l'organisation. Le leader du service peut faire en sorte que ses subalternes actualisent eux-mêmes/elles-mêmes un rôle de service auprès de leurs propres subalternes, pairs, ou supérieurs. L'effet ultime qui en résultera, c'est, selon Zhao et al. (2016, 910), une identification accrue à l'organisation elle-même. Le leadership du service peut permettre une plus grande identification émotive des subalternes à leur organisation, de sorte à ce qu'ils/elles puissent se sentir tout à fait libres de suggérer les changements organisationnels qu'ils/elles jugent appropriés (Lapointe et Vanderberghe, 2018, 110).

Russell (2001) suggérait que la capacité d'un leader d'assumer un leadership du service dépend de sa tendance à être guidé par des valeurs fondamentales dans l'ensemble de ses pensées, paroles et actions: humilité et respect des autres, honnêteté et intégrité, empathie et patience, amour inconditionnel des autres, promotion de l'égalité entre tous les êtres humains. Russell et Stone (2002) ont établi les attributs fonctionnels et les attributs complémentaires du leadership du service. Parmi les attributs fonctionnels, les valeurs d'intégrité et d'honnêteté semblent cruciales pour le leadership du service, ce qui n'empêche pas ce type de leadership de valoriser la compétence et l'efficacité des membres organisationnels, qui sont des attributs complémentaires (Washington et al., 2006). Le leadership du service impose aux leaders d'être au service de leurs subalternes et d'agir, à tout instant, de manière honnête et équitable. Si ces deux conditions sont remplies, alors les subalternes peuvent hausser le niveau de leur performance au travail, disaient Winston et Fields (2015, 428). Le leadership du service favorise grandement la confiance des subalternes envers leurs leaders ainsi qu'envers toute l'organisation (Joseph et Winston, 2005, 15) – la confiance étant un attribut fonctionnel du leadership du service. Le leadership du service peut avoir des effets positifs sur la créativité des subalternes, mais seulement dans la mesure où les subalternes ont confiance dans leur leader (Jaiswal et Dhar, 2017, 13-14). Le leadership du service implique que le leader se voit au service de ses subalternes. Mais Bowie (2000, 187) avait raison de préciser que dans une perspective kantienne, ce leader n'acceptera jamais de devenir un pur moyen pour que les autres qu'il/elle sert puissent atteindre leurs propres finalités. Ce serait là une voie de déshumanisation contre laquelle se battait ardemment Kant (1983, 47) et qui inspira toute la théorie déontologique.

Le leadership du service a des effets positifs sur l'engagement des subalternes envers leur travail et envers l’organisation, en raison du type d’échange social qui relie le leader à ses subalternes (Bao *et al.*, 2018, 413). Le leadership du service peut avoir des effets positifs sur le comportement des subalternes orienté vers l’innovation, mais seulement dans la mesure où dans les équipes de travail, les membres sont grandement portés vers la réflexivité. Si cette tendance à la réflexivité n’est pas de la partie, alors le leadership du service n’aura pas les effets escomptés sur la capacité des membres de ces équipes à innover (Wang *et al.*, 2019, 512).

Southwest Airlines est un très bon exemple d’entreprise dans laquelle la culture organisationnelle valorise un leadership de service. L’image du « Servant’s Heart » traverse ses rapports de responsabilité sociale (RSE), depuis 2009. On peut y avoir exprimée la Règle d’Or (« nous traitons les autres de la manière dont nous voulons être traités nous-mêmes »: rapports de RSE, 2009, 2011, 2012). La notion de service est imprégnée d’attitudes de chaleur humaine, de respect, d’écoute attentive, d’entraide et d’amitié, mais elle est également liée à « l’esprit de l’entreprise » (rapports de RSE, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019). Cette notion s’applique autant aux consommateurs qu’aux communautés locales. Servir les gens, c’est prendre soin d’eux, favoriser leur bien-être, assurer leur sécurité et d’être compatissant (rapports de RSE, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2017, 2018). Mais cela suppose aussi une bonne dose de responsabilisation (empowerment) et une volonté de construire des relations qui soient signifiantes (rapports de RSE, 2012, 2018, 2019). Southwest Airlines en vient ainsi à se définir comme une entreprise centrée sur le bien-être des personnes (« People-Centric ») (rapports de RSE, 2013, 2018, 2019). Être au service des gens, c’est aussi développer une culture inclusive et ainsi valoriser toutes les différences individuelles (en particulier, les différentes de culture, de sexe et de genre) (rapports de RSE, 2016, 2017, 2019).

Le leadership du service est orienté vers l’atteinte du bien commun, l’écoute de tout un chacun et l’attention porté au bien-être des membres organisationnels. Le leadership du service paraît si exigeant en termes d’orientation constante vers le bien commun que l’exemple donné par certains « leaders du service » ne stimulent guère les subalternes de devenir eux-mêmes /elles-mêmes des leaders (Lacroix et Verdorfer, 2017, 8). Lorsqu’un leader du service est confronté à un processus de résolution de conflit dans lequel sont engagés ses subalternes, il/elle aura tendance à favoriser le dialogue et la participation de tout un chacun. Si le leader du dialogue intervient, disaient Jit et al. (2016, 605-606), ce sera pour renforcer la recherche d’une solution, dans le cadre de discussions tout à fait sereines et amicales. Si le leader du service doit intervenir dans la résolution du conflit en question, ses subalternes attendront de sa part de l’impartialité et de l’équité dans le traitement du conflit en question. Le leadership du service contribue à réduire la déviance organisationnelle des subalternes (Paesen et al., 2019, 636). Le leadership du service peut, chez les personnalités proactives, susciter et renforcer le comportement de bonne citoyenneté organisationnelle (Newman et al., 2017a, 59).

La notion de leadership du service manque de clarté, en regard des limites de cette attitude de service aux autres. Servir les autres n'est pas toujours immédiatement lié à une aide qui leur est offerte ou apportée. Mais, c'est souvent le cas. Les situations où des personnes ont besoin d'aide sont tout aussi variées que celles où des gens leur offrent toute l'aide qu'ils/elles peuvent ou pensent pertinente. Aider les autres qui sont dans le besoin n'est pas si simple qu'il paraît. Plusieurs cas de figure sont possibles du côté de la personne qui est dans le besoin: (1) la personne ne veut pas recevoir d'aide, pour quelque motif que ce soit, (2) la personne veut une autre forme d'aide que celle que les gens peuvent lui donner, (3) la personne considère l'aide qui lui est apportée comme étant bonne, mais insuffisante, (4) la personne croit que toutes les tentatives de l'aider lui sont nuisibles. D'autres cas de figure se présentent, si c'est le leader du service qui aide ou pourrait aider l'autre qui est dans le besoin: (1) Il/elle ne veut pas aider l'autre, peu importe les motifs invoqués, (2) Il/elle lui offre toute l'aide possible, en espérant qu'elle lui soit utile, (3) Il/elle lui offre toute l'aide possible, en étant convaincu ou bien qu'elle est suffisante, ou bien qu'elle ne l'est pas du tout, (4) Il/elle lui offre de l'aide sans comprendre que cette aide, même bien intentionnée, est nuisible à la personne qui est dans le besoin, à court ou à long terme. Aider et recevoir de l'aide de la part des autres ne sont pas des choses faciles à faire. Il existe une « structure de familiarité » (ou l'apparence d'un « effet-miroir ») entre l'aide offerte/apportée et la réception de cette aide. Cette structure langagière et comportementale manifeste que la personne qui aide est aussi, dans sa vie, une personne qui reçoit de l'aide et que la personne qui reçoit de l'aide est aussi une personne qui procure de l'aide aux autres. L'effet-miroir est une apparence. Car au-delà des similarités entre les (quatre principales) attitudes adoptées par la personne qui aide et par la personne qui reçoit de l'aide, des différences de personnalités et de circonstances affectent la symétrie qui tend à s'installer dans la question (la demande d'aide) et la réponse (l'offre d'une aide). Les différences de personnalités et de circonstances viennent ainsi créer une distorsion de la symétrie des attitudes et rendent impossible l'actualisation d'un effet-miroir parfaitement accompli. Lorsqu'un leader adopte le style du leadership du service, il/elle est aux prises avec cette dynamique entre la diversité des questions (demandes d'aide) et la variété des réponses (offres/actions d'aide) qui peut leur être apportées. Prendre conscience de la structure de familiarité entre l'aide offerte/apportée et la réception de cette aide par la personne qui est dans le besoin peut permettre au leader de mieux assumer ses responsabilités, tout en respectant la liberté et la dignité des personnes qui crient à l'aide, au sein même de son organisation. Le leadership du service est aux prises avec l'ambiguïté liée à l'optimalité morale de l'action (ambiguïté axiologique), à chaque fois qu'il y a un manque de symétrie entre la demande d'aide et son offre d'aide aux membres organisationnels.

LEADERSHIP TRANSFORMATIONNEL

Le leadership transformationnel est généralement défini comme comportant quatre traits fondamentaux (les « quatre I »): (1) l'influence Idéalisée (charisme); (2) le caractère Inspirant du comportement du leader, aux yeux de ses subalternes: le caractère inspirant est généralement lié aux paroles et actions des leaders. Mais le discours des leaders, même s’il est inspirant, ne détermine pas, à lui seul, la perception par les subalternes que les leaders adoptent un leadership transformationnel. Si cette perception est présente, elle n’est que renforcée par le discours inspirant des leaders, suggérait Sidani (2007, 718); (3) la considération Individualisée qui se traduit par une attitude de prendre soin du bien-être des subalternes; (4) la stimulation Intellectuelle qui implique la capacité d’initier ou de participer à des débats et dialogues avec tous les membres de l’organisation ainsi qu’avec les parties prenantes externes de l’organisation (Dionne *et al*., 2004; Pastor et Mayo, 2008, 343).

Le leadership charismatique pourrait être considéré comme étant une composante du leadership transformationnel, étant donné que le charisme est l’un des quatre traits fondamentaux des leaders transformationnels (Aaltio-Marjosola et Takala, 2000, 146). Le leadership transformationnel, qui suppose le charisme du leader auprès des subalternes, peut influencer la réaction positive de ceux-ci à tout changement organisationnel important, dans la mesure où les subalternes considèrent, à l’exemple de leur leader transformationnel, que ce changement est une « opportunité de croissance et de renouvellement », et non pas une menace de leurs tâches de travail, du pouvoir qui leur revient et des ressources matérielles dont ils/elles bénéficient (Groves, 2020, 45). Le leadership charismatique est ouvert au partage d’informations à tous les niveaux de l’organisation (Politis, 2002). Les leaders charismatiques sont capables, par leur charisme, de mobiliser les membres organisationnels autour d’une même orientation de valeurs, de manière à créer, réviser ou restructurer les composantes de la culture même de l’organisation (Huang *et al.*, 2005, 46). Ce sont donc des agents efficaces de changement organisationnel.

Starbucks est une entreprise dont la culture valorise, chez tous les membres organisationnels, le rôle de « catalyseur du changement ». Ce trait spécifique de la culture d’entreprise est véhiculé dans les rapports de responsabilité sociale (RSE) de Starbucks, depuis 2009. Mais comment le rôle de « catalyseur de changement » se décline-t-il, en termes d’attitudes, de valeurs et de comportements? Premièrement, le changement dont il est question est d’ordre global. Être un catalyseur de changement implique ainsi la conscience de partager la même planète (à sauvegarder collectivement) (rapports de RSE, 2009, 2010, 2012). Mais ce changement global est tout de même à portée de la main, puisqu’il ne se réalise qu’à travers le pouvoir de chaque individu (rapport de RSE, 2012). Deuxièmement, le changement dont il est question doit être à la fois durable et signifiant (rapports de RSE, 2012, 2013). Troisièmement, le changement est perçu positivement par toutes les communautés impliquées, et ce, partout dans le monde. Même si la visée du changement est globale, le changement lui-même est local (rapports de RSE, 2010, 2011). Quatrièmement, le changement est considéré comme nécessaire, de sorte que le statu quo n’est jamais une alternative qui est sérieusement considérée (rapport de RSE, 2013). Cinquièmement, le changement est toujours analysé et réalisé à travers « le prisme de l’humanité » (rapports de RSE, 2012, 2013). Être un catalyseur de changement est également considéré comme une manière de valoriser la diversité et l'inclusion, dans les relations avec toutes les parties prenantes de l'entreprise (rapports de RSE, 2014, 2017, 2018, 2019).

Pour le leadership transformationnel, les valeurs « morales » sont considérées comme centrales, incontournables (Khrisnan, 2001). Cependant, le caractère moral des valeurs n'est pas décrit, de sorte que nous n'avons aucune idée des critères permettant de le circonscrire. Le leadership transformationnel influence positivement les comportements de bonne citoyenneté organisationnelle de la part des subalternes (Khalili, 2017, 1010-1011). D'un autre côté, les comportements de bonne citoyenneté organisationnelle démontrée par les subalternes jouent un certain rôle dans la capacité des leaders transformationnels d'influencer la performance de leurs subalternes au travail (Boerner *et al*., 2007, 21). Pour Kanungo (2001, 263), le leadership transformationnel est enclin à adopter une éthique déontologique (kantienne). Une telle présupposition apparaît des plus hasardeuses, compte tenu que les leaders, qu'ils soient transformationnels, transactionnels ou autres, n'embrassent pas consciemment ni entièrement une théorie éthique particulière, avec toutes les conséquences qui s'ensuivent. Odom et Green (2003, 66) suggéraient que les leaders transformationnels croient dans l'importance du développement moral de leurs subalternes. Mais là encore, il est impossible de savoir en quoi consiste le développement « moral » des subalternes. Fait-on référence aux stades de développement moral identifiés par Erik Erikson ou par Lawrence Kohlberg? En l'absence de précisions, l'expression demeure aussi floue que celle de « valeurs morales ». Il semble y avoir une orientation vers le développement moral chez les leaders transformationnels. Cependant, Banerji et Krishnan (2000) avaient bien montré les limites de l'attribution d'un haut caractère moral aux leaders transformationnels. Les auteurs avaient observé que l'attribution à un leader des traits de leadership transformationnel peut se faire, même si ce leader encourage des pratiques de destruction environnementale, pratique le mensonge, ou n'est orienté que vers ses intérêts personnels. Par ailleurs, le fait qu'un leader n'use pas de pots-de-vin et ne pratique pas le favoritisme peut rendre ce leader plus « inspirant » aux yeux des subalternes que s'il adopte une position inverse. Ce n'est pas nécessairement parce qu'un leader rencontre les critères d'un leadership transformationnel, aux yeux de ses subalternes, qu'il/elle est exempt de toute pratique non-éthique, selon les auteurs. De tels résultats permettent de remettre en perspective les tendances à idéaliser les leaders transformationnels, du moins au niveau moral. Lin *et al.* (2017, 187) ont montré que les intentions manipulatrices d'un leader « pseudo-transformationnel » auront pour effet, chez les subalternes, de réduire substantiellement l'influence du leader, plus particulièrement l'effet positif qu'il pourrait avoir sur l'amélioration de la performance au travail chez ses subalternes.

Les leaders transformationnels favorisent le potentiel de transformation et de croissance personnelle des membres organisationnels tout autant que la capacité de l'organisation de changer et de croître à plus ou moins long terme. Cependant, ils ne sont pas exempts de tout dilemme éthique. Les leaders transformationnels peuvent rencontrer autant de dilemmes éthiques que d'autres types de leaders. Ils/elles chercheront simplement à ce que toutes les personnes impliquées puissent y trouver une occasion de se dépasser elles-mêmes et à ce que l’organisation puisse être engagée dans des processus de changement qui renforceront sa croissance à long terme. Effelsberg et Solga (2015, 587) affirmaient que les leaders transformationnels ne sont pas nécessairement les mieux placés pour opérer des compromis entre une loyauté aveugle envers leur organisation (loyauté qui ne cherche qu’à satisfaire les intérêts et buts de l’organisation) et l’adhésion à des standards éthiques qui dépassent de loin le cadre de l’éthique organisationnelle. Ce qui est intéressant ici, c’est le dualisme entre les normes propres à l’éthique organisationnelle et certains « standards éthiques » qui les dépassent. Mais aucune précision n’est fournie quant à l’ancrage institutionnel ou sociétal de ces « standards éthiques ». Sont-ils simplement ceux qui émanent de l’association sectorielle ou du milieu des affaires en tant qu’institution sociale, dans une société donnée? Ou sont-ils plutôt des méta-normes d’origine philosophique, théologique ou spirituelle? Ou sont-ils des méta-normes tirées de conventions et traités internationaux ayant trait aux droits et libertés de la personne, voire inscrites dans quelque notion de droit naturel? Si l’ancrage de ces « standards éthiques » n’est pas précisé, alors ces standards ne peuvent être mis en correspondance avec des normes qui sont supposées les dépasser. La difficulté, chez les leaders transformationnels, de faire des compromis entre la loyauté aveugle (envers l’organisation) et l’adhésion à des méta-normes révèle une ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l’action morale (ambiguïté normative).

Une aura d’idéalisation entoure la notion de leadership transformationnel, comme s’il s’agissait là d’un idéal à atteindre, coûte que coûte, peu importe les contextes dans lesquelles nous nous trouvons. L’une des confusions les plus courantes consiste à croire que le leadership transformationnel et le leadership du service (« servant leadership ») sont intimement liés l’un à l’autre, comme si l’un était une sous-composante de l’autre. Stone, Russell et Patterson (2004) ont analysé les caractéristiques des théories du leadership transformationnel et du leadership du service. Ils ont identifié un point commun entre ces deux styles de leadership: une grande importance est accordée à la considération individualisée et à l’appréciation des subalternes. Mais ce qui importe, c’est l’orientation générale de la pensée, du discours et de l’action des leaders. Le leadership du service est foncièrement orienté vers le service aux autres (préoccupation envers les subalternes en tant que personnes cherchant un sens à leur travail), alors que le leadership transformationnel a pour objectif d’aider les membres organisationnels à approfondir leur engagement envers les buts organisationnels et les cibles de productivité, selon ces auteurs. Pourtant, cette orientation que ces auteurs imputent au leadership transformationnel a plutôt été décrit, dans nombre de recherches, comme caractérisant plutôt le leadership transactionnel. Ispas et Tebeian (2012, 8) ont relevé que la différence fondamentale entre le leadership transformationnel et le leadership du service tient au fait que les leaders du service sont constamment prêts à aider les autres, peu importe ce que cela leur coûte. Le leadership du service semble ainsi être caractérisé par une notion de « service inconditionnel » des autres, quelles que soient les personnes ou les situations concernées, alors que le leadership transformationnel n’encouragerait qu'une aide conditionnelle aux autres. Lorsque le leadership du service est fondé sur des principes et valeurs d'ordre religieux/spirituel (théiste ou non-théiste), il risque fort de s'orienter, pour des raisons diverses (selon que la perspective est théiste ou non-théiste) vers l'inconditionnalité de l'aide apportée aux autres, même si cette inconditionnalité est longue à acquérir, quant à la croissance personnelle du leader qui est exigée pour qu'il/elle l'exprime de manière sincère et durable. Si le leadership transformationnel est centré sur une aide conditionnelle apportée aux autres, alors il reflète une ambiguïté quant aux notions d'entraide et d'altruisme, et ainsi, une ambiguïté liée à l'optimalité morale de l'action (ambiguïté axiologique).

LEADERSHIP ÉTHIQUE

L'ambiguïté du qualificatif « éthique », quand il est appliqué au climat de travail, à la culture et aux valeurs de l'organisation ainsi qu'au leadership, manifeste l'oubli total de l'histoire de l'éthique (ou de la morale) à la fois en philosophie et en théologie, ou en spiritualité non-théiste. Toute notion se rapportant à l'éthique organisationnelle n'est alors tirée que de l'analyse des attentes, désirs, émotions, discours et actions liées à la vie en milieu de travail, sans aucune référence à quelque théorie éthique que ce soit. Malheureusement, on peut constater la déconnexion presque totale (il n'existe que de rares exceptions) entre les notions liées à l'éthique organisationnelle et l'histoire même de la morale et l'éthique, autant en philosophie, en théologie qu'en spiritualité non-théiste – cette histoire constituant en elle-même une pluralité de traditions éthiques. Le constat de déconnexion entre des notions liées à l'éthique organisationnelle et les traditions éthiques se vérifie en ce qui concerne la notion de leadership éthique. Le leadership éthique est une notion qui s'est développée en lien avec d'autres théories du leadership. Sama et Shoaf (2008, 41) affirmaient ainsi que le leadership éthique vient du modèle de leadership transformationnel. La question qui est au cœur du leadership éthique est de savoir s'il s'agit d'un style de leadership spécifique, ou s'il s'agit d'une certaine manière d'adopter un style de leadership, qu'il soit charismatique, transactionnel, transformationnel, etc. Lawton et Páez (2015, 646) suggéraient que chacune des dimensions du leadership peut être compatible avec différentes théories éthiques. Ce principe est tout à fait valable, quoiqu'il demeure passablement flou. Mais qu'est-ce qui détermine qu'il y a ou non compatibilité? Pour répondre à cette question, il faudrait analyser en détails chacune des dimensions du leadership – et les théories du leadership sont déjà abondantes, ce qui compliquerait énormément la tâche à accomplir –, et voir comment, pour chacune d'entre elles, une série de théories éthiques (non-exhaustive, mais la plus complète possible, au moins en ce qui concerne les théories philosophiques) pourrait être mis en rapport avec l'une ou l'autre dimension du leadership. Le langage organisationnel est lui-même imprégné de qualificatifs « éthiques » qui sont déconnectés des traditions éthiques. Il en est ainsi non seulement pour le leadership « éthique », mais aussi pour la culture « éthique », pour le climat « éthique », et pour les valeurs « éthiques ». À quoi les « valeurs éthiques » réfèrent-elles? Mahsud et al. (2010, 565) identifiaient l'altruisme, la croissance personnelle, l'équité et l'humilité comme des valeurs éthiques. L’équité et l’humilité sont certainement des valeurs. Quant à l’altruisme, il peut être ou bien d’une valeur, ou bien une attitude. Dans les deux cas, il apparaît évident que l’altruisme a un contenu éthique, si l’on retient le critère aristotélicien « d’une vie bonne et d’institutions justes ». Car l’altruisme vise l’accroissement du bien-être des autres. À l’inverse, il serait difficilement soutenable que l’égocentrisme soit une valeur, bien que certains puissent choisir une telle prise de position, en s’appuyant sur l’égoïsme philosophique (selon lequel c’est dans la nature humaine de ne viser que son propre intérêt personnel, du moins en tout premier lieu: Thomas Hobbes; Adam Smith). Mais pour ce qui est de la croissance personnelle, il s’agit d’un but que la personne poursuit individuellement, dans sa vie groupale, organisationnelle, sociale, culturelle, ou même religieuse/spirituelle. Il serait difficile d’argumenter que c’est là une « valeur éthique ». La congruence des valeurs entre un leader et ses subalternes peut contribuer à accroître l’efficacité du leadership éthique, dans la mesure où les subalternes trouveront alors pertinent de se référer à de telles valeurs dans leur prise de décision (Lee *et al.*, 2017). Mais comment cette congruence de valeurs s’opérationnalise-t-elle? Est-ce à travers un dialogue ouvert et respectueux entre un leader et ses subalternes, quant aux valeurs désirées? N’y a-t-il pas danger que la seule présence du leader, dans ce dialogue, influence le résultat d’une congruence souhaitée par le leader? Si cette congruence est le résultat d’une étude conduite par un observateur neutre (impartial), extérieur à l’organisation, comment tient-il compte de ses propres biais interprétatifs? Le dialogue ouvert et respectueux est d’autant plus important à développer que la congruence des valeurs entre un leader et ses subalternes n’est pas aisée à créer et à sauvegarder, tout au long de l’histoire de l’organisation.

Plusieurs recherches affirment que les leaders éthiques font preuve d’honnêteté, d’équité et d’intégrité. Ce sont des leaders qui sont considérés comme des personnes fiables. Ils/elles prennent soin de leurs subalternes (Hassan *et al.*, 2013; Engelbrecht *et al.*, 2017). Ces leaders éthiques sont supposés faire toute la différence dans le climat de travail. Mayer *et al.* (2010, 13) ont conclu que les leaders qui font preuve d’intégrité, de justice, de préoccupation pour le bien-être des autres (traits « moraux » de leur personnalité) et qui sont, en même temps, capables de communiquer et récompenser l’adhésion aux standards « moraux » de l’organisation et de servir même de modèle de rôle au niveau « moral », ces leaders peuvent contribuer à créer un climat « éthique » dans l’organisation. Ici, non seulement la différence entre éthique et morale n’est pas éclaircie (si les auteurs en conçoivent une), mais surtout le caractère moral des traits de personnalité, des standards organisationnels et du modèle de rôle fourni par le leader demeure éminemment flou, n’étant assorti d’aucun critère particulier. Al Habusi *et al.* (2021, 176) ont montré qu’un leader éthique peut amener ses subalternes à adopter un comportement éthique dans l’organisation dans la mesure où règne un climat éthique de travail. Mais un climat éthique de travail doit, selon Afsar et Shahjehan (2018, 786) encourager les employés à dénoncer des pratiques non-éthiques, cette dénonciation faisant partie de ce que les auteurs appellent la « voix morale ». Cette « voix morale » demeure indéfinie, de sorte qu’il est hasardeux d’en faire un usage quelconque, en dépit du fait qu'elle semble être liée à une forme de conscience morale, et ainsi, à une clarification des frontières entre le bien et le mal. La perception de l'environnement de travail comme étant moins « politisé », au sens de jeux politiques au sein de l'organisation, affecte positivement la tendance des subalternes à avoir un engagement affectif envers l'organisation, surtout quand ces subalternes considèrent les paroles, attitudes et actions de leurs leaders comme étant éthiques. L'inverse semble vrai pour un environnement de travail hautement politisé (Li *et al.*, 2017, 97). Le climat de travail montre certainement dans quelle mesure le contexte social dans lequel baigne une organisation influence le comportement éthique des membres organisationnelles, dans la mesure où ce contexte renforce un certain type de raisonnement moral applicable aux diverses formes de collectivité (Newman *et al*., 2017, 479).

La notion de climat éthique devrait dépendre, dans son contenu, de ce qui est impliqué dans les notions de « culture organisationnelle éthique », de « valeurs organisationnelles éthiques », en vue d'une notion de leadership « éthique » à circonscrire. C'est ce qu'on pourrait appeler « l'éthicisation du langage organisationnel ». Le processus d'éthicisation du langage organisationnel peut s'effectuer en trois phases. Premièrement, l'identification d'une culture organisationnelle « éthique »: la clarification des valeurs organisationnelles « éthiques » en est une composante, puisque les valeurs, au même titre que les normes de comportement qu'elles éclairent, font partie intégrante de la culture. Deuxièmement, compte tenu de ce qui a été mis dans la notion de culture organisationnelle « éthique » (et ainsi dans les valeurs organisationnelles considérées comme étant « éthiques »), une notion de climat éthique de travail émerge. Troisièmement, après ces deux phases d'éthicisation du langage organisationnel, la notion de leadership « éthique » apparaît et rend possible autant la culture organisationnelle « éthique » (et donc la pratique des valeurs organisationnelles « éthiques ») que le climat « éthique » de travail. Logiquement, c'est ainsi que l'éthicisation du langage organisationnel devrait se dérouler, les concepts en question étant interreliés. Mais ce n'est pas ainsi que les recherches dans ces domaines se sont élaborées. À travers les différentes recherches portant sur les notions de culture organisationnelle « éthique », de valeurs organisationnelles « éthiques », de climat « éthique » de travail et de leadership « éthique », ces notions ont été construites, sans nécessairement que la possibilité d'une interdépendance entre elles soit approfondie. L'éthicisation du langage organisationnel peut avoir deux effets pervers: ou bien elle donne lieu à des échanges vides de sens (verbiage « éthicisé »), ou bien elle permet l'instrumentalisation de l'éthique, pour des motifs économiques (maximisation du profit), ou pour des motivations liées à des jeux de pouvoir au sein de l'organisation (jeux politiques: politicisation de l'éthique). Dans les deux cas, il s'agit d'une « pseudo-éthicisation » du langage organisationnel, motivée ou bien par la sauvegarde des apparences (verbiage éthicisé), ou bien par l'instrumentalisation de l'éthique à des fins économiques ou politiques.

L'éthicisation du langage organisationnel s'accompagne de deux types d'ambiguïtés du leadership éthique:

Premièrement, l'ambiguïté liée à l'optimalité morale de l'action (ambiguïté axiologique). Le leadership éthique peut avoir un effet positif sur la performance sociale de l'organisation, mais dans la mesure où le leader éthique fait preuve de justice et d'équité dans ses décisions et ses actions. La perception, par les subalternes, d'un manque de justice ou d'équité de la part du leader éthique affectera ainsi la capacité du leader d'influencer positivement la performance sociale de l'organisation, et par voie de conséquence, la tendance des subalternes à adopter des rôles qui vont au-delà des tâches qui leur sont assignées (Wang *et al.*, 2017, 106). Le leadership éthique peut avoir des effets bénéfiques sur la tendance des membres organisationnels à adopter un comportement de bonne citoyenneté corporative (Sharif et Scandura, 2014, 191), surtout envers les pairs (Zoghbi-Manrique-de-Lara et Viera-Armas, 2019, 205). Le leadership éthique peut contribuer à réduire la déviance organisationnelle des subalternes dans la mesure où il s'accompagne d'un climat éthique de travail (Aryati *et al.*, 2018). Mais cela pourrait dépendre largement de la flexibilité qu'un leader éthique peut démontrer face à ses propres convictions éthiques. Plus le leader éthique est flexible à cet égard, plus il/elle encourage ses subalternes à adopter un comportement de bonne citoyenneté organisationnelle, et moins ses subalternes seront tentés de pencher vers la déviance organisationnelle (Babalola *et al.*, 2019, 96-97). Mais que signifie « être flexible », par rapport à ses convictions éthiques? Le leader éthique semble alors aux prises avec l'ambiguïté liée à l'optimalité morale de l'action.

Deuxièmement, l'ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l'action morale (ambiguïté normative). Il semble que plus les leaders tendent à adopter un comportement éthique, plus ils/elles considèrent que les normes organisationnelles de comportement éthique sont faciles à comprendre et à mettre en application, et ainsi plus ils/elles jugent que la culture de leur organisation est éthique (Huhtala *et al.*, 2013, 260, 263). Hrenyk *et al.* (2016, 71) ont trouvé que l'identité culturelle d'une personne n'influence pas sa tendance à utiliser le relativisme moral (et culturel) dans sa prise de décision (plutôt que l'universalisme moral). Il est intéressant de constater que ce n'est pas le contenu de l'identité culturelle, mais sa structuration qui peut avoir une influence sur la prise de décision des leaders, dans les marchés globalisés. Lorsqu'il n'y a pas de congruence entre les normes sociétales et les normes organisationnelles – ou même entre les méta-normes et les normes organisationnelles -, alors les subalternes peuvent avoir tendance à favoriser les intérêts de leur organisation, même si les leaders éthiques, au sein de l'organisation, ont fortement intériorisé une identité « morale » et même si leur identité « morale » a été projetée pour devenir partie intégrante de l'identité organisationnelle (Kalshoven *et al.*, 2016, 510; Skubinn et Herzog, 2016, 258). Le modèle de rôle, au niveau « moral », ne fonctionne pas de manière linéaire et prévisible. Cela dépend largement de la volonté des subalternes de s'identifier d'abord et avant tout à leur organisation, même au détriment de méta-normes auxquelles ils peuvent dire, tout autant que leurs leaders éthiques, vouloir se conformer, du moins du bout des lèvres. Là encore, le caractère « moral » de l'identité et du modèle de rôle n'est pas clairement défini. Il y a alors ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l'action morale.

LEADERSHIP SPIRITUEL

La tendance à développer un leadership spirituel peut susciter l'élaboration d'une vision holistique des réalités organisationnelles. Dans ce cas, la vision holistique est elle-même imprégnée de valeurs fondamentales qui renforcent l'interdépendance du tout et de ses parties: confiance, authenticité, ouverture d'esprit, travail en équipe, partage, intégrité, flexibilité (Fairholm 1996, 13). Dans leur étude réalisée en Chine, Yang et al. (2019, 992-993) ont réalisé que le leadership spirituel peut accroître la performance au travail, mais seulement quand les subalternes perçoivent le leader spirituel comme étant une personne intègre. Cela démontre non seulement l'importance de l'intégrité des leaders spirituels, mais tout autant l'ancrage de cette valeur dans la culture sociétale et dans la spiritualité propre à la Chine – une spiritualité où se côtoient des influences confucéennes, taoïstes et bouddhistes. Une manière de paraître énoncer de solides fondements pour une vision « holistique » développée par un leadership spirituel consiste, comme l'ont fait Korac-Kakabadse et al. (2002, 172-173), à rassembler, dans un fourre-tout conceptuel, les caractéristiques d'importantes théories du leadership: le leadership du service (« servant leadership »), le leadership transformationnel, le leadership partagé. Au-delà de ce mixage de théories qui sous-estime l'importance de définir la perspective dite « holistique », la proposition est centrée sur la connectivité du leader avec son soi intérieur et avec le monde (les autres et l'environnement). Mais, nul ne sait ce que signifie alors cette connectivité ni comment elle peut être accomplie. Crossman (2010, 604) suggérait, à juste titre, de ne pas négliger de faire ressortir les divergences (autant que les convergences possibles) entre différentes formes de leadership. Même si aucun paramètre pour évaluer ces divergences et convergences n'était fourni, il demeure qu'un tel principe de prudence interprétative n'est que louable. Une vision holistique des réalités organisationnelles peut également être accomplie à travers des valeurs identifiées comme « humanistes », bien que ce qualificatif soit polysémique: dignité, égalité, équité, justice, empathie et compassion.

Mostovicz et al. (2001, 492) ont identifié la philosophie d'Emmanuel Levinas comme pouvant fonder la responsabilité personnelle des uns envers les autres. Malheureusement, ils n'ont pas développé davantage, de sorte qu'il est impossible de saisir en quoi la philosophie de Levinas pourrait éclairer l'un des fondements de la responsabilité corporative que constitue la responsabilité personnelle: Knights et O'Leary (2006, 134) avaient bien fait voir comment la philosophie de Levinas pouvait, par son accent sur la responsabilité envers les autres, constituer une alternative intéressante aux théories conséquentialistes (telles l'utilitarisme), à l'éthique kantienne et à l'éthique aristotélicienne des vertus. Par ailleurs, il faut constater que l'application de l'éthique lévinassienne n'est pas ce qu'il y a de plus simple, en raison de cette responsabilité illimitée envers les autres que chacun doit porter quotidiennement, comme un devoir à assumer, dans chacune de ses décisions et actions (Levinas 1999, 30-37; 2011, 22-25; 2012, 10-13).

Une vision dite « cosmopolite » pourrait avoir pour effet de développer des engagements humanistes tout en prenant en considération les mécanismes de la globalisation. C’est cette perspective que Maak et Pless (2009, 546-547) ont adopté pour considérer le leadership. Tout prend alors une saveur globalisante, ouverte aux débats entre différentes cultures sociétales ou entre des religions/spiritualités variées (théistes ou non-théistes): respecter l’égalité et la dignité fondamentales de tous les êtres humains, prendre-soin des autres (empathie et compassion), assumer ses responsabilités personnelles, s’engager dans un dialogue constructif avec toutes les parties prenantes, respecter une équité et une justice « globale », favoriser l’inclusivité, aider à créer de meilleures conditions de vie et de travail pour tout le monde, œuvrer pour la durabilité au niveau social, économique et environnemental. Chacun de ces enjeux implique une délibération morale où tous les participants sont égaux et n’exercent aucune forme de pression sur les autres. L’exercice de quelque pouvoir que ce soit y est idéalement absent (Maak 2009, 363). C’est, du moins, ce qu’imposerait l’adoption d’une éthique habermassienne de la discussion (Habermas, 1992, 111-199; 2005, 283-328; 2011, 348-396).

L’implantation de projets de développement durable, selon Marcus et Van de Ven (2015) implique des périodes de conflit et d’ambiguïté (entre les intérêts des différents acteurs) ainsi qu’un leadership pluraliste, seule voie possible pour faire face aux enjeux concrets issus de la complexité des conditions qui prévalent en cours d’implantation. Mais puisque tous les enjeux de durabilité sociale, économique et environnementale sont ramenés dans le cadre de la globalisation, l’interprétation qu’il faut donner à l’étendue concrète de ces engagements est ramenée à la nécessité d’un dialogue interculturel/interreligieux. Or, dans un tel dialogue, il est loin d’être certain que toute notion de pouvoir sera évacuée, même avec toute la bonne volonté du monde. C’est le cas lorsque l’attachement à certaines croyances/valeurs/principes n’est pas dévoilé, dans ses racines les plus profondes. Parfois, le défilement face aux différences culturelles est une stratégie visant à éviter un choc culturel. Le choc culturel naît de la disparition d’un nombre plus ou moins grand de repères familiers d’ordre social, culturel, politique, ou religieux/spirituel. Se replier sur sa culture d’origine, c’est refuser le dialogue avec la culture-hôte, refuser d’être interpellé dans ses habitudes et coutumes. C’est se complaire dans la facilité, en critiquant les façons différentes de penser, de ressentir, de parler et d’agir. Accepter le défi du dialogue interculturel/interreligieux requiert d’avoir la certitude de ne détenir aucune vérité absolue.

Les valeurs spirituelles sont supposées être celles qui renvoient à une forme quelconque de spiritualité. Mais la notion même de spiritualité, quand elle est appliquée à la vie organisationnelle, devient subitement très floue. La spiritualisation du langage organisationnel est observable non seulement dans la manière dont une organisation considère ses valeurs comme étant « spirituelles », mais également par référence à des notions empruntées à la spiritualité ou à la religion et qui sont appliquées à la vie organisationnelle, de façon analogique, sans prendre en considération les dérives de sens qui peuvent en découler. C'est clairement le cas pour la pseudo-notion d'« âme de l'organisation », ainsi que pour toutes les tentatives de (pseudo-) sacralisation du temps, de l'espace et des événements vécus en organisation. Il s'agit là d'une redéfinition du spirituel dans les milieux organisationnels. À tout le moins, il faudrait considérer les spiritualités théistes (présupposant l'existence d'un dieu, ou de plusieurs dieux) et les spiritualités athéistes ou non-théistes (dans lesquelles il n'y a aucune croyance en l'existence d'un dieu). Cette distinction est passablement importante lorsque vient le temps de définir en quoi consistent les valeurs dites « spirituelles ». Kriger et Seng (2005, 792) n'ont malheureusement pas fait cette distinction, de sorte que dans leur étude, le bouddhisme (spiritualité non-théiste) côtoie les religions monothéistes (judaïsme, christianisme, islam) et l'hindouisme, sans nuances. Benefiel (2005, 732) suggérait que la transformation spirituelle peut être définie de manière « similaire » dans une perspective théiste et dans une perspective non-théiste. Mais comment cela est-il vraiment possible? Si c'était le cas, cela signifierait que le « facteur Dieu » n'a pas vraiment d'importance pour l'analyse de la transformation spirituelle. Or, une telle prétention nierait que la présence d'un dieu impose un Infini qui, dans les religions monothéistes et dans l'hindouisme, est Créateur de l'Univers. Comment le rôle joué par un Dieu Créateur de l'Univers (comme c'est le cas dans l'hindouisme, le judaïsme, le christianisme et l'islam) pourrait-il être relégué au rang de banalités n'influençant pas directement la transformation spirituelle d'un individu? Pielstick (2005, 160-161) a évité ce piège interprétatif en distinguant les religions de la transcendance (Dieu en tant qu'Infini/Ultime: judaïsme, christianisme, islam), les religions de l'immanence (en version théiste: le « Dieu en nous »; ou en version non-théiste: l'ultime comme étant lié à tous les phénomènes de l'existence; pensons ici à la réalité ultime qui, dans le bouddhisme Mahayana, est en union non-dualiste avec la réalité conventionnelle) et le panenthéisme (Dieu est à la fois immanent et transcendant). Au moins, ces distinctions permettent de ne pas faire un amalgame de spiritualités et religions fort différentes. Mais surtout, elles rendent compte de la nature même de la liberté existentielle de l'être humain.

Les pratiques spirituelles réfèrent, entre autres, aux prières et à la méditation. Les prières qui sont faites dans les religions monothéistes (Judaïsme, Christianisme, Islam) ont un élément structurel commun: la relation à un Dieu, Créateur de l'Univers. Mais dans un cadre de référence non-théiste, les prières prennent un tout autre sens. Ainsi, dans le confucianisme, les prières adressées aux ancêtres et la manière d'accepter les « Décrets du Ciel » n'ont aucune relation avec quelque dieu que ce soit. Mais il y a plutôt un respect des ancêtres qui, s'il n'est pas accompli correctement, peut affecter négativement la vie actuelle des gens. Il y a une adhésion à un destin cosmique (sans dieu): les « Décrets du Ciel » contre lesquels tout le monde est impuissant. Dans le bouddhisme, les prières adressées au Bouddha Śākyamuni ou aux bodhisattvas qui attendent, sur Tushita, leur dernière réincarnation avant d’atteindre l’Éveil sont d’ordre non-théiste: il n’y a aucun dieu à prier. Les êtres qui sont devenus des bouddhas (par l’atteinte de l’Éveil) sont comme tout être humain: ils avaient, en eux/elles, une nature-de-bouddha (un potentiel d’atteindre l’Éveil) qu’ils/elles sont parvenus à réaliser pleinement (comme chacune/chacun peut parvenir à le faire). Lorsqu’il est question de prières, il faut toujours distinguer si un dieu est impliqué ou non. S’il n’y a pas de dieu, alors il faut identifier la croyance (non-théiste) qui remplace la foi en Dieu. Les prières autant que les méditations n’ont pour seul effet durable que de faire prendre conscience aux croyants du long chemin pour atteindre la libération intérieure intégrale, peu importe comment elle est définie (vie éternelle, Éveil). Prises isolément, les pratiques régulières de prière ou de méditation n’ont guère d’influence durable sur les paroles prononcées, les émotions ressenties, les gestes et attitudes adoptées, ou les actions entreprises. Le cheminement vers la sérénité d’esprit/cœur et l’harmonie relationnelle peut ou non s’accompagner de pratiques régulières de prière ou de méditation.

Certaines caractéristiques du leadership spirituel sont également présentes dans d’autres styles de leadership: charisme (leadership charismatique; leadership transformationnel), préoccupation pour les autres et motivation des subalternes (leadership du service; leadership transformationnel). Cette distinction importante, que n’a pas fait Sharma (2010, 137-141), est essentielle afin de ne pas confondre le leadership spirituel avec d’autres styles de leadership. Autrement, tout revient toujours au même! La stratégie d’amalgame a pour effet d’analyser tout trait de leadership avec différentes appellations, sans considérer qu’il est partagé par d’autres styles de leadership. S’il y a bien une composante spécifique du leadership spirituel, c’est sa capacité à intégrer les pratiques de prière (pour les religions théistes) ou de méditation (pour les spiritualités non-théistes) à la vie (et parfois aussi à la culture) organisationnelle. Contrairement à ce que suggèrent Delbecq et al. (2004, 171), les pratiques régulières de prière ou de méditation ne sont pas en elles-mêmes garantes d’une plus grande sérénité d’esprit/cœur et d’une meilleure harmonie relationnelle. Elles ne procurent pas automatiquement plus de liberté intérieure, ni ne font développer une pensée plus englobante. Cela dépend de la manière dont l’individu interprète à la fois l’objet de ces pratiques (pour les prières, il s’agit de la relation à Dieu; pour la méditation bouddhiste, il s’agit de la nature-de-bouddha).

La spiritualisation du langage organisationnel est liée à la fois à la dé-spiritualisation des phénomènes spirituels traditionnels et à la contextualisation accrue des croyances spirituelles. Que la spiritualité soit un construit complexe et multidimensionnel impliquant des vérités à la fois ultimes et personnelles, comme le suggèrent Markow et Klenke (2005, 9), il est facile d’en convenir, quoique la notion de vérités ultimes demeure plutôt obscure. Mais quand ces auteurs ajoutent que l’individu considère obligatoirement que ces vérités sont « inviolables dans sa propre vie », est-ce vraiment d’une notion de la spiritualité dont il est question, et non pas plutôt de l’interprétation que l’individu lui donne? Il faut distinguer un phénomène donné (la spiritualité) et les interprétations qu’un individu peut en faire, tout au long de son existence. Autrement, s'il s'insère, dans la définition même du phénomène en question, un élément d'ordre interprétatif, alors ladite définition devient biaisée et réduit les possibilités d'interprétation de ce phénomène. Dans les milieux organisationnels, on observe un phénomène croissant à travers lequel le spirituel est vidé de sa nature propre. Il ne s'agit pas là d'un transfert de sens du spirituel, mais plutôt d'une notion du spirituel qui se vide de tout contenu spécifique et qui est ainsi volatile et applicable à toute situation, peu importe les enjeux qui la caractérisent. La dé-spiritualisation des phénomènes spirituels traditionnels s'accompagne d'une spiritualisation et d'une sacralisation accrue de phénomènes profanes (ou « re-spiritualisation »). L'une des voies de la « dynamique dé-spiritualisation/re-spiritualisation » consiste à ne retenir que le bien-être spirituel des personnes, tout en le liant à son appartenance à un groupe donné et à un « appel spirituel » aux contours indéfinis. C'est ce que Fry *et al*. (2005) ainsi que Fry et Cohen (2009, 269) ont proposé. Il s'agissait d'une version traditionnelle du leadership, centrée sur le travail en équipe, l'engagement organisationnel et la productivité, mais assortie d'une couleur spirituelle sans fondements. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que le leadership spirituel, avec toute l'attention qui est portée par le leader aux besoins spirituels des membres organisationnels, puisse contribuer à améliorer la performance organisationnelle (Salehzadeh et al., 2015, 353) ou à favoriser les comportements de bonne citoyenneté organisationnelle (Sholikhah et al., 2019, 241), et ainsi à éviter les conduites de déviance telles que la corruption (Sharma, 2010; Wahyono et Wijayanto, 2021, 104). Cependant, l'influence du leader spirituel sur les comportements de bonne citoyenneté organisationnelle de ses subalternes n'est pas uniquement due au leadership spirituel lui-même. Il n'y a aucune influence directe à cet égard (Pio et Tampi, 2018, 764). D'autres facteurs entrent en jeu. L'autonomie laissée à la personne en est un (Hunsaker, 2017, 496). Ce n'est pas là un facteur banal, si l'on considère que la marge d'autonomie laissée aux personnes est souvent tributaire d'une influence culturelle (au niveau sociétal) et parfois aussi religieuse/spirituelle. La dé-spiritualisation des phénomènes spirituels traditionnels, lorsqu'elle est initiée et renforcée par des leaders spirituels dans l'organisation, a pour effet de créer une ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l'action morale (ambiguïté normative). Car cette dé-spiritualisation suscite non seulement une redéfinition des phénomènes spirituels en organisation, mais également une spiritualisation de phénomènes profanes (comme la spiritualisation du langage organisationnel: « l'âme de l'organisation »). Du coup, cela instaure de nouveaux paramètres de réflexion d'ordre moral. La spiritualisation du langage organisationnel en vient immanquablement à se confronter aux normes de comportement moral dans l'organisation, soit pour les renforcer, soit pour les compléter, soit pour les contredire. Dans tous les cas, l'arrimage entre la spiritualisation du langage organisationnel, d'une part, et la normativité morale dans l'organisation, d'autre part, ne va pas de soi. Il s'ensuit une ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l'action morale.

La contextualisation accrue des croyances spirituelles en organisation découle du mouvement de dé-spiritualisation des phénomènes spirituels traditionnels et de spiritualisation du langage organisationnels (la dynamique dé-spiritualisation/re-spiritua lisation). Les croyances spirituelles d’un leader peuvent avoir un effet sur sa pensée stratégique, seulement si elles font déjà partie du contexte organisationnel et institutionnel dans lequel baigne ce leader. Car le mode d’action du leader en regard de la stratégie influence le contexte organisationnel/institutionnel tout autant qu’il est influencé par ce contexte. Autant les croyances spirituelles du leader peuvent être influencées par le contexte organisationnel/institutionnel, autant elles peuvent influencer ce même contexte. Les effets de l’adoption d’un leadership spirituel peuvent varier selon les secteurs économiques (Chen et Yang, 2012, 113). Ils peuvent même varier d’une organisation à une autre, dans le même secteur économique, surtout quand le contenu de la spiritualité adoptée n’est pas substantiellement le même d’un leader à un autre, d’une organisation à l’autre. La contextualisation accrue des croyances spirituelles opérée par un leader spirituel peut amener une redéfinition des buts organisationnels tout autant que des valeurs fondamentales de l’organisation (responsabilité sociale, altruisme, authenticité, respect des personnes et des croyances). Mais cette redéfinition n’est pas évidente, car elle met inévitablement en opposition des cadres de référence qui ont leurs propres critères et principes de cohérence. La contextualisation accrue des croyances spirituelles découle de la spiritualisation du langage organisationnel. Elle ne peut qu’accentuer le gouffre qui sépare ces croyances contextualisées de la normativité morale propre à l’organisation. Il en découle une ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l’action morale (ambiguïté normative).

Le leadership spirituel paraît être bien ajusté aux exigences d’un but « plus élevé » que la seule maximisation du profit. Si ce but « plus élevé » consiste simplement à favoriser le bien commun de manière altruiste, comme le suggèrent Klaus et Fernando (2016, 88), en quoi se distingue-t-il du seul fait d’assumer sa responsabilité sociale d’entreprise? Que la foi soit liée à l’altruisme (Dede et Ayranci, 2014, 3395), soit. Mais, en quoi y a-t-il, dans les décisions altruistes d’un leader, une quelconque trace de spiritualité? Considérer le leadership spirituel comme favorisant l’amélioration continue dans l’organisation (systèmes de contrôle, qualité des produits et services), la prise en considération des intérêts des parties prenantes et le triple bilan, comme le font Fry et Slocum (2008) ainsi que Fry et al. (2010, 305), ne révèle pas d’effets concret de la spiritualité non seulement sur le leadership lui-même, mais aussi sur ces enjeux organisationnels tout à fait « classiques ». Hunsaker (2021, 153) a fait état que les pratiques de leadership spirituel peuvent valoriser, chez les subalternes, leurs diverses tentatives de donner du sens à leur vie, autant au travail que dans leur vie familiale. La présence d’un leader spirituel n’est pas une panacée quant à l’accroissement de l’engagement des subalternes envers leur organisation. D’autres facteurs importants entrent en considération. La crédibilité du leader spirituel pourrait en être affectée, si ce leader ne parvient pas à régler de manière satisfaisante ce qui fait grandement problème dans la vie des subalternes. Le leadership spirituel peut paraître avoir un effet plus englobant que le leadership authentique. Mais ce n’est là qu’une apparence, car le lien entre le leadership authentique et le sens donné à la vie organisationnelle autant qu’à la vie familiale n’a pas encore été établi. Dans une perspective plus vaste, l’étude de Yang et al. (2021, 125) a fait ressortir que le leadership spirituel peut motiver les subalternes à approfondir leur propre spiritualité et peut même exercer une certaine influence sur les valeurs qui entourent leur spiritualité, peu importe le caractère flou de ces valeurs et de leur contenu proprement spirituel. La contextualisation accrue des croyances spirituelles en organisation accentue davantage l'ambiguïté du leadership spirituel liée aux fondements de l'action morale.

CONCLUSION

Les cinq styles de leadership étudiés ont des contributions spécifiques:

- *Leadership authentique*: climat de travail imprégné de sécurité psychologique et de la mise en pratique des valeurs (individuelles et organisationnelles); acceptation, par le leader, de ses propres limites; développement de l'intelligence émotionnelle; valorisation de la pluralité des quêtes de sens;
- *Leadership du service*: recherche constante du bien commun; ouverture à la pluralité des quêtes de sens;
- *Leadership transformationnel*: renforcement du développement moral des subalternes; analyse de la complexité de la connaissance des réalités/phénomènes organisationnels;
- *Leadership éthique*: contribution au climat éthique de travail et au comportement éthique dans l'organisation; confrontation à la congruence entre les normes organisationnelles, les normes sociétales et les méta-normes;
- Leadership spirituel: développement d'une vision holistique/cosmopolite des réalités et phénomènes de la vie organisationnelle.

Ces cinq styles de leadership démontrent deux préoccupations fondamentales tirées de la post-modernité: l'ouverture à la pluralité des quêtes de sens (leadership authentique, leadership du service); la reconnaissance de la complexité des réalités organisationnelles, sociales, culturelles, économiques, politiques et religieuses (leadership transformationnel, leadership spirituel). Cela n'empêche pas ces styles de leadership de valoriser l'attitude de prendre soin des membres organisationnels et de favoriser leur plus grand bien-être ainsi que la volonté d'encadrer le comportement éthique à travers des normes organisationnelles et de le renforcer à travers toute la culture de l'organisation. Après analyse des composantes des cinq styles de leadership en question, on peut noter que l'ouverture à la multiplicité des quêtes de sens n'est fortement accentuée que dans le leadership authentique et dans le leadership du service. Mais elle est rarement présente – sauf, de manière plus effacée – dans le leadership spirituel, en tant que celui-ci vise à adopter une vision holistique et cosmopolite de la vie organisationnelle, une vision qui, à l'instar du leadership transformationnel, reconnaît la complexité, partout où elle se trouve. Quant à la préoccupation pour l'encadrement du comportement éthique dans l'organisation, elle est clairement établie dans le leadership éthique – ce qui n'est guère étonnant – et dans une moindre mesure, dans le leadership transformationnel (sous la forme d’une préoccupation pour le développement moral des membres organisationnels) et dans le leadership du service (qui est foncièrement orienté vers la recherche du bien commun). C’est la composante la plus commune aux styles de leadership retenus pour analyse, quoiqu’elle ait une orientation autant collective – bien commun (leadership du service) et climat éthique de travail (leadership éthique – qu’individuelle – développement moral (leadership transformationnel) et pratique des valeurs (leadership authentique). Le leadership authentique y attache également une certaine importance en insistant sur les valeurs du leader authentique traduites par ses paroles et actions ainsi que sur sa capacité à amener également les membres de l’organisation à faire de même. Dans ce cas, il s’agit clairement d’une orientation individuelle donnée à la préoccupation d’encadrer le comportement éthique des membres organisationnels.

Cependant, ces cinq styles de leadership sont aux prises avec des ambiguïtés particulières.

- L’ambiguïté propre au leadership authentique se rapporte aux fondements de l’action morale (ambiguïté normative), en ce qu’elle ne fournit aucune méthode pour réduire la distance critique entre le raisonnement moral et les effets de sa traduction en paroles, attitudes, gestes et actions. La personnalité authentique n’est pas strictement lié au développement de l’humilité, et par voie de conséquence, à l’élimination de l’arrogance et de l’orgueil. À travers leur raisonnement moral, les leaders authentiques peuvent bien reconnaître qu’ils/elles sont des personnes existentiellement limitées. Cela les engage à la sincérité, mais pas nécessairement à l’humilité. La reconnaissance de la finitude existentielle ne porte alors pas ses fruits dans les actions elles-mêmes. Une ambiguïté liée à l’optimalité morale de l’action (ambiguïté axiologique) se dessine également, en regard de l’extension d’application concrète de l’authenticité par les leaders dits « authentiques ».
- L’ambiguïté propre au leadership du service concerne l’asymétrie entre la demande d’aide et l’offre d’aide aux membres organisationnels, aux prises avec différents problèmes, dilemmes et enjeux. C’est une ambiguïté liée à l’optimalité morale de l’action (ambiguïté axiologique). L’imprécision du « bien commun » recherché par le leader du service, tient au caractère polysémique de cette notion, issue de diverses influences sociales, culturelles, économiques, politiques, voire religieuses et spirituelles. Cette imprécision ne fait que nourrir l’ambiguïté axiologique de ce type de leadership, car les valeurs et attitudes servant à circonscrire le « bien commun » proviennent de ces différents facteurs de conditionnement et ne sont pas forcément compatibles les unes avec les autres.
- L’ambiguïté propre au leadership transformationnel concerne la difficulté de faire des compromis entre la loyauté aveugle (envers l’organisation) et l’adhésion à des méta-normes, qui dépassent les normes de comportement éthique dans l’organisation (ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l’action morale: ambiguïté normative). Elle concerne également l’aide « conditionnelle » apportée par le leader aux membres organisationnels (ambiguïté liée à l’optimalité morale de l’action: ambiguïté axiologique).

- *L'ambiguïté propre au leadership éthique* concerne la flexibilité du leader en regard de ses convictions morales (ambiguïté liée à l'optimalité morale de l'action: ambiguïté axiologique) ainsi qu'à la difficulté d'arrimer les normes organisationnelles de comportement éthique et les méta-normes (ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l'action morale: ambiguïté normative). Ces deux ambiguïtés sont renforcées par l'éthicisation du langage organisationnel.
- L*'ambiguïté propre au leadership spirituel* se rapporte à la dé-spiritualisation des phénomènes spirituels traditionnels, à la spiritualisation de phénomènes profanes (la spiritualisation du langage organisationnel) qui en découle, ainsi qu'à la contextualisation accrue des croyances spirituelles dans l'organisation (ambiguïté liée aux fondements de l'action morale: ambiguïté normative).

L'analyse des ambiguïtés axiologiques et normatives des cinq styles de leadership sous étude comporte des limites importantes. Premièrement, seulement cinq styles de leadership ont été analysés. D'autres styles de leadership (ex: leadership partagé, leadership transactionnel, « self-leadership ») auraient pu être analysés. Deuxièmement, les notions de moralité et d'éthique n'ont pas été approfondies, du moins d'un point de vue philosophique, puisque les recherches sur les cinq styles de leadership ne s'attardent pas à les définir, en la liant aux grandes traditions éthiques, qu'elles soient philosophiques (de la philosophie grecque à la philosophie analytique et au pragmatisme), religieuses (ex: les religions monothéistes), ou spirituelles (ex: bouddhisme, taoïsme, confucianisme). Troisièmement, les cinq styles de leadership et les ambiguïtés qui les caractérisent n'ont pas été testés empiriquement.

Il ressort de la présente étude que le problème auquel aucun de ces styles de leadership ne se confronte, c'est celui de l'apprentissage, par le leader, de la paix intérieure et de l'harmonie relationnelle. Aucun de ces styles de leadership n'offre de perspectives de croissance intérieure et relationnelle qui iraient dans le sens d'un cheminement de sagesse. Chacune des ambiguïtés liées à l'un ou l'autre style de leadership pourrait être plus efficacement assumée (et potentiellement transcendée) si les leaders acceptaient les exigences d'un véritable cheminement de sagesse, qui suppose une croissance de la sérénité d'esprit/cœur et de la capacité de susciter et renforcer l'harmonie relationnelle. C'est justement ce qui pourrait être la caractéristique principale d'un éventuel « leadership humanisant ». Le leadership humanisant ajouterait une orientation fondamentale vers la double source du bonheur individuel: la sérénité intérieure et l'harmonie relationnelle. Un leadership humanisant valoriserait l'authenticité et la sincérité (leadership authentique), mais plus important encore, l'humilité, afin d'éviter les innombrables pièges de l'orgueil, qui perturbent la sérénité d'esprit/cœur et rendent l'harmonie relationnelle beaucoup plus difficile à atteindre et à maintenir. Le leadership humanisant accentuerait, tout comme le leadership de service, le fait de se mettre au service des autres. Mais il donnerait au « service » un sens très précis et éminemment exigeant: l'altruisme, qui suppose la disparition de toutes les tendances égocentriques de la personnalité. Le leadership humanisant rechercherait, à l'instar du leadership transformationnel, la transformation des individus (le dépassement de soi chez les membres organisationnels) ainsi que la croissance de toute l’organisation. Cependant, le leadership humanisant approfondirait davantage le cheminement intérieur exigé, en termes de sérénité d’esprit/cœur et d’harmonie relationnelle. Le leadership humanisant accentuerait beaucoup plus les dimensions éthiques du comportement (la visée éthique d’une « vie bonne ») que ne le fait le leadership éthique, compte tenu qu’il s’attaquerait aux fondements mêmes du comportement non-éthique, en l’occurrence les émotions perturbatrices (colère, jalousie, haine, vengeance, méchanceté, arrogance, orgueil). Enfin, le leader humanisant chercherait à donner l’opportunité aux membres organisationnels d’approfondir leur propre quête spirituelle. Mais il se ferait surtout un devoir de cheminer dans sa propre quête, avec pour balises principales l’accroissement de sa sérénité d’esprit/cœur et sa capacité d’être en harmonie relationnelle avec les autres, peu importe les personnalités et circonstances rencontrées. Ce qui distinguerait radicalement le leadership humanisant de ces cinq autres styles de leadership (authentique, de service, transformationnel, éthique, spirituel), ce serait l’importance accordée à cheminer vers l’inconditionnalité de l’amour, de l’altruisme et de la compassion. Chacun de ces cinq styles de leadership peut s’accommoder d’un amour, d’un altruisme et d’une compassion assujettis à des conditions préalables. Mais un leadership humanisant, dont il reste à définir les balises et les fondements, exigerait de cheminer concrètement, pas à pas, vers l’inconditionnalité de l’amour, de l’altruisme et de la compassion, sans égard aux personnalités et aux situations rencontrées.

*Michel Dion**

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IDENTIFYING THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR COMMON GOOD LEADERSHIP

Received: November 2021 I Accepted: February 2022

Cynthia M. Montaudon-Tomas*, Manuel Alejandro Gutiérrez-González**,
Ingrid N. Pinto-López*** & Claudia Malcón-Cervera****.

ABSTRACT

Scarcity in writings regarding common good leadership calls for a review of existing documents to help establish a connection between the common good and leadership literature. The method for this article included a literature review and content analysis. In order to identify the theoretical foundations for common good leadership, interactions between the fields of common good and leadership were established. Leadership styles associated with the common good were mapped, along with their most relevant characteristics, specifically traits, and skills of potential common good leaders. The article provides an integrative definition of common good leadership that intertwines basic assumptions of the notions of common good and main leadership characteristics. This is the first time that a definition for common good leadership has been provided.

Keywords: Common good leadership, Theories, Styles, Definition

JUL - DEC 2021

*UPAEP Universidad, cynthiamaria.montaudon@upaep.mx
**Universidad Tecnológica del Estado de Querétaro,alejandro.gutierrez@uteq.edu.mx
***UPAEP Universidad, ingrid.pinto@upaep.mx
****UPAEP Universidad, *claudia.malcon@upaep.mx*

INTRODUCTION

This article brings together the notions of common good and leadership, briefly describing historical aspects and relevant theories. It also analyses the existing literature that connects the notions of common good to leadership through a survey of the different leadership styles. The intention is to highlight the importance of common good from an individual perspective -that of a leader- and how they may contribute to building common good processes. Indeed, while the role of a leader in mobilizing others has attracted more research, interest in analyzing the features of common good leadership also increased. However, literature on the subject is still scarce.

A bibliometric analysis has shown that the field of common good leadership is underdeveloped and under-researched, which adds to the relevance of studies trying to identify specific underpinnings with other theories to connect and develop new knowledge[1].

Due to the added emphasis given to ethics in business, leaders who can positively influence others, helping achieve their objectives and searching to serve the common good, are in high demand (Yarce, 2014). In recent years, one of the most significant challenges in higher education has been to help develop leaders who are responsible and conscious about the common good (Vázquez, 2003). To have a clear conscience of the common good and discern between right and wrong in every situation is an ability that can only be obtained through a holistic and integral education (Martí-Borbolla, 2020). 'Learning in context' and 'personal leadership' are especially important in the outset of any effort to achieve the common good in a multipolar world (Crosby & Bryson, 2005). The introduction of common good leadership in educational institutions can possibly help develop the leaders that the world needs.

As Pope Francis has clearly stated, "We lack leadership capable of striking out new paths and meeting the needs of the present with the concern for all without prejudice towards future generations" (Francis, 2015 p. 39). There is a concern for introducing values in education, such as emotional education, ethics, and communication for democracy while discovering nature and oneself (Felber, 2012).

Leaderships that have been referred to as related to the common good or leaderships that in their definitions mention the common good do not necessarily explain how the common good is achieved. In this article, the common good is considered as a practical notion. It is the telos[2] of society and is the element that congregates the individuals to achieve perfection. In the conceptual background of this article, the concept of the common good is discussed in greater depth.

[1] The idea for this article came from the challenges faced by business school professors in a private university in Puebla, Mexico – which has developed a pedagogy for the common good and has based its educational model on the directive of transformational leadership – as they had not been able to find adequate literature to teach students the skills required to become common good leaders.

[2] Expressed by Aristotle as the full potential or inherent purpose or objective of a person.

To develop common good leaders, it is essential to understand the responsibility to act on the problems, care about governance and policy change, and become change agents. Common good leaders use a variety of skills, focused on achieving solidarity, self-control, and self-management, the logic of gift, sustainability, congruence, flourishing, responsibility, management, resilience, collaboration, and justice (Malcón-Cervera, Montaudon-Tomas, Pinto-López & Gutiérrez-González, in this issue). Consistent leadership is strongly connected to personal values and beliefs that can prove challenging to change when switching to a different leadership style. In fact, common good leadership and any other positive leadership style require a platform of values, interests, and beliefs to build upon (Underdal, 1994).

Ideas about the common good frequently appear in leadership literature. It has been suggested that effective leadership builds community and enhances the common good (Northouse, 2015); that leadership is a central aspect in all social affairs and an integral part of societies structured around the common good (Antonacopoulou & Bento, 2018). It has also been suggested that virtually anything might be possible with enough leadership for the common good (Crosby & Bryson, 2006, 363) and that leadership is at the core of collective action in the pursuit of the common good (Lindberg & Scheingold 1970, 128).
This article aims to provide an understanding of where common good leadership stands in a myriad of leadership styles, how this particular style may be defined, and what the main characteristics should be in order to provide a baseline for the development of a theoretical framework for this understudied yet essential leadership style. In the first part, the method applied to identify the characteristics of Common Good Leadership is discussed. The conceptual framework provides a better understanding of the common good as a practical notion. This discussion is reasonably recent since, in the literature review of leadership styles, there is not a distinction of common good leadership. In the second part, the theory of common good and leadership are bought together, identifying critical elements in the description of leadership styles that connect to the idea of the common good. After the analysis, the most relevant traits associated with leadership for the common good were identified and classified. The top ten traits were then used to develop the first approximation towards a definition of common good leadership following an integrative approach.

METHOD

The selected method for this article was a literature review along with content analysis and text analytics. A process of content analysis and text analytics was performed to analyze current documents connected to common good leadership. Content analysis is a technique commonly used to determine the presence of certain concepts within qualitative data (Neuman, 2003; Krippendorff, 2004).

Analysis were performed on the notion of common good and how it could be related to different types of leadership through text mining, extracting information from large amounts of textual data identifying connections, trends, and patterns (Fuller et al., 2011; Aureli et al., 2016)[3].

CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

This first section presents a general background of the notion of common good and how it is used, along with a brief historical recount of leadership theories and styles.

THE COMMON GOOD AS A PRACTICAL NOTION

The notion of common good is not new. It originated more than two thousand years ago with the writings of Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero (Velázquez et al., 1992, 1). In modern and contemporary times, this concept changed. Nowadays, common good is frequently used as an ornament or decoration in the speeches of some politicians or as a totalitarian idea (Rawls, in Sandel, 2020; and Nebel, 2018), being considered in stark contrast with the individual, with what is personal and private (Crosby & Bryson, 2005). The notion of common good is not clear, and definitions with very different perspectives and visions restrict the possibilities of a unifying understanding of the common good. This is a reason why the notion of common good has become a buzzword (a concept without content) applied to almost all human activities, including leadership (Riordan, 2008, 1-14).

There has even been a resurrection of the idea of common good in political philosophy. It appears that in the face of diverse economic, social, political, and even health crises, the common good might help find the right way to answer common issues and restore society because it allows communities to remain together and identify the type of society in which members would like to live (Costas, 2018). Every person is called to help build the common good (Huete & García, 2018) because it provides the conditions that allow the human person's fulfillment (Second Vatican Council, 1975, n. 26).

The common good might help communities and individuals answer common issues since, to live in a society, private interests need to be compatible with common interests based on a specific conception of justice (Camps, 2015). In the relationships between the individual and the community, the common good is achieved (Crosby & Bryson, 2005). Institutions are vehicles for enacting the common good, but the action stems from the individual.

The civil society is one of the actors with a vocation for the common good. Recent attention has been placed on the need and responsibility of civil society to manage the common good (Cánovas, 2020). In this sense, the revival of the idea of common good

[3] Sources of data were published documents, such as books, articles, newspaper information, webpages, discussions, and other communications on the topic of common good and leadership. Existing publications available of the Web of Science and Scopus databases were analyzed first, and additional searches were performed to identify publications in other languages.

can be connected to three main lines of thought: the limits of political liberalism, the establishment of new public goods, and the need to reaffirm the objectives of governance (Nebel, 2018, 33).

The common good approach has been analyzed from the perspective of a philosophy of collective action (Nebel, 2018, Nebel, Garza-Vázquez & Sedmak, 2022). This approach is supported by the description of the three elements involved in every type of interaction, namely the subject of collective action, the object of an interaction, and the "stage" or "context" where the interaction develops. The subject describes the group of persons who perform the interaction on the grounds of a shared intentionality or practical rationality. The object designates the goal that the group gradually achieves, which are ongoing results of the interaction and the social reality it progressively creates. Finally, the stage or context refers to the social system on which this particular interaction builds, facilitating the space in which the specific interaction becomes significant. The link between the subject and the object must not be assumed as a given. It is inherently fragile due to the complexity of the consensus and cooperation binding together the people involved in the interaction and uncertain times.

Therefore, the common good can be understood as an ethical principle that governs actions and is based on the logic of common cooperation (Nebel, 2018, 34). The specific social goods that people create are coextensive to their interaction. It is concretely and practically linked to the way people organize in society to produce and distribute these social goods. Four simple questions help identify commons (2018, 36): "Which are our common needs? Which goods do we value together? Which goods do we want to reach together? How can we achieve them as a collective?". These questions are supported on a system of commons rather than on the universal notion of the common good, focusing on the interactions that convene a community towards a shared future. When the community wishes for the common good, it brings hope; and when the community defines the set of commons they want, it brings about the dynamic structure along which society will evolve, building a future for all.

Several problems arise when there is no commitment toward the common good. First, there might be a disagreement regarding the value of the common good because people value things differently. When this type of disagreement emerges, the ability to induce a sustained and widespread commitment to the common good is cut short. In second place, access to the social benefits that the common good provides is frequently hard to control. Excluding from the benefit those who do not take part in maintaining the common good is usually tricky. 'Free riders' taking benefits from the common good while refusing to do their part are not uncommon (Velasquez, Andre, Shanks & Meyer, 1992, 3). When free riding becomes significant or dominant, the common good is destroyed (Hardin,1968). Thirdly, individualism frequently gets in the way of collective actions towards the common good. When individual freedoms and personal rights prevail as ultimate norms of a political system, the burden of the common good is laid on the State. In contrast, citizens can freely care for their interests (Velasquez, Andre, Shanks & Meyer,1992, 3). Finally, when there is an unequal sharing of burdens in the search for the common good, individuals and groups might feel that the situation is unfair or unjust and might resist the efforts to secure common goods.

To clarify and organize what is required in order to produce a common good efficiently is not straightforward. Even once a political consensus emerges around a system of common goods, achieving the common good is difficult (Obradovick, 2021). That is why leaders are needed, particularly people who will help define the common good and organize the efforts to achieve common goals; individuals who can share their gifts and passion (Russel, 2012), committing to authentic personal transformation to enrich the world around them (Cashman, 1998), and who use their talents to bring out the best in others, helping them shine and inspire new challenges (Russel, 2012)[4].

LEADERSHIP STYLES AND THEORIES

The common good has been connected to the notion of leadership. Leadership is sometimes hard to define (similar to the case of the common good), mainly because there seem to be as many definitions of leadership as there are authors on the topic. Furthermore, there is no unified leadership theory because leadership emphasizes multiple outcomes, including performance, actions, levels, political systems, immediate or delayed effects, and differences in the context (Dihn, Lord, Gardner, Meuser, Liden & Hu, 2014). Furthermore, many definitions have been developed over the years to respond to changes in the context and the emergence of novel leadership theories.

The definition by Northouse seems to be a good starting point to understand the general meaning of leadership:

"Leadership is a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal" (Northouse, 2015, 6).

The fundamental notions in this definition are process, influence, achievement, and common goal. From the perspective of Hughes et al. (2019), these notions can be described as follows: A process is a series of actions or steps taken to achieve a specific goal (Hughes et al., 2019, 4). Influence in leadership is used to describe the change in a target agents' attitudes, values, beliefs, or behaviors (Hughes et al., 2019, 112). Achievement is connected to accomplishing socially acceptable endeavors and activities (Hughes et al. 2019 349), and finally, the common goal can be analyzed from the perspective of desirable opportunities (Hughes et al., 2019, 4).

It can be concluded that leadership refers to the steps or actions taken to achieve a goal by creating change in the target agent's attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors to accomplish socially acceptable endeavors, which are desirable opportunities.

[4] A different perspective in understanding the need for the common good is considering the common bad. Common good and common bad are different sides of a coin, the common bad occurs in public problems, and it is essential to remedy such problems. That is why the common good needs to be set forward to remedy and reduce the harmful effects resulting from the common bad (Crosby & Bryson, 2005).

Leadership theories have focused on what leadership is like, what leaders say, what they do, and where and why they exercise their leadership (Lorenzi, 2004). Leadership comes from a multiplicity of backgrounds which creates diverse theories and styles (Edelman, 1993). Some of the most relevant leadership theories have been included in the appendix.

Leadership theories have been developed in different times to explain why specific individuals become leaders while others do not. These theories explain the main characteristics, the importance of traits or experience, the situation at hand, and other relevant conditions. Variations in leadership theories help explain the complexity and multifaceted nature of leadership and the diversity of leadership styles that have been formulated in connection to such theories.

As leadership theories have progressed, more elements have come into the mix. It is not enough to have certain qualities or behave in a specific manner, have the highest values, or be aware of the consequences of their actions and the situation at hand in a specific context. The field of leadership needs to consider all the above and additional conditions that can emerge in a given moment when leadership actions are required.

It might seem that, for common good leadership, transformational and full range leadership theories could be the more suitable, yet, specific skills and traits are needed, and the context and the situation at hand are equally relevant. All of this is also connected to what has been described as leadership styles.
Leadership styles can be traced back to Lewin & Lippit (1938), who established that leadership could be either autocratic or democratic. One year later, a new style was added. That of *laissez faire* leadership (Lewin, Lippitt & White, 1939).

In 1970, Hersey and Blanchard proposed four leadership styles, ultimately challenging previous classifications: telling, selling, participating, and delegating. As time went by, new additions and propositions were made. Blake and Mouton (1985) developed a grid that resulted in five distinct styles: impoverished, country club, produce or perish, middle or the road, and team style. By 2003, Goleman, Boyatzis, & McKee proposed six styles: commanding, visionary, affiliative, democratic, pace-setting, and coaching leadership.

In the new millennia, the number of styles seemed to have skyrocketed, evolving through various theoretical streams (Hussain & Hassan, 2016). New styles were created for almost every need, adjusted to increased changes in ways of organization, new technologies, and new employment models, which makes it challenging to determine which leadership style is best. A quick search about leadership styles results in hundreds of them, many of which have been developed considering previous leadership styles' dominant skills or traits.

Leadership styles are associated with particular characteristics. They include traits (motives, personality), values, integrity, moral development, confidence and optimism, skills and expertise, leadership behavior, influence tactics, attributions about followers, and beliefs and assumptions.

The basic leadership styles are briefly described in Table 1; although not exhaustive, it shows the most common styles as reflected in leadership literature.

Table 1.
Basic leadership styles

Style	Descriptions
Affiliative Leader	Focuses on the emotional bonds created and the sense of belonging. When overused, it might lead to mediocre performance and a lack of direction (Benicasa, 2016).
Autocratic or Authoritarian Leader	The leader is given the power to make decisions alone, having total authority, and supervises and controls people closely when they perform certain tasks. The use of hard tactics to control others is frequent (Hughes et al., 2019, 133). It results in an impersonal approach (Benicasa, 2016).
Bureaucratic Leader	The leader follows rules rigorously and ensures that their staff also follows procedures precisely. This is a leadership style appropriate for work involving serious safety risks (such as working with machinery, toxic substances, or at dangerous heights) or where large sums of money are involved (Amanchukwu et al., 2015, 10).
Democratic or Participative Leader	Includes more people in the decision-making process of determining what to do and how to do it. Influence is done through rational methods (Hughes et al. 2019, 132-133). The leader keeps the morale high by learning to listen to others (Goleman, 2017). The leader consults with, asks for suggestions, and obtains information from subordinates for important decisions (Dorfman et al., 1997). It is not recommended when there are significant time constraints (Benicasa, 2016).
Laissez-Faire or Delegative Leader	The leader allows people to make their own decisions but is still responsible for the decisions made. This style allows more freedom and responsibility for people. However, the leader needs competent people around them, or nothing will get done (Chaudhry & Javed, 2012).
Charismatic Leader	The leader is well-liked, inspires people, and leads by creating energy and eagerness in their followers, appealing to people's emotional side. Charisma is frequently associated with those leaders who can develop strong emotional attachments with followers (Hughes et al., 2019, 599). The leader develops confidence among followers, setting challenging goals and encouraging high expectations (Dorfman et al., 1997).

Servant Leader	The highest priority of this leader is to inspire, encourage, support, and enable people to fulfill their full potential and abilities. The leader helps people achieve their goals and works for them, creating a sense of community (Hughes et al., 2019, 161).
Coaching Leader	The leader develops people for the future. The coaching style works better when the leader wants to help teammates build lasting personal strengths that make them more successful overall. "Coaching is the process of equipping people with the tools they need to develop and become more successful" (Peterson & Hicks, 1996).
The coercive leader	The leader demands immediate compliance. The coercive style is most effective in times of crisis. It is based on the potential of influencing others by administering negative sanctions or the removal of positive events through fear of punishment or loss (Hughes et al., 2019, 121-122), and people tend to feel disrespected (Goleman, 2017).
The Pace-Setting Leader	The leader sets exceptionally high-performance standards and exemplifies them (Goleman, 2017). The leader expects and portrays excellence and self-direction, leading by example. This style works best when the team is already motivated and skilled, and the leader needs quick results. If used extensively, it can overwhelm team members, get in the way of innovation, and can cause resentment and hesitation in supplying new ideas (Benicasa, 2016, 6).
The Transformational Leader	Leaders have a compelling vision of what a new society or organization could be (Hughes et al., 2019, 600). There is a more balanced leader-follower dynamic where leaders value their followers' motivations in the process of attaining organizational goals (Tian, 2013).

Source: Developed by the authors with information cited in the text.

A common line of thought might be that common good leadership is mainly associated with specific styles, such as servant and coaching. Still, each leadership style is connected to various distinct traits and skills that can be used in different contexts. For instance, it might be in the interest of the common good to evacuate a flooding region, and, in order to mobilize people, sometimes authoritarian or coercive traits will be needed to deal with a crisis.

Nowadays, it appears that most leaders do not possess an exclusive or limited leadership style but a combination of skills and traits that might be representative of traditional leadership styles. Regardless of the leadership style or combination of styles, Magrett et al. (2015) have suggested that there has been a consensus among psychologists that the five most important personality traits that a leader requires to be able to mobilize others are openness, consciousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and emotional stability. This means that leaders must be inventive and curious, self-disciplined and efficient, energetic, friendly, compassionate, and even-tempered.

COMMON GOOD AND LEADERSHIP

Research on the action of leading abounds, but there is not much about leading for the common good (Chappell, 1993). Common good leadership is an example of modern-day leadership styles. It is a type of leadership that improves the human condition and the common good but through individual actions (Stringer, in Grace & Grace, 1998); it takes leadership to get people to choose the common good, although people can, of course, make a personal decision not to choose the common good over their personal freedom (Obradovick, 2021).

Not all leadership behavior manifests itself in serving the common good (Lorenzi, 2004). The importance of a leader's moral training in identifying and promoting the common good has been clearly stated (Alexander & Buckinghamm, 2011), and it has even been suggested that common good dictates that leadership should be judged based on moral criteria and not by professional competence (O'Brien, 2009), which somewhat goes against the general ideas about leadership efficiency and also that of the common good.

There are obstacles that hinder the urge to act towards the common good. Things might go wrong; therefore, shortcomings, difficulties, inconveniences, and inefficiencies might appear. Common good requires effort, facing risks, pooling resources, and even sacrificing something. It involves a sense of reciprocity to which one takes, and one gives at the same time (Castiglioni, Lozza, Bosio, 2018). Sometimes it might seem more attractive to stay in one's comfort zone doing what best suits personal interests, without risking anything, instead of being exposed to danger to protect and defend the common good, making it difficult to establish what the optimal conditions should be. Although this might seem like a mediocre attitude, it frequently occurs (Sternberg, 2017).

The pursuit of the common good sometimes requires that certain people carry heavier burdens than others or pool in more resources, resulting in a perception of inequality. Furthermore, the benefits are available for everyone, even the free riders, because if the common goods were not distributed among all the community members, they cannot be considered completely and truly common, which can add to the perceived disparity.

It is challenging to have a collective in which everyone conceives the same common good and has the same interest and commitment in achieving it. Complications emerge when people have different views of what common good is and what is required for a good life. This might be partly due to the underlying influence of the communities to which people belong in terms of what is expected of the common good, therefore creating a limited perspective.

Common good does not just happen (Andre & Velasquez, 1992). The idea of collaboration has a romantic intention, but for the common good to be achieved, there must be active participation (Castiglioni, Lozza, Bonanomi, 2019). Efforts frequently fail because obtaining participation from others is no easy task, and oftentimes, there is excessive confidence in collaboration and participation capabilities. Conflicts will always emerge because they are part of all human endeavors. Still, it is essential to acknowledge that conflict is part of the organizing process and can be used in constructive ways when searching for the common good and will result in knowledge acquisition.

Sometimes individuals are persuaded to go against the common good out of fear. There are always people who will not play according to the rules or would rather have no rules at all. They might be reluctant to do their share or sacrifice something because they believe they are free to pursue their own good. When the sacrifice is modest, people are more willing to accept it (Andre & Velasquez, 1992), and when the sacrifice is substantial, the importance of the common good sometimes fades away.

One of the most important considerations regarding common good leadership is mobilizing others to collaborate. Mobilizing others seems to be the most challenging part of collective actions, and mobilizations rarely succeed. In fact, most attempts to mobilize collective actions around public goods tend to fail (Magrett et al., 2015). The role of the leaders becomes essential to start a collective action. They are the ones who identify public goods and common goals and organize and mobilize the resources at hand, creating a sense of collective trust and group identity that leads to group cohesion, which becomes an essential incentive for group action (Colomer, 2011).

Crosby and Bryson (2005) are the most cited authors in leadership for the common good. They have established that leadership for the common good is based on a framework that emphasizes the importance of eight leadership capabilities: leadership in context, personal leadership, team leadership, organizational leadership, visionary leadership, political leadership, ethical leadership, and policy entrepreneurship. The authors' main goal is "to develop and implement new regimes of mutual gain, serving the common good" (Crosby & Bryson, 2005, XVIII). The capabilities they presented "are rooted in a model of power, a model of policy change, and an approach to the common good."

Leadership in context and personal leadership help achieve the common good (Crosby & Bryson, 2005, 35) and are the foundation of the other six. This framework includes being aware of the different contexts (social, political, economic, and technological) and discovering the latent potentialities to change these contexts because there are some human elements that do not withstand the test of time (Crosby & Bryson, 2005, 38-39). Leadership, therefore, requires becoming aware of historical information, analyzing trends and getting involved in the debates that surround them, considering the contexts, and analyzing the culture (Crosby & Bryson, 2005, 44-45). Personal leadership is based on understanding oneself and others to deploy personal capacities on behalf of a beneficial change. The common good, in this case, is achieved by discerning the call to leadership, assessing personal strengths and weaknesses, and appreciating diversity and commonality (Crosby & Bryson, 2005, 49). The authors suggest that leaders need to find new ways of learning and interacting (Crosby & Bryson, 2005, 54-61); possess a sense of self-efficacy, optimism, and courage; achieve cognitive, emotional, and behavioral complexity; master authority, skills, and connections; are committed to continuous learning; cultivate supportive personal networks and balance while appreciating diversity and commonality. The capability of policy entrepreneurship is based on coordinating tasks during policy change cycles. It is surprising that the authors do not refer to or link the other five leadership capabilities (team leadership, organizational leadership, visionary leadership, political leadership, ethical leadership) to the common good.

The issues with leadership for the common good, as proposed by Crosby and Bryson, are, first and foremost, that they do not give a definition of what they understand as common good. They simply assume and take for granted that every person will have the same understanding about its meaning, yet; without a definition of common good, it is naïve to think that the common good can be achieved through philanthropic actions or collaboration. Furthermore, most capabilities are focused only on leadership and not necessarily on the common good, which is also the case in various leadership styles that have been developed.

Using content analysis, over one hundred leadership styles were analyzed, and those that made references to the common good were identified. A list of twenty-six different styles was developed, and their primary connections to the common good are described in table 2. They appear in a strict alphabetical order and not based on the importance of each style nor the number of publications in which they appeared.

Table 2.
Leadership styles connected to the common good

Style	Basic Connections to The Common Good
Authentic Leadership	Authentic leaders have the underlying moral foundation of ethical and servant leadership (Lemoine, Hartnell, & Leroy, 2019). They can put the ***common*** mission and goals ahead of their self-interest (Kruse, 2013) with a deep sense of purpose (George, 2003). They monitor their words and behaviors carefully (George, 2016). By engaging from the heart and using their love, and inspiring others to change the world, they are able to serve the ***common good*** (Chrislip & O'Maley, 2013). They understand their values, put followers' needs above theirs, and work with followers to orient their interests to create a greater ***common good***. Leaders possess love-inspired audacity that promises to change the world and serve the common good, making others believe they can reach capacities they have never imagined (Farber, 2004).

Benevolent Leadership	Benevolent leadership is based on the idea that the purpose of leadership is to contribute to the ***common good*** (Karakas & Sarigollu, 2012). It is supported by the philosophic belief of the human inclination to do ***good,*** kind, or charitable acts (Karakas & Sarigollu, 2012), leading through care, nurturance, and support (Farh & Cheng, 2000). Leaders initiate change by creating a sense of meaning, encouraging and inspiring others, making ethical decisions, and creating and fostering courage for action (Karakas & Sarigollu, 2012). This style integrates four streams or paradigms of ***common good***: morality, spirituality, positivity, and community (Karakas & Sarigollu, 2012).
Civic Leadership	Civic leadership shifts from a prioritization of goal attainment for the good of individuals to an emphasis on the ***common good*** of society as a whole (Watt, 2009). Cultivating citizens dedicated to the ***common good*** is the primary concern (Sandel, 2009, 263). Leaders convene good people, creating strength in numbers (Overmoyer, 2021), mobilizing and energizing others to make progress on civic challenges (Chrislip & O'Malley, 2013). They accept responsibility to create the conditions that enable others to achieve a shared purpose in the face of uncertainty (Ganz, 2010, p. 527) which is the pursuit of the ***common good*** and the responsibility to uphold principles of human dignity, equality, and equity (Chrislip & O'Malley, 2013; Grace, 2011).
Collaborative Leadership	Leaders solve problems between competing interests, engage citizens, and build the capacity to solve future conflicts in ways that reflect the ***common good*** (Chrislip & O'Malley, 2013). It is a process of working together, which requires sharing power, authority, knowledge, and responsibility, and entails active, equal participation in consensus-building (Jameson, 2007).
Courageous Leadership	Courageous leadership involves possessing the strength to act on behalf of the ***common good***, taking a stand in the face of adversity, and acting boldly in the service of inclusion and justice (Sen et al., 2013). Leaders utilize their creative courage to create a shared vision, inspire and motivate others in a common effort aligning the values of followers to make radical changes (Sen et al., 2013).
Democratic Leadership	Democratic leadership entails sharing decision-making with the other members (Anderson, 1959), influencing people in a manner consistent with and/or conducive to basic democratic principles and processes, such as self-determination, inclusiveness, equal participation, and deliberation (Gastil, 1994). It enhances democratic values and the ***common good*** (Adorno, 1950). It aims at the greatest ***common good*** through the development of each individual to their highest potential (Smith, 1925), helping all members of the community to use power constructively for ***the common good*** (Starrat, 2001) through personal sacrifice, with the hope of attaining happiness and peace at some future point in time (Gawthrop, 1998 136-137).

Ethical Leadership	Ethical leadership is having the courage to live according to values in service of the ***common good*** (Kar, 2014), adhering to the four cardinal virtues of prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice (Riggio, Zhu, Reina, & Maroosis, 2010). It is "the demonstration of normatively appropriate conduct through personal actions and interpersonal relationships, and the promotion of such conduct in followers through two-way communication, reinforcement, and decision-making" (Brown et al., 2005, 120) in pursuit of the ***common good.*** It encourages participation in decision-making, protects the rights and interests of dependent members and minorities, avoids conflicts of interest, and seeks the ***common good.*** It is a combined commitment to transformational and transforming leadership. In transformational leadership, the goal is to promote justice and the common good, and the transforming leadership is committed to raising the essential moral nature of leadership (Stringer in Grace & Grace, 1998).
Exemplary Leadership	Exemplary leadership exercises good governance, bringing multiple benefits for the ***common good*** (Mbugua et al., 2019). Leaders forge unity of purpose by showing constituents that the dream is for the ***common good*** (Kouzes & Posner, 2007). The leader believes in inspiring others to reach a common goal for the ***common good*** (Galea, 2017), not shying away from making tough decisions (Galea, 2017).
Humanistic Leadership	Humanistic leadership is about building mutually beneficial relationships (Fu, Kimakowitz, Lemanski, Liu, & Pattnaik, 2020). Confucian humanistic leadership is the pursuit of the ultimate goal, which is the ***common good*** and the collective well-being. It is based on the importance of human nature, respect for people as holistic human beings, and serving the ***common good*** instead of gaining self-benefits. It shapes the leadership mindset emphasizing concern regarding employee benefits, maintaining harmony through good relationships, and self- sacrifice for the ***common good*** (Rarick, 2007). It is based on Confucian virtues: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness (Chou & Chen, 2020). Humanistic leaders are those who respect people as human beings by taking care of himself/herself as well as the followers' needs, improve themselves while developing others and try to take into account all stakeholders' interests while striving to pursue the ***common good*** (Fu et al., 2019).
Inclusive Leadership	"Inclusive leadership assures that all team members feel they are treated respectfully and fairly, are valued and sense that they belong, and are confident and inspired" (Bourke & Espedido, 2020). This requires openness and the suspension of judgment. Inclusive leadership aims to change, create, and innovate while balancing everyone's needs (Weissenberg, 2018). Individuals are empowered to achieve their full potential while pursuing the ***common good*** (Fapohunda, 2014). It values diversity, equity, and inclusion and does not only benefit the emerging majority but the ***common good*** (Arredondo, 2017), and stems from the awareness that a leader represents and serves a community. A community's growth is its main source of strength; leaders must pay attention and be actively involved with the development of the community towards the ***common good*** (Arredondo, 2017).

Integrate Leadership	Integrative leadership is an approach that seeks to encourage collective action as a strategy to achieve the ***common good***. Integrative leaders are concerned about outcomes, both tangible and intangible. They want to be sure that their efforts actually result in sustainable projects and systems that contribute to the ***common good*** and create public value (Bozeman, 2007; Moore, 1995). This type of leadership will be seen in the amalgamation of several leadership styles that aim to create the ***common good*** (Augusta & Nurdin, 2021)
Meaningful Leadership	Meaningful leadership assumes that leaders should encourage each member of their team to give meaning to work. Leadership is ethically sound, sustainable, and contributes to society at large (Kooskora, 2012). It includes finding value, a personal calling, a fundamental right, and a component of the ***common good*** (Sison & Fontrodona, 2012; 2013). Meaningful leaders show contribution, moral exemplarity, personal or professional support, community spirit, shared work commitment, and a positive attitude towards individuals and situations (Frémeaux & Parageau, 2020). It is humane, cooperative, sustainable, just, and democratic. Leaders strive to create positive and significant relationships and to set clear and coherent objectives (Frémeaux & Pavageau, 2020).
Moral Leadership	Moral integrity enables leaders to fulfill their promises and contribute to the ***common good*** (Biju & Lochrie. 2009). Also viewed as part of the ***common good*** leadership, as it is altruistic leadership behavior (van Lange, 2008). Moral leadership has superior personal virtues and selflessness, being the ***common good*** the primary focus, using the authority to benefit the collective and not for personal gains.
Positive Leadership	It can be defined as a positive, effective influence with constructive goals that serve the ***common good***. The leader's intentions, vision, and goals are positive; they create or add value. The leader is also capable of implementing –not just articulating- the need for change. The leader manages, follows through, and delivers. The leader's actions tend to the needs of a broader group rather than to limited personal interests. Positive strategies for the ***common good*** include flourishing (Dahlvig, 2018).
Prosocial Leadership	Prosocial leadership is guided by positive aspirations for the ***common good*** and manifested by the leader's behaviors (Lorenzi, 2004). It is constructive and the intended outcome is widely acknowledged. Leaders are motivated by empathy, and without any regard, act to bring about the welfare of the followers and those they are committed to serving (Ewest, 2018). It is based on a set of values, beliefs, skills, and habits focused on the well-being and functioning of members, and a set of intra and inter-personal processes that allow leaders to dignify work, engage people, and inspire excellence (LeBreton, 2019). It involves exercising effective positive influence with constructive goals that serve the ***common good*** resulting in the long-term survival of the community, achieved through wealth creation based on economic, environmental, and entrepreneurial sustainability efforts. Prosocial leaders influence people to achieve positive social goals that serve the ***common good*** (Lorenzi, 2004).

Regenerative Leadership	Regenerative leadership emerges from a common purpose, contributing to the community and the world by creating systemic solutions to social or environmental problems and promoting well-being. It is the contribution towards ***the common good*** that drives the leader (Ramírez Oetker, 2021). It can be viewed as the result of highly developed personal ethics (Hardman, 2009). Leaders come to realize that balancing the ***common good*** is equally important to satisfying personal interests (Hardman, 2010). Sustainable development can be done by harnessing the collective will of leaders committed to working toward the ***common good*** on a global scale (Seelos & Mair, 2005).
Responsible Leadership	Responsible leadership fosters a culture of citizen oversight to protect society and themselves from their own excesses, thus enhancing their ability to deliver on their promises and serve the ***common good*** (Alemanno, 2017). Leaders will stand for life in all its dimensions and thus try to achieve the c***ommon good*** as a joint project of all humanity (Nguyen, 2021), understanding they are committed to act in the service of the ***common good*** (Crilly, Schneider & Zollo, 2008, 176). Leaders act as weavers and brokers of social capital (Maak, 2007) and sustainable business, serving the ***common good*** (Pless & Maak, 2011; Muff, Liechti, & Dyllick, 2020). Leadership is supported on individual, organizational, and societal responsibility (de Bettignies, 2014), "based on a sense of justice, recognition, care, and accountability for a wide range of economic, ecological, social, political, and human responsibilities" (Pless 2007, p. 451). They build bridges between all stakeholders and should show each of them the importance of their role in advancing the ***common good*** through their cooperation and reciprocal understanding, despite their apparent differences (Mària and Lozano 2010). The ***common good*** of a community is more important for the responsible leader than just the measurable effects of their work (Marek & Jablosnki, 2021). Responsible leadership is based on values, vision, voice, and virtues serving the common good (YLAI, 2020).
Servant Leadership	Enhance the lives of individuals, build better organizations, and ultimately generate a more just and caring world (Greenleaf, 1977). Leading is done by serving others (Lorenzi, 2004), being responsible for the community, and guiding people on how to use their talents and abilities (Hunter et al. 2013) so they can contribute to the ***common good*** of society and humanity as a whole (Marek & Jablonski, 2021). Servant leadership is anchored in an abiding trust in and the commitment to the ***common good.*** It is generally valued for its selfless concern for the ***common good***, of which everyone is a trustee, over personal ambition (Weber, 2010). The humanistic concepts undergirding the ***common good*** and **servant- leadership**—the protection of human dignity and the promotion of societal well-being—are ancient, aspirational, and enduring. (Tran et al., 2019). Servant leadership develops a clear understanding of the ***common good*** and how people promote it (Rost, 1995, 139-140).

Shared Leadership	Shared leadership is a participative, relational perspective in which individuals and situations interact with each other. It is a modern leadership approach internalized through voluntary cooperation and interaction based on the competencies of all stakeholders and a sense of accountability. The shared leadership approach is related to the participation of many individuals in leadership activities (Goksoy, 2016). It has also been considered a strategy for change that includes those committed to working collectively for the ***common good*** through an understanding of the values and vision for a better community (Allen, Wright, Lee, 2003). It requires social action in search of solutions for the ***common good*** (Bryson and Crosby, 2005). Shared leadership is characterized by a quality of interactions, collective problem solving, "conversation rather than instructions, shared values and beliefs", and "honesty and a desire for the ***common good***" (Gill, 2006, 30).
Social Justice Leadership	Social justice leaders advocate, lead, and keep at the center of their practice and vision issues of race, class, gender, disability, sexual orientation, and other historically marginalizing aspects, helping organize how human beings will live as members of society (Turhan, 2010). Social justice leadership aims to create a "***common good***” for each individual and the ***common*** benefit through the fair distribution of opportunities and resources (Buyukgoze et al., 2008)
Social Leadership	Social leadership is associated with the development of those individuals who are the driving forces behind civil society organizations and who are working to bring about social change. It has been described as leading to the ***common good,*** with a positive impact (Lorenzi, 2004). The outcome provides collective utility rather than the satisfaction of narrow, personal, or even greedy interests (Lorenzi, 2004). Leaders avoid creating excessive dependence (Carreras, 2008).
Spiritual Leadership	Spiritual leadership comprises the values, attitudes, and behaviors required to motivate oneself and others through calling and membership (Fry, 2003, 711). Leaders embody spiritual values such as integrity, honesty, and humility, reflecting someone who can be trusted, relied upon, and admired. Spiritual leadership is also shown through behavior, whether in self-reflective practice or the ethical, compassionate, and respectful treatment of others” (Reave, 2005, 663). Traditions of spirituality provide rich resources to rediscover the ***Common Good*** (de Bettignies, & Thompson, 2010). The spiritual dimension has been considered the leaders' contribution to the ***common good*** based on their ability to make the world a better place (Lepieux & Rosé, 2010). It enables people to be more mindful, conscious and self-aware, transcend self-interests, and connect with and serve something greater that promotes the common good (Fry & Egel, 2017).

Sustainable Leadership	Sustainable leadership puts ethical behavior and the ***common good*** above the pursuit of profit (Lilja, 2020). Sustainable leaders recognize the responsibility to act as stewards of natural resources for the benefit of the ***common good*** (Peterlin et al., 2015). With an activist engagement, it builds an educational environment of organizational diversity that promotes cross-fertilization of good ideas and successful practices in communities (Groom & Reid Martinez, 2011). It has a shared responsibility that does not unduly deplete human or financial resources and cares for and avoids damage to the surrounding community environment. Sustainable leadership has also been described as a "humanistic" view of leadership (Avery & Bergsteiner, 2011).
Transformational Leadership	Transformational leaders focus on the ***common good*** rather than on their own power (Simpson, 2012). They encourage followers to look beyond self-interests and towards the ***common good*** (Bass, 1990). Leaders have their eyes on the future. Transformational leadership places a premium on the intellectual resources of a leader, his/her flexibility, the development of its people, and the importance of pulling together for the ***common good*** (Bass, 1990). Transformative educational leadership not only works for the good of every individual; at its heart, it has the potential to work for the ***common good*** of society as well (Shields, 2010).
Value-Based Leadership	Value-centered leadership is an operational model for strategic leadership in depth. It occurs when the leader follows his/her own values and leads by example. Leaders identify the good in followers to create a higher-order view of the ***common good*** to create a transcendent vision (O'Toole, 1996).
Virtuous Leadership **Prosocial Leadership**	Virtuous leaders are ethical stewards who seek to optimize the creation of wealth and value for all parties by creating organizational relationships and systems that build high trust and that earn the commitment of others (Caldwell et al., 2002). They focus on emotional and intellectual aspects (Havard, 2014). Virtuousness is then viewed in relational terms in that it informs the design and implementation of policies aiming at fostering the ***common good*** and enhancing social welfare (Gotsis & Grimani, 2015). Virtuous leadership fosters personal excellence through a deep transformation of attitudes, which serves as a condition for sustainable organizational and societal transformation (Riordan, 2014), delineating a sphere of relationships that results in the achievement of noble goals and moral growth and flourishing of both leaders and followers (Sison, 2006). When there is a lack of virtuous leadership, ***common good*** will be marginalized. (Dicastery for Promoting Integral Human Development, 2018). Notions of human dignity and the ***common good*** are essential to the framework of virtuous leadership (Hühn, Meyer & Racelis, 2018).
Visionary Leadership	"Visionary leaders articulate where a group is going, but not how it will get there– setting people free to innovate, experiment, and take calculated risks" (Goleman, Boyatzis & McKee, 2013). According to Kouzes and Posner (2007), vision is an "ideal and unique picture of the future for the ***common good***". Temperance may also nurture focused visionary leadership that accepts ethical limits and has an eye for the ***common good.*** It pushes toward meeting common goals and a shared vision (De Paola, 1999). As Handy (1998, 117) notes, a 'theory of limits' may also help organizations relate more adequately to the ***common goods*** of its context. In the private sector, the implication is that the "profit requirement" needs to be balanced against the ***common good*** – in a long-term perspective (Tangen, 2015).

Source: Developed by the authors with information cited in the text.

From all the leadership styles identified as connected to the common good, servant leadership, transformational leadership, sustainable and regenerative leadership appear to be the ones most associated with the notion. In common good literature, other leadership styles are not immediately visible.

LEADERSHIP TRAITS ASSOCIATED WITH THE COMMON GOOD

The distinct leadership styles that were identified by connecting the notion of common good with that of leadership are associated with a variety of traits, some of them present in more than one style, while a few of them are exclusive to a specific leadership style. Through content analysis, all the different traits were identified and were later on placed in alphabetical order. This will help identify the top leadership traits that can be connected to the notion of the common good. The list that collects all the traits and skills from the previous leadership styles is presented in figure 1.

Figure 1.
List of relevant traits associated with common good leadership

Accountability	Empathy	Persuasive/Persuasion
Action-Based	Empowering/Encouragement	Positive/Positive
Activism	Energize	Influence/Optimistic
Altruism/Altruistic	Engagement/Engaging	Propriety
Audacity	Ethical/Ethics	Prudence
Authentic	Evolution	Purpose
Awareness	Example	Rational
Balance	Fairness/Fair	Reciprocal
Benevolence	Faith	Recognition
Caring	Flexible/Flexibility	Relational/Relationship-
Change	Flourishing	Oriented
Character	Future-Oriented/Focus	Resilient
Charismatic/Charisma	Harmony	Respect/Respectful
Clarity	Holistic/Holism	Responsibility
Collective	Honest/Honesty	Righteousness
Co-Creation	Hope/Hopeful	Role Modeling
Coherence	Humanistic	Rules
Collaboration	Humility/Humble	Self-Reflection
Commitment	Inclusion/Inclusive	Sacrifice/Selflessness
Communication	Influence	Self-Awareness
Community	Innovative	Self-Efficacy
Compassionate	Inspire/Inspiration	Self-Managed
Competent	Integrity	Serving/Service
Concern for Others	Interaction	Shared Decision
Confident	Intuition	Social Capital
Congruence	Involvement	Social Responsibility
Conscious	Justice	Spirituality
Consensus	Kindness/Kind	Steward/Stewardship
Constructive	Listen/Listening	Strategy/Strategic
Conviction	Long Term Vision	Sustainability
Cooperative	Love	Systems Thinking

Courage Credibility Cultural Intelligence Curiosity Democratic Determined Develop Others Dignifying Discern Discipline Effective Egalitarian/Equality Emotional Stability	Meaningful Mindful Mobilize Moral/Morality Motivation Negotiation Nurturance Openness Participation Passion Patience Persistence Perspective	Task-Oriented Team Oriented Temperance Transformational Transparent Trust/Trustworthiness Unifying Value Creation Value/Value-Based Virtues Vision/Visionary Vulnerability Well-Being of Others Wisdom

Source: Developed by the authors, 2021.

The initial list of leadership characteristics of styles associated with the common good was used to pinpoint those traits and skills that were more pervasive. Each trait and skill was compared to the leadership styles identified, and their frequency was reported. The characteristics were then rated, and the most recurrent made the top-ten list that can be observed in figure 2.

Figure 2.
Top 10 traits and skills of leadership styles connected to the common good.

Traits	Skills
Integrity Ethical Moral Justice Alturism Compassionate Fair Humanistic Humble Positive	Colaborative Engaging Community - oriented Constructive Empowering Participative and commited Shared decision - making Communication Foresight, vision Motivation

Source: Developed by the authors, 2021.

The identified traits and skills are consistent with common good theory. In this sense, the common good dictates that leadership should be, first of all, based on integrity, including ethics and morals. Professional competence should flow naturally from a moral commitment to specific skills such as collaboration, engagement, community-oriented, constructive, and empowering.

Based on the top traits and skills that have been identified, the first approach to a common good leadership matrix can be developed as follows:

Figure 3.
First approach at a common good leadership matrix.

	Agency	Governance	Justice	Stability	Humanity
Traits and skills	Compassionate Positive Empowering Constructive Motivation	Collaborative Community oriented	Integrity Fair Shared decision-making	Altruism Engaging Participative and committed Communication	Ethical Moral Humble Foresight and vision

Source: Developed by the authors, 2021.

TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF COMMON GOOD LEADERSHIP

According to Sosa (2017), a common good leader must have great love and great passion for the human being. They must love the knowledge of themselves and others and reflect and exercise virtues such as fortitude, temperance, prudence, patience, and tolerance. The leader must possess the ability to listen and reconcile different points of view and to make decisions that will profoundly impact society, understanding what is most convenient for all.

In authentic leadership, actions are done with the heart, and it is love for others and respectful relationships that help shape the common good. Finding the first followers is crucial. Identifying drivers of change that can share in the interest and passion of the leaders is no easy task, especially since they will have to share the leadership when needed and help find the right followers.

Common good leadership needs to be practical, transformative, moral, and supported by values. The main goal should be directed to personal transformation, the flourishing of interpersonal relationships, and contributions to the transformation of society.

Leadership for the common good or common good leadership can be characterized as a title-less leadership (Russell, 2012) in which actions speak for themselves without the need of rank, and behaviors displayed create trust, positive influence, exemplary results, and natural followership, and in this relationship, followers expect compassion, stability, and hope (Gallup, 2008, in Russell, 2012).

Considering the most dominant traits and skills of leadership styles associated with the common good that were previously identified, the general definition of leadership as proposed by Northouse (2015), and the top-five personality traits of all leaders (Magrett et al., 2015), common good leadership can be defined as:

> *Common good leaders have integrity are guided by the highest ethical values and a moral compass. They are altruistic and compassionate, have a positive attitude on life, are open and energetic yet even-tempered, and seek justice and fairness in all their actions.*
>
> *Common good leaders are self-disciplined and conscious change-makers. They have a clear vision and community orientation, being constructive and committed. Through solid communication skills, they are able to engage, motivate, mobilize and empower others to participate in collaborative actions to achieve common goals, sharing the decision-making process.*

It is important to clarify that this is a working definition that will be further developed through empirical evidence.
Leadership is a call to all to take in their common responsibilities and a position that needs to be used for the common good. Wisdom is essential and is based on the decision to use one's intelligence, creativity, and knowledge, putting ideas in the service of the common good (Sternberg, 2007). Common good requires clear rules and solution mechanisms that need to be addressed by the leader and the relationship that is established with the followers.

Although followers might have an interest of their own, the leader needs to develop close relationships and create an esprit de corps[5] so that individuals will set competing private interests aside (Waheed, 2018). Political leaders, policymakers, corporate leaders, trade organizations, and other stakeholders bear the responsibility to advocate for institutional frameworks law, policies, incentive structures partnerships, and additional means to promote the common good (Benatar & Singer, 2000; London, 2022)

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The literature and content analysis revealed that the theory for common good leadership or leadership for the common good is yet to be developed and the notion of common good can be related to different leadership styles. Still, the way in which a leader can become a common good leader is not clear, which opens numerous possibilities for future research.

One of the pressing issues in common good leadership is that the analysis of the common good is not encouraged in leadership studies, resulting in a shortfall of critical mass to formulate solid positions, and therefore, there is a lack of leaders who understand the

[5] A commonly used expression in the military, which refers to loyalty, mutual commitment, and even brotherhood.

importance of behaving in ethical ways for the common good for all (Sternberg, 2006). Common good is a project about the future with enough power to inspire so that every follower will be willing to search and collaborate for something larger than themselves. The future will be of those leaders that are centered on the common good and not their personal interests (Huete & García, 2018).

Common good leadership can be considered as a hybrid resulting from the combination of different existing leadership styles, being the most dominant servant and transformational leadership. The definition that has been developed provides an insight into constructing future leadership theories that include common good.
The different traits and skills associated with common good leadership will be useful in developing a scale to evaluate such characteristics in different population groups. Hopefully, through empirical evidence, the theoretical background of common good leadership can start to take shape.

After analyzing common good leadership, a final question remains. Can leadership be considered a common good? When analyzing all the leadership theories, styles, traits, and characteristics that could help define common good leadership, it became apparent that leadership itself has been considered a common good.

According to Zunni & Rebollada (2019), leadership is a common good because the way in which actions are implemented by people in organizations and the public realm will impact (to a greater or lesser extent) the well-being of the citizens. However, as described in the conceptual background, common good is not only well-being. In this sense, the common good is not an intangible space or any intellectual entelechy, but how each person faces their daily problems and responsibilities based on what the rules of the game prevailing in society (laws, habits, crisis) are, and that all these factors can be improved by effective leadership. For example, in American History, George Washington's leadership was considered a common good in creating the conscience and development of a new nation (Guidone, 2019).

As an underdeveloped and underexplored field, multiple avenues for future research are open for common good leadership. In the following articles that are presented in this issue, the methodology to develop a scale to measure common good leadership through eleven dimensions is introduced (Malcón-Cervera, Montaudon-Tomas, Pinto-López & Gutiérrez-González, in this issue), along with two applications of this scale at the Technological University of Querétaro (UTEQ, acronym in Spanish) (Gutiérrez-González, Mejía-Toiber, Montaudon-Tomas, Malcón-Cervera & Pinto-López, in this issue) and the Popular Autonomous University of the State of Puebla (UPAEP, acronym in Spanish) (Montaudon-Tomas, Pinto-López, Gutiérrez-González & Amsler).

The appendixes contain additional information regarding the most relevant leadership theories as well as a classification of leadership styles connected to the common good.

APPENDIX 1

Most relevant leadership theories

Leadership Theories	Date	Description
Great Man Theory	1840s - early 1900s	The Great Man theory evolved during the 19th century. It was introduced as the earliest theory of leadership, and suggests that the traits of leadership are intrinsic, which means that great leaders are born, not made (Madanchian, Hussein, Noordin & Taherdoost, 2016, 199). Even with the right traits, leadership success could not be guaranteed but did improve the odds of influencing a group to accomplish its goals (Hughes et al., 2019, 176). This theory portrayed leaders as heroic, mythic, and destined to rise to leadership when needed (Amanchukwu et al., 2015, 8). Researchers suggested that leaders and followers were fundamentally different (Hughes et al., 2019, 176).
Trait Theory	1930s-40s	The trait leadership theory establishes that people are either born or made with particular qualities that will make them excel in leadership roles. Early trait theorists assumed that no matter the situation, a set of characteristics made a leader successful, implying that the same leadership traits would be effective in different contexts (Fleenor, 2006, p. 830). Traits are recurring regularities or trends in a person's behavior (Hughes et al., 2019, 179). They include intelligence, a sense of responsibility, and creativity, among others (Matthews, Deary & Whiteman, 2003, 3). This approach suggests that people behave as they do due to the strengths of the traits they possess (Hogan & Chamorro Premuzic, 2015).
Behavioral Theories	1940s-50s	Behavioral theories focus on the actions of leaders, not on intellectual qualities or internal states (Amanchukwu et al., 2015, 8). The behavioral theories offer a new perspective since anyone with the proper conditioning could access the once elite club of naturally gifted leaders. In other words, leaders are made, not born. The theory is rooted in behaviorism and focuses on the actions of leaders. According to this theory, people can become leaders through teaching and observation. Behavioral theories also assume that behaviors can be put into one of four categories: task-oriented behaviors, relational- oriented behaviors, change-oriented behaviors, and passive leadership behaviors (Derue, Nahrgang, Wellman & Humphrey, 2011, 15).
Contingency Theories	1960s	The contingency leadership theory argues that there is no single way of leading and that every leadership style should be based on particular situations, which signifies that certain people perform at the maximum level in certain places but at minimal performance when taken out of their element. This approach argues that leadership changes according to the moment and is greatly influenced by the context and other external variables; these variables include the maturity and commitment levels of the followers (Tian, 2013). There are five well- known theories: Leader-Member exchange, the Normative decision model, the Situational leadership theory, the Contingency Model, and the Path-Goal Theory. (Hughes et al., 2019, 546). This approach focuses on particular variables related to the environment that might determine which leadership style is best suited for a particular work situation (Amanchukwu et al., 2015, 8).

Skills Theory		The skills approach takes a leader-centered perspective on leadership (Northouse, 1997, p. 43). It establishes that learned knowledge and acquired skills/abilities are significant factors in the practice of effective leadership (Amanchukwu et al., 2015, 9). It suggests that many people have the potential to be leaders if they are capable of learning from their experiences (Northouse, 1997, 47), as skills are most effectively acquired through practice, listening to feedback, and following guidance (Wright & Taylor, 1985).
Transformational and Transactional Theories	1970s-1980s	The transformational and transactional theories consider leadership either as an appeal to self-transcendent values of pursuing shared goals for the common good or as a negotiated cost-benefit exchange (Bass, 1974; Burns, 1978; Price, 2003). Transformational leadership theory proposes some characteristics: individual influence, spiritual encouragement, intellectual stimulation, and creating an open culture of trust; on the other hand, transactional leadership theory has a contractual view of the relationship between the leader and the followers (Nanjundeswaraswamy & Swamy, 2014).
Full-Range Leadership Theories	1970s-1980s	This theoretical framework was developed to determine how transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership related to the leader's behavior and its influence on their followers' performance (Russel, 2017, 15). In this sense, it proposes analyzing factors such as intellectual stimulation, individualized consideration, contingent reward, and management-by-exception (Romascanu, Gheorghe & Stanescu, 2017, 84). This theory seeks to improve employee motivation by connecting an individual's sense of identity to the health and prosperity of an organization.

Source: Developed by the authors with information cited in the text.

APPENDIX 2
Leadership styles connected to the notion of Common Good

Different leadership styles share some elements with leadership for the common good. All the styles collected during the analysis of existing literature that mentioned common good and leadership are presented as follows. The different styles have been classified according to their nature or essence, focus or orientation, connections and relationships, and dominant principles.

Habits / nature Positive

leadership Authentic
leadership Benevolent
leadership Exemplary
leadership Meaningful
leadership Spiritual
leadership Courageous
leadership

Focus / orientation

Civic leadership
Prosocial leadership
Regenerative leadership
Social Justice leadership
Social leadership
Sustainable leadership
Transformational leadership
Visionary leadership

Connections / relationships

Collaborative leadership
Democratic leadership
Inclusive leadership
Integrative leadership
Servant leadership
Shared leadership

Principles

Ethical leadership
Humanistic leadership
Moral leadership
Valued-based leadership
Responsible leadership
Virtuous leadership

Source: Developed by the authors, 2021.

Cynthia M. Montaudon-Tomas, Manuel Alejandro Gutiérrez-González**, Ingrid N. Pinto-López*** & Claudia Malcón-Cervera****.*

*Full-time professor and consultant at the Business School at UPAEP in Puebla,Mexico. She holds a post doctorate in Organizational Leadership, a PhD in Business, and a PhD in StrategicPlanning. She also holds an MBA, a Master’s in Quality Engineering and a Master’s in Communication Sciences. She is head of the Observatory on Competitiveness and New Ways of Working and member of the National Systemof Researchers.
**Mechatronic Engineer from la Salle University México (ULSA) andBionic Engineering at the National Polytechnic Institute (IPN). He has a degree in Philosophy and a Master’s in Administration from UPAEP University, a Master’s in Social Ethics from the Center for Research in Social Ethics (CIES- Aletheia Foundation), a Master’s in Humanities and a PhD in Humanities by the Universitary Center of MexicoCity (UCIME). He is currently a professor at the Technological University of the State of Querétaro (UTEQ) and at theAnáhuac Querétaro. He is Director of the Center for Sustainable Development and the Common Good, Director of the Blaise Pascal Chair and Director of the Società Internazionale Tomasso d''Aquino, Mexico (youth section).
***Full-time professor and researcher at the Faculty of Business Administration and Intelligence, at UPAEP University, Puebla, Mexico. She is currently coordinator of the international arbitration of theLatin American Association of Faculties and Schools of Accounting and Administration (ALAFEC), and member of the National System of Researchers. Her research interests include topics related to project management anddirection, new ways of working, bibliometric analysis, and multivariate fuzzy logic.
****Full-time professor and researcher at the Business School of the Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla (UPAEP), since 2007. She holds a bachelor's degree in Computer Systems, a master's degree in Administration and a doctorate in Strategic Planning and Technology Management from UPAEP.

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DESIGN AND VALIDATION OF A SCALE TO EVALUATE COMMON GOOD LEADERSHIP

Received: November 2021 I Accepted: February 2022

Claudia Malcón-Cervera*, Cynthia M. Montaudon-Tomas**, Ingrid N. Pinto-López*** & Manuel Alejandro Gutiérrez-González****

ABSTRACT

This article shows the design and validation of a scale to measure common good leadership. The scale was developed by identifying and incorporating traits and skills or different leadership styles associated with the common good. The Common Good Leadership Scale (CGLS) is developed using gap analysis to reduce the possibility of overconfidence bias. The process of scale design and development is described. Items analyze the ideals regarding common good leadership and specific actions that are performed in an attempt to achieve the common good. The gap is obtained by subtracting the actions minus the ideals, providing valuable information about the leadership traits and skills that need to be developed. Different tests were performed to ensure the validity of the scale including factor analysis.

Keywords: Common good leadership scale, Design, Validation.

*UPAEP Universidad, *claudia.malcon@upaep.mx*
**UPAEP Universidad, cynthiamaria.montaudon@upaep.mx
***UPAEP Universidad, ingrid.pinto@upaep.mx
****Universidad Tecnológica del Estado de Querétaro,alejandro.gutierrez@uteq.edu.mx

INTRODUCTION

Leadership for the common good has become one of the most representative leadership styles of modern times that integrates ethical and moral dimensions. However, it is one of the least analyzed and has not been clearly defined. In general, its development is based on the integration of skills that can be identified in other leadership styles, particularly servant leadership, ethical/moral leadership, democratic leadership, transformative leadership, leadership based on values, collaborative leadership, positive leadership, social leadership, prosocial leadership, sustainable leadership, and benevolent leadership.

Existing scales to assess specific leadership characteristics associated with ethical issues tend to incorporate biases; therefore, measurements can be imprecise. This document proposes a validated scale that allows evaluating leadership characteristics for the common good considering the overconfidence bias. This bias has been studied since 1960, and its existence has been demonstrated through a variety of field studies. The consequences of the bias are profound, particularly in professional or expert judgment (Ferretti, Guney, Montibeller & Winterfeldt, 2016).

This bias refers to the tendency of people to be overconfident in their abilities. Generally, people believe that they are more ethical than their competitors, colleagues, and friends. Due to this bias, people often take ethical issues lightly, assuming they have strong character and will and therefore do the right thing when faced with ethical challenges (McCoombs School of Business, 2012).

The overconfidence bias is present in different contexts, and can be classified into three main angles (Boussaidi, 2020). The first refers to poor calibration; that is, people tend to overestimate the precision of their knowledge (Feld, Sauerman, & Grip, 2017; Meier & De Mello, 2019). The second is called the better-than-average effect and explains how people overestimate their abilities in relation to others, considering that they are above average (Johnston, 1967; Svenson, 1981). The third, called attribution, indicates that people attribute their random gains and success to their talents, while considering that failure is only related to external factors such as bad luck (Langer & Roth, 1995; Greenwald, 1980).

In order to reduce the overconfidence bias in the scale, a gap analysis was used. Gap analysis is frequent in empirical studies that analyze leadership.

SCALE DEVELOPMENT

The Center for Creative Leadership developed a Leadership Gap Indicator to assess core skills such as inspirational engagement, employee leadership, strategic planning, change management, employee development, and self-awareness (Center for Creative Leadership, 2021). Weiss, Molinaro, and Davey (2010) also analyzed the leadership gap from the skills perspective, which allows identifying limitations in leadership, pointing out that measuring the leadership capacity gap can be done in many different ways, such as through audits, behavioral assessments, or scales. Although previous instruments are valuable, it was considered that a new instrument needed to be developed to analyze particular aspects of the common good in leadership.

The idea for developing a new scale was based on the dimensions for the common good for municipalities and companies developed by Nebel (2018), which can be adapted to the dynamics of the individual. The scale was designed to be self-administered, that is, to be completed without the researcher's presence, and can be delivered physically or digitally. One of the advantages of this type of scale is the low cost involved, the guarantee of anonymity, time savings because it can be administered to a large sample of the population simultaneously, and it is also convenient for the participant, who decides when to answer it.

The design of the scale was developed through different stages. In the first stage, a list of leadership traits and skills from leadership styles connected to common good leadership was collected, analyzed, and sorted (Montaudon-Tomas, Gutiérrez-González, Pinto López & Malcón-Cervera, in this issue). Questions were developed to determine the degree to which students considered possessing or having the abilities and traits. A group of experts evaluated the questions, and some of them were redefined. A pilot test showed substantial bias as most participant responses leaned to the highest levels of the scale, which, based on the perspectives of the experts, was a frequent bias in studies that analyzed ethical concerns as people tend to present themselves in a more favorable light, that is, they think or identify themselves as better than they really are (overconfidence bias). The overconfidence bias was then acknowledged.

In the second stage, an evaluation was carried out with experts from the area of ethics and the common good of the Popular Autonomous University of the State of Puebla (UPAEP), the Technological University of Querétaro (UTEQ), the Institute for the Promotion of the Common Good (IPBC) and the Center for Sustainable Development and the Common Good (CEDS). It was established that the scale had to be modified to eliminate the overconfidence bias. The instrument was completely changed integrating the comments of the experts. The leadership skills with the greatest impact on leadership for the common good were selected, and a double scale was chosen, similar to the SERVQUAL model which was developed to evaluate the quality of service that allows measuring two different aspects of the same criterion (Parasuraman, Zeitham, and Barry, 1985, 1988, 1991) and to identify and measure the gap between them (Arnold & Hatzopoulouz, 2000).

The SERVQUAL model –on which the scale was based– presents two questionnaires that are integrated into one creating pairs. For its development, the area to be analyzed is identified, and the goals and the ideal future are established. Subsequently, the current state is analyzed and compared with the ideal by quantifying the difference: the difference is established by an arithmetic operation of subtracting the current (real) state minus the ideal state.

The items in the scale were not ranked nor organized in specific dimensions. They just included the main traits and skills required for leadership styles connected to the common good.

COMMON GOOD LEADERSHIP SCALE (CGLS)

The resulting scale is presented as follows:

PART 1 COMMON GOOD IDEALS
1. I am interested in the culture of my region and my country
2. I can plan activities to lead others towards a common goal
3. I am a person of my word
4. I am trustworthy
5. I contribute to the sustainability of my environment
6. My education will allow me to help others in the future
7. I am an active participant in actions with social benefits
8. I am concerned about the well-being of others
9. I am always willing to serve others
10. I am a sharing person
11. I enjoy helping others
12. I believe that life-long-learning creates better employment conditions
13. I can gladly accept suggestions and comments from others
14. I believe that when working together, we can achieve better results
15. I can work in collaboration with others
16. I can delegate responsibilities to others
17. I am an active promoter of diversity and gender equality
18. I can communicate my ideas clearly
19. I acknowledge my own capabilities and vulnerabilities and those of others

20. I want a better future for all
21. I am always willing to help
22. Most of the time, I have a positive attitude
23. I am emphatic
24. I am congruent
25. Challenges and problems do not stop me
26. I consider myself as a prudent person
27. I consider myself as proactive
28. I can step outside of my comfort zone to help others
29. I have the capacity to change
30. I consider myself as autonomous and independent
31. I can easily trust others
32. I acknowledge the participation of others and value their skills
33. I have courage; I show my face, and I do not show cowardice
34. I can give valuable advice
35. I believe that every person has the same right to be respected
36. I am a fair person
37. I respect the dignity of others and my own dignity
38. I am able to accept when I make a mistake
39. I am a transparent and clear person
40. I am a person of integrity
41. I have the capability to guide collective actions
42. I am against all acts of violence
43. I have the ability to lead the efforts of others
44. I always consider the capabilities and merits of others
45. I am an impartial person
46. I am worried about the well-being of the underprivileged
47. I motivate others when they are discouraged
48. I am patient when I am with other people
49. I have a high tolerance to failure when things do not work out as I expected

50. I work for what is better for my community
51. I have a faultless reputation
52. I am an authentic person
53. My actions are a reflection of my values
54. I love my neighbor
55. I am a kind and nice person
56. I am worried about the environment
57. I value the relationships I have built
58. I consider myself as a decent person
59. I value others
60. I believe that I have a great potential
61. I am always available when others need me
62. I am faithful to my convictions and the people around me
63. I am not in search of money or fame
64. I have a positive humor
65. I am a disciplined person
66. I am a discreet person
67. I am a tenacious person
68. I have a critical and strategic thinking
69. I am a responsible consumer
70. I am not a spiteful person

PART II COMMON GOOD ACTIONS
71. Others like to be near me because they believe I have a vast general culture.
72. When I have had to work in teams, I have been able to organize well with others to achieve the expected goals according to schedule.
73. People trust me because I always keep my word, and I am faithful to my promises and dreams.
74. People consider that I am capable of leading others to achieve collective goals.
75. I recycle, recuperate and reuse certain products.

76. I am studying so that I can help give back to my community and my country.
77. I have developed or been an active participant in projects with social impact.
78. When I have realized that someone was not OK, I have asked if I could be of help.
79. Every time I have the opportunity, I act in service of others.
80. When I have encountered a person who does not have the means, food, or knowledge, I have shared what I have with him/her.
81. I participate and/or lead a group that aims at solving a specific problem in my community.
82. I am studying a graduate degree because I believe that I will not be able to be employed without it.
83. I know how to receive constructive criticism.
84. I am an active participant in solving shared challenges
85. When I have worked as a team, I have sought that we all contribute and reach consensual decisions.
86. When working in teams, I have shared leadership with other participants
87. It bothers me when people discriminate against others.
88. When I talk, I can mobilize others to action.
89. I never brag about the achievements I have made, and I am annoyed by people who continually do so.
90. I actively participate in the integral development of those around me.
91. I have helped others even when they have not asked for my help.
92. When I have had problems, I have always tried to see the bright side of things.
93. When someone has had a problem, I have put myself in their shoes to see the situation from their perspective.
94. I always say and do what I think or want.
95. Every time in which I have faced a challenge, I have found a way to overcome it.
96. Even when I am angry, I do not allow my emotions to explode and get the best of me.
97. When facing difficult challenges, I am actively involved in solving them.

98.	I have placed the well-being of others before my own interest or my comfort.
99.	I have accepted difficult changes in my life without resistance or anger.
100.	When I have worked in teams, I do not need to be supervised; I can work independently yet collaboratively.
101.	I can join groups or teams and interact with others with ease.
102.	I have held constructive discussions praising the knowledge of others.
103.	When there is a problem, I face it and accept the consequences.
104.	Others come to me for advice.
105.	I treat everyone with the same respect regardless of their religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or disability.
106.	I always try to give the proper recognition to those who deserve it.
107.	When I have seen that someone is humiliating another person, I have intervened to stop the humiliation.
108.	When I have made a mistake, I have accepted it and taken responsibility for it.
109.	I never lie or hide information from my family or friends.
110.	I have never committed dishonest acts against myself or others.
111.	I believe that others see me as a leader.
112.	When working in teams, I am usually the leader who organizes the efforts of others to obtain the best results.
113.	I have not participated in arguments or physical attacks against others at the university, a party, or a public space.
114.	People feel taken into consideration by me when working together.
115.	Others can give their onion without fear that either I or others would make fun of their ideas.
116.	I have made donations (money, time, or others) to support noble causes
117.	I have supported my friends when they have had difficulties, cheering them on so that they continue going.
118.	I never lose my temper when others make a mistake or take their time to solve something.
119.	When things have not turned out as I expected, I have not given up.

120. I always obey the rules and regulations for social coexistence.
121. I lead by example because no one can imply that I have misbehaved or lack ethics.
122. I have never pretended to be someone I am not.
123. When making a decision, I use the values that I learned in my family as guidance.
124. I have done actions of charity and compassion towards others.
125. People come to me because I am a caring person.
126. I never through garbage on the streets, and when I see garbage, I will pick it up and dispose of it properly.
127. I invest my time in maintaining and improving my relationships with family, friends, and acquaintances.
128. I am bothered when others perform immoral acts.
129. I learn the names and last names of the people I work with when joining teams.
130. I believe that I have the capacity to achieve great things.
131. I am always willing to help others regardless of the moment or situation.
132. People value my friendship because I am loyal.
133. I never use my leadership for my benefit.
134. My happiness is contagious.
135. I always finish the tasks that I have been assigned on time and do not leave them for later.
136. When I have been entrusted with a secret, I have been responsible and have kept it to myself.
137. I do not have any projects that I left holding and that I did not finish.
138. Others acknowledge that my arguments are solid and well-grounded.
139. I buy certain products for ethical or economic reasons, regardless of the price.
140. When someone does something that hurts me, I forgive him/her easily.

Source: Developed by the authors, 2021.

Participants in the study were not made aware that the scale was based on a gap analysis.

VALIDATION METHODOLOGY

Since the objective was to validate the Common Good Leadership Scale, factor analysis was conducted with an adequate sample size. This analysis examined the interdependence relationships of the correlated variables (Hair, Anderson, Tatham & Black. 1995).

Primary information was collected through online surveys from Business School students since Business Schools have been considered cradles of leadership. Two educational institutions participated in the pilot: UPAEP University and the Technological University of Querétaro. These Institutions were chosen because both of them have research centers related to the common good, have been incorporating the common good pedagogy as part of their educational models, and were interested in identifying relevant aspects about the way in which both institutions were promoting the development of leaders with a common good perspective. Data was obtained in the end of 2020 and later analyzed using the SPSS software, version 21.0.

The measuring instrument consisted of 2 sections, the first one aimed to collect data to classify the respondent, and in the other section, data was collected about the students' perception of leadership for the common good using a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from "completely disagree" (1) to "completely agree" (7).

SAMPLE SIZE

Regarding the sample size, Mahlotra (2004) suggests that it must be integrated by at least 100 participants or higher. As a general rule, it is appropriate to have at least 4 or 5 observations (surveys) for each variable that is being analyzed. When dealing with smaller samples, the analyst must always interpret the results with care. Hair et al. (1995) indicated that if a study is being designed to evaluate a proposed structure, then it must be ensured that it includes five or more variables that can represent each proposed factor. For the purpose of this research, there were 70 paired variables and a total of 630 surveys, so there were nine observations per variable.

FACTOR ANALYSIS PREMISES

Factor analysis must ensure that the data matrix has sufficient correlations to justify its application. There are formal statistics to verify if the factorial model is appropriate. Bartlett's sphericity test (Hair et al., 1995; Visauta & Martori, 2003; Mahlotra, 2004) is applied to verify the null hypothesis that the variables are not correlated in the population, that is, the correlation matrix of the population is an identity matrix where all the coefficients on the diagonal are 1, and the others are 0. A large value of the statistic test and a lower degree of significance will favor the rejection of the null hypothesis. If it cannot be rejected, it is not recommended to carry out a factor analysis with the data.

Another useful statistic is the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of the adequacy of the sample (Hair et al., 1995; Visauta & Martori, 2003; Mahlotra, 2004), also called KMO, which compares the magnitudes of the coefficients of the observed correlation with the magnitudes of the partial correlation coefficients. Small values of KMO indicate that correlations between pairs of variables are not explained by other variables, and that factor analysis may not be appropriate. For Kaiser (1974, cited in Visauta & Martori, 2003) the values are the following:

1 >= KMO > 0.90 are considered excellent
0.90 >= KMO > 0.80 are considered good
0.80 >= KMO > 0.70 are considered appropriate
0.70 >= KMO > 0.60 are considered mediocre
0.60 >= KMO > 0.50 are considered bad
KMO < 0.50 are considered unacceptable

For this research, the determinant of the correlation matrix was .000. Furthermore, as Table 1 shows, the results of the Bartlett and KMO tests were satisfactory; therefore, factor analysis was appropriate.

Table 1.
Bartlett and KMO test results

KMO	.972	
Bartlett's sphericity test	Chi-squared	29002.584
	gl	2415
	Sig.	.000

Source: Elaborated by the authors with SPSS software.

DETERMINATION OF THE FACTOR ANALYSIS METHOD

The component or Principal Component Analysis method was chosen since the objective was to reduce most of the original information –variances– into a minimum number of factors. Seventy variables were used in the study, and the first analysis produced 11 factors to explain 62.697% of the data (See Table 2). This is because only factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 are considered significant; the other values are discarded (Hair et al., 1995; Visauta & Martori, 2003; Mahlotra, 2004).

INTERPRETATION OF THE FACTORS

Three steps are involved in defining the final factor solution. The first is the matrix of non-rotated factors, which assists in obtaining a preliminary indicator of the number of factors to extract. Non-rotated factor solutions achieve the goal of data reduction, but, most of the time, they do not offer the most adequate interpretation of the examined variables (Hair et al., 1995). The factor load is the means of interpreting the role played by each variable and the factor because they indicate the degree of correlation or correspondence between the variable and the factor; with higher loads, the variable is more representative of the factor. The non-rotated factor solution, shown in table 2, may or may not provide a meaningful pattern of variable loading, and rotation will generally be desirable because it simplifies the factor structure.

Table 2.
Factors solution not rotated

Component	Initial eigenvalues			Sum of the squared saturation of the extraction		
	Total	Variance %	Accumulated %	Total	Variance %	Accumulated %
1	28.286	40.409	40.409	28.286	40.409	40.409
2	2.780	3.971	44.380	2.780	3.971	44.380
3	2.344	3.348	47.728	2.344	3.348	47.728
4	1.956	2.794	50.522	1.956	2.794	50.522
5	1.456	2.079	52.601	1.456	2.079	52.601
6	1.390	1.986	54.587	1.390	1.986	54.587
7	1.306	1.865	56.452	1.306	1.865	56.452
8	1.173	1.676	58.128	1.173	1.676	58.128
9	1.110	1.585	59.713	1.110	1.585	59.713
10	1.071	1.530	61.243	1.071	1.530	61.243
11	1.018	1.454	62.697	1.018	1.454	62.697

Source: Developed by the authors with SPSS software.

The second step employs a rotational method to achieve simpler and meaningful factor solutions. In most cases, rotating the variables improves interpretation by reducing some of the ambiguities that often accompany the initial non-rotated factor solutions.

There are several rotational methods, for instance, orthogonal, such as *varimax*, *equamax*, *quartimax*, and obliques, such as *promax* and *direct oblimin*. According to Hair et al. (1995), the choice of an orthogonal or oblique rotation should be made based on the particular needs of a given research problem. If the researcher wants to reduce a large number of variables to a smaller set of uncorrelated variables for subsequent use in a regression or other prediction technique, an orthogonal solution is recommended. However, if the ultimate goal of factor analysis is to obtain several constructs or factors with theoretical significance, an oblique solution is appropriate.

In this research, the number of variables will be reduced to a smaller set of uncorrelated variables; therefore, it was decided to use an orthogonal array, specifically the *varimax* method. In addition to being the most widely used, this method tries to minimize the number of variables with high loads in each factor. Table 3 shows the results of the rotated factor with the varimax method.

Table 3.
Rotated factor solution

Component	Sum of the squared saturations of the rotation		
	Total	**Variance %**	**Accumulated %**
1	8.742	12.488	12.488
2	7.160	10.229	22.717
3	4.931	7.045	29.762
4	4.705	6.722	36.484
5	3.550	5.071	41.555
6	3.530	5.043	46.597
7	3.491	4.986	51.584
8	2.693	3.847	55.431
9	2.052	2.931	58.362
10	1.622	2.318	60.680
11	1.412	2.017	62.697

Source: Developed by the authors with SPSS software.

In the third step, the factor analysis evaluates the need to refine the factor model due to (1) the deletion of some variable(s), (2) the desire to use a different rotation method for the interpretation, (3) the need to extract a different number of factors, or (4) the desire to switch from one extraction method to another (Hair et al., 1995).

Comrey (1973; 2013) reports that factor load levels above 0.45 are considered valid, above 0.55 are considered good, above 0.63 are considered very good, and above 0.71 are excellent. On the other hand, Hair et al. (1995) report that the loads of the factors greater than ± 0.30 are considered to meet the minimum level of acceptance, loads of ± 0.40 are considered more important, and if the loads are ± 0.50 or higher they are considered practically significant.

After interpreting the complex interrelationships represented in the factor matrix, the resulting measurements showed, in general, a high degree of clustering; that is, the elements or questions that form them reached a high level of factor loading for the same factor, requiring only some modifications to refine the measurements, which consisted in the elimination of 4 of the 70 items or questions because they were not grouped correctly or logically in the valid measurements, or because the factor load level had a minimum level of acceptance (see table 4).

Table 4.
Results of factor analysis

Variable number	Factor load	Rotated factor varimax	Modifications	Dimension definition
36	.653	1	Eliminated	
4	.472	1	Adjusted	Self-control/self management
38	.513	1	Adjusted	
39	.526	1	Adjusted	
40	.557	1	Adjusted	
62	.576	1	Adjusted	
3	.384	1		Solidarity
20	.652	1		
32	.401	1		
33	.378	1		
34	.387	1		
35	.740	1		
37	.732	1		
42	.650	1		
44	.656	1		
47	.463	1		
59	.581	1		

Variable number	Factor load	Rotated factor varimax	Modifications	Dimension definition
8	.676	2	Adjusted	Logic of the gift
9	.696	2	Adjusted	
10	.661	2	Adjusted	
11	.748	2	Adjusted	
21	.616	2	Adjusted	
55	.455	2	Adjusted	
1	.476	2		Sustainability
5	.508	2		
6	.441	2		
7	.504	2		
17	.408	2		
46	.378	2		
56	.541	2		
52	.516	3		Congruence
53	.538	3		
54	.483	3		
57	.561	3		
58	.590	3		
60	.588	3		
61	.516	3		
64	.365	3		
24	.602	4	Eliminated	
18	.413	4		Flourishing
19	.375	4		
22	.465	4		
23	.428	4		
25	.673	4		
26	.522	4		
27	.608	4		
30	.529	4		
65	.610	5		Responsibility
66	.576	5		
67	.611	5		
68	.351	5		
69	.366	5		
70	.611	5		

Variable number	Factor load	Rotated factor varimax	Modifications	Dimension definition
2	.698	6		Management
16	.499	6		
31	.411	6		
41	.514	6		
43	.557	6		
28	.513	7		Resilience
29	.458	7		
48	.510	7		
49	.607	7		
50	.528	7		
13	.554	8		Collaboration
14	.537	8		
15	.621	8		
45	.549	9		Justice
51	.605	9		
12	.616	10	Eliminated	
63	.387	10	Eliminated	

Source: Developed by the authors with SPSS software

The results obtained through the factor analysis allowed to validate eleven measurements, which correspond to the dimensions of common good leadership. These factors are shown in table 5.

Table 5.
Dimensions of leadership for the common good

	Dimensions
1	Self-control/self management
2	Solidarity
3	Logic of the gift
4	Sustainability
5	Congruence
6	Flourishing
7	Responsibility
8	Management
9	Resilience
10	Collaboration
11	Justice

Source: Developed by the authors

Once the factors were identified, the different items in each factor were reviewed and compared to notions connected to the common good to establish a clear designation of each dimension.

For the design of the scale, and from the perspective of the common good, the identified factors were defined as follows:

Solidarity is a matter of justice and is focused on the common good (Catholic Parliament Office, 2016). It is a quality of human association, specifically a cohesive bond that holds a group together due to some conscious or intentional commitment. Individual assets become common assets through the interest that others invest in them (Regh, 2018). Solidarity is also the virtue that allows to share material and human goods fully. True solidarity implies recognizing the value of others as equals and is achieved when one puts one's own life at the service of others (Benedict XVI, 2008). It includes the firm desire for the common good, taking the necessary actions to achieve it. It is not a sense of compassion for the less privileged but a firm determination, commitment, and responsibility (John Paul II, 1987).

Self-control and self-management. Leadership has an element of power or dominance over others, but this power or mandate will not make sense if the leader does not have dominion over themselves. The Greek philosophers (Socrates, Plato, Aristotle) called this virtue *enkrateia* (enkratos), and they wanted to signify the government of oneself, this virtue shows and presupposes a high level of culture. The person who possesses this virtue is in control of their own passions and instincts, they do not allow themselves to be governed or carried away by pleasure or pain (Jaeger, 1957; Pieper, 2017). The opposite of this virtue is intemperate; not having power or control over oneself, it is also called weakness. When the person has acquired this excellence, harmony can be achieved between the moral existence of man and the natural order of the universe. It is based on the principles of self-control and self-regulation that are of great benefit both individually and in life together (Baumeister & Alquist, 2009). It is a change designed to bring something to conformity with the standard, a conscious effort at self-regulation, and the capacity for rational action to achieve social benefits.

Sustainability is a principle of moral-social action (YouCat Foundation gGmbH, 2016) that integrates three dimensions: economic development, management of natural resources and protection, equity, and social inclusion (UN, 2020). This principle is intrinsically linked to moral-social action for the common good, insofar as at the center is the dignity of the person, their basic and inalienable rights for a true integral human development. The principle of sustainability seeks the good of all people and their full development, not only for the people of the present but also considers future generations (Francisco, 2015), creating a commitment to develop prosperous and healthy communities for this generation and those to come (University of California Santa Barbara, 2020).

As for the **logic of the gift,** by living continuously within the dynamics of truth and charity, the human being experiences the gift in themselves: it is made by and for the gift. This dynamic between truth and charity is nurtured by hope, which sustains reason and gives strength to the will; in this way, it transcends all laws of justice. This does not mean that justice is eliminated or juxtaposed to it as something external that is added to it, but rather that it supposes it and is the minimum measure of charity (Galindo, 2013). The gift exceeds the merit, and its norm is to abound; it is an expression of fraternity together with the principle of gratuity. Thanks to charity and truth, the foundation and strength of the community are possible, and thanks to them, the logic of the gift is a requirement since an expression of this logic is the communion of goods as social aid. It is not opposed to the logic of contractual exchange or political logic, but it is against the logic of the strongest. The logic of the gift is developed with the principles of friendship, sociability, reciprocity, and trust (Benedict XVI, 2008).

Congruence is the way in which a person behaves in front of others. Personal congruence is about integrity, being honest to oneself and others about what one values and believes, and reflecting those beliefs through personal behavior and actions (Minnesota State University Mankato, 2018). It is behaving as one really is. It is the space between the true self and the ideal self (Celis, 2016). Consistency is essential because it is founded on truth, honesty, and integrity. Value congruence is the degree to which an individual's values match those found in their work environment (Molina, 2016) in their families and the society as a whole.

Flourishing. The concept of Aristotelian *eudaimo*nia has been generally translated as happiness, but in recent years the term "flourishing" has begun to be used to understand the relationship of the phrase "is good for" in "what is good for X depends on what X is" (Riordan, 2016). Thus, if *eudaimonia* is what everyone ultimately seeks in their actions, human flourishing is identified with a life of morally virtuous action. The things that are good for us as human beings are those that play a role in living our flourishing (prosperous) lives (Wolbert, de Ruyter, & Schinkel, 2015). Interestingly, this approach is closely linked to the interest of protecting the freedom of individuals to choose their own conception of good. It is also considered an ideal of education since it is the updating of human faculties (powers) that seek objective goods throughout life.

Responsibility is an attribute for which the author of a human act (an act performed with full knowledge of the intelligence and full consent of the will) must account for it, answer for their actions before an authority. Depending on the circumstances of the human act, it is to whom an answer should be given, be it a moral, legal or social authority. This does not mean that it is an ethic of consequences or utilitarianism (Inciarte, 1980). However, that responsibility has its foundation in human nature itself from the natural moral law, a rational arrangement for the common good (De Aquino, 2011), which seeks the "flourishing" or development of the human person and the community.

Management can be defined as the set of actions or procedures that allow an initiative or a project to be carried out with the ability to handle or conduct any problematic situation that arises (RAE, 2021a). Management suggests efficiency, planning, control, consistency (Hughes et al., 2019). Management makes organizations possible, and good management makes them, and society as a whole, more prosperous (Magretta, 2012).

Resilience is identified as the capacity that enables people to survive, adapt and thrive even in adverse conditions and can be naturally built or deliberately developed (Smith, 2018). Resilience is also the ability of a person or a social system to live well and develop positively despite difficult living conditions (Vanistendael, 1994). Despite being exposed to stress, the person develops social, academic, and vocational skills in this process. There is convergence between resilience and the common good since the community in which people develop is in which the common good can develop and be exercised (Angulo, Noriega, Noriega, & Castillo, 2016).

Collaboration refers to working with other people to carry out a project (RAE, 2021b). For Schuman (2006), collaboration is the process where two or more people or organizations work together to complete a task or achieve a goal and has been considered as a powerful strategy to achieve a vision otherwise not possible when independent entities work alone (Gajda, 2004). Collaboration is a skill that needs to be taught. It includes listening and asking questions, creating empathy and making people comfortable with feedback, increasing self-awareness delegating, and communicating with clarity (Gino, 2019).

Justice (fairness) is understood as a state free from biases or injustices; the action of social institutions for the benefit of human rights, which guarantees equal life opportunities. It entails that people are treated according to their condition as human beings and that decisions are made impartially, objectively, and with respect.

FACTOR ANALYSIS VALIDATION

The validation of any factor analysis is essential since it involves evaluating the degree of generalization of the results to the population. The generalization problem is critical for this multivariate statistical method because it describes a data structure that must be representative of the population. The most direct method of validation of results is the confirmatory perspective and evaluation of the replicability of the results, either with a divided sample of the original data set or with a separate sample (Hair et al., 1995).

VALIDATION WITH THE SPLIT-HALF METHOD

To carry out the validation, this study was divided into two samples: one with the 315 even-numbered observations and the second with the 315 odd-numbered observations. A factor analysis was conducted for each sample, and both resulting models were compared. Table 6 shows the factor solution rotated with the varimax method of the *even* and *odd* samples. Both results are very similar, explaining between 66.8% and 66.1% of the variance with 14 and 11 factors respectively. In addition, the common values –commonalities– also show significant similarity (see table 7).

Table 6.
Solution of even and odd rotated factors

	Even solution			**Odd solution**		
	Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
Component	Total	% of variance	% accumulated	Total	% of variance	% accumulated
1	6.226	8.894	8.894	30.493	43.561	43.561
2	5.268	7.526	16.419	2.840	4.057	47.618
3	5.196	7.423	23.842	2.351	3.359	50.977
4	4.202	6.002	29.845	2.054	2.935	53.912
5	3.928	5.612	35.456	1.450	2.072	55.983
6	3.415	4.878	40.335	1.399	1.999	57.982
7	3.374	4.820	45.155	1.286	1.838	59.82
8	3.052	4.360	49.515	1.168	1.669	61.489
9	2.594	3.706	53.221	1.140	1.628	63.117
10	2.139	3.056	56.277	1.085	1.549	64.666
11	2.101	3.002	59.279	1.045	1.494	66.16
12	1.892	2.703	61.982	0.000	0.000	0.000
13	1.816	2.594	64.576	0.000	0.000	0.000
14	1.566	2.238	66.814	0.000	0.000	0.000

Source: Developed by the authors using SPSS software

Table 7.
Commonalities values of the Even and Odd solutions

Variable number	**Extraction Pair**	**Odd extraction**	**Difference**
1	0.556	0.506	0.050
2	0.702	0.659	0.043
3	0.675	0.641	0.034
4	0.695	0.693	0.002
5	0.621	0.613	0.008
6	0.615	0.630	0.015

7	0.672	0.608	0.064
8	0.695	0.703	0.008
9	0.692	0.674	0.018
10	0.705	0.689	0.016
11	0.743	0.794	0.051
12	0.644	0.686	0.042
13	0.687	0.651	0.036
14	0.653	0.669	0.016
15	0.741	0.702	0.039
16	0.589	0.646	0.057
17	0.625	0.566	0.059
18	0.712	0.619	0.093
19	0.658	0.642	0.016
20	0.671	0.681	0.010
21	0.702	0.724	0.022
22	0.771	0.681	0.090
23	0.561	0.621	0.060
24	0.580	0.731	0.151
25	0.693	0.628	0.065
26	0.615	0.636	0.021
27	0.705	0.681	0.024
28	0.677	0.651	0.026
29	0.597	0.591	0.006
30	0.647	0.540	0.107
31	0.639	0.665	0.026
32	0.675	0.727	0.052
33	0.588	0.709	0.121
34	0.684	0.566	0.118
35	0.666	0.753	0.087
36	0.680	0.669	0.011
37	0.754	0.779	0.025
38	0.674	0.689	0.015
39	0.635	0.658	0.023
40	0.720	0.730	0.010
41	0.702	0.686	0.016
42	0.677	0.630	0.047
43	0.741	0.733	0.008
44	0.723	0.722	0.001
45	0.541	0.567	0.026
46	0.707	0.647	0.060
47	0.723	0.595	0.128

48	0.734	0.611	0.123
49	0.663	0.630	0.033
50	0.694	0.703	0.009
51	0.659	0.614	0.045
52	0.555	0.617	0.062
53	0.692	0.661	0.031
54	0.624	0.616	0.008
55	0.679	0.731	0.052
56	0.710	0.600	0.110
57	0.693	0.728	0.035
58	0.606	0.719	0.113
59	0.709	0.764	0.055
60	0.703	0.668	0.035
61	0.634	0.743	0.109
62	0.751	0.746	0.005
63	0.598	0.568	0.030
64	0.665	0.720	0.055
65	0.607	0.629	0.022
66	0.689	0.577	0.112
67	0.729	0.772	0.043
68	0.641	0.703	0.062
69	0.612	0.500	0.112
70	0.696	0.613	0.083

Source: Developed by the authors with SPSS

RELIABILITY TESTS

Once the measurements resulting from the Factor Analysis were defined in the final sample, the reliability was validated by applying a Cronbach's alpha test. As shown in Table 8, the alphas found for measurements 1 to 10 are acceptable according to the criteria of Nunnally (1987), which considers that alphas between 0.50 and 0.60 should be sufficient, and Cronbach (1951) establishes that alphas with a value greater than 0.65 are acceptable. Measurement number 11 is only validated with the criterion of Nunnally (1987). In this way, it is shown that the proposed measurements have a good level of reliability or internal congruence.

Table 8.
Cronbach's alpha reliability tests

	Measured variable	Number of measured elements	Alfa
1	Self-control/ self-management	5	0.847
2	Solidarity	11	0.914
3	Logic of the gift	6	0.900
4	Sustainability	7	0.814
5	Congruence	8	0.882
6	Flourishing	8	0.873
7	Responsibility	6	0.790
8	Management	5	0.819
9	Resilience	5	0.788
10	Collaboration	3	0.783
11	Justice	2	0.520

Source: Developed by the authors with SPSS software

Additional analyses were performed to determine how the different types of leadership connected to the common good were represented in the dimensions obtained through the factor analysis.

Table 9.
CGLS Scale dimensions associated with common good-related leadership styles

Leadership style	Solidarity	Self-management	Sustainability	Logic of the gift	Congruence	Flourishing	Responsibility	Management	Resilience	Collaboration	TOTAL
Authentic		X		X	X	X					4
Benevolent	X			X							2
Civic	X	X	X			X	X			X	6
Collaborative	X		X					X		X	4
Courageous	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	8
Democratic	X	X	X				X	X			5
Ethical	X			X	X		X				4

Exemplary	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	7
Humanistic	X		X	X	X	X	X			X	7
Inclusive	X		X	X				X		X	5
Integrative	X		X	X				X		X	5
Meaningful		X	X	X	X	X		X		X	7
Moral			X	X	X	X	X				5
Positive		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	8
Prosocial	X		X	X		X	X	X		X	7
Regenerative		X	X	X	X	X			X	X	6
Responsible	X		X		X		X	X		X	6
Servant	X			X				X		X	4
Shared	X			X				X		X	4
Social justice	X		X	X			X		X		5
Social			X	X		X	X	X		X	6
Spiritual				X			X				2
Sustainable			X				X	X	X		4
Transformational		X		X	X	X			X	X	6
Value-based	X			X	X					X	4
Virtuous	X	X				X				X	4
Visionary			X	X	X	X		X	X		6

Source: Developed by the authors

In table 9, the different leadership styles are cross analyzed regarding the different dimensions of the scale. As can be observed, courageous and positive styles are connected eight out of the eleven dimensions selected. Exemplary, humanistic, meaningful, and prosocial leadership styles are connected with seven dimensions each, while visionary, transformational, social, responsible, regenerative, and civic leadership styles connect to six dimensions each.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

This article proposed a scale to evaluate leadership for the common good with the goal of reducing the overconfidence bias which is present in studies that analyze ethical behaviors. Although the instrument was designed to compare ideal and real behaviors, it is still possible that there is certain bias, as the actions are not being confirmed and the instrument relies exclusively in the answers that participants provide.

Different actions were taken to design and validate the scale. There was a theoretical analysis from which variables were identified and then constructed into items, and expert analysis and pilot testing sessions were conducted. When the final scale was developed it was administered to large samples of participants so that there would be enough data to perform the required tests to determine the validity and reliability and to reduce the number of items identifying the relevant factors.

The items in the scale were developed through an analysis of leadership traits and skills, and common good principles. Although the resulting factors or dimensions were defined considering human virtues are not absolute or concrete, each virtue integrated other virtues in their definitions.

The scale was constructed with two paired Likert scales which allowed various degrees of opinions which then were compared to identify the gap. Results from the scale can be analyzed in different ways, for instance the gap, but also, there can be additional analysis with regards to the ideals of common good leadership or actions that participants perform towards achieving the common good.

So far, the scale has been applied in two different educational institutions, and it is expected to be applied in three additional universities during 2022. It is important to acknowledge that the instrument was designed in Spanish and that some fine distinctions between certain skills and traits might have been lost in translation.

Through factor analysis, it was confirmed that the variables developed to measure Common Good leadership can be summarized into eleven factors or dimensions. Additionally, the statistical analysis shows that the instrument fulfills the following criteria:

a. Construct validity. It was determined by factor analysis. The results obtained from the factor analysis indicate that there are 11 factors (dimensions).

b.Reliability. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients of the eleven resulting factors (dimensions) were determined; their values were high enough to be validated with the Nunnally and Cronbach criteria. Through the split-halves method (Split-halves), with samples of 315 observations each, it was possible to explain the 66.8% and 66.1% variance, respectively.

c. Content validity. It was determined through a panel of experts who reviewed and improved the writing of the items, leaving only those pertinent to the instrument.

d. From the statistical processes used to validate the instrument that measures Leadership for the Common Good, it can be affirmed that the instrument is valid and reliable.

In terms of further studies, expanding the factor analysis with additional observations from other educational institutions will help to fine-tune the scale if needed. The dimension of Justice needs to be re-evaluated and additional items need to be incorporated to achieve higher levels of reliability, since it is the dimension with the lowest values, and the fewest items.

It is expected that the scale will be refined so that it can provide valuable information that can further develop, and question, emerging theories regarding common good leadership.

Claudia Malcón-Cervera, Cynthia M. Montaudon-Tomas**, Ingrid N. Pinto-López*** & Manuel Alejandro Gutiérrez-González*****

*Full-time professor and researcher at the Business School of the Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla (UPAEP), since 2007. She holds a bachelor's degree in Computer Systems, a master's degree in Administration and a doctorate in Strategic Planning and Technology Management from UPAEP.

**Full-time professor and consultant at the Business School at UPAEP in Puebla, Mexico. She holds a post doctorate in Organizational Leadership, a PhD in Business, and a PhD in Strategic Planning. She also holds an MBA, a Master in Quality Engineering and a Master in Communication Sciences. She is head of the Observatory on Competitiveness and New Ways of Working and member of the National System of Researchers, Level I

***Full-time professor and researcher at the Faculty of Business Administration and Intelligence, at UPAEP University, Puebla, Mexico. She is currently coordinator of the international arbitration of the Latin American Association of Faculties and Schools of Accounting and Administration (ALAFEC), and member of the National System of Researchers. Her research interests include topics related to project management and direction, new ways of working, bibliometric analysis, and multivariate fuzzy logic.

****Mechatronic Engineering from la Salle University México (ULSA) and Bionic Engineering at the National Polytechnic Institute (IPN).He has a degree in Philosophy and a Master's in Administration from UPAEP University, a Master's in Social Ethics from the Center for Research in Social Ethics (CIES- Aletheia Foundation), a Master's in Humanities and a PhD in Humanities by the University Center of Mexico City (UCIME). He is currently a professor at the Technological University of the State of Querétaro (UTEQ) and at the Anáhuac Querétaro. He is Director of the Center for Sustainable Development and the Common Good, Director of the Blaise Pascal Chair and Director of the Società Internazionale Tomasso d''Aquino, Mexico (youth section).

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LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMON GOOD ON ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDENTS

IN THE STATE OF QUERETARO, MEXICO. A STUDY ON THE TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY OF QUERETARO

Received: November 2021 I Accepted: February 2022

Manuel Alejandro Gutiérrez-González*, Jana Mejía-Toiber**, Cynthia M. Montaudon-Tomas***, Claudia Malcón-Cervera**** & Ingrid N. Pinto-López*****.

ABSTRACT

The Technological University of Querétaro (UTEQ) is one of the most important schools in the state of Querétaro in technological innovation training, educating the future leaders who will lead the development of the state. In this sense, it is crucial to note the necessity to improve the social development that guides leaders towards common good actions. This research started by studying leadership characteristics for the common good, resulting in 132 items clustered into an ideal state that indicates what the person considers themselves to be and then the real state, in which a criterion associated with concrete actions is established. Leadership for the common good is based on eleven dimensions: Solidarity, Logic of the Gift, Self-Control, Collaboration, Sustainability, Responsibility, Flourishing, Congruence, Resilience, Management, and Justice. A sample of 465 students was obtained from UTEQ. The results showed that there is a positive self-assessment in different dimensions of leadership for the common good; however, in a more detailed analysis, it is shown that there is a gap between the ideal and the real item scores, suggesting that positive self-assessment is not corresponding with concrete actions, so leadership lacks practicality. Accordingly, it is essential to do longitudinal research and establish a model to drive leadership for the common good at UTEQ.

Keywords: Leadership for the Common Good, Technological Universities, Economic and Administrative Students, actions for the common good.

*Universidad Tecnológica del Estado de Querétaro,alejandro.gutierrez@uteq.edu.mx
**Universidad Tecnológica de Querétaro jana.mejía@uteq.edu.mx
***UPAEP Universidad, cynthiamaria.montaudon@upaep.mx
****UPAEP Universidad, claudia.malcon@upaep.mx
*****UPAEP Universidad, ingrid.pinto@upaep.mx

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, the concept of the common good is used to justify certain political decisions and show politicians' concerns about their citizens. However, the Common Good definition is unclear; there is no understanding of what Mexican politicians mean concerning the common good. Also, some researchers and authors use the concept of the common good to support an argument, but they do not define it and make the concept intelligible; one example of this is the case of Bryson and Crosby in the topic of common good leadership (Riordan, 2008, 4).

The Instituto Promotor del Bien Común (IPBC) has been working on operationalizing the concept since 2017, resulting in a matrix based on five dimensions: agency, governance, justice, stability, and humanity. With this idea, a scale to measure the actions of individuals to achieve a common good (see Montaudon- Tomas et al. ii., Malcón-Cervera et al. ii on this issue) was developed. The philosophy of action shows that individuals act in two different ways, first, with a causal efficiency, and second, with the constellation of meaningful connections; this is an Aristotelian distinction. For the second idea, he uses the word προαίρεσις (proaíresis) to distinguish the notions of ὄρεξις (orexis, appetite, impulse, and rational desire) and δοξα (Doxa, opinion, and beliefs). Proaíresis means the constitutive capacity for the agency, the deliberate decisions, and the election of a kind of life; it is the result of rational deliberation, a connection of desire and belief (Vigo, 2010).

The main concern to develop this scale was to know how the formative or humanistic subjects taught at the university help the students understand which common goods might be outreached; that is, how students do not live in desires, opinions, and beliefs but with concrete actions to achieve them. The scale is clustered in ideal and real actions and in eleven dimensions considered the most critical capabilities that help humans achieve a common good (see Montaudon-Tomas et al. ii.).

This paper is divided into three sections. First, the conception of human development in the Technological Universities, which are the subjects, are discussed. The aim is to achieve the students' integral formation , so the kind of leadership that is taught was analyzed, along with the outcomes of this kind of leadership. In the second part, the application of the common good leadership scale in the students of the economic and administrative areas of the Technological University of Querétaro is presented. The third part is the discussion of the outcomes and some recommendations.

TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY OF QUERÉTARO

The Technological University of Querétaro (UTEQ, acronym in Spanish) is the first Technological University founded in Querétaro, Mexico. UTEQ is the second public university with more students, and it has twenty-nine degrees: seventeen superior university technician (TSU, acronym in Spanish) and twelve Bachelor degrees; in 2019, UTEQ inaugurated its first Master degree –Intelligent Manufacturing Engineering–, and in 2020 the second Master degree –Circular Economy–. The Mexican Technological Universities were founded based on the French Instituts Universitaires de Technologie that are part of the traditional universities of this country. The time to finish a technical degree is between 1,800 and 2,000 hours and involves an equilibrium between theory and practice: one part of the formation of the students is studying at the university, and the other part requires work in the industry (Flores Crespo, 2010, 464-467).

THE ORIGIN OF THE TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITIES IN MEXICO

The creation of the Technological Universities (TU) in Mexico was in 1991 with the Secretary of Public Education (SEP, acronym in Spanish). The rationale behind the introduction of the Technological Universities in Mexico was based on two main ideas: a functional-economic paradigm of education and democratizing studies at the university level (Flores, 2010, 455; Flores- Crespo and Rodríguez Arias, 2020, 18). In the second case, these universities are associated with middle-level positions in enterprises (Ruiz-Larraguivel, 2011, 44). Interestingly, in 2010, 64% of these were in municipalities with a very low degree of marginalization. Typically, one university is in a municipality with a very high level of marginalization (Flores, 2010, 455-56). Literature showed that, in these universities, nine out of ten students were the first generation in their families to attend a university, having a higher educational level than their parents (Rubio, 2006 cited on Flores-Crespo and Rodríguez-Arias, 2021, 43, 55)

The Technological Universities depend on the General Coordination of Technological and Polytechnic Universities (CGUTyP, acronym in Spanish), and the CGUTyP suggests that this educational model might have five characteristics: 1) relevance, 2) intensity, 3) continuity, 4) polyvalence, and 5) flexibility. The first is related to the functional and organizational response of the Technological Universities to the labor market and productive sectors to solve pressing social problems. The second is based on time optimization for teaching and learning since the programs are two years long and involve 3,000 hours of study in a quarterly plan. The third consists of the possibility of studying a bachelor degree in any university; the fourth relates to the fact that students cannot specialize in any topic or specific activity; and the last entails that the study plans might be revised and improved according to the needs of the municipality, working market, and productive sector (Flores, 2010, 451- 52).

Daniel Reséndiz, sub-Secretary of Higher Education in 1999, changed the rationale and the strategy of the Technological Universities to cover the job vacancies with technically qualified professionals with short careers as university technicians (Flores-Crespo, 2010,452) since graduate students with bachelor degrees or higher degrees do not tend to take professional technician jobs. This has a philosophical concern in an anthropological and educational way; first, a person is considered a part of the whole that can be replaced with another with more competence; second, the university has not a transcendental philosophy. The university is a factory that makes technicians or professionals fit for the working market and productive sector. It is not where diversity of thought and pursuit of the truth is encountered.

SOCIOCULTURAL FORMATION

The TU has a course (socio-cultural formation) in their curricula to complete the education of their students through humanistic formation. Sergio Tobón proposed this subject to think about the formation of students in a complex and multidimensional epistemological manner (Tobón, 2005; Silvano, Tobón and Vázquez 2015). The reason behind this premise is that human beings are involved in social and contextual dynamics that affect the personal dynamic. The «socio-cultural formation implies that the society as a whole enables spaces, resources, strategies, supports, finalities, norms, needs, expectations and values to mediate the formation of its members, with the purpose to maintain and renovate constantly faced with the changes» (Tobón, 2005, 28).

For instance, the ideal of the socio-cultural formation is the formation of the human person, and the second is to construct, reconstruct and transform the social structure. Tobón suggests a more deterministic explanation in that the flourishing of the human person needs the contribution of the human person to improve the conditions of life in the community through a change in the social structures when these do not respond to the collective good. Another way he affirms this is that personal satisfaction is only possible by integrating the individual in a recursive tissue. He argues that the final purpose of the socio-cultural formation is to find actions so that the community can come aboard the education with «flexibility, ethics, dialogue, and pertinence as of projects that contribute satisfy the necessities of the personal and contextual growth» (Tobón, 2001, 2011 cited on Silvano, Tobón, and Vázquez, 2015, 107).

These affirmations also have a philosophical concern; this is the annihilation of the human person in the interest of the collective good. Jacques Maritain analyzed this with the paradox of social life; it cannot be said that the human person is exclusively part of the society; the society must recognize the primacy of the human person over the collective good (Maritain, 2000, 213-214). This approximation that offers Tobón is considered as a totalitarian idea, precisely, a kind of socialism: the human person is subsumed in the society, the talent of the human person is in service of the common good (Tobón et al., 2019, 25)

SOCIOCULTURAL FORMATION LEADERSHIP

Furthermore, Silvano, Tobón, and Vázquez (2015) studied leadership framed in the socio- formative subject. This type of leadership aims to promote the adaptation of complex social contexts that require flexibility in the education of its members to develop and face the changes. Another objective is to ensure the quality of the education process through planning, execution, and evaluation of competencies to generate an integral formation, a high ethical compromise satisfaction, entrepreneurship, and suitability. The methodology that they applied was conceptual cartography made by Tobón (Tobón, 2004 cited in Silvano, Tobón and Vázquez, 2015).

The purpose of this leadership is to support knowledge management and has the basis of the ethical project of life; it is part of the management of human talent, meaning that all people could have full development of their potential; it is based on practices whose purpose is the socio-formative mediation; and it is a complex process that pursues integral education (Silvano, Tobón and Vázquez, 2015, 115).

The principal characteristics of socio-formative leadership are entrepreneurship, planning and executing projects with other people to find solutions and the development of the talents of others; collaborative work, sharing ideas, sources, and competencies to achieve a goal; knowledge management, problem-solving using knowledge; metacognition, applying continuous improvement and reflection; pursue the full personal realization and apply universal values (Silvano, Tobón and Vázquez, 2015, 115-116).

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL FORMATION SUBJECT AND LEADERSHIP AT UTEQ

The Technological University of Querétaro (UTEQ) was founded in 1994, in the second wave of the foundation of new Technological Universities in Mexico. It started with four university superior technician careers (UST) and nowadays has seventeen university superior technician careers (UST), twelve Bachelor's degrees, and two master degrees and has five academic divisions: Economic, Industrial, Technological, Environmental, and Languages. The educational model of the UTEQ has more elements than the proposed by the CGUTyP: 1) quality, 2) relevance, 3) intensity, 4) continuity, 5) polyvalence, 6) flexibility, 7) a bridging function, 8) study plans and programs with professional competencies, 9) sojourns in the productive sector, 10) academic personnel, 11) technological innovation and development, 12) integral program of mentoring, 13) integral formation, and 14) educative infrastructure (UTEQ 2021).

In terms of socio-cultural formation, there are four subjects that students have to take at UTEQ, and as of 2019, there have also been socio-formative workshops. These subjects are 30% theory and 70% practice, unlike the subjects in France with 50% theory and 50% practice. These subjects address: sustainable development, life and career plan, mechanics and dynamics of groups, leadership and decision making, negotiation and decision making, creative thinking, and project management by values.

A study at the Industrial Division in UTEQ evaluated the impact of socio-cultural formation subjects in management and self-management and how that helped identify essential competencies: prospective and perspective, skills of internal and external linking, social skills for collaborative work, self-management of knowledge, construction of the ethic integrity, capacity for reassigning the quality's concept and effective communication. (Esparza, Magaña and Migdalia, 2020, 68). With these seven integral competencies, professors applied a survey with twenty-four questions to 100 students in the university superior technician level of the Industrial Division. The professors argue that outcomes show two integral competencies in a high level of student development, prospective and perspective and ethical integrity, and show a low level of effective communication. This evaluation has some problems; first, the seven essential competencies were elaborated without a revision of the literature; second, they did not do a qualitative-statistical evaluation of their scale; third, they tried to evaluate the subjects of the transversal intervention program, as socio-cultural formation, oral and written expression, and integrator program, but did not show the results of the scale with these subjects; fourth, only students of the integrator program answered the survey; fifth, they did not run the study according to an RCT protocol, they only sent the link of the survey in a Whatsapp group and only received 100 answers.

COMMON GOOD LEADERSHIP IN THE ECONOMIC DIVISION AT UTEQ.

COMMON GOOD LEADERSHIP

One model to measure leadership is through socio-formative leadership; this is focused only on the educational program, even though Tobón claims it is focused on the collective good. The application of a survey in one division of UTEQ, inspired in the socio-cultural formation leadership, shows that two of the seven essential competencies have good rankings, and one is low ranked by 100 students. This chapter discusses a new model to measure leadership at UTEQ: common good leadership. Literature suggests that administrative and economic careers are the cradle of leadership in the social, economic, and political spheres (see Montaudon et al. ii. On this issue). This is why the survey was applied in the Economic and Administrative Division (DEA, acronym in Spanish) in UTEQ.

Methods
Study Population and Sample selection

A sample from UTEQ was selected, DEA was chosen since careers prepare future leaders in Economic or Management areas. However, this analysis shows preliminary data. There was a population of 1,081 at the university superior technician level (TSU), and 828 were undergraduate students. A stratified sampling method was used to ensure the representativeness in terms of gender and educational level; we needed 80 women and 41 men at the superior technician level and 63 women and 30 men at the undergraduate level in the DEA. This study was approved by the ethics committee of

UTEQ, who notified that no preventative evaluation was required for the present study since anonymous data were collected.

Instrument

Sociodemographic variables included gender (men and women), and age (categorized as 17, 18, 19, 20. 21, 22, 23, 24, ≥25 years). The level of education was categorized as TSU (business development, management, and logistics) or bachelor (in business innovation, design and management of logistics network, and management of human capital). Location origin (local and foreign), local students were considered such as those born in the state of study, Queretaro. There were also out of state students, High School Origin (Public, Private), Economic Level, based on the lights bulbs numbers at home, < 6 (E), 7-10 (D), 11-15 (C), 16-20 (B), >21 (A) and finally the quantity of Sociocultural Formation subjects taken (one, two, three and four subjects taken).

Leadership was assessed through the Common Good Leadership Scale, made up of 132 items on a Likert scale from 1 to 7. The lowest number, 1, is associated with"Totally Disagree" and 7, with "Totally Agree." Items were classified into two sections according to the theoretical construct, which for this study is called Ideal, based on the items that reflect what the person considers themselves to be, and the section of Real, which indicates what people do or how they act, that is, concrete actions. This grouping was not visible on the survey. In this way, each Ideal-type question is paired to another Real-type item since they both address a common subject, so there were 66 pairs of items to get a GAP analysis between Real and Ideal items. The details about this instrument are published in a paper within this same issue (Malcón-Cervera et alii, in this issue).

Procedure

The survey was delivered online using the Google Suite Forms application. All the answers were required to conclude the test; therefore, no responses with missing data were obtained. The scale was applied in December 2020. The students were assigned time to answer the survey during class, which took approximately 20 minutes to respond. The students' participation was voluntary, and their responses were anonymous, although the form automatically collects their emails, which is the students' account number. The information processing was carried out by a committee that kept the data confidential. The Economic and Administrative Division had a total population of 1909, from which only 463 (24.3%) answered the survey. In each classroom, a total of 7 women and 3 men were randomly invited to participate and received an email with the link. The total women population (N=1272, 66.6%) and men (N=637, 33.4%) are balanced according to the representative sample obtained. However, TSU (56.6%) and Bachelor's degree students (43.37 %) made up an unbalanced category, even when they were invited in the same manner.

Statistical analysis

The gap between *Real* and *Ideal* values (I) (R-I) was obtained. It indicates the differences between what a person does through actions (R) and what they consider to be in terms of the common good (I). The negative values reflect a greater tendency to be idealistic and the positive scores to be realistic. However, values equal to zero reflect the equivalence of the *Ideal* with the *Real* scores. Subtraction is obtained with the pairs of questions previously classified by subject; for example, the question "I love my neighbor" is paired with "I have performed acts of compassion and charity towards others," in this case, the first item is *Idea*l (I) and the second item is *Real*. In another example, "I like to support others" is *Ideal*, and "I participate in a group or lead a group that is dedicated to solving a problem in my community" is *Real*. In both examples, the R-I formula was applied to obtain the GAP.

Due to the characteristics of the dependent variable, considered ordinal, non-parametric tests were used, such as the Median Test for independent data. Bonferroni corrections were obtained for multiple comparisons, taking <0.05 as a significance level. Analyses were performed with IBM SPSS statistics, version 26.

Results

Sociodemographic characteristics are shown in table 1. Study conditions were not homogeneous for the variables related to Gender, Age, Educational level, Location Origin, High School Origin, Economic Level, and Sociocultural Formation subjects. Most of the students are female, and the mean participant age was 19.8 years (SD 1.6); most of them are TSU students. They are from 26 different states in Mexico. Most of the students are local (Querétaro, 78.3%), followed by the states of Guanajuato (7.7%), Mexico City (2.4%), State of Mexico (2.2%), Hidalgo (1.9%), and Guerrero (1.1%). Most of them come from public high schools, so it was expected that more than half live in small homes with 6-15 light bulbs, a criterion used to classify economic segments in the population.

Differences between Ideal and Real items of the Leadership Scores are presented (Fig.1). It was found that answers fall in the Likert scale range of 5-7 (81.2%), that is, complete agreement. This indicates that the self-assessments of the students are generally positive. This effect is also shown when the items are clustered by type Ideal/Real, but Ideal values are usually higher than Real scores (Median Test $x2$ (1) =497.2, p = 0.0.

Figure 1.
Leadership for the common good Scores for Ideal and Real type items. Mean ± SEM.

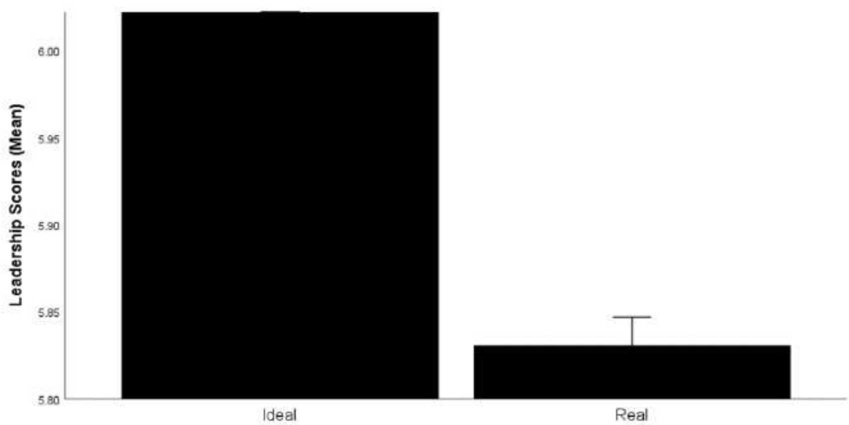


Table 1.
Demographic Characteristics and statistics summary from the median test for Real-Ideal Gaps.

Category	*Total population*	*Total respondents*	*GAP (Mean±SEM)*	*P values*
Gender				0.000
Men	637 (33.4 %)	159 (34.2%)	-0.35 (0.01)	
Women	1272 (66.6%)	304 (65.4%)	-0.26 (0.01)	
Age				0.000
17		10 (2.2%)	-0.19 (0.06)	
18		72 (15.5%)	-0.36 (0.02)	
19		145 (31.2%)	-0.35 (0.01)	
20		99 (21.3%)	-0.32 (0.02)	
21		52 (11.2%)	-0.25 (0.03)	
22		43 (9.2%)	-0.30 (0.03)	
23		22 (4.7%)	-0.28 (0.04)	
24		5 (1.1%)	-0.51 (0.10)	
25		4 (0.9%)	-0.23 (.08)	
Education level				0.000
TSU	1081 (56.62%)	429 (92.2%)	-0.34 (0.01)	
Bachelor	1272 (43.37%)	36 (0.07%)	-0.13 (0.29)	
Location Origin				0.481
Local		364 (78.2%)	-0.33 (.01)	
Foreign		101 (21.7%)	-0.31 (.02)	
High School Origin Public		397 (85.3%)	-0.34 (0.02)	0.168
Private		68 (14.6 %)	-0.31 (0.01)	

Economical level				0.000
E		129 (27.7%)	-0.34 (0.02)	
D		224 (48.2%)	-0.33 (0.01)	
C		68 (14.6 %)	-0.30 (0.02)	
B		36 (7.7 %)	-0.29 (0.03)	
A		8 (1.7 %)	-0.11 (0.7)	
Socio-formative				0.001
One subject		185 (39.8%)	-0.36 (0.01)	
Two subjects		22 (4.7%)	-0.33 (0.04)	
Three subjects		55 (11.8%)	-0.21 (0.02)	
Four subjects		203 (43.7%)	-0.31 (0.01)	

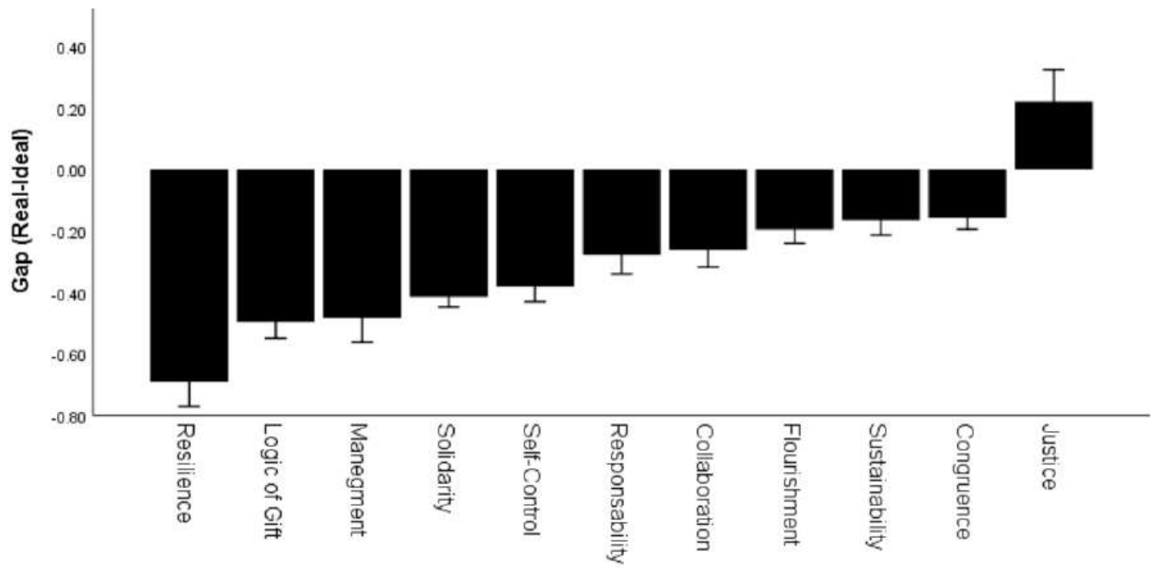
To determine if there were significant differences in Gaps values given by the Gender, Age, Education Level, and Economic Level of the participants, a Medians Test was carried out, finding significant effects (Table 1, $p < 0.05$). It can be observed that men have fewer negative Gaps than women. There is no clear effect of age. However, those 17 years old have lower negative Gaps than others (Table 1). Regarding Education level, Bachelor students showed significantly less negative Gaps values, suggesting an effect related to education (Table 1). Finally, the Economic level showed significantly lower negative Gaps, but only on those students that have > 21 light bulbs at home (small houses) in comparison with those living in rooms or very small houses (Table 1). Finally, analysis about Sociocultural Formation subjects did not show an apparent effect since there are more negative scores when three subjects are taken compared to any other (Table 1). In a more detailed analysis (Table 2), the most frequent mode of the computed responses was six or seven (Totally agree), except for the question, "I have been involved or have organized verbal or physical fights (in the classroom, outside the university, at a party, club)," which was also the worst-ranked item (Item 40, Mo = 1, Mean, SEM= 3.8±0.12). The best score was the item "I am a trustworthy person" (Item 4, Mo=7, Mean= 6.67, SEM = 0.35) (Table. 2).

The GAP between them was analyzed to identify differences between *Real* and *Ideal* scores, and data were clustered according to theoretical dimensions (Fig. 2). All dimensions showed negative GAP values, except for Justice, indicating that higher values were obtained on the *Ideal* scores compared to *Real* type, but the difference is not higher than 0.8 in those cases. Dimensions from highest to lowest GAP negative values are Resilience, Logic of Gift, Management, Solidarity, Self-Control, Responsibility, Collaboration, Flourishing, Sustainability, and Congruence, obtaining a significant effect by Dimension (Median Test $x2$ (10) = 545.42, p = 0.0) (see Fig 3). So, on the ten negative dimensions, self-assessments are positive but idealistic since they are not fully related to concrete actions. Other GAP values are <0.4, Responsibility, Collaboration, Flourishment, Sustainability, and Congruence. The Justice dimension was the only one in which a positive index was found, >0.0. In the multiple comparison tests, it was found that all the dimensions are different from each other with a significance < 0.05, except Logic of Gift, Collaboration, Management-Resilience, Management-Flourishing and Management-Responsibility, and Solidarity-Self-Control and Responsibility-Resilience, Responsibility-Flourishment, Flourishing-Sustainability, and Sustainability-Resilience on which analysis indicates that they are equal to each other.

Table 2.
Best and worst three answers for the items of Leadership for the Common Good.

Item	*Dimension*	*Mean (SD)*	*Mode*
Top #1 I am a trustworthy person	*Self-Control*	*6.7 (0.77)*	*7*
Top #2 I wish a better future for all	*Solidarity*	*6.64 (1.02)*	*7*
Top #3 I believe that all people have the same right to be respected	*Solidarity*	*6.63 (1.6)*	*7*
Worst #1 I have not been involved or organized verbal or physical fights (in the classroom, outside the university, at a party, in the club)	*Solidarity*	*3.81 (3.1)*	*1*
Worst #2 I have the ability to lead the efforts of others	*Management*	*4.3 (2.9)*	*6*
Worst #3 I participate in a group or direct a group that is dedicated to responding to or solving a problem in my community	*Logic of Gift*	*4.7 (2.1)*	*7*

Figure 3.
Gap between Real-Ideal items on Leadership for the Common Good. Mean ± SEM



DISCUSSION

The results indicate that regardless of the question, self-assessment leadership for the common good is positive since frequent answers are on the scale of 5- 7 (in agreement). In addition, the mode for each question is equal to 6 or 7, except on the question "I have been involved or have organized verbal or physical fights (in the classroom, outside the university, at a party, club), which again indicates that participants very frequently answer the items with the highest numbers on the scale. Psychological theories mention that most people have a positive image of themselves, even considering they are above average (Alicke, 1985; Zell et al., 2019). It has been argued that people seek to feel good about themselves (Dunning, 1993). Other authors consider that a positive self-concept is required to achieve goals and success in environmental challenges, since having skills makes it possible for them to perform tasks. This self-assessment may go beyond accurate and real information, and the answers obtained are not precise. However, for the person, it results in the perception of greater control over themselves, the perception that they are "normal," that they belong to a group, since their characteristics are homogeneous with others, promoting social functioning, in addition to providing them with a greater sense of affection towards themselves, confidence, less depression and better mental health (Alicke, 1985). This phenomenon is called overconfidence or positivity bias, and it has also been associated with the pursuit of life satisfaction and a sensation of pleasure (Concha et al., 2012; Ryan & Deci, 2001). Therefore, it is adaptive for the person; this phenomenon has been found to be unconscious and can be controlled by defining criteria (Karpen, 2018).

For this reason, the scale integrated two types of questions, those in which the participants assessed characteristics of themselves, grouped under the concept of *Ideal* and those questions in which evaluation criteria were used, where the participants were questioned about specific actions around a subject, grouped into the *Real* type items. As expected, the present work results indicate that positive scores are attenuated in the *Real* type items. Therefore, it indicates less agreement regarding the students presenting concrete actions. However, actions are required to address global challenges, such as solving social problems such as climate change, humanitarian help in natural disasters, support for vulnerable social groups, those in extreme poverty, or conditions of insecurity and violence. Many of these actions occur in non-profit organizations and other social services, even in a non-institutionalized way in everyday life (Bakter, 2016). Other examples involve actions carried out in the circumstances such as management and solution of labor conflicts, academic performance, and even family life; young people carrying out voluntary actions systematically in the service of others, creating positive changes in their environment. This becomes important in adolescents since, at this stage, they are developing their identity, and actions will be guided accordingly (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). It is known that factors such as time, skills, opportunities, and confidence can be barriers to carrying out social impact actions, creating habits and virtues (Taylor-Collins et al., 2019). The social actions of adolescents are shaped by peers, teachers, and parents; hence the social interaction they have is essential (Andolina et al., 2003).

It is thought that there are social and cultural inequalities, for example, in education, workplaces, and economic and political disparities by gender, meaning that social construct is mediating differences in leadership by men and women in the outcomes of this research.

On the other hand, the Real (R) type values were subtracted from those of the Ideal (I) type (R-I) to find the gap between both types of questions, showing negative scores in every dimension, except Justice, indicating higher values on the Ideal items compared with Real type, an effect that confirms previous results. However, it is specific since pairs of items associated by subject are subtracted.

Since it has been shown that there are fewer concrete actions related to the ten dimensions analyzed in this study, five of these will be discussed. For instance, Resilience was the dimension that showed more negative values. It is shaped by socio-cultural and environmental factors, thereby it is possible that the COVID-19 crisis, which started on March 2021, affects outcomes in this dimension, so these effects are possibly situational. Previous reports have shown that individuals most affected by the health contingency are those with scarce access to healthcare, job security, and other essential community services (Ahmed, 2020), which is consistent with the economic crisis in Mexico, which was exacerbated during the pandemic. However, strategies such as keeping positive emotions, cognitive reappraisal, finding social support, and spirituality are associated factors that contribute to improving resilience in a practical manner (Kaye-Kauderer 2021; Ahmed 2020).

The logic of gift (the second dimension with more negative values) is essential to achieve the common good. If individuals do not have this dimension, the common good can appear blurred because people are interested in results, changing the reason for an unlimited domain of the external world and others. It is possible that, being at a Technological University, students have a vision more oriented towards technology, the manipulation of external things, and being part of a company's production process. When the logic of gift is not followed, generosity, helping others, sharing knowledge with others, magnanimity, creativity, and the creation of common spaces (where friendship is cultivated with social activities associated with community benefits) are compromised (Baviera et al., 2016). Related to the Logic of Gift is Solidarity, a virtuous action based on altruistic reasons. This is favored through communication and generates a feeling of greater closeness between people (Haaz, 2016). It is said that solidarity has been affected by the inability to organize collectively because labor relations become more individualized, which causes working conditions to be fragmented. In some cases, the economic system and activities with no proximity make collective and solidarity action difficult. On the contrary, face-to-face relationships promote collective ties and solidarity actions (Morgan & Pulignano, 2020).

Moreover, Management was also one of the worse dimensions based on the gap scores. This is quite interesting because management is closely related to leadership; it is how people can make plans, can lead the efforts of others, can delegate responsibilities, guide collective actions, and so on. It is possible that the students do not have the confidence to carry out these actions because they do not think they can be in essential spaces or directive positions in a company. It is important to highlight that the objective of the Technological Universities in Mexico is to fill the void of technicians in the companies, and these kinds of universities do not train in management/directive skills.

Self-control is the ability to put aside what generates immediate gratification, which means delayed gratification for what has real long-term value. This concept takes on a particular interest in adolescence, where risky and impulsive behaviors are exacerbated; an example of this is the use of addictive substances and maladaptive social behaviors. So far, the (real) item "I have been involved or have organized verbal or physical fights (in the classroom, outside the university, at a party, club)" shows a lack of inhibitory control over situations that can damage themselves or others, a marker of impulsivity, thus a lack of self-control. The maturation of regions such as the frontal lobe after the second decade of life is associated with higher cognitive functions such as self-control and is essential to understand why adolescents tend to be impulsive at this stage (Best & Miller, 2010). High self-control capacity positively correlates with school permanence, high grades in tests, and good academic performance (see Duckworth et al., 2019). To promote self-control, strategies such as planning, the establishment of personal rules, and the forecast of results can be used (see Duckworth et al., 2019).

CONCLUSION

This article is aimed to identify common good leadership at the Technological University of Querétaro, in the light of the scale of common good leadership designed by the IPBC and CEDS teams. With this new scale, the purpose is to shed light on how it can help design or reform the humanistic/socio-cultural formation subjects. In the future, two questions will have to be resolved: 1) Do the socio-formative subjects fill the void of the needs for the common good leadership? Moreover, 2) does the educational model of the Technological Universities respond to the needs of a university's common good?

To solve these questions, the survey needs to be applied not only to the Economic-Administrative Division but the five divisions of the university to know how the socio-cultural formation subjects are functioning. It should be mentioned that each division has different programs and syllabus for these subjects, so maybe, different results can be found, not only for the divisions but each of the subjects. Other conclusions can be made with the other stratifications to analyze if being male or female, their age, or if the students from a public or private high school have more leadership. Also, it should be mentioned that there is an effort to unite and apply three research projects of the IPBC and CEDS: the common good pedagogy, the common good leadership, and the metric of the common goods dynamics in universities.

It can be concluded that, although self-assessment of leadership is positive in all dimensions, gaps between Real and Ideal items scores showed a need to promote leadership through a more active role. Practice is fundamental to exercise virtues, and it is associated with close social interaction and a mission that involves helping others generate changes in the community. Peer, teacher, and family influence guiding values to concrete actions is critical. The need to promote human development in technological institutions, which generates conditions for the leadership of the common good is evident; thereby, training and practical programs on social skills of an educational institution have to be implemented.

Manuel Alejandro Gutiérrez-González, Jana Mejía-Toiber**, Cynthia M. Montaudon-Tomas***, Claudia Malcón-Cervera**** & Ingrid N. Pinto-López*****.*

*Mechatronic Engineering from la Salle University México (ULSA) and Bionic Engineering at the National Polytechnic Institute (IPN).He has a degree in Philosophy and a Master's in Administration from UPAEP University, a Master's in Social Ethics from the Center for Research in Social Ethics (CIES- Aletheia Foundation), a Master's in Humanities and a PhD in Humanities by the University Center of Mexico City (UCIME). He is currently a professor at the Technological University of the State of Querétaro (UTEQ) and at the Anáhuac Querétaro. He is Director of the Center for Sustainable Development and the Common Good, Director of the Blaise Pascal Chair and Director of the Società Internazionale Tomasso d''Aquino, Mexico (youth section).

**Full time professor-researcher of Technological University of Querétaro. She studied for a degree in psychology, continued his interest in neurosciences, and completed his graduate studies at two institutes of the National Autonomous University of Mexico in the area of neurosciences.

***Full-time professor and consultant at the Business School at UPAEP in Puebla, Mexico. She holds a post-doctorate in Organizational Leadership, a PhD in Business, and a PhD in Strategic Planning. She also has an MBA, a Master in Quality Engineering, and a Master in Communication Sciences. She is head of the Observatory on Competitiveness and New Ways of Working and a member of the National System of Researchers.

****Has a Bachelor in Computer Science, a Master in Business Administration, PhD in Strategic Planning and Technology Management by Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla in 1992, 2000, and 2008, respectively. She is certified by Columbia University in Applied Data Science with Python. She got the Diploma by ITESM in Data Mining Applications in Business. She has published articles in national and international refereed journals, in conference proceedings, in addition to participating in international conferences such as the Society for Information Technology & Teacher Education International (SITE 2008), the Institute for Business and Finance Research (IBFR 2012), as well as in the Conference on Business Analytics in Finance and Industry (BAFI 2014)

*****Full-time professor and researcher at the Business Administration and Intelligence Faculty at UPAEP University, Puebla, Mexico. She is currently the coordinator of the international arbitration of the Latin American Association of Faculties and Schools of Accounting and Administration (ALAFEC) and a member of the National System of Researchers. Her research interests include project management and direction, new ways of working, bibliometric analysis, and multivariate fuzzy logic.

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COMMON GOOD LEADERSHIP IN BUSINESS SCHOOL STUDENTS

AT A PRIVATE UNIVERSITY IN PUEBLA, MEXICO

Received: November 2021 I Accepted: December 2021

Cynthia M. Montaudon-Tomas*, Ingrid N. Pinto-López**, Manuel Alejandro Gutiérrez-González*** & Anna Amsler****.

ABSTRACT

This article presents a quantitative study to evaluate common good leadership in business school students in a private university in Puebla, Mexico. UPAEP University has recently developed a new educational model with common good pedagogy as its core. The study conducted was non-experimental, cross-sectional, and descriptive. The application of the Common Good Leadership Scale (GCLS), based on the SERVQUAL methodology, was used to collect information regarding the ideals of common good leadership and the real actions that students have performed. In all, 716 responses were obtained. Results show a gap between what students consider should be in the interest of the common good and what they do to achieve it. The most significant differences can be found in the resilience dimension.

Keywords: Business school students, leadership for the common good, scale.

*UPAEP Universidad, cynthiamaria.montaudon@upaep.mx
**UPAEP Universidad, ingrid.pinto@upaep.mx
***Universidad Tecnológica del Estado de Querétaro,alejandro.gutierrez@uteq.edu.mx
**** Independent Consultant and Researcher, annaamsler95@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Common Good Leadership is a relatively new approach to conceive how leaders must guide other people and how they can inspire. Even though the notion of Leadership for the Common Good was developed in 1992 by Bryson and Crosby, since its inception, the term "common good" was not fully defined. The notion has been used frequently in the sense of leading individuals and society towards a common goal (Huete & García, 2017). In the theoretical article presented in this same journal, the literature review that helped build the foundation for developing the scale is included.

In order to construct a theory of what is Common Good Leadership, understanding what "common good" means is essential. Then, the elements of the common good have to be identified and integrated into a theory of leadership. Finally, these elements must be defined to help leaders achieve the common good or common goods in a community.

Since 2017, researchers of the Institute for the Promotion of the Common Good (IPBC, acronym in Spanish) have developed a framework to understand the common good and a matrix to make this concept dynamic. This matrix was conceived to respond to how communities can achieve certain common goods. However, it is not focused on the individuals or how one member of the community puts his/her efforts to lead or achieve specific goals. In this sense, the matrix of the dynamics of the common goods responds to other issues. It is a new way to think about how to solve common problems that affect a family, municipality, university, enterprise, or other institutions (Nebel, 2018; Nebel & Arvesu-Verdusco, 2020; Garza-Vázquez, Aranda-Vargas & Núñez).

LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMON GOOD

Leadership for the common good, or common good leadership, analyzes the individual contribution to the common good, specifically by mobilizing and empowering others to join. This is an area that has been under-researched but has been acquiring importance, in part due to uncertain and volatile conditions across the globe. No conceptualizations of the term have been identified. However, it has been used in literature to describe a type of leadership that considers what is good for all (Huete & García, 2017). The following conceptualization was developed considering previous works from the Institute for the Promotion of the Common Good IPBC (Nebel, 2018), content analysis of all the different leadership styles associated with the common good, and the most relevant leadership traits.

Common good leaders can be described as:

Common good leaders have integrity, are guided by the highest ethical values and a *moral compass. They are altruistic and compassionate, have a positive attitude on life, are open and energetic yet even-tempered, and seek justice and fairness in all their actions.*

Common good leaders are self-disciplined and conscious change-makers. They have a clear vision and community orientation, being constructive and committed. Through solid communication skills, they can engage, motivate, mobilize, and empower others to participate in collaborative actions to achieve common goals, sharing the decision-making process (Montaudon-Tomas, Gutiérrez-González, Pinto-López & Malcon-Cervera. 2021, ii).

UPAEP UNIVERSITY

UPAEP is a private catholic university in Puebla, in central Mexico. It was founded on May 7th, 1973, in times of struggle and university revolts. UPAEP University has as its central purpose teaching, by molding the human spirit to defend the truth (UPAEP, 2013). UPAEP is a founding member of the Federation of Mexican Private Institutions of Higher Education (FIMPES, acronym in Spanish). The university is also a member of the National Association of Universities and Higher Education Institutions (ANUIES, acronym in Spanish), the Union of Latin American Universities (UDUAL, acronym in Spanish), the Mexican Association of Higher Education Institutions of Cristian Inspiration (AMIESIC, acronym in Spanish) and the Federation of International Catholic Universities, (FIUC, acronym in Spanish). UPAEP has been recognized by The Massachusetts Institute of Technology as a member of the educative network (Louvier, Díaz & Arruberrena, 2013, 135), and Ashoka U recognized UPAEP as a Change Maker campus (UPAEP, 2021).

The institutional identity and purpose are based on creating currents of thought and developing leaders who can transform society to search for truth, integrating faith, science, and life. The university is led by the values of good, beauty, integrity, freedom, solidarity, subsidiarity, congruence, respect, love, and justice (UPAEP, 2021).

The guidelines are based on congruence and identity, prioritizing humanistic-Christian thought through academia, creating socially pertinent academic systems, getting involved in multicultural education and development, and providing a context of trust, collaboration, and service in a culture of austerity, transparency, and evaluations.

UPAEP offers 43 bachelor's degree programs, 33 postgraduate programs, and 15 educational specialties (UPEP, 2021).

The university has launched several strategic projects focused on the pedagogy of the pedagogy of the common good. Its goal is to promote the dissemination of the pedagogy of the common good throughout the university community by aligning academic training and management processes while proposing an educational style supported on integrative experiences, the culture of the encounter, transformational leadership, and transcendence in the common good.

The Educational Model U50 aims to promote comprehensive, humanistic, and Christian education through teaching, research, and community outreach. This model proposes an educational vision that mobilizes and transforms society starting with the person, understanding transformation in the light of knowledge and significant experiences in all areas of university life and social mobilization (Baños et al., 2018). Paired with the educational model is the curricular model; its purpose is to define a normative framework for the educational offering of the university through elements that strengthen the identity and the creation of a new vision in education, contributing to the highest educational quality.

Additional institutional projects include Global Competences, which aims to develop, a global perspective for national and international students, and the Multi-environment Learning Experiences Project, designed to implement the best ecosystems to facilitate optimal student learning.

THE BUSINESS SCHOOL AT UPAEP

The business school is committed to developing critical, competent, and ethical leaders who have a business-oriented vision and are engaged in sustainable practices. Business leaders from UPAEP are also capable of integrating and managing resources and technologies and can contribute to achieving organizational goals.

The mission is based on innovation, excellence, and social commitment. The vision is to provide up-to-date academic programs that are consistent with current and future needs, and that can adapt to suit the needs of the working environment.

The business school at UPAEP is currently undergoing an international accreditation process by the Accreditation Council for Business Schools and Programs (ABCSP), and different national boards accredit all its programs.

Currently, there are nine Bachelor's degree programs in the business school: Business Management, Marketing, Logistics, Trade, and International Strategy, Hospitality and Tourism, Accounting, Gastronomy, Finances, and Business intelligence. The business school offers a wide variety of courses in English and therefore attracts students from across the globe through different exchange programs.

The main areas of research at the business school are entrepreneurship and social innovation, logistics, strategic planning, social economics, trade and services, and leadership. The business school also houses the Observatory for Competitiveness and New Ways of Working, which analyzes different topics connected to the future of work and the Leadership for the Common Good project.

LEADERSHIP FOR THE COMMON GOOD AT UPAEP

Transformational leadership has been at the core of UPAEP's educational model and values. An important guiding principle is the development of transformational leadership. At UPAEP, a transformational leader is committed to promoting the common good, distinguished by high professional training, humanistic and service attitude, and driven by a spirit to transform social realities (Roldán, 2021).

The pedagogic work of a university and its moral obligation is to prepare people to transform this world to make it more human as part of shared work (Nebel, 2021, 14). The way to do this is that the educational community needs to live significant experiences, and these sustain the transformational leadership, which provides analytical and management skills.

Transformational leadership tends to search for the well-being of others genuinely; that is why it is considered necessary to reflect on the relevance of personal attitudes and decisions and the moral implications of how their behavior influences the lives of others. Strength, will, and determination are essential, along with a critical conscience, nobility, and truth. Transformational leaders are eager to contribute to social justice by improving the quality of life of others through social interactions with all areas of human endeavor (Roldán, 2021).

Recently, the pedagogy for the common good started to take shape and permeate every area of university life. The pedagogy of the common good enables all the dynamics of teaching and learning while developing profound personal relationships. The essence is the development of personal talents, personal development, and also the development of others (UPAEP, 2019, p.2). It involves a process of knowledge and self-knowledge (taking control of one's life) as the foundation for learning. The pedagogy of the common good is focused on transformational leadership and permeates almost all academic activities, and is expected to be especially notorious in the socio-formative courses that all students need to take as a graduation requirement. There are six formative courses: *the person and truth, the person and freedom, the person, family and society, the person and contemporary culture, the person and Mexican identity,* and finally, *the person and transcendence.*

Education at UPAEP is viewed as a common good and for the common good. The common good pedagogy helps strengthen human potential and self-regulation, integrity, and responsibility, with a clear perspective of personal freedom and justice that can fulfill personal and social happiness. Education is a call to do good. Therefore, the primary tool to advance in the common good towards a more humane and full life, a space to cultivate values and knowledge; a space to socialize and learn to live in a community (Sánchez & Castro, 2021).

From the perspective of the common good, education is about generating meaningful experiences that facilitate the full development of students so that they grow in a spirit of solidarity and become promoters of justice for all, respecting the dignity of human life (Sánchez & Castro, 2021).

METHODOLOGY

The different elements included in the Common Good Leadership Scale were based on two previous institutional projects, as reflected in Table 1.

Table 1.
Correlation of common good terms as reflected in the Common good dynamic, the family, and leadership IPBC projects

	R	Common good dynamics (Nebel, 2018)	Family and common good (Medina & Gutiérrez -González, 2021)	Common good Leadership (Montaudon-Tomas, Gutiérrez-González, Pinto-López & Malcón-Cervera , 2021, ii)
1	AG	Participation	Dialogic quality	Participation
2	GA	Empowerment	Education	Empowerment, intellectual stimulation
3	AH	Well-being	Provision of material, cultural, and spiritual goods	WellbeingWellbeing
4	HA	Social responsibility	Unconditional support	Social responsibility, altruism
5	AJ	Collective habits	Alterity, gratitude, and regret	Empathy, collaboration, compassion
6	JA	Capabilities and opportunities	Projective unconditional acceptance	Capabilities, opportunities, and self-worth
7	AS	Relational quality	Familial friendship	Relationships, cohesion
8	SA	Resilience of the nexus	Effective conflict resolution	Resilience, conflict resolution
9	GH	Integration	Presenciality	Integration, attention to diversity, inclusion, engagement
10	HG	Cooperation	Work co-responsibility	Cooperation, collaboration, co-creation
11	GJ	Subsidiarity	Role clarity	Delegating, distribution, and coordination of responsibilities.
12	JG	The rule of law	Obedience and respect	Respect, accountability

13	GS	Common future	Familial stability	Long term vision, common goals
14	SG	Good governance	Functional empowerment	Transparency, integrity, postponed efficiency, patience in the long run
15	HJ	Shared rationality	Communication of life's purpose	Shared rationality, vision, and purpose
16	JH	Flourishing	Competence acquisition according to each member's level of development	Personal development, PERMA: Positive emotions, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, Accomplishments (Seligman, 2011)
17	HS	Human ecology	Habits of order and care, custody as a vocation	Interaction, interdependence, sustainability
18	SH	Culture	Transmission of cultural and familial traditions	Personal and cultural values, roots
19	JS	Social mobility	Sharing	Reduction of inequalities, improvement of life's conditions, personal development
20	SJ	Democracy	Peaceful co-existence	Autonomy, co-existence, co-work, deliberative processes

Source: Developed by the authors, 2021

As observed in Table 1, there is a clear connection between the nexus of the common good dynamics, those of the project that analyzes common good in family dynamics, and leadership traits and skills.

A group of researchers from the IPBC at UPAEP University, in collaboration with the Universidad Tecnológica del Estado de Querétaro (UTEQ), developed a scale to measure leadership in terms of the common good. The first stage of the research was to identify the state of the art of the common good leadership literature (Pinto-López, Malcón-Cervera, Montaudon-Tomas & Gutiérrez-González, ii). Then, the theoretical framework to understand how the common good was developed considering other kinds of leadership (Montaudon-Tomas, Gutiérrez-González, Pinto-López & Malcón-Cervera, ii). The next step was to make the scale and validate it with statistical analysis; the scale is divided into eleven dimensions: Self-control/self-management, Solidarity, Logic of the gift, Sustainability, Congruence, Flourishing, Responsibility, Management, Resilience, Collaboration, and Justice (Malcón-Cervera, Montaudon-Tomas, Pinto-López & Gutiérrez-González, ii).

This article presents the results of applying the Common Good Leadership Scale (CGLS) to Business School students at a private university in central Mexico, namely UPAEP Universidad. In all, 716 valid questionnaires were analyzed.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE

This study was applied to all the students at the Business School in UPAEP. In this sense, a census included all the student body. The population was integrated by active students from nine different educational programs and was delivered via Google Forms. The questionnaire was accompanied by a letter from the Dean explaining the importance of the project to increase participation. The response rate was nearly 70%.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The study is quantitative, with a non-experimental, cross-sectional, and descriptive design (Hernández-Sampieri & Mendoza-Torres, 2018).

- Non-experimental because it is being applied without modifying any variables.
- Cross-sectional because it is being measured in one single moment in time.
- Descriptive, because it specifies business school students' properties, characteristics, and profiles and quantifies skills, traits, and the gap between ideal and actual performance.

INSTRUMENT

The instrument was the CGLS scale, a questionnaire that analyzes the gap between the ideals of common good leadership and leaders' actual actions. The CGLS is based on SERVQUAL, which allows measuring two different aspects of the same criterion (Parasuraman, Zeitham & Barry, 1991), which was the ideal of the common good versus the reality in terms of actions or activities towards achieving the common good. The gap was obtained by subtracting the real actions towards the common good minus the ideal, which, in the cases in which certain aspects of the common good have been idealized but have not been realized or not acted upon, will lead to a negative gap. If the opposite situation occurred in which participants do not idealize certain aspects of the common good yet act upon them, the gap would be positive.

RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

1.Demographic characteristics

As can be observed in Table 2, 384 female, 329 male students participated in the study, and three people preferred not to state their gender.

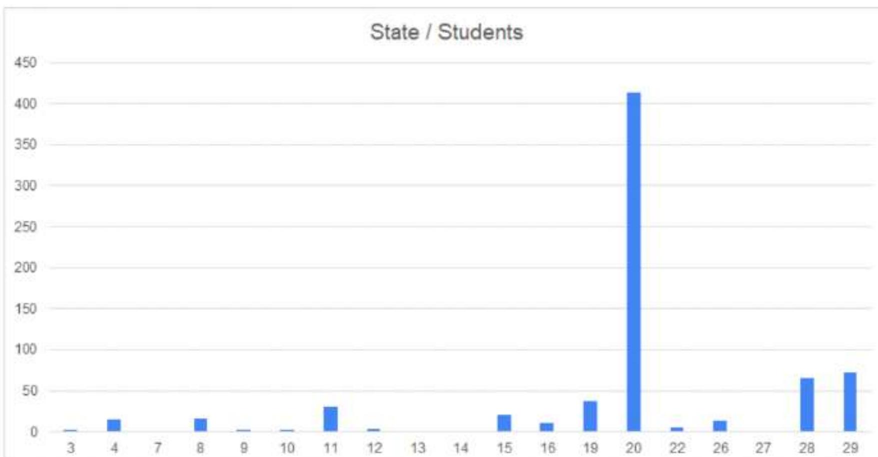
Table 2.
Socio-demographic characteristics

	Total	Mean GAP
Sex		
Female	384 (53.63%)	-0.37
Male	329 (45.95%)	-0.32
I would rather not say	3 (0.42%)	-0.34
Age		
18	102 (14.24%)	-0.36
19	112 (15.64%)	-0.36
20	139 (19.41%)	-0.34
21	117 (16.34%)	-0.33
22	108 (15.08%)	-0.35
23	64 (8.94%)	-0.34
24	27 (3.77%)	-0.32
25	17 (2.37%)	-0.26
26	30 (4.19%)	-0.49
Academic Program		
Management	139 (19.41%)	-0.34
Finances	47 (6.56%)	-0.28
Trade and International Strategy	147 (20.53%)	-0.38
Accounting	71 (9.91%)	-0.34
Hospitality and Tourism	69 (9.63%)	-0.37
Gastronomy	30 (4.19%)	-0.26
Business Intelligence	110 (15.36%)	-0.34
Logistics	46 (6.42%)	-0.43
Marketing	57 (7.96%)	-0.32
Location Origin		
In-State	413 (57.68%)	-0.35
Out-of-State	303 (42.32%)	-0.35
See details by state in Figure 1		
Economic level		
D,E	161 (22.48%)	-0.37
B,C	314 (43.85%)	-0.33
A	241 (33.65%)	-0-36
Socio-formative courses		
0	170 (23.74%)	-0.34
1	57 (7.96%)	-0.38
2	67 (9.36%)	-0.34
3	83 (11.59%)	-0.39
4	114 (15.92%)	-0.34
5	95 (13.27%)	-0.33
6	130 (18.16%)	-0.34

Source: Developed by the authors, 2021

In this research, 53.63% of all participants were female, 45.95% were male, and only 0.42% preferred not to state their gender. In terms of age, the range goes from 18 to 26, being the highest percentage (19.41%), those who are 20 years old. In terms of origin, the majority of students, 57.68%, are from Puebla, while the remaining 42.32% are from other states in the Mexican Republic (Figure 1).

Figure 1.
Place of origin



Developed by the authors, 2021. 3: Campeche, 4: Chiapas, 7: Colima, 8: Ciudad de México, 9: Durango, 10: Guanajuato, 11: Guerrero, 12: Hidalgo, 13: Jalisco, 14: Michoacán de Ocampo, 15: Morelos, 16: Estado de México, 19: Oaxaca, 20: Puebla, 22: Quintana Roo, 26: Tabasco, 27: Tamaulipas, 28: Tlaxcala, 29: Veracruz de Ignacio de la Llave.

As can be observed in Figure 1, most of the students come from the state of Puebla, where the university is located, and from the neighboring states of Veracruz, Tlaxcala, Oaxaca, and Guerrero.

With regards to the socio-economic level, in Mexico, they have been classified as:
AB: High
C: Medium-high
C: Medium
D: Medium-low
E: Very low (AMAI, 2020).

The study participants belong primarily to levels B and C, with 43.85%. The university provides six different socio-formative courses that instill the university's humanistic seal and the pedagogy of the common good. The largest percentage of students (23.74) have not yet taken any courses in the first and second semesters. Interestingly, 18.16% of all students have already taken all six courses, while the average of courses taken by the students so far is 3.

2. Analysis by item

The general results from the individual items can be found in the appendix, including means, standard deviations, and level of agreement**.** The scale was based on a 7-point Likert Scale. The first seventy items (1-70) analyze the ideals of the common good, while the following seventy items (71-140) evaluate the real actions that students performed. The mean and standard deviation are analyzed. The points in the Likert Scale are grouped based on positive, neutral, or negative values (negative values from 1 to 3, neutral is 4, and positive values from 5 to 7).

Results can be analyzed in multiple ways. For instance, each item can be analyzed separately.

The individual items with the highest ranking led to a TOP 10 (starting with the highest value): *I want a better future for all*, followed by*: I believe that every person has the same right to be respected*, *I am trustworthy; I value others*. Ranking in number five was *I treat everyone with the same respect regardless of their religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or disability*, and the five remaining in the top 10 were: *I value the relationships I have built*, *It bothers me when people discriminate others, I respect the dignity of others and my dignity, I believe that I have great potential,* and *I consider myself as a decent person*, in that particular order.

The individual items which were the worst-ranked were (starting with the lowest value): *I have not taken part in arguments or physical attacks against others at the university, a party, or public space; When things have not turned out as I expected, I have not given up, I never lose my temper when others make a mistake or take their time to solve something; When someone does something that hurts me, I forgive him/her easily; I participate or lead a group that aims at solving a specific problem in my community; I am studying a graduate degree because I believe that without it I will not be able to be employed; Even when I am angry, I do not allow my emotions to explode and get the best of me; I am not a spiteful person, I am an active participant in actions with social benefit; I do not have any projects that I left and that I did not finish,* in that specific order.

It is interesting to analyze that some of the worst-ranked aspects are included in the definition of common good leadership. *Self-discipline* seems to be missing, along with being *even-tempered*, *mobilizing others, participating in collaborative projects, community orientation, and being driven.* Some of the best-ranked items included in the definition lean towards *justice, fairness and integrity.*

Comparing the results against the definitions makes it possible to identify critical areas of improvement. As can be observed, there is a lot to be done in developing specific skills that students require to become common good leaders.

Table 3 analyzes the general results based on the individual scales that depict real and ideal values.

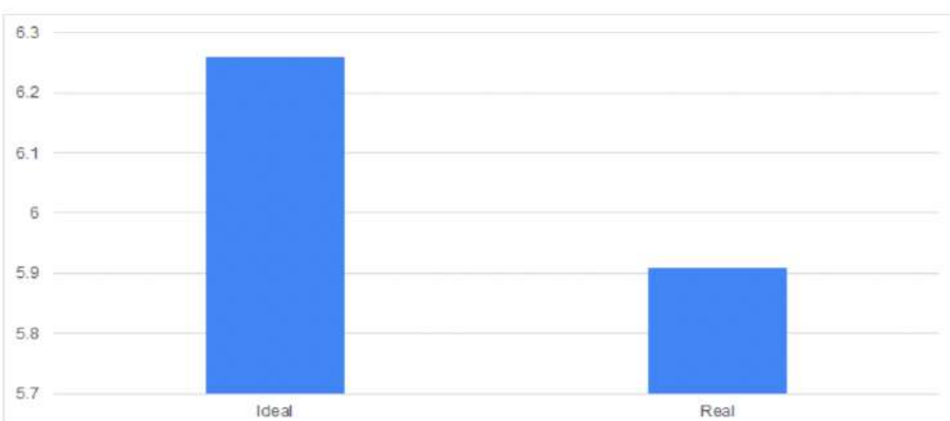
Table 3.
Results by individual scales

Real Values	Ideal Values	Overall gap
5.908	6.257	-0.348

Source: Developed by the authors, 2021

When analyzing the results in table 3, it is possible to observe that in terms of ideal and real values, students show a high degree of common good skills and traits. The items were developed using a 7-point Likert scale. Values over five are considered positive. Ideal values are certainly higher than real values based on students' actions, skills they demonstrate, or traits they show.

Figure 2.
Leadership for the Common Good, scores (media) for Ideal and Real type items



Source: Developed by the authors, 2021

3. GAP analysis ranked higher to lower GAP

Table 4 presents the GAP analysis of all the variables.

Table 4.
GAP analysis ranked higher to lower GAP

Item number (Ideal)	Description Item 1	Item number (Real)	Description Item 2	Mean Item 2	Mean Item 1	GAP
				Real	**Ideal**	
45	I am an impartial person	115	Others can give their opinion without fear that either I or others would make fun of their ideas	6.45	5.72	**0.73**
66	I am a discreet person.	136	When I have been entrusted with a secret, I have been responsible and have kept it to myself	6.48	6.04	**0.44**
7	I am an active participant in actions with social benefits	77	I have developed or been an active participant in projects with social impact	5.64	5.39	**0.25**
2	I can plan activities to lead others towards a common goal	72	When I have had to work in teams, I have been able to organize well with others to achieve the expected goals according to schedule	6.26	6.03	**0.23**
16	I can delegate responsibilities to others	86	When working in teams, I have shared leadership with other participants	6.31	6.11	**0.20**
63	I am not in search of money or fame	133	I never use my leadership for my personal benefit	5.69	5.50	**0.19**
17	I am an active promoter of diversity and gender equality	87	It bothers me when people discriminate against others	6.68	6.50	**0.18**
25	Challenges and problems do not stop me	95	Every time I have faced a challenge, I have found a way to overcome it.	6.18	6.01	**0.17**
18	I can communicate my ideas clearly	88	When I talk, I can mobilize others to action	6.18	6.09	**0.09**
30	I consider myself as autonomous and independent	100	When I have worked in teams, I do not need to be supervised; I can work	6.05	5.96	**0.09**

			independently yet collaboratively			
31	I can easily trust others	101	I can integrate and interact with others with ease	6.03	5.96	**0.07**
38	I am able to accept when I make a mistake	108	When I have made a mistake, I have accepted it and taken responsibility for it	6.29	6.25	**0.04**
54	I love my neighbor	124	I have done actions of charity and compassion towards others	6.31	6.30	**0.01**
33	I have courage; I show my face, and I do not show cowardice	103	When there is a problem, I face it and accept the consequences	6.31	6.31	**0.00**
36	I am a fair person	106	I always try to give the proper recognition to those who deserve it	6.52	6.52	**0.00**
50	I work for what is better for my community	120	I always obey the rules and regulations for social co-existence	6.05	6.05	**0.00**
27	I consider myself as proactive	97	When facing difficult challenges, I am actively involved in solving them	6.06	6.07	**-0.01**
8	I am concerned about the well-being of others	78	When I have realized that someone was not OK, I have asked if I could be of help	6.34	6.36	**-0.02**
53	My actions are a reflection of my values	123	When making a decision, I use the values that I learned in my family as guidance.	6.45	6.48	**-0.03**
47	I motivate others when they are discouraged	117	I have supported my friends when they have had difficulties, cheering them so that they continue going	6.40	6.45	**-0.05**

15	I can work in collaboration with others	85	When I have worked as a team, I have sought that we all contribute and reach consensual decisions	6.36	6.43	**-0.07**
62	I am faithful to my convictions and the people around me	132	People value my friendship because I am loyal	6.50	6.57	**-0.07**
35	I believe that every person has the same right to be respected	105	I treat everyone with the same respect regardless of their religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or disability	6.69	6.77	**-0.08**
13	I can gladly accept suggestions and comments from others	83	I know how to receive constructive criticism	6.12	6.20	**-0.08**
22	Most of the time, I have a positive attitude	92	When I have had problems, I have always tried to see the bright side of things	6.13	6.21	**-0.08**
60	I believe that I have a great potential	130	I believe that I have the capacity to achieve great things	6.55	6.63	**-0.08**
10	I am a sharing person	80	When I have encountered a person who does not have the means, food, or knowledge, I have shared what I have with him/her	6.12	6.23	**-0.11**
23	I am emphatic	93	When someone has had a problem, I have put myself in their shoes to see the situation from their perspective	6.25	6.36	**-0.11**
61	I am always available when others need me	131	I am always willing to help others regardless of the moment or situation	6.27	6.41	**-0.14**
5	I contribute to the sustainability of my environment	75	I recycle, recuperate and reuse certain products	5.66	5.82	**-0.16**
64	I have a positive humor	134	My happiness is contagious	6.11	6.30	**-0.19**

3	I am a person of my word	73	People trust me because I always keep my word, and I am faithful to my promises and dreams	6.36	6.56	**-0.20**
51	I have a faultless reputation	121	I lead by example because no one can imply that I have done misbehaved or have a lack of ethics	5.46	5.66	**-0.20**
55	I am a kind and nice person	125	People come to me because I am a caring person	6.29	6.51	**-0.22**
68	I have a critical and strategic thinking	138	Others acknowledge that my arguments are solid	5.90	6.15	**-0.25**
56	I am worried about the environment	126	I never throw garbage on the streets, and when I see garbage, I will pick it up and dispose of it properly	6.12	6.38	**-0.26**
58	I consider myself as a decent person	128	I am bothered when others perform immoral acts.	6.34	6.63	**-0.29**
9	I am always willing to serve others	79	Every time I have the opportunity, I act in service of others	5.94	6.24	**-0.30**
34	I can give valuable advice	104	Others come to me for advice	6.16	6.48	**-0.32**
24	I am congruent	94	I always say and do what I think or want	5.83	6.15	**-0.32**
21	I am always willing to help	91	I have helped others even when they have not asked for my help	6.08	6.41	**-0.33**
46	I am worried about the well-being of the underprivileged	116	I have made donations (money, time, or others) to support noble causes	5.98	6.33	**-0.35**
65	I am a disciplined person.	135	I always finish the tasks that I have been assigned on time and do not leave specific actions for later	5.68	6.04	**-0.36**

3	I am a person of my word	73	People trust me because I always keep my word, and I am faithful to my promises and dreams	6.36	6.56	**-0.20**
51	I have a faultless reputation	121	I lead by example because no one can imply that I have done misbehaved or have a lack of ethics	5.46	5.66	**-0.20**
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21	I am always willing to help	91	I have helped others even when they have not asked for my help	6.08	6.41	**-0.33**
46	I am worried about the well-being of the underprivileged	116	I have made donations (money, time, or others) to support noble causes	5.98	6.33	**-0.35**
65	I am a disciplined person.	135	I always finish the tasks that I have been assigned on time and do not leave specific actions for later	5.68	6.04	**-0.36**

32	I acknowledge the participation of others and value their skills	102	I have held constructive discussions praising the knowledge of others.	6.02	6.40	**-0.38**
44	I always consider the capabilities and merits of others	114	People feel taken into consideration by me when working together	6.16	6.55	**-0.39**
43	I have the ability to lead the efforts of others	113	When working in teams, I am usually the leader who organizes the efforts of others to obtain the best results	5.89	6.28	**-0.39**
69	I am a responsible consumer	139	I buy specific products for ethical or ecological reasons, regardless of the price	5.41	5.81	**-0.40**
6	My education will allow me to help others in the future	76	I am studying so that I can help or give back to my community and my country	6.16	6.58	**-0.42**
52	I am an authentic person	122	I have never pretended to be someone I am not	5.97	6.39	**-0.42**
37	I respect the dignity of others and my dignity	107	When I have seen that someone is humiliating another person, I have intervened to stop the humiliation	6.19	6.66	**-0.47**
4	I am trustworthy	74	People consider that I am capable of leading others to achieve collective goals	6.27	6.74	**-0.47**
28	I can step outside of my comfort zone to help others	98	I have placed the wellbeing of others before my own interest or my comfort	5.65	6.14	**-0.49**
57	I value the relationships I have built	127	I invest my time in maintaining and improving my relationships with family, friends, and acquaintances	6.16	6.69	**-0.53**

14	I believe that when working together, we can achieve better results	84	I am an active participant in solving shared challenges	5.92	6.48	**-0.56**
70	I am not a spiteful person	140	When someone does something that hurts me, I forgive him/her easily	4.72	5.31	**-0.59**
40	I am a person of integrity	110	I have never committed dishonest acts against myself or others	5.84	6.47	**-0.63**
41	I have the capability to guide collective actions	111	I believe that others see me as a leader	5.55	6.18	**-0.63**
67	I am a tenacious person	137	I do not have any project that I left and that I did not finish	5.39	6.03	**-0.64**
29	I have the capacity to change	99	I have accepted difficult changes in my life without resistance or anger	5.56	6.24	**-0.68**
19	I acknowledge my capabilities and vulnerabilities and those of others	89	I never brag about the achievements I have made, and I am annoyed by people who continually do so	5.47	6.17	**-0.70**
1	I am interested in the culture of my region and my country	71	Others like to be near me because they believe I have a vast general culture	5.52	6.28	**-0.76**
59	I value others	129	I learn the names and last names of the people I work with when joining teams	5.83	6.70	**-0.87**
39	I am a transparent and clear person	109	I never lie or hide information from my family or friends	5.45	6.36	**-0.91**
20	I want a better future for all	90	I actively participate in the integral development of those around me	5.86	6.80	**-0.94**
26	I consider myself as a prudent person	96	Even when I am angry, I do not allow my emotions	5.12	6.17	**-1.05**

			to explode and get the best of me			
48	I am patient when I am with other people	118	I never lose my temper when others make a mistake or take their time to solve something	4.72	5.90	**-1.18**
12	I believe that life-long-learning creates better employment conditions	82	I am studying for a graduate degree because I believe that without it, I will not be able to be employed	5.02	6.46	**-1.44**
49	I have a high tolerance to failure when things do not work out as I expected	119	When things have not turned out as I expected, I have not given up	3.97	5.51	**-1.54**
11	I enjoy helping others	81	I participate and/or lead a group that aims at solving a specific problem in my community	4.89	6.51	**-1.62**
42	I am against all acts of violence	112	I have not taken part in arguments or physical attacks against others at the university, a party, or public space	3.32	6.62	**-3.30**

Source: Developed by the authors, 2021

The highest and lower gaps of paired questions can also be analyzed independently.

Based on Table 4, the items that resulted in a positive GAP (a gap over zero), meaning that students act more according to the common good than the ideas they have about it are impartiality, discretion, active participation in actions of social benefit, planning activities to lead others, delegating, embracing diversity, facing and overcoming challenges, communication, autonomy, and independence, trusting, responsibility, and loving thy neighbor.

Some items had no gap at all (a gap of zero), meaning that what students think and do is coherent; those were courage, fairness, and obeying co-existence rules.

Furthermore, the items in which students had the highest GAP or the most significant difference between what they have in mind about doing something towards the common good and what they do to achieve it are: being against all acts of violence, including arguments, leading groups to solve specific problems in a community, tolerance to failure, patience, prudence, wanting a better future for all, transparency, valuing others, and being interested in the culture of others. The rest of the items also have negative values ranging from zero to -.70.

4. Analysis by dimension, ordered by GAP (higher to lower values)

Table 5 introduces the GAP analysis by dimension.

Table 5.
Analysis by dimension, ordered by GAP (higher to lower values)

Item number Ideal	Item number Real	Mean item Real	Mean item Ideal	GAP Mean real - mean ideal
	Dimension 1: self-management			
38	108	6.29	6.25	**0.04**
36	106	6.52	6.52	**0.00**
62	132	6.50	6.57	**-0.07**
4	74	6.27	6.74	**-0.47**
40	110	5.84	6.47	**-0.63**
39	109	5.45	6.36	**-0.91**
			Mean	**-0.34**
Dimension 2: Solidarity				
33	103	6.31	6.31	**0.00**
47	117	6.40	6.45	**-0.05**
35	105	6.69	6.77	**-0.08**
3	73	6.36	6.56	**-0.20**
34	104	6.16	6.48	**-0.32**
32	102	6.02	6.40	**-0.38**

44	114	6.16	6.55	**-0.39**
37	107	6.19	6.66	**-0.47**
59	129	5.83	6.70	**-0.87**
20	90	5.86	6.80	**-0.94**
42	112	3.32	6.62	**-3.30**
			Mean	**-0.63**

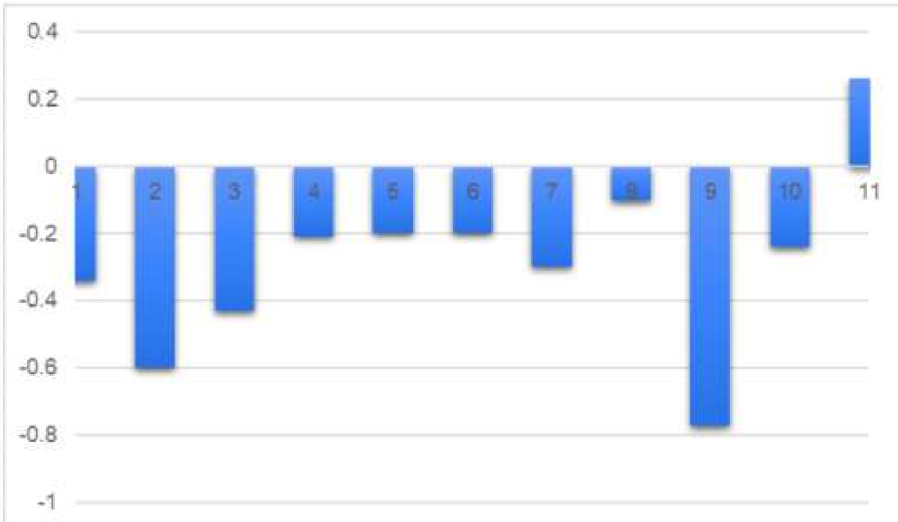
Dimension 3: Logic of the gift				
8	78	6.34	6.36	**-0.02**
10	80	6.12	6.23	**-0.11**
55	125	6.29	6.51	**-0.22**
9	79	5.94	6.24	**-0.30**
21	91	6.08	6.41	**-0.33**
11	81	4.89	6.51	**-1.62**
			Mean	**-0.43**
Dimension 4: Sustainability				
7	77	5.64	5.39	**0.25**
17	87	6.68	6.50	**0.18**
5	75	5.66	5.82	**-0.16**
56	126	6.12	6.38	**-0.26**
46	116	5.98	6.33	**-0.35**
6	76	6.16	6.58	**-0.42**
1	71	5.52	6.28	**-0.76**
			Mean	**-0.21**

Dimensión 5: Congruence				
54	124	6.31	6.30	**0.01**
53	123	6.45	6.48	**-0.03**
60	130	6.55	6.63	**-0.08**
61	131	6.27	6.41	**-0.14**
64	134	6.11	6.30	**-0.19**
58	128	6.34	6.63	**-0.29**
52	122	5.97	6.39	**-0.42**
57	127	6.16	6.69	**-0.53**
			Mean	**-0.20**
Dimension 6: Flourishing				
25	95	6.18	6.01	**0.17**
18	88	6.18	6.09	**0.09**
30	100	6.05	5.96	**0.09**
27	97	6.06	6.07	**-0.01**
22	92	6.13	6.21	**-0.08**
23	93	6.25	6.36	**-0.11**
19	89	5.47	6.17	**-0.70**
26	96	5.12	6.17	**-1.05**
			Mean	**-0.20**
Dimension 7: Responsibility				
66	136	6.48	6.04	**0.44**
68	138	5.90	6.15	**-0.25**
65	135	5.68	6.04	**-0.36**
69	139	5.41	5.81	**-0.40**
70	140	4.72	5.31	**-0.59**
67	137	5.39	6.03	**-0.64**
			Mean	**-0.30**

Dimension 8: Management				
2	72	6.26	6.03	**0.23**
16	86	6.31	6.11	**0.20**
31	101	6.03	5.96	**0.07**
43	113	5.89	6.28	**-0.39**
41	111	5.55	6.18	**-0.63**
			Mean	**-0.10**
Dimension 9: Resilience				
50	120	6.05	6.05	**0.00**
28	98	5.65	6.14	**-0.49**
29	99	5.56	6.24	**-0.68**
48	118	4.72	5.90	**-1.18**
49	119	3.97	5.51	**-1.54**
			Mean	**-0.77**
Dimension 10: Collaboration				
15	85	6.36	6.43	**-0.07**
13	83	6.12	6.20	**-0.08**
14	84	5.92	6.48	**-0.56**
			Mean	**-0.24**
Dimension 11: Justice				
45	115	6.45	5.72	**0.73**
51	121	5.46	5.66	**-0.20**
			Mean	**0.26**

Source: Developed by the authors, 2021

Figure 3.
Average GAP by dimension



Source: Developed by the authors, 2021

When analyzing the results by dimension and their gap (figure 3), Justice is the only dimension with a positive GAP. Although it is very favorable to think of business school students as promoters of justice, results can be biased because this dimension was left with only two items after the factor analysis, whereas others have more. The rest of the dimensions have all negative gaps, which is expected when using this type of scale and when respondents answer truthfully.

The overall GAP by gender shows that female participants have a more significant gap concerning their male counterparts by -0.05. Regarding age, 80.71% of all participants have an age between 18 and 22 years, showing this particular group the lowes gap with values between -0.33 y -0.36. An important fact is that the group of 26 years and older have the most significant gap with a value of -0.49.

Regarding the academic programs, those with the lowest gap are Gastronomy and Finances, whereas the program with the more significant gap was Logistics. In terms of the state of origin, there is no difference in terms of GAP between locals and foreigners.

There is a lower GAP in levels B and C of the socio-economic level, which is considered medium. In terms of socio formative courses that the students have taken, the lowest GAP can be observed in students who have taken five courses.

The overall GAPS by dimension are presented in Table 6. The values have been arranged from the smaller to the largest gap

Table 6.
Gap analysis by dimension

Dimension	Gap
Justice	0.26
Management	-0.10
Flourishing	-0.20
Congruence	-0.20
Sustainability	-0.22
Collaboration	-0.23
Responsibility	-0.30
Self-management	-0.34
The logic of the gift	-0.43
Solidarity	-0.63
Resilience	-0.77

Source: Developed by the authors, 2021

It is vital to notice that the dimension of justice has a positive gap. As explained before, this dimension was left with fewer items than the others after the factor analysis; therefore, it needs to be reviewed and adjusted.

As can be observed in Table 6, the dimensions with the lower gap (after justice) are management, flourishing, sustainability, collaboration, and congruence, in that particular order, and the ones with the highest gap are resilience, solidarity, the logic of the gift, self-management and responsibility, again in that exact order.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTHER STUDIES

It is essential to acknowledge that the scale has a significant limitation. Although it was built to identify the gap between ideal and real actions towards the common good, it measures what students say they do instead of actions that can be observed; therefore, a bias needs to be considered.

Overall results show a favorable position of Business School students from UPAEP regarding common good leadership. This can be because the essence of the university has been directed towards the common good. And more recently, with the development of the new educational model and the common good pedagogy, more emphasis has been placed on the importance of developing leadership traits and skills to promote the common good through different actions.

The scale will be tested in other universities and educational institutions of different levels. Interesting comparisons can be made between students of different levels, institutions in different states, catholic or non-religious educational institutions, public and private institutions, and others.

The more the scale is used, the more information will be available to re-assess the factors to further improve it. As it is today, the justice dimension lacks consistency.

The dimensions presented resulted from factor analysis and later text analysis to identify common patterns. Nevertheless, new factor analysis can be performed as more surveys have been applied to verify whether these dimensions can remain or need to be modified to better reflect the items included in them.

Although the scale has been developed to identify common good traits in business school students and is derived from traditional leadership traits and common good characteristics, it can be modified to suit specific institutional needs. For instance, in the case of UPAEP, it could be adjusted to identify the key traits and characteristics as presented in the institutional identity and the pursued values. Currently, the scale best represents the identity values of respect to human dignity, truth, integrity, love, justice, solidarity, and respect, but subsidiarity, beauty, and freedom are not reflected in the scale.

Although the data that has been analyzed provides crucial information about common good leadership in students, no significant connections were identified with regards to the courses that are being offered to develop transformational leadership skills. Those courses were developed previous to the common good pedagogy; therefore, this creates an exciting opportunity to review the contents of the courses and adapt them to support the development of common good leadership skills and characteristics, which are most needed in the current environment.

The next step for the study will be to present these results to educational authorities, review the instrument (as required), and apply the scale to all students. Results can be used as a baseline for analyzing the application of the common good pedagogy.

APPENDIX

In terms of the standard deviation, none of the values are higher than the mean; therefore, the existence of a possible statistical bias can be discarded. The blocks in which the scale has been grouped show that 87.14% of all observations can be categorized as positive or in agreement, with percentages from 80.59 to 99.16.

Table 7.
Analysis by item

Item Number	Description	Mean	Standard deviation	Level of agreement/disagreement (%)		
				Disagree (1-3)	Neutral (4)	Agree (5-7)
1	I am interested in the culture of my region and my country	6.28	1.10	2.37	4.75	92.88
2	I can plan activities to lead others towards a common goal	6.03	1.08	2.09	7.12	90.78
3	I am a person of my word	6.56	0.70	0.28	1.26	98.46
4	I am trustworthy	6.74	0.58	0.42	0.84	98.74
5	I contribute to the sustainability of my environment	5.82	1.11	3.21	9.22	87.57
6	My education will allow me to help others in the future	6.58	0.72	0.28	1.54	98.18
7	I am an active participant in actions with social benefits	5.39	1.53	11.45	16.48	72.07
8	I am concerned about the well-being of others	6.36	0.89	0.70	4.19	95.11
9	I am always willing to serve others	6.24	0.97	2.51	2.65	94.83

10	I am a sharing person	6.23	1.02	2.37	4.05	93.58
11	I enjoy helping others	6.51	0.82	1.26	2.23	96.51
12	I believe that life-long-learning creates better employment conditions	6.46	0.96	1.96	2.37	95.67
13	I can gladly accept suggestions and comments from others	6.20	0.94	0.98	4.33	94.69
14	I believe that when working together, we can achieve better results	6.48	0.78	0.42	2.09	97.49
15	I can work in collaboration with others	6.43	0.84	0.56	2.79	96.65
16	I can delegate responsibilities to others	6.11	1.07	1.96	6.28	91.76
17	I am an active promoter of diversity and gender equality	6.50	0.94	1.54	3.49	94.97
18	I can communicate my ideas clearly	6.09	0.99	2.09	4.19	93.72
19	I acknowledge my capabilities and vulnerabilities and those of others	6.17	0.91	0.56	4.47	94.97
20	I want a better future for all	6.80	0.54	0.00	1.12	98.88
21	I am always willing to help	6.41	0.85	0.98	1.82	97.21
22	Most of the time, I have a positive attitude	6.21	0.94	1.40	3.91	94.69
23	I am emphatic	6.36	0.93	1.40	3.35	95.25
24	I am congruent	6.15	0.86	0.42	3.63	95.95
25	Challenges and problems do not stop me	6.01	0.96	0.98	5.73	93.30
26	I consider myself as a prudent person	6.17	0.93	0.56	6.01	93.44
27	I consider myself a proactive	6.07	0.96	1.26	4.33	94.41

28	I can step outside of my comfort zone to help others	6.14	1.00	1.82	4.47	93.72
29	I have the capacity to change	6.24	0.94	0.42	4.61	94.97
30	I consider myself as autonomous and independent	5.96	1.14	2.79	7.40	89.80
31	I can easily trust others	5.96	1.15	3.77	7.54	88.69
32	I acknowledge the participation of others and value their skills	6.40	0.85	0.28	3.07	96.65
33	I have courage; I show my face, and I do not show cowardice	6.31	0.90	0.84	3.35	95.81
34	I can give valuable advice	6.48	0.84	1.12	1.54	97.35
35	I believe that every person has the same right to be respected	6.77	0.64	0.56	1.54	97.91
36	I am a fair person	6.52	0.75	0.28	2.23	97.49
37	I respect the dignity of others and my dignity	6.66	0.62	0.00	0.84	99.16
38	I am able to accept when I make a mistake	6.25	0.89	0.84	3.21	95.95
39	I am a transparent and clear person	6.36	0.86	0.70	2.79	96.51
40	I am a person of integrity	6.47	0.76	0.42	1.26	98.32
41	I can guide collective actions	6.18	0.95	0.84	4.75	94.41
42	I am against all acts of violence	6.62	0.87	1.26	2.23	96.51
43	I can lead the efforts of others	6.28	0.88	0.84	3.63	95.53
44	I always consider the capabilities and merits of others	6.55	0.69	0.14	1.12	98.74
45	I am an impartial person	5.72	1.36	6.42	9.50	84.08

46	I am worried about the well-being of the underprivileged	6.33	0.97	1.54	3.49	94.97
47	I motivate others when they are discouraged	6.45	0.83	0.56	2.79	96.65
48	I am patient when I am with other people	5.90	1.18	3.91	7.82	88.27
49	I have a high tolerance to failure when things do not work out as I expected	5.51	1.30	7.82	11.31	80.87
50	I work for what is better for my community	6.05	1.06	1.96	6.70	91.34
51	I have a faultless reputation	5.66	1.20	4.61	9.50	85.89
52	I am an authentic person	6.39	0.82	0.70	2.37	96.93
53	My actions are a reflection of my values	6.48	0.78	0.42	1.82	97.77
54	I love my neighbor	6.30	0.96	1.26	4.61	94.13
55	I am a kind and nice person	6.51	0.75	0.56	1.82	97.63
56	I am worried about the environment	6.38	0.91	1.26	3.35	95.39
57	I value the relationships I have built	6.69	0.63	0.14	0.70	99.16
58	I consider myself as a decent person	6.63	0.72	0.56	1.68	97.77
59	I value others	6.70	0.63	0.14	1.12	98.74
60	I believe that I have a great potential	6.63	0.68	0.00	1.68	98.32
61	I am always available when others need me	6.41	0.84	0.70	2.79	96.51
62	I am faithful to my convictions and the people around me	6.57	0.69	0.14	1.82	98.04
63	I am not in search of money or fame	5.50	1.57	10.89	14.25	74.86
64	I have a positive humor	6.30	0.93	0.84	5.17	93.99

65	I am a disciplined person	6.04	1.13	2.51	7.40	90.08
66	I am a discreet person	6.04	1.06	2.51	7.26	90.22
67	I am a tenacious person	6.03	1.03	1.26	7.26	91.48
68	I have a critical and strategic thinking	6.15	0.93	0.84	4.89	94.27
69	I am a responsible consumer	5.81	1.12	2.93	9.50	87.57
70	I am not a spiteful person	5.31	1.71	15.64	12.57	71.79
71	Others like to be near me because they believe I have a vast general culture	5.52	1.26	5.31	16.20	78.49
72	When I have had to work in teams, I have organized well with others to achieve the expected goals according to schedule.	6.26	1.00	1.82	4.75	93.44
73	People trust me because I always keep my word, and I am faithful to my promises and dreams	6.36	0.85	0.70	1.68	97.63
74	People consider that I am capable of leading others to achieve collective goals	6.27	0.94	1.12	5.03	93.85
75	I recycle, recuperate, and reuse certain products	5.66	1.44	9.08	10.34	80.59
76	I am studying so that I can help give back to my community and my country	6.16	1.17	2.79	7.12	90.08
77	I have developed or been an active participant in projects with social impact	5.64	1.62	10.89	10.61	78.49
78	When I have realized that someone was not OK, I have asked if I could be of help	6.34	0.95	0.98	3.91	95.11
79	Every time I have the opportunity, I act in service of others	5.94	1.20	4.47	7.26	88.27
80	When I have encountered a person who does not have	6.12	1.12	2.51	7.40	90.08

	the means, food, or knowledge, I have shared what I have with him/her					
81	I participate and/or lead a group that aims at solving a specific problem in my community	4.89	2.08	25.56	13.13	61.31
82	I am studying for a graduate degree because I believe that without it, I will not be able to be employed	5.02	1.93	20.67	12.85	66.48
83	I know how to receive constructive criticism	6.12	0.96	0.84	5.59	93.58
84	I am an active participant in solving shared challenges	5.92	1.14	3.49	8.24	88.27
85	When I have worked as a team, I have sought that we all contribute and reach consensual decisions	6.36	0.90	1.12	2.79	96.09
86	When working in teams, I have shared leadership with other participants	6.31	0.97	1.26	3.91	94.83
87	It bothers me when people discriminate against others	6.68	0.77	0.84	1.68	97.49
88	When I talk, I can mobilize others to action	6.18	1.00	0.98	6.15	92.88
89	I never brag about the achievements I have made, and I am annoyed by people who continually do so	5.47	1.61	11.73	14.66	73.60
90	I actively participate in the integral development of those around me	5.86	1.19	3.07	11.73	85.20
91	I have helped others even when they have not asked for my help	6.08	1.16	2.93	8.66	88.41
92	When I have had problems, I have always tried to see the bright side of things	6.13	1.08	2.65	5.45	91.90

93	When someone has had a problem, I have put myself in their shoes to see the situation from their perspective	6.25	0.97	1.40	3.91	94.69
94	I always say and do what I think or want	5.83	1.16	2.93	11.31	85.75
95	Every time in which I have faced a challenge, I have found a way to overcome	6.18	0.90	0.00	5.17	94.83
96	Even when I am angry, I do not allow my emotions to explode and get the best of me	5.12	1.66	16.76	15.78	67.46
97	When facing difficult challenges, I am actively involved in solving them	6.06	0.98	1.26	5.87	92.88
98	I have placed the well-being of others before my interest or my comfort	5.65	1.38	7.40	10.75	81.84
99	I have accepted difficult changes in my life without resistance or anger	5.56	1.33	8.10	12.29	79.61
100	When I have worked in teams, I do not need to be supervised; I can work independently yet collaboratively	6.05	1.15	2.93	7.40	89.66
101	I can integrate and interact with others with ease.	6.03	1.12	1.96	10.06	87.99
102	I have held constructive discussions praising the knowledge of others.	6.02	1.04	1.54	7.54	90.92
103	When there is a problem, I face it and accept the consequences	6.31	0.86	0.56	2.93	96.51
104	Others come to me for advice	6.16	1.05	1.82	6.70	91.48

105	I treat everyone with the same respect regardless of their religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, or disability	6.69	0.70	0.42	2.09	97.49
106	I always try to give the proper recognition to those who deserve it	6.52	0.78	0.28	2.09	97.63
107	When I have seen that someone is humiliating another person, I have intervened to stop the humiliation	6.19	1.01	1.26	6.15	92.60
108	When I have made a mistake, I have accepted it and taken responsibility for it	6.29	0.92	0.98	4.19	94.83
109	I never lie or hide information from my family or friends	5.45	1.45	11.59	10.89	77.51
110	I have never committed dishonest acts against myself or others	5.84	1.40	8.38	6.15	85.47
111	I believe that others see me as a leader	5.55	1.37	6.84	13.55	79.61
112	I have not participated in arguments or physical attacks against others at the university, a party, or a public space.	3.32	2.43	57.54	5.87	36.59
113	When working in teams, I am usually the leader who organizes the efforts of others to obtain the best results.	5.89	1.27	4.05	9.92	86.03
114	People feel taken into consideration by me when working together	6.16	1.01	1.68	6.15	92.18
115	Others can give their opinion without fear that either I or others would make fun of their ideas.	6.45	0.90	1.12	3.49	95.39

116	I have made donations (money, time, or others) to support noble causes	5.98	1.38	6.84	6.98	86.17
117	I have supported my friends when they have had difficulties, cheering them so that they keep going	6.40	0.86	0.70	3.77	95.53
118	I never lose my temper when others make a mistake or take their time to solve something	4.72	1.83	58.94	15.92	25.14
119	When things have not turned out as I expected, I have not given up	3.97	2.07	42.60	13.41	43.99
120	I always obey the rules and regulations for social co-existence	6.05	1.11	3.49	7.12	89.39
121	I lead by example because no one can imply that I have misbehaved or lack ethics.	5.46	1.48	10.89	13.55	75.56
122	I have never pretended to be someone I am not.	5.97	1.33	6.42	8.80	84.78
123	When making a decision, I use the values that I learned in my family as guidance.	6.45	0.85	1.26	1.54	97.21
124	I have done actions of charity and compassion towards others	6.31	0.95	0.84	5.45	93.72
125	People come to me because I am a caring person	6.29	0.94	1.26	3.77	94.97
126	I never throw garbage on the streets, and when I see garbage, I will pick it up and dispose of it properly.	6.12	1.18	3.21	7.40	89.39
127	I invest my time in maintaining and improving my relationships with family, friends, and acquaintances	6.16	1.05	2.23	6.28	91.48
128	I am bothered when others perform immoral acts.	6.34	1.04	2.65	3.91	93.44

129	I learn the names and last names of the people I work with when joining teams	5.83	1.32	5.59	10.61	83.80
130	I believe that I can achieve great things	6.55	0.80	0.28	3.49	96.23
131	I am always willing to help others regardless of the moment or situation	6.27	0.95	1.40	3.77	94.83
132	People value my friendship because I am loyal	6.50	0.79	0.56	2.51	96.93
133	I never use my leadership for my personal benefit	5.69	1.55	9.64	9.92	80.45
134	My happiness is contagious	6.11	1.10	2.37	6.70	90.92
135	I always finish the tasks that I have been assigned on time and do not leave certain things for later.	5.68	1.36	8.10	10.34	81.56
136	When I have been entrusted with a secret, I have been responsible and have kept it to myself.	6.48	0.84	0.56	2.65	96.79
137	I do not have any projects that I left and that I did not finish	5.39	1.48	12.29	12.57	75.14
138	Others acknowledge that my arguments are solid and well fundamental	5.90	1.06	1.68	9.64	88.69
139	I buy specific products for ethical or ecological reasons, regardless of the price	5.41	1.65	14.39	11.17	74.44
140	When someone does something that hurts me, I forgive him/her easily	4.72	1.81	25.70	17.74	56.56

Source: Developed by the authors, 2021

It is vital to notice that the dimension of justice has a positive gap. As explained before, this dimension was left with fewer items than the others after the factor analysis; therefore, it needs to be reviewed and adjusted.

As can be observed in Table 6, the dimensions with the lower gap (after justice) are management, flourishing, sustainability, collaboration, and congruence, in that particular order, and the ones with the highest gap are resilience, solidarity, the logic of the gift,

Cynthia M. Montaudon-Tomas, Ingrid N. Pinto-López**, Manuel Alejandro Gutiérrez-González*** & Anna Amsler****.*

*Full-time professor and consultant at the Business School at UPAEP in Puebla, Mexico. She holds a post-doctorate in Organizational Leadership, a PhD in Business, and a PhD in Strategic Planning. She also holds an MBA, a Master's in Quality Engineering and a Master's in Communication Sciences. She is head of the Observatory on Competitiveness and New Ways of Working and a member of the National System of Researchers.

**Full-time professor and researcher at the Faculty of Business Administration and Business Intelligence at UPAEP University, Puebla, Mexico. She is currently the coordinator of the international arbitration of the Latin American Association of Faculties and Schools of Accounting and Administration (ALAFEC) and a member of the National System of Researchers. Her research interests include project management and direction, new ways of working, bibliometric analysis, and multivariate fuzzy logic.

***Mechatronic Engineer from La Salle University México (ULSA) and Bionic Engineering at the National Polytechnic Institute (IPN). He has a degree in Philosophy and a Master's in Administration from UPAEP University, a Master's in Social Ethics from the Center for Research in Social Ethics (CIES- Aletheia Foundation), a Master's in Humanities, and a PhD in Humanities by the University Center of Mexico City (UCIME). He is currently a professor at the Technological University of the State of Querétaro (UTEQ) and the Anáhuac Querétaro. He is Director of the Center for Sustainable Development and the Common Good, Director of the Blaise Pascal Chair, and Director of the Società Internazionale Tommaso d'Aquino, Mexico (youth section).

****Independent consultant in labor policies and anti-corruption programs and works as a researcher for the Observatory of Competitiveness and New Ways of Working. She holds a Master's degree in Political Communication and Marketing from the Centro de Estudios Superiores de Comunicación y Marketing Político in Madrid, Spain. She holds a Bachelor's degree in International Relations from the Iberoamericana University in Puebla, Mexico, and a diploma in Public Policy from the Anáhuac University in Puebla, Mexico.

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A COMMON GOOD APPROACH TO STRUCTURAL FORMS OF POVERTY

UNE APPROCHE PAR LE BIEN COMMUN DES FORMES DE PAUVRETÉ STRUCTURELLES

Received: November 2021 I Accepted: February 2022

Dr. Mathias Nebel*

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article soutient que la pauvreté structurelle se comprend mieux si on ne l'aborde pas à partir de statistiques individuelles mais à partir de l'absence d'un ensemble spécifique de biens communs. Si tel est le cas, alors le sens et la valeur donnés par une société à cet ensemble de bien communs devient crucial et pointe vers les éléments culturels et éthiques de la pauvreté. Je soutiendrai en outre que cette approche peut aider à identifier certain des éléments caractéristiques qui contrôlent la dynamique négative de sous-systèmes sociaux malfaisants.

ABSTRACT

This article claims that structural forms of poverty are better understood not from the perspective of individual based statistics but from a lack of a specific set of common goods. The meaning and value given by a society to this set is therefore crucial and points toward the cultural and ethical elements of poverty. I will further argue that this approach may help identify the key elements of structural forms of poverty, that is, the features controlling the negative dynamic of wicked social subsystems.

Keywords: Development Ethics, Multidimensional poverty, Community based development programs, Common good approach to development.

Mots clés: Ethique du développement, Pauvreté multidimensionnelle, Programme de développement basés sur la communauté, Bien commun

JUL - DEC 2021

*He holds a PhD in Theology from the University of Fribourg (Switzerland), since 2017 he is Academic Director of the Instituto Promotor del Bien Común (IPBC) at the Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla and Full-time Research Professor of Social Ethics and Catholic Social Thought at the same University. He studied theology in Freiburg, Madrid and Cambridge (Great Britain).
Many thanks to the two anonymous reviewers of the text. A special mention must be made to the insightful comments and remarks made by my colleague Oscar Garza-Vázquez with whom I discussed previous versions of this article
Email: Matthias.nebel@upaep.mx

INTRODUCTION

Whereas extreme poverty is receding in most developing countries[1] overall structural forms of poverty[2] are often stubbornly resistant to decades of efforts to bring them down. Embedded into the institutional framework organizing social life, essentially multidimensional, these systemic forms of poverty are dynamic, which is to say they can adapt quickly and resist change[3]

The sheer complexity of these structural forms of poverty is such that no single social policy can address them on their own (OCDE, 2017). It is however still widely assumed that addressing the different issues at hand – housing, education, income, health –, one at a time, will somehow bring them down. This is however rather naïve since a social system is more than the sum of its individual parts (Le Blanc, 2015). Indeed, Objective 17 of the SDGs[4] recognises the need for social policy integration but does not really say how to solve the issue (Boas, 2016).

Do we really have to surrender to complexity? Can't we address structural forms of poverty but through their different single effects? It might be that structural forms of poverty only appear complex because of the perspective from which we look at them. I will suggest here that structural forms of poverty partly escape what individual based data can teach us about them. I will further argue that a common good approach to society may help identify some key elements of structural forms of poverty, that is, the features controlling the negative dynamic of social subsystems.

The first part of this article investigates Mexico's endemic forms of poverty as they are documented and measured by the Consejo Nacional de Evaluación de la Política de Desarrollo Social (CONEVAL). The second part will review the success and failure of the World Bank's Community Based Development Programs. The third proposes a common good approach to structural forms of poverty. We conclude that such perspective may reduce their apparent complexity and give new insights on how to disrupt their social replication.

[1] Cf. https://ourworldindata.org/extreme-poverty

[2] "Social structure, describe in sociology, the distinctive, stable arrangement of institutions whereby human beings in a society interact and live together". Encyclopedia Britannica: https://www.britannica.com/topic/social-structure. I mostly follow regarding social structures the work of sociologists Ross and Nissbet (2011).

[3] For the concept of structural poverty, please consult my previous work in Deneulin, Nebel & Sagovski (2006, 1-16). Structural forms of poverty (Calnitsky 2018) refer to specific social situation where poverty relates not primarily to individual features but is linked to the way a society is structured. In that perspective, poverty is not to be understood as the mere mis-functioning of social institutions but rather their normal outcome. This article seeks to understand this "normality of poverty".

[4] Goal 17. "Partnership for the goals: Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development" Cf. https://www.globalgoals.org/17-partnerships-for-the-goals

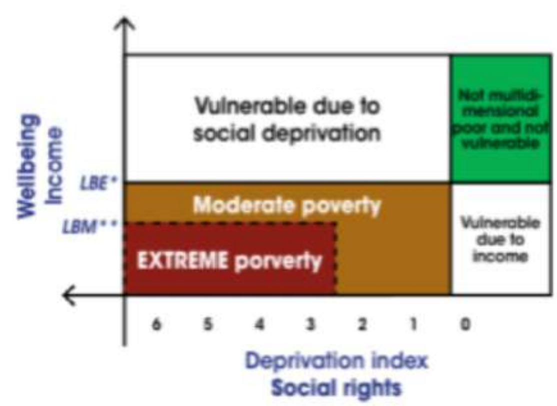
ENDEMIC FORMS OF POVERTY IN MEXICO

Since the creation of the Human Development Index, poverty is ever more recognised as being multidimensional. Among many others countries, the Mexican government created in 2005 an agency named CONEVAL to address the challenge of massive poverty, beginning with the way it is measured. The CONEVAL is an autonomous but state funded institute dedicated to document and measure poverty and to assess public policies aimed at reducing it. Its approach to poverty is multidimensional. Poverty is seen as the result of a set of deprivations. Lack of income is obviously identified as an important dimension of poverty. It is approached through two poverty lines. The first describes a monetary well-being threshold (LBE) while the second draws a survival line contemplating the price of essential goods (LBM). Other six social deprivations are further analysed as: ‘Educational lag’, ‘Lack of access to health services’, ‘Lack of access to social security’, ‘Inadequate housing’, ‘Inadequate housing services’, ‘Food deprivation’. A last dimension was incorporated in 2014: the ‘Degree of social cohesion’[5].

Along this line, CONEVAL intersects *economic conditions* and *social deprivations* to map out the complexity of poverty in Mexico. The following graph represents this cross section. Extreme poverty flags out at the bottom of the two axes, with individuals presenting an income lower than the LBM and more than two social deprivations. Moderate poverty captures individuals that do not reach the LBE and suffer from at least one social deprivation. The graph also highlights the part of the population that cannot be classified as poor but is vulnerable either because of income or other social deprivations. In 2018, 42% of the population was poor, 36% was identified as vulnerable while the non-poor and non-vulnerable only amounted to 22%.[6]

Figure 1. CONEVAL’s Six Dimensions of Poverty

Figure 2. CONEVAL’s Mapping of Poverty



[5]However, the measurement of this dimension and its coherence with the previous framework is still quite shabby and will have, in the words of CONEVAL itself, “to be further researched”.

[6]Cf. https://www.coneval.org.mx/Medicion/MP/Documents/Pobreza_18/Pobreza_2018_CONEVAL.pdf (accessed november 2019).

While the two well-being thresholds are quite classic, to measure social deprivation CONEVAL takes *social rights* as the basis for identifying structural forms of deprivation, following the 'International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights' (1966). It then proposes that these social rights be understood as *public goods,* which must be *efficiently provided by the state* and *fairly distributed among the population* (fair provision, equality of access, equality of opportunity). CONEVAL has given advice to all the different Mexican administrations for the past 15 years. Over the same period, it also assessed the quality and impact of all the social policies set by state. It is therefore useful to revise the results of such multidimensional approach to poverty. Has it drastically reduced poverty levels? Has it been able to address the endemic forms of poverty in Mexico? Unfortunately, not.

A study carried out by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and the Universidad Iberoamericana in 2017, shows the mismatch between the intention of this approach and its results (Teruel & Lopez, 2017). Flagship social programs were launched under this new approach to poverty called, first *Oportunidades* and then *Prospera*.[7] They tried to address the poverty gap in education, health and diet by increasing the opportunity set for the poor. The program grew from 5 million beneficiaries in 1997 to 25 million in 2014 (1/5 of the population). Billions of dollars were invested and new ad-hoc institutions were created (Barajas-Martínez, 2016). The results however are ambiguous. On the positive side, extreme poverty receded over the last 15 years (Niño-Zarazúa, 2017), especially regarding access to medical care (from 42% deprived in 2000 to 16% in 2018). However, the *total amount of poor people is stable since 1992*, especially due to the resilience of income deprivation (LBE & LBM). A closer look shows a darker picture (De la Fuente & Alii, 2018). First *Prospera* – when successful – has mainly lifted poor just above the thresholds, increasing the number of the 'vulnerable population'. These groups of people might 'fall back' quickly if the social gains are not sustained and their benefits not transmitted to the next generation.[8] Secondly, the focus on increasing access to food, health and education certainly had an impact, but did not 'sum up' and created a positive social dynamic that would have allowed these persons to overcome the other dimensions of poverty.

All in all, we can say that besides our best efforts having invested billions of dollars into social programs over 20 years, Mexico has not been able to overcome the structural level of poverty affecting the country. We must be doing something wrong, either in the way we understand poverty or in the way we draft social policies. What are we doing wrong? Hereafter are three blind spots of the CONEVAL approach to poverty.

[7] Cf. https://www.gob.mx/prospera/documentos/que-es-prospera (Accessed May 2019). The program was widely acclaimed and reproduced in more than 52 countries.

[8] CEEY, *Informe de movilidad social en México 2019. Cf.* https://ceey.org.mx/informe-de-movilidad-social-mexico-2019/

First, most if not all of the data on income and social deprivation is based on information from individuals or households. The information is then aggregated in different forms to reach the final data. This is standard procedure. Is there anything wrong with it? As it happens with numbers, their apparent objectivity obscures the assumptions made previously to the calculations. A clever aggregation of individual realities still doesn't account for the social dynamics generating poverty. The moment we add the capability space of individual (A) to that of individual (B), we totally oversee how this aggregation process takes actually place in a society and altogether postulate that it is, in fact, a sum. The science of complex living systems proves that this is a weak assumption (Luhmann, 1984; Sawyer, 2005). Social systems are more than the sum of their parts; their logic can't be reduced to an aggregation of individual behaviours. Take, for example, a group of children playing in a courtyard. You will gather from each individual behaviour something about their personal ability, but in order to understand their game you must study their interactions as a group. Because the play is more than the personal abilities of each one. It stems from us, as a group, playing together a game. The play's rationality belongs to the group and can't be reduced to the reasonings of each individual in the game.

This is quite important with regards to poverty measurement. If poverty in developing countries is systemic, i.e. is the result of the *normal functioning of a social system*, then measuring it from the perspective of individual deprivations is to be blind to the logic of the system creating this poverty. In other words, if the social system does not change, neither will structural forms of poverty.

Therefore, the very statistics CONEVAL generates - however useful and needed - also create a blind spot: they do not give us meaningful information on why people are stuck in poverty and more crucially on how we may overcome these structural forms of poverty. Worse still: social policies, because of their statistical assessment in terms of individual functionings, will almost naturally focus on how to 'lift individuals out of poverty'. One outcome of these policies being the increase of vulnerable people, that is people living just out of the poverty zone and thus not appearing any more as 'poor' on national statistics (Khalid, 2014, 55-76).

A second blind spot is linked to the assumption made by CONEVAL that social rights - rights to education, to health care, social security, food and adequate housing - are matched by the fair provision and distribution of public goods by the State. Can we equate social rights and public goods? Does the fair provision and distribution of education, health, food or housing account for what is meant by a social right?

Social rights are collective rights and refer to social norms that can't be renounced without hurting justice and the very dignity of every human beings. Social rights refer to what Rawls calls the basic institutions providing a community with the public goods that benefit everyone (a just society). However, as Ostrom shows (1990, 1-23), the assumptions made by Samuelson (1954) over public goods are too narrow. They do not account for non-state/non-market mechanisms allowing common-pool-resources to exist, be governed and sustained over very long periods of time.The dichotomy between public good and private good must be enlarged, argues Ostrom, to include ‘impure public goods’, especially what she calls ‘common-pool resources’ (1990, 30-32). But Ostrom’s work goes far beyond adding a new category to Samuelson’s distinction. She brings attention to an aspect that was overlooked in the literature on public goods. The process by which commons are created and sustained is deeply political. It depends on the *political will* of a community and the *meaning* given by that community to the social good (Williams, 2004). The value given to a common by a community is key to set how it must be produced and distributed.[9] In the case of CONEVAL, does the Mexican people really value “health care” as a common? The public hospital systems (IMSS, ISSTE) are shun by the topier of the society who prefer to pay for private health care insurance, while the people working in the informal sector (over 65% of the economy) prefer not to report their business, partly to avoid paying the share legally due to fund the IMSS or ISSTE. This is not only a question of incentives, but rather a question of the social value given to health care and if we want it to be universally available.[10]

And this precisely comes as the third blind spot of CONEVAL’s statistics on poverty. The way we look and understand structural poverty through their data is driven by the absence of some individual utility function - be it education, health, housing or income. Neither does it consider the meaning given to that good by the community nor the political will required to achieve it. In other words, we see the absence of a social good through the narrowing lens of its distribution to individuals, not as the outcome of a social process.

What is left out of the picture? The key role of the local community itself! Does this community want a school to be built? Does it value the provision of clean water or electricity? Most people - most development scholars - just assume that people must want these basic social goods. Who does not want to have access to education? Who does not want to be provided with clean water or electricity? But the question is: does the community want this at any cost? Does it value education, electricity and clean water above everything else? Is an indigenous community, for example, willing to lose its own identity and language in order to be connected to the modern world? Moreover, does the

[9]This is in stark contrast with Samuelson assumption that the production and distribution of goods depends on their intrinsic qualities, namely rivalry in consumption and excludability. If we assume that the meaning and value given by a community to a good is the main factor to decide how it should be produced, managed and distributed, we must admit that the ethical value give to the good is ultimately what control’s the substitution rate of goods. Indeed, the limits of Samuelson’s distinction relies on the social utility function he posits. Human rights normativity can’t be reduced to a social utility function as their claim is universal and unconditional. This ethical dimension will be further addressed in the last section of this article.
CEEY, *Informe de movilidad social en México 2019. Cf.* https://ceey.org.mx/informe-de-movilidad-social-mexico-2019/

[10]This point is clearly made in CEEY, *Propuesta para transformer el Sistema Nacional de Salut*, 2013. https://ceey.org.mx/el-mexico-del-2013-propuesta-para-transformar-el-sistema-nacional-de-salud/

elite of a community which already enjoys clean water, electricity and schools agrees that these benefits should be expanded to all members of the community?

These questions are not rhetorical. They illustrate that most of the time development planners just assume that basic goods must have some sort of ‘universal value’ while at the same time positing that the values of existing social goods are compatible with them. It is the universal claim that allows them to dismiss the need for the local community to decide on the opportunity to get these basic goods. We do not need to worry about how electricity, clean water, roads or education fit into an existing society because these are basic goods! Now, the point is that even basic goods can’t be detangled from all the other social goods already existing in the community.

What is left out of the picture is the free collective agency - the political will - of this community. As long as we understand the participation of local communities as a means to achieve an end - to build schools and roads, to provide water and electricity - we will fail in our development practices (Mansuri & Rao, 2013). While we see the empowerment of local communities only as instruments for achieving a specific social good, then the well-being of local communities is little more than a dispensable abstraction. Development practices will never be sustainable as long as the will that drives them is that of development planners and not that of the local community.

An institution as CONEVAL is certainly not redundant and gives a much-needed picture of the multidimensionality of poverty in Mexico. Its existence is, in itself, and achievement. However, its reports on poverty and its impact assessment of public policies, are essentially directed at the State, which is responsible to guarantee basic human rights. The provision of these basic human rights in turn implies that these aspects of poverty must be resolved by the State, essentially through the public goods. Policies recommendation based on such an approach are doomed to be top down and blind to the three difficulties mentioned in the previous points, which may also explain why they so often fail to achieve their objective.

How can we include local participation and collective agency to our understanding of poverty? The next paragraph explores how the ideas of Ostrom inspired community based development programs, as well as their shortcomings.

COMMUNITY BASED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

The recognition of the importance of the political will of local communities is nowadays widely admitted by development economics. It is less certain however that we know how to deal with it in practice. Much has been written on empowerment and social capital in development projects but results are often ambiguous and experience shows that ‘doing participation' is harder than we assume in theory (Clark, Biggeri et Frediani, 2019). This second part of the article follows the World Bank's set of programs known as 'Community Based Development Programs'. They were meant to embody a participatory approach to development. Almost 25 years later, their assessment is ambiguous and point to some shortcomings of the participatory approach.

In her landmark book on the governance of commons (1990), Ostrom proposes a set of guidelines needed for commons to exist and be sustained. Her writings, part of a wider interest for participation and social capital, were swiftly picked up by the World Bank which launched Community Based or Driven Development project (CBDs). The importance of the right political will needed for projects to achieve their results was rife at the time, with other initiatives like the WB Governance Index being launched at the same time. Equally important and related was the need to embed development practice in local communities whenever possible.[11]These CBDs programs became a growing trend in the following years, quickly attracting huge investments by international aid agencies (Narayan, 1995, Mansury & Rao, 2004, 2013).

Why? CBDs programs stem from a wide recognition of the failure of a top down, provider approach to development. As stated in 1995 by Narayan: "From time immemorial, societies have organized themselves to take care of collective and individual needs. Why then have so many attempts at getting people to participate and take responsibility for community based development failed in the last fifty years? One reason is that never before in the history of humankind has there been such a massive experiment to include change through the infusion of external ideas, management, funds and technology, all controlled from places far distant from the site of development." (1995, 1-2). To be sustainable and meaningful, the development program needs to be locally embedded. This evidence called for a participatory approach to development.
CBDs answer that call to embed development practices. They emphasize community control over planning, decision and investment resources. Three points are central to these programs (Narayan 1995, 5):

1. Adopting processes that strengthen the *capacity of a community to organize and sustain development*.
2. Supporting *community empowerment* through user participation in decision-making.
3. Reversing control and accountability from central authorities to community organization.

It was thought that this sort of radical turn would bring about an increase in efficiency, cost effectiveness and sustainability of development projects, while at the same time increasing the empowerment of the local population and bring forth a change in the behavioural patterns. The three points mentioned above were intuitively tied together: you can't achieve results if you don't get the population to participate in the project and the project doesn't last long if coherent patterns of behaviour do not sustain the result.

[11] See for example the publication at the time of the World Bank Participation Sourcebook (WB, 1996).

This is basically Ostrom's point: the building of a local irrigation system does not last long if the local population is not involved in its governance and does not behave according to rules that are consistent with the preservation of the irrigation system (1990, 157ff).

Now, after 25 years of practice and billions of dollars invested in CBDs, we can assess the effectiveness of these claims. Results have varied (Mansuri & Rao, 2004, 2013). A growing debate presses the need for a further clarification on the theories of social change implicitly assumed by these sorts of programs. Authors such as Wong (2012), Mansuri & Rao (2004, 2013), King (2013), Bennet and d'Onofrio (2015) see both the potential of these programs and the need to rethink their theoretical frameworks and purpose.

First, the positive: The WB assessment by Susan Wong (2012) of their own CBDs programs shows they have a positive impact on the provision and access to services and goods. Compared to other modes of service delivery, they achieve a higher cost effectiveness and rate of return. On the negative side, they have limited or no impact on social capital and behaviours. A wider study by Mansuri & Rao (2013) on the impact of participatory programs is harsher. It analyses the results of over 500 studies covering decades of development projects. Empirical results do not sustain the two main assumptions widely held as true: (1) involving communities in the design and implementation of development will *automatically increase the adequate delivery of service and goods*; (2) *participatory practice delivers higher level of local cooperation and governance* and builds up social capital (2013, 7-8). Mansuri & Rao successfully argue that *civil society failure o*ccurs just as frequently as government and market failure do (2013, 59-79). Does participation improve development outcomes? Modestly and then usually to the advantage of the higher tiers of the population (6-9, 221-224). Does participation strengthen civil society? Not really, at least not in the long term (9-11, 275-277).[12]

Other two key findings of the report are noteworthy. First that participatory interventions work better and last longer when they are embedded in the wider social system and supported by the State (11-12, 288ff). This relationship to the context is of such importance that projects should have built-in mechanisms of learning and adaptability. Secondly, the authors note the difference between building bridges and roads and seeking social change. The former may be planned and the results assessed in terms of production costs and access to service but the latter is complex and must contemplate the long term. "Repairing civil society and political failure requires a shift in the social equilibrium that derives from a change in the nature of social interactions and from modifying norms and local culture. These much more difficult tasks require a

[12] Participation is no magic bullet and collective agency processes are highly complex and context dependent. The political debate triggered by participation mechanisms reintroduce divergences of opinions and conflicts into development processes (William, 2004). This is one of the reasons why an insistence on collective agency alone frequently leads to failure. Our approach argues that collective agency freedom must be kept in check by other mechanisms, namely a wise governance of participation, a just distribution of power and a stability of the participation mechanisms. See below part III.

fundamentally different approach to development - one that is flexible, long term, self-critical and strongly infused with the spirit of learning by doing". (12-13, our emphasis). Mansury & Rao don't reject participatory approach but denounce some simplistic assumptions made by development planner and the need to rethink theoretical tenets of CBDs (291-294). Among the latter Bennet and d'Onofrio (2015) highlight two questions: (a) What do we really aim at when we seek participatory development? (b): How do we conceptualize social change interventions?

What have we achieved this far? The first part revised the assessment of structural forms of poverty by CONEVAL. It concluded that local political will and participation where key to address structural forms of poverty. The second section reviewed the practice of participatory development and its results, that is programs that took aim at the importance of political will and local involvement in fighting poverty. Key findings were that participation is no magic bullet. Transforming structural forms of poverty require participation, but participation alone is not enough. On top of collective local agency, you also need a normative anchor about the telos of development. You need to know why you want social change (Bennet & d'Onofrio, 2015). Whenever development is not about bridges, roads or schools but aims at transforming a society's values and behaviours, the 'why' question becomes unavoidable. What are we aiming at when we seek social change? What do we want to achieve through development? The last section of this article addresses this question.

A COMMON GOOD APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

What is a common good approach to development? For most, the notion of the common good is ill-defined and above all non-operational. This statement, while largely shared, is mostly uninformed. A small but consistent group of scholars has lately taken a renewed interest on the topic and show that the notion is neither vague nor vacuous (See among many others Sandell, 2020; Reich, 2018; Nebel & Collaud, 2018; Parilla-Martinez, 2017; Blum, 2015; Gorringe, 2014; Sluga 2014; Riordan, 2008, 2014; Zamagni, 2007; McCann & Miller, 2005; Münckler & Bluhm 2001-2004; Hollenbach, 2002).

A common good approach to development starts with Taylor's statement that beyond public goods or private goods, we must recognize the existence of intrinsically social good (Taylor, 1995, Chap VII). These are relational goods, inherent to the relationships existing between members of a society. Narrowing these goods to a sum of individual interests misjudges their real nature and gives a false picture of their inner logic (Deneulin, 2013). For example, you can consider our dignity as an individual feature or consider dignity as our common, shared dignity. Dignity is actually always a shared reality. I am human with and among other human being. It is not an I versus a We; an individual actor against a collective actor. It is rather a relationship mediated by an interaction (Nebel, 2018b). It is a good generated and shared by free persons; a good which is ours before being mine, and ever only mine because it was previously ours. A society, under this perspective, may be described through the relational goods shaping our coexistence; i.e. the common goods driving us together in an organized way and as a human society (Nebel, 2018a).

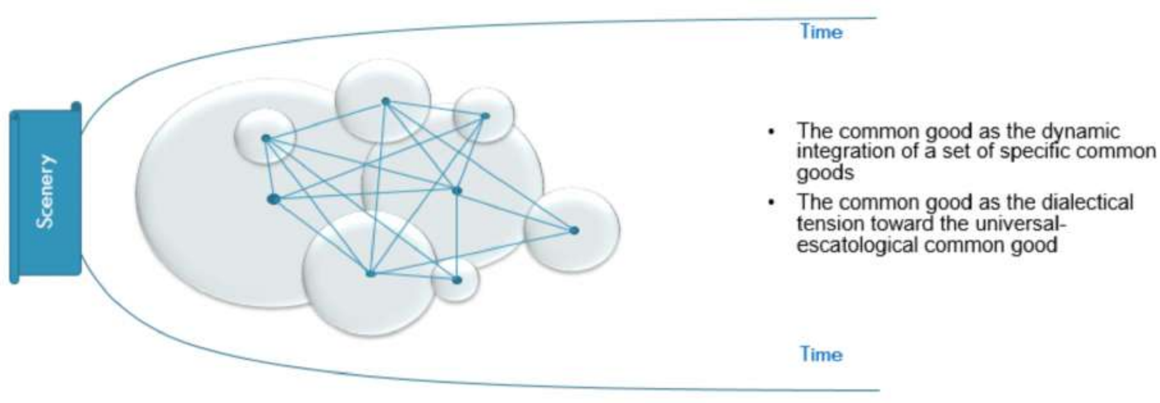
To look at a society from this perspective implies a shift of paradigm that goes beyond the classical distinctions of liberals versus communitarians. Zamagni (2017) highlights the difference in logic with the following metaphor: Most social contract theories understand societies as an aggregation of individual elements. In that scenario, if A, B and C are individuals - and given the case that A is zero - their sum A+B+C is still equal to B+C. In a common good approach to society, says Zamagni, the logic is not that of a sum but a multiplication. If A is null and B and C natural numbers, then the product of factors will nonetheless be zero

(AxBxC=0). Zamagni's point is that you can't take out one member of society from the equation without affecting all the relationships that exist in that society. Individuals are not secluded from the rest of society; they are part of it. Each personal loss or gain is somehow affecting the whole. In this logic, there is no dispensable member of society. We are collectively less human if one of us is humiliated or sees its dignity denied. This is the logic of the common good, a perspective not only relevant argues Zamagni, but required to overcome the aporia of economic and political liberalism.[13]

What is a common good approach to society? One that understands a society as a complex and dynamic equilibrium of common goods (Nebel, 2018a, 2020, 2022). Then the key political questions become: is this system of common goods conducive to a shared humanity? Can we live together as human beings in this system? Moreover: how do the common goods of a society relate to each other? How are they organized? What sort of hierarchies exist among them? Are they efficiently produced and governed? Are they fairly shared among the population?

13 Other authors have developed the same idea. See for example Tudela-Fournet, 2017; Riordan, 2014, Sluga, 2014 or Hollenbach, 2002.

Figure 3. The nexus of the common good.



In figure 3, each bubble represents a specific common good, the links between them represent the nexus between common goods.[14] The first visual evidence is that there are many common goods in a society and that they do not fully overlap. The second is that none involves the whole population.

The third is that the tensions between them must be many. The last is that the governance of this nexus may actually be the core task of politics. Let's retake these points.

Every society is built on a very broad set of common goods that only partially overlap. Moreover, they are related to each other. Most of them are complementary, overlapping and mutually reinforcing while others will be at odd or mutually exclusive. I use the expression 'nexus of common goods' to express the real relationships existing between these various specific common goods in a given society.

The nexus does not appear of its own accord, as a kind of spontaneous self-organisation of society (Luhmann, 1984, 15ff). On the one hand it is the result of a shared history – centuries of shared experience that have gradually brought various common goods together and organised them as a system– and on the other the constant efforts of the present generation to reframe and to some extent reinvent it. This is a shared responsibility; the political task par excellence. A nexus of common goods results from the use of our political responsibility. That is why it may differ considerably from one country to another. Its quality depends on past and the present generation's commitment to this political responsibility.

14 Rather than the terms 'web' I prefer the Latin term 'nexus', which means 'relationship, intertwining or linkage of causes', a term linked in Roman law to that of responsibility.

This commitment takes usually the form of a specific interaction seen as a particularly important social good: the one providing political governance to the nexus. It is political power itself that is here valued and constructed as a specific common, though one which is of crucial importance to any society. Indeed, the task of these governing bodies is to pursue an ever richer, deeper and more human integration of the nexus.

A frequent error is to believe that the humanity of the nexus of the common good is a given. On the contrary our humanity is a frail and dynamics equilibrium resulting from an age-old wisdom about which social practices are more and which are less human. This is not to say that collective blindness to structural injustices do not exist in a nexus. Indeed, as a human artefact, perhaps the most elaborate human artefact, the nexus is the result of past political choices. It embodies the will and wisdom of previous generations. In turn, the humanity of this nexus depends on today's political choices. Political governance requires assessing the human value and coherence of the present nexus of common goods. It compels politician, in other terms, to endeavour a moral judgement on the human quality of the nexus.

Can we say something about the ethical quality of a nexus? To answer this question, you may go either for a thin or a thick conception of ethics. On the thin side you may focus on a threshold of key elements – basic common goods – allowing people to live together as human being in a society. But since the nexus is a process, and since that process is intrinsically linked to our political freedom, the core norm will be about the end goal of this process, i.e. what Ricoeur would name the normative horizon of all nexus (Ricoeur, 1956). Following Fessard's (1944), the normative horizon of any nexus can be understood as the universal common good, by which he means the unity and solidarity of all human beings or in other words our *own and shared humanity*. Seeking the universal common good is for Fessard a dialectic process, not a linear one with apparent setbacks and moment of destruction and transformation needed to reach a deeper and broader humanity of the nexus (a more universal, a more human form of the nexus).

This movement toward the universal common good is of crucial importance (Nebel, 2018b). It means that the search for the common good is a never ending task. A task that must be retaken anew by each generation. Any historical nexus is transient, a mere prefiguration of something that is always beyond and further ahead. The dialectic dimension of the dynamic also hints at the conflictive nature of this task. As the nexus deepens and expands the population it involves change. This transformation sparks power-plays within the nexus that will have to be resolved. But to acknowledge this conflictive nature of the search for the common good does not mean that we settle for conflicts. It means that the conflicts will have to be resolved in the light of the universal common good. It is in this hope and desire for peace that we face and can resolve conflicts.

CONCLUSION: A COMMON GOOD APPROACH TO STRUCTURAL FORMS OF POVERTY.

What does a common good approach add to our understanding of structural forms of poverty? First it strongly contends the idea that poverty can ever be reduced to an individual phenomenon. Whereas poverty is always suffered by a specific person and linked to his specific capabilities, most deprivations are also linked to the way a society organise itself, that is, to the institutions structuring our social life. The quality and functioning of this institutional framework is key to address long term poverty challenges in developing countries. To be sustainable, the fight against poverty must tackle the embedded social structures that preserve and reproduce poverty pattern.

Secondly, the previous section of this paper has argued that a participatory approach to development projects only had a limited impact on structural forms of poverty. The concepts of participation and social change implicit to these programs were too narrow to create the social momentum needed to overcome structural forms of poverty. Three elements were found to be of crucial importance for the success of participatory development programs. The first is a revised attention given to interaction and social change models; the second is the necessary inclusion of development programs in the wider social, cultural and political context; the third was the clarification of their objectives (what do we seek to achieve) and the normative claim involved in them. A common good approach to development helps address these three elements. How so?

First, it frames development practices as part of a wider effort to trigger common good dynamics in a society; as part of an effort to create a more human coexistence in that society. Development is either human or is not development at all. Setting a development program as an intervention occurring in a nexus of the common good specifies what we understand as the wider social, cultural and political context. It forces programs developers to think and embed their intervention in an existing nexus. It crucially changes the way we think about the goal of these projects. Interventions should not be about social change, but actually a contribution to an existing nexus of common goods. Intervention should aim at triggering new social processes that add momentum to the overall dynamic of the common good.

Secondly, a common good approach to development changes the way we look at structural forms of poverty. It does not focus on individual deprivations but rather on the absence or perversion of a common good. To fight structural poverty is to concentrate on the social processes providing and distributing a common. A process that begins with the social value and meaning given to this good by a society and the common political will needed to achieve it.

Thirdly, a common good approach to development shifts priorities. The following list summarizes some of these shifts:[15]

1. Do not start with the individual deprivations of structural forms of poverty but the community and how together they could address the structural forms of poverty.
2. Help the community identify the common goods that are absent or corrupted: see how they are valued and what they mean for the local community.
3. Focus on the community and its agency, on the will to achieve a common good.
4. Create open ended processes, do not seek nor set immediate outcomes.
5. Create local governance.
6. Set the rule for a just distribution of the shared benefit; look for a local supervision of these rules and the existence of conflict resolution processes.
7. Look for the stability of the process.
8. Judge the outcome of the process at the light of its impact on our common/shared humanity (on the shared practices that embed our humanity *hic et nunc*).[16]

Does this approach give us a better chance at tackling structural forms of poverty? I do think so. It gives us at least a chance to do so. By shifting the main concern from lifting individuals out of poverty to the generation of common goods needed to overcome structural forms of poverty, we do put at the centre of development practice, the political definition of commons and their social meaning. Hence the main concern comes to be the present architecture of the nexus and the systemic logic by which so many people are excluded or deprived of a specific set of common goods.

*Dr. Mathias Nebel**

[15] The list is based on the results of two applications of our metric of common good dynamics in Mexico. Cf. Garza-Vázquez, Aranda-Vargas & Herd-Nuñez, 2020; Nebel & Arbesu-Verduzco, 2020; Ramirez & Garza-VÁzquez, 2020.

[16] Such a list is obviously a shortcut and has to be taken with a pinch of salt. But nonetheless it highlights the different modalities and priorities set forth by a common good approach to development.

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ESSAYS

TRES VISIONES DE LA EXCELENCIA:

A PROPÓSITO DE THE TYRANNY OF MERIT DE MICHAEL SANDEL.

THREE VISIONS OF EXCELLENCE: ON MICHAEL SANDEL'S THE TYRANNY OF MERIT.

Received: November 2021 I Accepted: January 2022

Juan Pablo Aranda*

RESUMEN

El presente trabajo pregunta sobre la idea de excelencia en las sociedades democráticas, a la luz de una revisión crítica de la última obra de Michael Sandel, The Tyranny of Merit. Propongo que el relativo silencio de Sandel sobre la excelencia no debe interpretarse como una sugerencia de que esta es antitética a la democracia cuando, en realidad, le es absolutamente necesaria. La excelencia, cuando se le entiende desde una perspectiva no meritocrático-económica, se constituye en motor de creatividad, de crítica y discusión, de cambio, elementos sin los cuales la democracia se estanca en un status quo que termina reificando la opinión mayoritaria, aplastando la diferencia y el derecho al disenso. Asimismo, sugiero que el pensamiento de Alexis de Tocqueville integra, por un lado, la noción cristiana de excelencia como donación y entrega para el bien común y, por el otro, la crítica que hará Nietzsche a la modernidad, exigiendo un tipo de excelencia que restituya a lo sublime su lugar las sociedades democráticas.

ABSTRACT

This paper asks about the idea of excellence in democratic societies in light of a critical review of Michael Sandel's latest work, The Tyranny of Merit. I propose that Sandel's relative silence on excellence should not be interpreted as suggesting that excellence is antithetical to democracy when, in fact, it is absolutely necessary to it. Excellence, when understood from a non-meritocratic-economic perspective, is the engine of creativity, of criticism and discussion, of change, elements without which democracy stagnates in a status quo that ends up reifying the majority opinion, crushing difference and the right to dissent. Likewise, I suggest that the thought of Alexis de Tocqueville integrates, on the one hand, the Christian notion of excellence as donation and dedication for the common good and, on the other, Nietzsche's critique of modernity, demanding a type of excellence that restores the sublime to its place in democratic societies.

JUL - DEC 2021

*He holds a bachelor's degree in political science from ITAM, a master's degree and a doctorate in the same discipline from the University of Toronto.
UPAEP
Email: juanpablo.aranda@upaep.mx

> "Por todas partes veo puertas más bajas: quien es de mi especie puede pasar todavía por ellas sin duda—¡pero tiene que agacharse!
> (Nietzsche, *Así habló Zaratustra*).

> "Nivelar es una tranquila y abstracta ocupación matemática, que evita toda agitación"
> (Kierkagaard, *La Época Presente*).

Vivimos un tiempo caracterizado por los contrastes. De un lado encontramos el paso firme y acelerado de la tecnología y su creación de comodidad, al tiempo que dejamos atrás a cientos de millones de seres humanos que no alcanzan a obtener el mínimo; el conocimiento humano alcanza cimas de extraordinaria sofisticación sólo comparable a la explosión de la posverdad y la cultura de *fake news* que imponen a la ciencia misma una interrogación escéptica; frente a los grandes desarrollos del espíritu humano descansa, a veces inadvertido, esa pulsión niveladora que quiere hacer de la igualdad un mantra autoritario y no, como fue soñado por los teóricos de la democracia, el motor de toda auténtica libertad; opuesto al ideal de la excelencia que ha estado presente en toda la historia de las democracias occidentales, encontramos hoy al "mérito" como pobrísimo sucedáneo.

El presente trabajo pretende analizar las condiciones de posibilidad de la excelencia en sociedades democráticas dominadas actualmente por el ethos meritocrático. Para ello, analizo en primer término la más reciente obra de Michael Sandel, *The Tyrrany of Merit*, donde el filósofo norteamericano arremete brillantemente contra dicho ethos, proponiendo que, lejos de promover una sociedad justa, dicha doctrina genera resentimiento y división social. No deja de extrañar, empero, que Sandel guarde silencio sobre el ideal de excelencia y su potencial correctivo para sociedades democráticas. A fin de proponer un correctivo a la sociedad denunciada por Sandel, propongo tres modelos de excelencia, a saber, la excelencia cristiana, la crítica de Nietzsche al cristianismo y a la democracia y, finalmente, la crítica de Tocqueville a la democracia, que considero puede formularse como una síntesis del ethos cristiano basado en el bien común y la exigencia nietzscheana de excelencia en la creatividad y la tensión de las fibras del espíritu.

A lo largo de este trabajo entenderé la noción de "mérito" desde una perspectiva inmediatista y remunerativa, esto es, como la debida recompensa a aquellos que se han hecho acreedores a la misma, mientras que la excelencia presupone un estado de vida más que un "logro", un crecimiento espiritual producto del constante ejercicio de las facultades humanas en torno a un ideal, un concepto más cercano a la eudemonía aristotélica. Sin duda alguna, la democracia liberal presupone la diversidad de ideales, lo que de ninguna forma debe entenderse como opuesto a la excelencia sino como uno de sus necesarios efectos. La excelencia a través de la homogeneidad aparece, pues, como un oxímoron. El mérito, en cambio, presupone ciertos estándares, reglas, o paradigmas a través de los cuáles discriminar entre lo meritorio de aquello que carece de mérito, de forma tal que, al final, una sociedad meritocrática no puede sino caer en la trampa de la nivelación que denunciara Kierkegaard en La Época Presente.

I

La importancia de Michael Sandel en la discusión pública sobre igualdad, economía e individualismo en democracias postseculares es innegable. Desde la publicación de *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*, el filósofo norteamericano se ha posicionado como una de las voces críticas al liberalismo más importantes en la actualidad. En dicha obra, Sandel sugiere la imposibilidad lógica que existe en la filosofía de John Rawls de reconciliar el yo desvinculado, a partir del cual la posición original es capaz de generar principios de justicia, y la robustez comunitaria que su doctrina necesita para garantizar que dichos principios funcionen adecuadamente. La exigencia, en *A Theory of Justice*, de trabajar con "una concepción de la comunidad en sentido constitutivo" (Sandel 2000, 201) es, a su vez, cancelada por el rechazo procedimental que desviste al yo de cualquier rasgo auténticamente humano—cualquier deseo, doctrina comprehensiva, sentimiento, lealtad, amor—pues todos ellos no pueden considerarse como constitutivos del agente desde una óptica deontológica. Por ende, sentencia Sandel, "[l]o que sucede en la posición original no es después de todo un contrato, sino la conquista de la autoconciencia de un ser inter-subjetivo" (168). El liberalismo rawlsiano, en resumen, topa con una aporía: o bien sostiene su kantismo estrictamente y renuncia a una comunidad en sentido auténtico, o bien renuncia a la primera y adopta una visión robusta de comunidad, abandonando la primacía de la justicia y su distinción respecto de lo bueno.

En sus más recientes obras, Sandel explora de forma detallada las problemáticas que surgen de la (exacerbada) aplicación del modelo liberal en nuestras sociedades. En *What Money Can't Buy*, Sandel sugiere que el dogma economicista, según el cual la monetarización de un bien no altera la esencia del mismo, es falso, sugiriendo, en cambio, que "el mercado es un instrumento, pero de ninguna forma inocente. Lo que comienza como un mecanismo de mercado se convierte en una norma de mercado" (Sandel 2013, 61). Así sucede, por ejemplo, con el "mercado" que ha surgido de la necesidad de reservar espacios en el Congreso norteamericano, donde lobistas, demasiado ocupados como para hacer fila, pagan a mendigos y pobres para apartar su lugar, generando una práctica que termina por erosionar la lógica republicana así como el ethos igualitario del sistema democrático, devolviendo al final ciudadanos de primero y segundo rango, aquellos que importan más o menos que otros a causa de su estatus económico o posición de poder (21-24, 33-35). De igual forma, la idea de pagar a los niños por leer libros puede parecer efectiva a primera vista, pero, si ponemos atención a la estructura de incentivos que genera, observamos que estos programas debilitan la auténtica recompensa, a saber, la satisfacción, el gusto por la literatura, la presencia de lo sublime producida por las bellas artes (51-55), sustituyéndola por el deseo de una retribución económica. Sandel advierte, pues, del peligro de la estrategia—que bien podemos calificar de *neo*liberal—de diseñar, implementar y juzgar todo proceso social a partir de la lógica del mercado, pues corremos el riesgo de mercantilizar lo que por su propia esencia no es mercantilizable, o bien desechar ciertos bienes que se resisten a esta transformación.

En *The Tyranny of Merit*, la obra que nos ocupa aquí, Sandel arremete contra uno de los pilares del imaginario norteamericano, a saber, la noción de "mérito". El argumento de Sandel puede partirse en dos: primero, "se duda de que ni la más impecable meritocracia… pueda ser realmente una sociedad justa". En la segunda objeción, lo que preocupa es que, "aunque llegara a ser equitativa, una meritocracia nunca podría ser una sociedad buena, pues tiende a generar soberbia y ansiedad entre los ganadores, y humillación y resentimiento entre los perdedores, actitudes discordantes con el florecimiento humano y corrosivas para el bien común" (Sandel 2020, 157).

La sociedad meritocrática es el sustrato teórico del American Dream, la doctrina que establece que aquel que trabaje con dedicación, poniendo los medios para su crecimiento personal, será recompensado por la sociedad norteamericana con movilidad social ascendente. En sus orígenes, esta ética del trabajo y su recompensa formaron un mecanismo escatológico diseñado para resolver la crisis de ansiedad puritana generada por el esfuerzo de vivir el principio luterano de sola fidei al tiempo que buscaban evitar su consecuencia principal, a saber, el dilema de la predestinación (54-58). Apoyado en el monumental trabajo de Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Sandel afirma que los puritanos encontraron en el éxito profesional no solo una recompensa al trabajo duro, sino un signo de predestinación divina.

No obstante, el aparato meritocrático norteamericano no ha dejado de insuflar ese tufillo teopolítico sobre esta sociedad, hoy ampliamente secular, que si bien ha dejado de percibir el éxito como unción y predilección divinas, mantiene hasta nuestros días ese pathos de distancia que ensoberbece a unos y humilla a otros: a los primeros los hace sentir seguros y, más importante, merecedores de su dicha, convencidos de que no deben nada a nadie, que han llegado a donde están por su esfuerzo y nada más; a los segundos les confirma, día a día, que su condición es resultado de su incapacidad, el rotundo fracaso de convertirse en miembros productivos y exitosos de la sociedad.

Sandel estima que una sociedad así tiene nulas posibilidades de atender al bien común. Tal como R.H. Tawney sugiere, "[l]a felicidad individual no requiere únicamente que los hombres tengan la libertad de ascender a nuevas cotas de confort; también exige que sean capaces de llevar una vida de dignidad y cultura, tanto si ascienden como si no" (289). El bien común exige, necesariamente, ir más allá de la máquina meritocrática[1] Apoyados en la tradición personalista, esto supone trascender al individuo para encontrar a la persona, entendida como criatura ontológicamente incompleta, esto es, contingente y dependiente o, en palabras de Alasdair MacIntyre (1999, 8), reconocer que "las virtudes de agencia racional independiente necesitan estar acompañadas, para su adecuado ejercicio, por lo que llamaré virtudes de reconocida dependencia". En palabras de Martin Buber (1996, 59):

1 Vale explicar aquí el uso que doy a las nociones de "bien común" y "bienes comunes", que sigue de cerca el trabajo que sobre el término ha hecho Mathias Nebel. Entiendo la idea de "bien común" en sentido teleológico, como el horizonte hacia el que se mueve una sociedad bien ordenada, regida por los ideales de la justicia, la fraternidad y el respeto a la dignidad humana. A fin de dinamizar esta idea, entiendo por "bienes comunes" aquellos que se producen dinámicamente en comunitarias saludables, a saber, educación, cultura, trabajo, educación, estado de derecho (ver Beretta y Nebel 2020).

> *Cuando confronto a un ser humano como mi Tú y le dirijo la palabra básica Yo-Tú, entonces ya no es él cosa alguna entre otras cosas, no consiste este en cosas.*
>
> *Ya no es Él un Él o Ella, limitado por otros Él o Ella, un punto en la red mundial del espacio y tiempo, ni una condición que puede ser experimentada o descrita, un bulto informe de cualidades. Sin vecinos ni costuras, él es Tú y satura todo el firmamento. No es que ya no exista nada aparte de él; sino que todo lo demás vive a través de su luz.*

La trampa meritocrática trastoca la lógica personalista de Yo-Tú y la consecuente construcción del Nosotros comunitario, estableciendo algo más parecido al estado de naturaleza hobbesiano, dominado por la competencia por recursos escasos, la lucha por el reconocimiento y la gloria, y la profunda desconfianza respecto del otro, con la diferencia de que, mientras que en la hipótesis de Hobbes no existe autoridad alguna para determinar lo tuyo y lo mío, lo justo y lo injusto, en nuestras sociedades la meritocracia está regulada por el principio neoliberal, esto es, por el aparato disciplinar (Kotsko 2018, Brown 2019) que traduce cualquier fin, cualquier ideal, cualquier pensamiento, a la lógica utilitaria, desechando cualquier cosa que no se ajuste a su principio o, peor, como vimos en el análisis de *What Money Can’t Buy*, mutando la esencia misma del bien para ajustarlo a dicha lógica.

Que una importante cantidad de teóricos, políticos, activistas sociales y ciudadanos muestre preocupación por la hegemonía económica nos muestra la importancia de la crítica de Sandel. Que hoy la crítica de Marx al trabajo vuelva a ocupar un lugar central en la ciencia social, mostrando los peligros de un sistema económico que *descarta* a unos y *explota* a otros a fin de satisfacer el deseo ilimitado de un puñado de privilegiados; que la movilidad social esté estancada, convirtiendo el *American Dream* en nada más que un cuento de hadas, un mito para contener la justificada desesperación de millones que saben que, independientemente de su esfuerzo, los momios están fuertemente en su contra (Reeves 2014); que, lejos de generar bienes comunes, entendimiento y armonía internacional, las sociedades ricas actualmente optan por cerrar sus fronteras, generando sentimientos xenofóbicos y supremacistas en su interior, todo ello debe ser suficiente para tomar en serio la crítica de Sandel.

II

Si bien la crítica de Sandel es urgente, no deja de generar algunas preguntas. En particular, aquí me interesa preguntar por el problema de la excelencia, palabra que leemos rara vez en su obra, apareciendo de forma intermitente en la discusión sobre el ideal de la antigua *polis* griega, así como asociado hoy día con el ideal universitario. No pretendo sugerir que Sandel desprecia la excelencia como componente de la democracia, sino simplemente advertir sobre la relativa ausencia del término en su obra para, posteriormente, mostrar su importancia en nuestras sociedades, así como su radical diferencia respecto de la noción de “mérito”, que Sandel correctamente denuncia.

En la antigua democracia ateniense la excelencia estuvo asociada a la noción del ciudadano. El jefe del *oikos*, liberado de la necesidad material por un sistema de producción por esclavos y siervos, asume el papel de ciudadano que le permite participar de la actividad humana por excelencia, a saber, la política. La excelencia del ser humano es, para la democracia ateniense, la participación cívica. La célebre oración fúnebre de Pericles, recogida en el libro segundo de la *Historia de la Guerra del Peloponeso* de Tucídides, nos ofrece un extraordinario ejemplo de esto: "Somos los únicos que tenemos más por inútil que por tranquila a la persona que no participa en las tareas de la comunidad". El ideal griego de la excelencia encontrará ecos en el republicanismo de Cicerón, Séneca y, después, Maquiavelo y Rousseau, quienes consideran que es en el trabajo por la república, por la ciudad, donde los individuos libres alcanzan la gloria.

El segundo modelo de excelencia que aparece en la obra de Sandel surgió de la Cristiandad. Desde su concepción en la Edad Media y hasta nuestros días, la universidad ha sido imaginada como sitio de una excelencia distinta a la del ciudadano. La excelencia propia del universitario es aquella que nace de la búsqueda apasionada de la verdad. Dos características son fundamentales para entender este ideal. Primero, que se trata de una búsqueda y no de una captura: la verdad última, ("Verdad", con mayúscula) es esencialmente inabarcable en su totalidad por la razón humana, lo que no quita que el camino hacia ella, la aproximación al ideal sea suficientemente sublime como para dedicarle nuestra vida entera. Segundo, en tanto que el individuo es limitado—no sólo por ser razón humana sino en tanto que sujeto constreñido por el tiempo y el espacio—la búsqueda de la verdad sólo puede entenderse como una actividad colectiva, como diálogo sincero y fraterno—gobernado, como sugiere Habermas, por el compromiso de someterse a nada más que la autoridad de los mejores argumentos. La universidad ha planteado siempre, indefectiblemente, una marcada diferencia entre la búsqueda de sabiduría y la ignorancia, entre argumentación y mera opinión, entre ilustración y superstición.

Evidentemente, Sandel reconoce la vigencia e importancia de ambos ideales—el primero defendido desde su postura republicana (Sandel 1984), el segundo desde su propia experiencia como profesor en una de las universidades más prestigiosas del planeta. Y, sin embargo, en su discusión sobre el mérito se observa un curioso silencio sobre la idea de excelencia (Sandel 2020, 208-209, 222-224). Precisamente por ser Sandel quien escribe, uno esperaría encontrarse con una crítica al mérito *desde* la excelencia, como antídoto a la reducción utilitarista que el neoliberalismo quiere imponer sobre las sociedades democráticas. En las tres secciones siguientes recorro tres sendas que permiten reconocer el rol político que juega la excelencia en una democracia. La excelencia no sólo no es antitética a la democracia, sino que le es absolutamente necesaria. La excelencia, cuando se le entiende desde una perspectiva *no* meritocrático-económica, se constituye en motor de creatividad, de crítica y discusión, de cambio, elementos sin los cuales la democracia se estanca en un status quo que termina reificando la opinión mayoritaria, aplastando la diferencia y el derecho al disenso. Mi propuesta, en síntesis, es que el pensamiento de Alexis de Tocqueville integra, por un lado, la noción cristiana de excelencia como donación y entrega para el bien común y, por el otro, la crítica que hará Nietzsche a la modernidad, exigiendo un tipo de excelencia que restituya el lugar de lo sublime en las sociedades democráticas.

III

El cristianismo supuso una ruptura radical respecto de la Antigüedad y el excepcionalismo judío. En la prédica de Jesús y la reflexión de los apóstoles—principalmente en las epístolas paulinas—encontramos elementos radicalmente igualitarios y universalistas (Mt 21:43; Mc 16:15; 1 Tim 2:4; Gal 3:28), al tiempo que una crítica a la religión civil y la fundación de la sociedad secular (Lc 20:25).

Ninguna figura tiene mayor centralidad en la tradición occidental que la de Jesús, el nazareno que iniciara una auténtica revolución moral en el Mediterráneo que se extendería velozmente a todo el orbe, siendo especialmente influyente en la cultura occidental. El ministerio de Jesús se coloca en las antípodas del modelo del mesías político esperado por muchos judíos de su época. En particular, el grupo zelota, al cual pertenecía Judas Iscariote, tenía una marcada tendencia política, buscando liberar al pueblo de Israel del yugo romano por medio de las armas. Contrario a lo que escritores como Reza Aslan sugieren (2013), Jesús optó por un camino distinto al de las armas y la confrontación. Como asegura el historiador Martin Hengel (1973, 71-85), Jesús eligió consistentemente vendar las heridas antes que infligirlas; el reino que anuncia no puede, pues, entenderse desde una programática sociopolítica o militar, sino como don gratuitamente concedido por Dios. Lejos de ser un líder que amasa poder político para derrocar el dominio tiránico, Jesús se ofrece a sí mismo como ofrenda, como sacrificio último y definitivo, al tiempo que figura al novio que celebrará nupcias con la humanidad toda (Pitre 2018).

La excelencia cristiana está cifrada en términos paradójicos. La debilidad se torna fortaleza y la sabiduría necedad; Dios se burla de la certeza y fortaleza humanas, proponiendo un sistema valoral radicalmente distinto que Nietzsche considerará la tergiversación moral más importante de la historia humana, a partir de la cual la moral de esclavos reemplazó aquella de amos (La Genealogía de la Moral I.10). En efecto, en Jesús se opera una auténtica revolución, pero no, como Nietzsche sospecha, una alimentada por el resentimiento, sino por la constatación y reconocimiento de lo divino escondido en el sufriente. Frente al pathos de distancia antiguo, según el cual "[l]o noble se angustia de acercarse a lo innoble, pues teme ser contaminado para siempre y arrastrado", Max Scheler (1998, 63-64) asevera que en la inversión del movimiento amoroso hecha por el cristianismo,

> *el amor debe mostrarse justamente en el hecho de que lo noble se rebaje y descienda hasta lo innoble, el sano hasta el enfermo, el rico hasta el pobre, el hermoso hasta el feo, el bueno y santo hasta el malo y vulgar, el Mesías hasta los publicanos y pecadores—y ello sin la angustia y temor antiguos a perder y volverse uno mismo innoble, sino con la convicción piadosa de conseguir lo más alto en la realización de este acto de "humillación", en este rebajarse a sí propio, en este "perderse a sí mismo"—con la convicción de hacerse igual a Dios.*

La excelencia cristiana implica, pues, la inserción de la dimensión mesiánica en la vida diaria, como una cuña que abre un resquicio a través del cual un hilo de luz trascedente se cuela en la inmanencia. El mesianismo no clausura las realidades humanas; esto es, el cristianismo no supone una liberación aquí ahora del dolor, sufrimiento y la opresión sino, por el contrario, implica el debilitamiento de la fuerza y el control de las estructuras de pecado humanas, para abrir espacio a la libertad en Cristo. Esto es, precisamente, lo que Pablo aconseja:

> *Cada uno en el estado en que fue llamado, en él se quede. ¿Fuiste llamado siendo esclavo? No te dé cuidado; pero también, si puedes hacerte libre, procúralo más. Porque el que en el Señor fue llamado siendo esclavo, liberto es del Señor; asimismo el que fue llamado siendo libre, esclavo es de Cristo […].*
>
> *Pero esto digo, hermanos: que el tiempo es corto; resta, pues, que los que tienen esposa sean como si no la tuviesen; y los que lloran, como si no llorasen; y los que se alegran, como si no se alegrasen; y los que compran, como si no poseyesen; y los que disfrutan de este mundo, como si no lo disfrutasen; porque la apariencia de este mundo se pasa (1 Cor 7: 20-22; 29-31).*

En el mensaje paulino encontramos, pues, tanto la urgencia escatológica de quien atiende la voz que anuncia que "el tiempo está cerca" (Ap, 22:10), que mueve al cristiano a estar en vela (Mt, 24:42-51), como la peculiar forma en que el cristiano está en el mundo: como un peregrino que nunca está "en casa" (Mt, 8:20) pero que, no obstante, está obligado a transformar las realidades terrenales. Esta transformación es posible porque el cristiano no se aparta del mundo, sino que, más bien, lo transforma con una praxis energética que no busca resolver de una vez y para siempre los problemas del mundo, sino subvertir la "inteligencia" del mundo, sustituyéndola por la "locura divina" (cf. Jn, 3:16).

IV

En Friedrich Nietzsche se juega el drama del fin de la modernidad. Nietzsche es, sin lugar a duda, el crítico de la modernidad—que él entiende como un producto del cristianismo—más original y potente. Los virulentos ataques de Nietzsche al cristianismo más original y potente. Los virulentos ataques de Nietzsche al cristianismo excluyen explícitamente a Jesús. Él fue, en cierto sentido, el único cristiano que ha existido (*El Anticristo*, §39). Lo que Nietzsche ataca como “cristianismo” no es la doctrina de Jesús, sino la resentida apropiación de sus enseñanzas por parte de Pablo. Mientras que Jesús “sólo hablaba de lo que había en su interior más profundamente: ‘vida’ o ‘verdad’ o ‘luz’ son sus palabras para lo más íntimo”, Pablo resiente el asesinato del Señor, que rápidamente se convierte en una sed de venganza contra sus verdugos:

> *Sólo entonces se abrió el abismo: “¿quién lo ha matado?, ¿quién era su enemigo natural?”—esta pregunta irrumpió como un rayo... Es evidente que la pequeña comunidad no entendió precisamente lo principal, lo ejemplar en ese modo de morir, la libertad, la superioridad sobre todo sentimiento de ressentiment—¡signo de cuán poco de él llego a entender! (El Anticristo, §40).*

A partir de este momento, se abandonó el mundo interior del nazareno, favoreciendo en su lugar una lucha activa, un esfuerzo conscientemente deshonesto por tergiversar el orden moral, que Nietzsche traza genealógicamente:

> *Ahora puedo escuchar realmente lo que han estado diciendo todo el tiempo: “Nosotros, los hombres buenos, somos los justos”; lo que desean lo llaman no represalias, sino “el triunfo de la justicia”; lo que odian no es su enemigo, ¡no! odian la “injusticia”, odian la “impiedad”; lo que creen y esperan no es la esperanza de la venganza, la embriaguez de la dulce venganza (—“más dulce que la miel” la llamaba Homero), sino la victoria de Dios, del Dios justo, sobre los impíos; lo que les queda por amar en la tierra no son sus hermanos en el odio, sino sus “hermanos en el amor”, como ellos dicen, todos los buenos y justos de la tierra (La Genealogía de la Moral I.14).*

Esta es la rebelión de los esclavos en la moral, que nace del resentimiento, una pasión que surge cuando la sed de venganza—respuesta inmediata a la agresión—se enfría y se pospone por debilidad o miedo. Esta incapacidad, esta sumisión al poder envenena el alma de la persona y engendra un sentimiento amargo y enfermo, el resentimiento.

El cristianismo es a la vez débil y extremadamente fuerte. Su fuerza proviene del hecho de que toda religión surge de un sentimiento de poder. Por ello, Pablo es considerado un “genio del odio”, así como alguien cuya sed de poder era insaciable. Su debilidad proviene, sin embargo, del tipo de creencias que alimenta el cristianismo, que son totalmente contrarias a lo que enseñó Jesús. El ethos cristiano se vuelve pura negación: “se niega el ideal noble: la belleza, la sabiduría, el poder, el esplendor y la peligrosidad del “hombre” tipo: el hombre que se fija metas, el “hombre del futuro” (La Voluntad de Poder, §221).

Pero, ¿cuál es el programa de Nietzsche, qué visión de la excelencia defiende? En primer lugar, Nietzsche no es un deísta ni el fundador de una nueva religión. Pero, por otro lado, su crítica al cristianismo no es una crítica a la religión como tal, sino a una religión que niega la vida. Más cerca de la triple metamorfosis del camello, el león y el niño de Zaratustra, Nietzsche se lamenta amargamente: "¡Casi dos mil años y ni un solo dios nuevo!" El hombre ideal de Nietzsche es, pues, un creador de valores, un artista. No obstante, Nietzsche no puede establecer un programa concreto, sino apenas intuir un nuevo tipo de ser humano, abriendo un espacio en el que vuelve a ser posible una crianza de otro tipo. Nietzsche no intenta construir una doctrina consistente sobre el nuevo ser humano; al contrario, utiliza diferentes religiones y tradiciones para crear un contraste o, en sus propias palabras, para tensar de nuevo el arco. Esta parece ser la razón por la que Nietzsche siempre parece darnos algo que en otros lugares toma con la otra mano, la razón por la que temía ser comprendido (Más allá del bien y del mal, §290).

Si Nietzsche promueve el Übermensch como una especie más fuerte, como un "tipo superior que surge y se conserva en condiciones diferentes a las del hombre medio" (La Voluntad de Poder, §866), y si los signos de la fuerza y el poder son la independencia, la capacidad de autolegislación y la creatividad, entonces se deduce que cualquier receta para llegar a ser "quienes somos" resulta imposible. Además, la idea de llegar alguna vez a ser quienes somos está ausente en el pensamiento de Nietzsche, pues "¿cómo podría ocurrir que nos encontráramos a nosotros mismos?" (La Genealogía de la Moral, §1).

Prescribir lo que debe ser entendido por una especie superior subsumiría inmediatamente a toda la especie a la mentalidad de rebaño. Nietzsche sólo puede apuntar hacia una dirección que, sin embargo, está siempre por descubrirse: pide un renacimiento y una revalorización de la naturalidad, de la voluntad (de conocimiento, de poder) y de la belleza. Quiere una revitalización de las tensiones.

La crítica de Nietzsche encuentra su blanco principal en el burgués moderno, en el individuo que ha sufrido el proceso aplanador y nivelador de la revolución democrática, que postula la igualdad como el valor por excelencia. El espíritu aristocrático, la nostalgia por la excelencia, se muestra aquí con toda su fuerza: bajo el peso del ideal igualitario, la democracia tiende, ineluctablemente, a trabajar con un mínimo común denominador cada vez menos exigente, menos sublime, menos arriesgado. En la búsqueda de respeto por la diferencia y el derecho de todos, la democracia termina por debilitar a la sociedad, cortando el paso a todo tipo de auténtica grandeza, de quien desconfía por principio. El costo, pues, que se paga por prevenir la tiranía es, en nuestra actualidad, la pérdida de grandeza, de excelencia, de una aristocracia espiritual, una que nada tiene que ver con la caricatura norteamericana—que correctamente denuncia Sandel—que no deja de celebrar la mediocridad y el conformismo, atrapada por un igualitarismo exacerbado que asfixia todo intento de trascender.

V

Es en el espíritu atormentado de Alexis de Tocqueville donde asistimos al extraordinario encuentro de los ideales cristiano y nietzscheano. El aristócrata francés, que vive el cambio de página desde el Antiguo Régimen hacia la democracia, concentra en su persona las tensiones de su época. Al final de *De la démocratie en Amérique*, Tocqueville confiesa estar “lleno de temores y esperanzas” (II.IV.8:679). Una revolución estaba transformando las condiciones sociales en Europa y en el extranjero, hasta el punto de que era imposible saber qué permanecería y qué se borraría del Antiguo Régimen. Tocqueville admira la democracia, pero lamenta la pérdida de ese pathos de distancia que Nietzsche considera responsable de todo lo que es grande y elevado en el mundo. Por muy triste que fuera esta pérdida de grandeza, empero, Tocqueville reconoce que “la calidad puede ser menos elevada, pero es más justa, y en su justicia reside su grandeza y belleza” (II.IV.8:678).

La pasión por la igualdad lleva al ser humano a detestar la idea de seguir a otro ser humano. Esto, porque la igualdad no tiene que ver con la riqueza material, sino que se basa en la idea de que la persona que está a mi lado no es mejor que yo para dar respuesta a la pregunta por la vida buena (I.II.7:228). De la igualdad de condiciones se deriva el deseo de no ser gobernados por nadie y de ser independientes de los demás. Sin embargo, cuando este deseo se lleva al extremo, la pasión por la igualdad puede desbordar los límites de la vida en común, empujando hacia la anarquía.

Tocqueville se apresura a calificar este peligro como poco común en los regímenes democráticos. La razón por la que la anarquía rara vez es un problema para la democracia es que este régimen político tiende a debilitar a sus ciudadanos antes que empoderarlos. El derrocamiento de todo el poder político, condición previa para lograr la igualdad absoluta, exige una tremenda energía de los individuos, una energía raramente presente en los regímenes democráticos. Surge una poderosa dialéctica: nuestros esfuerzos por ser iguales acaban despojándonos de todo poder, reduciéndonos a un número, el enésimo elemento de un molde sin rostro ni un nombre:

> *A medida que las condiciones se igualan, cada individuo se vuelve más parecido a sus semejantes, más débil y más pequeño, y crece el hábito de dejar de pensar en los ciudadanos y considerar sólo al agregado. Los individuos se olvidan y sólo cuenta la especie (II.I.7:417).*

En definitiva, liberándonos del yugo de un amo, acabamos aplastados por el peso anónimo de la masa. Es precisamente su carácter anónimo, la imposibilidad de identificarla en un caso concreto, lo que hace que la masa sea ubicua y omnipotente.

Esta pequeñez e impotencia del individuo democrático frente a la masa es producida por la combinación de dos factores. El primero es el hecho de que, en la democracia, donde reina la igualdad, el peso político relativo de un solo individuo es casi insignificante.

Este fenómeno lo describe Tocqueville como la omnipotencia de la mayoría (I.II.7:233). El segundo factor tiene que ver con las consecuencias psicológicas de la debilidad del individuo. Privado de un soberano personal, el poder democrático habita en todos. Sin embargo, esta identificación de la soberanía y el pueblo exige un mecanismo capaz de evitar la atomización del poder, lo que Rousseau llama la "voluntad general" en contraste con la "voluntad de todos". En otras palabras, para que el poder siga siendo eficaz, hay que encontrar una solución que impida que el poder se pulverice, volviéndose estéril.

El potencial tiránico de la mayoría se hace sentir especialmente en la opinión pública, que lo impregna todo con una voz autoritaria. Es a través de la autoridad de la opinión pública como se establecen las costumbres y se impregnan todos los aspectos de la vida. El individuo, debilitado por el número de sus iguales, se ve obligado, no por la fuerza física sino por medio de una fuerza más suave y sutil, a aceptar la voluntad de la mayoría (II.I.2:399).

Hasta aquí, Tocqueville está de acuerdo con Nietzsche: la democracia tiende a rebajar la mínima exigencia al ciudadano, acabando con una sociedad mediocre, esclavizada por la opinión de la masa. La respuesta que da Tocqueville a este problema no es, como Nietzsche, una huida a la ciudad interior sino el establecimiento de más tensiones que opongan contrapesos a las fuerzas individualizantes y masificadoras. Es, pues, a través de tres instituciones, que el francés busca una respuesta, a saber, la familia, la participación en asociaciones y la religión. Aquí sólo puedo extenderme en la tercera, que es la que engancha su preocupación por la excelencia con el cristianismo. Baste decir que la participación en asociaciones muestra la armonía entre deseo privado (toda institución persigue unos objetivos en lugar de otros) y espíritu público (pues las instituciones se dan cita en el espacio público, donde a través del diálogo generan bienes comunes, lo que Tocqueville llama *l'intérêt bien entendu*. La familia democrática sigue una lógica hegeliana, suplantando la autoridad y la utilidad política del matrimonio por el amor, estrechando los lazos naturales y colocando a la mujer en su centro, entendiéndola como maestra de hábitos del corazón.

Tres ideas principales definen la posición de Tocqueville sobre la religión. En primer lugar, la religión es una institución fundamental de la democracia porque "no se puede establecer el reino de la libertad sin el de las costumbres, y las costumbres no pueden fundarse firmemente sin las creencias" (Introducción, 10). La religión es "guardián de las costumbres" (I.I.2:40), gobierna los corazones de los seres humanos, no sus cuerpos; es decir, el poder de la religión es general, suave, indirecto e independiente del poder político, y por esa misma razón no puede ponerse nunca del lado de ninguna facción específica. Convencido de los numerosos peligros que entraña el matrimonio entre la religión institucionalizada y un régimen político, como ocurría en la Francia del Ancien Régime, Tocqueville aboga por una clara separación entre las esferas de la Iglesia y del Estado.

En segundo lugar, la religión contrarresta la inquietud y ansias individuales, imponiendo "un control saludable sobre el intelecto" (II.I.5: 409). Toda religión, continúa Tocqueville, "coloca el objeto del deseo del hombre fuera y más allá de los bienes mundanos y eleva naturalmente el alma a regiones muy por encima del reino de los sentidos" (II.I.5:410), imponiendo al mismo tiempo obligaciones hacia la humanidad. La religión, para Tocqueville, es innata al ser humano (I.II.9:273). De ello se desprende, lógicamente, que la capacidad y la necesidad humanas de mirar más allá del mundo de los sentidos—materialidad, comodidad, placer sexual—es, en el análisis de Tocqueville, tan natural como la necesidad humana de alimentarse. Sin los controles que la religión ejerce—combinados, por supuesto, con una crisis de la política local, la vida asociativa y la familia—una sociedad libre puede descarrilar hacia el individualismo o el despotismo: "Por mi parte, dudo que el hombre pueda sostener al mismo tiempo una completa independencia religiosa y una entera libertad política. Me lleva a pensar que si no tiene fe debe obedecer, y si es libre debe creer" (II.I.5:409).

En tercer lugar, aunque cualquier religión, considerada desde el punto de vista institucional, es beneficiosa para la democracia, algunas religiones son más compatibles con ella que otras. Para Tocqueville, sorprendentemente, el catolicismo es el mejor compañero de la democracia. Tocqueville temía que, si el catolicismo se volvía suficientemente poderoso, volvería a su viejo afán de dominación, es decir, a la Cristiandad. Sin embargo, veía en el protestantismo el germen del deísmo y, a partir de ahí, del descreimiento. En cualquier caso, lo que Tocqueville admiraba en el catolicismo y extrañaba en el protestantismo es una noción sólida de mediación por la autoridad. Mientras que Lutero rechazaba todo tipo de mediación entre el creyente y Dios, el catolicismo conserva un complejo sistema de mediaciones que, como vimos con las asociaciones, está presente en toda democracia sana.

Al tiempo que Tocqueville lamenta la desaparición de la excelencia, de la grandeza que sólo puede alcanzar un sujeto educado en la persecución de los grandes ideales antes que la comodidad burguesa, el francés encuentra en la religión un mecanismo fundamental para no sólo mantener la salud democrática, sino para arrancar a los seres humanos de la pura inmanencia, esto es, del inmediatismo del deseo y la necesidad, para dirigir su mirada a horizontes más sublimes. Si bien en Tocqueville no encontramos un retorno a la excelencia, sino más bien una discusión sobre su salida en sociedades democráticas, sí logramos percibir una visión de la religión y, específicamente, del cristianismo, desligada del resentimiento y, por el contrario, constitutiva de la vida pública.

Quizá el ideal nietzscheano sea imposible para la mayoría de los individuos de una sociedad, demasiado preocupados por sobrevivir en el día a día como para interesarse por la excelencia. No obstante, podemos distinguir dos espacios de excelencia claramente delimitados. Por un lado, en Tocqueville el burdo egoísmo es convertido en espíritu comunitario que, no obstante, no abandona nunca al individuo, oponiéndose por ende a cualquier colectivismo. La constatación de la *posibilidad* de salvarse de la tentación inmediatista es ya motivo de celebración. Pero, segundo, la vida misma de Tocqueville nos muestra que la excelencia aristocrática—entendida en términos espirituales antes que sociopolíticos, por supuesto—es no sólo compatible con la democracia, sino que en ella puede encarnar, una y otra vez, la figura de Sócrates, el gran crítico de la democracia, el tábano por excelencia (Platón, *Apología* 30e).

VI

En la sesión introductoria de su curso *Justice*, Michael Sandel explica el riesgo existencial que supone el estudio de la filosofía:

> *El autoconocimiento es como la pérdida de la inocencia: no importa qué tal molesto lo encuentres, nunca puede ser des-aprendido. Lo que hace esta empresa difícil al tiempo que emocionante, es que la filosofía moral y política es una historia el final del cual desconocemos, pero lo que sí conocemos es que es una historia acerca de nosotros mismos…*
>
> *Es necesario aceptar la posibilidad de que la filosofía política nos convierta en peores ciudadanos antes que mejores, o hacernos peores ciudadanos antes de permitirnos mejorar. Esto se debe a que la filosofía es una actividad que nos distancia e incluso nos debilita… La filosofía nos distancia de las convenciones, de los presupuestos y de las creencias grabadas en piedra (https://bit.ly/2VQ6oRm).*

La filosofía es un camino solitario que, paradójicamente, presupone el diálogo. En la comunión de espíritus, que Aristóteles llama "amistad", las ideas germinan y penetran las mentes y corazones, sin que de aquí pueda trazarse ningún paralelismo entre la íntima experiencia de cada uno con la verdad. La filosofía aliena al sujeto con su comunidad, expulsándolo de la caverna y forzándole a emprender el lastimoso camino en pos del conocimiento auténtico, esa profilaxis de la vista que retira las cataratas y abre la puerta al conocimiento de la verdad, aun si eso que llamamos verdad, como ideal, sea esencial e ineluctablemente inalcanzable.

Sandel, no hay duda, es absolutamente consciente de la importancia de la excelencia. Su vida atestigua, precisamente, esta vocación por la verdad. Y, sin embargo, al término de la lectura de su última obra, uno se queda con un sabor de boca mixto: por un lado, la obra es un sólido ataque contra el ethos neoliberal que pretende ya no sólo convertir toda idea, virtud o ideal en su homónimo monetarizado, sino que hoy pugna por un mundo radicalmente suma-cero, donde los ganadores son asociados con la virtud y el mérito y los perdedores con la vagancia, estulticia y desgano; por otro lado, uno no puede sino extrañar a los grandes personajes de la historia, la excelencia de aquellos que, rompiendo paradigmas y desafanándose de la masa, brindaron su genio a fin de parir una estrella.

Nuestro tiempo se ha vuelto evidentemente chato y soso. En lugar de ideas tenemos el culto a la opinión y, en fechas recientes, la sugerencia de la absoluta imposibilidad de entender la experiencia del otro, con lo cual cada uno se convierte en una mónada inescrutable y, por ende, incomunicable; en lugar de la virtud, la vulgarización de la libertad como mantra multiusos; en palabras de Allan Bloom (2012, 230): el lugar de Dios “ha sido arrebatado por lo sagrado. El amor fue muerto por los psicólogos. Su lugar ha sido tomado por el sexo y las relaciones significativas… No debería sorprendernos que una nueva ciencia, la tanatología, o la muerte con dignidad, está en camino a dar muerte a la muerte misma”.

La excelencia, no hay que dudarlo, siempre corre el riesgo de arrasar con el débil, con el mediano y el menos-que-sobresaliente. La tentación de la arrogancia, no hay que olvidar, es la primera tentación reconocida por la tradición judeocristiana. Y, sin embargo, si tuviéramos que elegir entre los riesgos derivados de la excelencia y aquellos que proceden de la masificación y estupidización de la sociedad, ¿no habría que apostar siempre, firmemente, por los primeros? Más aun, si consideramos la corrección tocquevilleana a la crítica de Nietzsche a la moral de esclavos de la burguesía moderna, ¿no es evidente que es no sólo posible, sino absolutamente necesario, para la democracia, contar con espacios privilegiados para la excelencia, donde el cultivo de la razón en busca de la verdad, así como la formación de una sensibilidad a lo sublime, estén completamente libres del estercolero utilitarista?

Quisiera cerrar con la figura de Sócrates, el fundador de la filosofía moral y política occidental, que muriera condenado por la democracia ateniense, acusado de pervertir a la juventud y adorar a dioses distintos a los de la ciudad. Dos momentos del proceso contra Sócrates me son especialmente caros. Primero, en la *Apología*, Sócrates explica la función social del filósofo como aquella del tábano con el animal de granja: el filósofo es el molesto recordatorio, el zumbido insistente que impide que una ciudad se sienta demasiado a gusto consigo misma y con sus valores. Aquel que es excelente no debe—o, al menos, no necesariamente—convertirse en gobernante o líder, sino en una voz permanentemente crítica, recordatorio, testigo y verdugo que constantemente retrotraiga a la ciudad a las verdades fundamentales que le dan cohesión. Segundo, en el *Critón*, cuando Sócrates está en la cárcel, su amigo Critón le comunica que ha planeado su fuga para evitar que este tome la cicuta. La respuesta de Sócrates es conmovedora: no es lícito al ciudadano, que se ha beneficiado de las bondades de la ciudad, rebelarse contra las leyes de su ciudad cuando estas no le benefician. Sócrates es al mismo tiempo un acérrimo crítico de la ciudad y un ciudadano ejemplar.

Algo similar encontramos en el cristianismo, religión que arranca por completo al creyente de su ciudad, convirtiéndolo en extranjero, y al mismo tiempo exige obediencia a la autoridad (Rom 13:1-7), respeto y una actitud de permanente solidaridad y ayuda para con todos (Rom 13:8-14). Y si bien la crítica de Nietzsche contra la democracia no permite reconciliación alguna, también es cierto que, en su trato personal, en el día a día, Nietzsche fue un hombre de modales, de sensibilidad artística y nunca de escándalo y agitación política. Quizá sea en el lamento de Tocqueville, finalmente, que podamos encontrar la fórmula para una excelencia auténticamente democrática, que asuma la igual dignidad de todos y cada uno de los seres humanos al tiempo que reconoce un pathos que, lejos de ensoberbecer, compromete y, lejos de humillar, enaltece. En esta fórmula, no cabe duda, nos va la supervivencia misma de nuestras débiles sociedades democráticas.

*Juan Pablo Aranda**

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UNIVERSIDAD Y BIEN COMÚN:

BREVE CRÍTICA A LA TIRANÍA DEL MÉRITO DE SANDEL

UNIVERSITY AND COMMON GOOD: A BRIEF CRITIQUE OF SANDEL'S TYRANNY OF MERIT

Received: December 2021 I Accepted: January 2022

Pedro Flores Crespo*

RESUMEN

La manera en que cada sociedad funciona, determina qué recompensas otorga a los individuos y cómo lo hace. En este sentido, las universidades desempeñan un papel clave al seleccionar a las personas más aptas en términos académicos para formar profesionales para luego ubicarlos en los distintos campos de actuación con el propósito que hagan sus respectivas contribuciones. Uno esperaría que esas "élites" fueran conscientes y responsables, pero ¿qué ocurre cuando asumen que su éxito es totalmente atribuible a ellos? El libro de Michael Sandel hace una articulada crítica a la meritocracia en Estados Unidos, al grado de llamarla "tiranía". Pese al lúcido repaso crítico de Sandel, aún hay varios puntos dignos de discutirse. Este artículo entonces presenta una crítica al texto del profesor de Harvard, concentrándose en los campos del bien común, la educación y la realidad de México. Todo ello para proseguir una discusión académica razonada.

ABSTRACT

Social and individual rewards are determined, to some extent, by the way in which a particular society works. Under this context, universities play a key role when they select young people through merit-based mechanisms. A talented student is expected to become a conscientious and responsible professional. However, what happens when someone assumes that their success is only a product of their own talent? Michael J. Sandel addresses this question. The "tyranny of merit" may emerge. Despite his articulate critique, Sandel fails to discuss more deeply what would happen when a society rewards its individuals through antimeritocratic rules. This is discussed here by taking Mexico's educational system as an example, with the aim of continuing a reasoned discussion.

Palabras clave: Mérito, universidad, bien común, Michael Sandel, agencia humana.

Keywords: Merit, university, common good, Michael Sandel, human agency.

JUL - DEC 2021

*Administrador por la UNAM ('95), maestro y doctor en Ciencias Políticas y Desarrollo por la Universidad de York en el Reino Unido ('98, '02). Actualmente, es profesor-investigador de la Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales de la Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro, donde fue el coordinador de la Maestría en Ciencias Sociales (PNPC) y posee el perfil Prodep.
Profesor tiempo completo de la Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro (FCPS).
Email: pedro.florescrespo@uaq.mx

INTRODUCCIÓN

¿Qué función tiene la universidad dentro sus respectivas sociedades? ¿Ha promovido las capacidades intelectuales para que las y los jóvenes comprendan que su desempeño laboral - y posible "éxito" profesional - es producto de algo más amplio que su mero esfuerzo individual?

El libro más reciente de Michael Sandel, profesor de la Universidad de Harvard, contribuye a responder éstas y otras preguntas. En *La tiranía del mérito: ¿Qué ha sido del bien común*, Sandel (2020) construye un sugestivo argumento: lo que uno logra como persona es en realidad producto de algo más que el esfuerzo individual. Ese "algo más" hace referencia, precisamente, al bien común. "[E]stamos en deuda", dice filósofo, "en diversos sentidos con la comunidad que posibilita nuestro éxito y, por consiguiente, obligados a contribuir a su bien común" (2020:170).

Pero uno de los más claros vacíos del libro de Sandel es que no explica claramente qué entiende por "bien común". Sólo enfatiza que sobreexagerar el poder de nuestras capacidades individuales tiene implicaciones para la "solidaridad y las obligaciones mutuas" (2020: 98). Para Mathias Nebel, la noción del bien común se asienta en la "lógica de la acción y la cooperación comunes" (2018:34). Esto, subraya Nebel, alude a un proceso por el cual la "comunidad *se reúne en torno a un objetivo y surge de la consecución de ese objetivo*" 2020: 34-5 itálicas del autor).

Contraponer entonces la meritocracia al bien común propicia un debate que no sólo es académico, sino también práctico: las universidades podrían fijarse en los resortes colectivos que propician acciones y por tanto, cambio institucional. Iniciemos entonces este artículo discutiendo, en primera instancia, los efectos negativos de la meritocracia para luego, en la segunda parte, comprender si eliminar por completo la noción de mérito resuelve el problema de la desigualdad.

Asumir una u otro posición no ilumina del todo ni el campo del pensamiento ni el de la acción pública, por eso quizás una noción "abierta de mérito" debe discutirse, construirse y, finalmente, aplicarse en función de abatir la desigualdad que enfrentan las personas y no para "sesgar" o reproducir los sistemas de recompensa para aquellos que se asumen como más "talentosos o inteligentes"[1] en una determinada sociedad.

CONSECUENCIAS DE SOBRESTIMAR EL MÉRITO

ESTATUS SOCIAL HERIDO Y POPULISMO

¿Qué hay de malo con el mérito? ¿Y qué podría tener de bueno? ¿Cómo se recrean estas ventajas y desventajas a partir de los códigos académicos y universitarios? Sandel acierta

[1]Tomo esta idea de Sen y coincido con él de que los términos de talento o inteligencia son, por decir lo menos, confusos y poco claros ("*nebulous*") (2000:12)

cuando afirma que al sobredimensionar el mérito, se crean serias distorsiones prácticas para las propias personas, para la sociedad en su conjunto, para las universidades, para la política y la democracia.

Para las personas porque se puede llegar a asumir que el “éxito” es obra meramente nuestra, ocasionando una contraparte oscura: el fracaso es entonces también una obra individual, no multicausal o estructural. Pensar así nos hace estúpidos e insensibles: dejamos de cuestionar los patrones de la desigualdad. La sociedad y la democracia también pierden con esta manera de pensar, observa atinadamente Sandel. Al despreciar al no calificado, se les rebaja de categoría, se afecta su estatus social y esto puede ser aprovechado por líderes políticos construyendo así una “reacción populista” (2020:30).

La “idea del estatus social herido”, dice Sandel, pone de relieve los rasgos más inquietantes del sentimiento populista que ha sido expresado por políticos como Donald Trump y “otros populistas nacionalistas” (2020: 29). El presidente de México, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, por ejemplo, ante una pregunta sobre la conformación de un grupo opositor a su gobierno declaró, en su conferencia matutina del 29 de noviembre, que esos grupos de élite minoritarios “no respetan al pueblo”, “piensan que el pueblo es tonto”. Esos grupos, prosiguió, “son demasiado exquisitos, fifís, conservadores” y “cuando se quiere transformar no hay más que apoyarse en el pueblo, no en las élites” (2021a y 2021b).

¿Será que las democracias no requieren élites? Abajo retomo este punto, mientras lo que deseo resaltar aquí es que el fenómeno populista no surge espontáneamente como algo “malévolo”, sino que tienen su origen en la falta de responsabilidad de la “élite dirigente” que se encargó de crear las condiciones para erosionar, en Estados Unidos, la dignidad del trabajo y ha infundido en las personas “una sensación de afrenta y de impotencia” (Sandel, 2020: 29). Por eso, se entiende que la gente elija líderes que ataquen a las élites (soberbias) y hablen a favor del “pueblo”, independientemente de su vocación y compromiso democráticos. Hay entonces una relación dialectica: desprecio-reacción populista-polarización. Pasemos ahora a analizar qué papel desempeñan las instituciones de educación superior en este sentido.

SOBREESTIMACIÓN DEL TÍTULO Y NECESIDADES REALES DE APRENDIZAJE

Para Sandel, la “tiranía del mérito” ocurre por una desproporcionada creencia en el título universitario y sostiene: “La utilización de las credenciales académicas como arma muestra hasta qué punto el mérito puede convertirse en una especie de tiranía” (2020:111).

Ir a la universidad pensando en que la educación es la única respuesta a la desigualdad o que es la ruta primordial de “ascenso social” debe repensarse, sugiere Sandel y expresa su argumento que, a mi juicio, es el centro de su crítica:

> *Construir una ideología política alrededor de la idea de que un título universitario es una condición necesaria para tener un trabajo digno y estima social es algo que termina ejerciendo un efecto corrosivo en la vida democrática. Devalúa las contribuciones de quienes carecen de un diploma superior, alimenta el prejuicio contra los miembros con menos estudios de una sociedad, excluye en la práctica del sistema de gobierno representativo a la mayoría de la población trabajadora y suscita una fuerte reacción política adversa (2020:137 mis itálicas)*

Para evitar esta ideología, Sandel hace una recomendación digna de tomar en cuenta en países con una alta proporción de jóvenes yendo a la universidad o en naciones como México que desean ampliar la participación de los jóvenes en la universidad: deberíamos hallar el modo, dice el filósofo, "de conseguir que el éxito en la vida no dependa tanto de poseer un grado universitario…". Y prosigue:

> *Pese al atractivo "aspiracional" que encierra, esa insistencia meritocrática en los grados universitarios […] como si fueran la puerta de entrada al éxito, nos distrae de la necesidad de tomarnos en serio las necesidades educativas de la mayoría de las personas (2020: 246 itálicas del autor).*

Esta observación pone en tela de juicio la función limitada o simplemente instrumental que ha tenido la educación universitaria en tiempos recientes y que otros autores como Martha Nussbaum (2010) ha cuestionado con lucidez en su libro Not for profit: why democracies need humanities. Nussbaum y Sandel coinciden[2]cuando este último observa que en las principales universidades líderes de Estados Unidos

> *se les da mejor inculcar destrezas y orientaciones tecnocráticas que fomentar la capacidad de razonar y deliberar a propósito de cuestiones morales y cívicas fundamentales. Este énfasis tecnocrático bien podría haber contribuido al fracaso de las élites gobernantes de estas dos últimas generaciones y al empobrecimiento moral en términos del discurso público (2020:247)*

Gracias a este argumento, se puede repensar mejor la función de la universidad dentro de nuestras respectivas sociedades. ¿Cómo enfrentar el populismo y la demagogia cuando las y los universitarios no sabemos "hacernos perdonar nuestra superioridad", diría Pablo Latapí Sarre? Este filósofo humanista y observador de los sistemas educativos, escribió que:

> *Lo que una pedagogía sana debe procurar es incitarnos a desarrollar nuestros talentos, preocupándonos por que sirvan a los demás. Querer ser perfecto desemboca en el narcisismo y el egoísmo. Si somos mejores que otros —y todos lo somos en algún aspecto— debemos hacernos perdonar nuestra superioridad, lo que lograremos si compartimos con los demás nuestra propia vulnerabilidad y ponemos nuestras capacidades a su servicio (2007: 116)*

[2]Amablemente, un dictaminador o dictaminadora señala que ambos filósofos tienen posturas distintas. Esto, no obstante, no invalida mi observación que coinciden.

Para Latapí entonces la exigencia académica no está reñida ni con una perspectiva de bien común y ni con la potencialidad individual, pero habrá que ser conscientes de nuestras limitaciones. Somos seres en el límite, piensa Latapí Sarre, "a veces triunfadores y muchas veces perdedores" (2001: s/n). No puede haber entonces una "tiranía" cuando se propone un balance entre esfuerzo individual, éxito y consciencia. Por esto, vale la pena citar a Latapí en su artículo intitulado *Los Triunfadores*:

> *Promover la autoestima en los niños y jóvenes es, sin duda, esencial; el desarrollo de toda persona se apoya en su tendencia a superarse, corregir sus defectos y vencer los obstáculos externos; somos seres perfectibles, sujetos y objetos a la vez de nuestro esfuerzo; sin esto, la educación carecería de sentido. Pero absolutizar esta tendencia como si ella fuera la dinámica central del hombre, proponer el éxito individual como meta suprema y hacerlo consistir en el logro de bienes materiales, es una simplificación equivocada y una distorsión existencial. El límite nos es consustancial, como lo es la imperfección y la contradicción. La "persona profunda" (Victor Frankl) es la que asume sus límites y se hace conciente de sus imperfecciones y sus pasiones irracionales; la que descubre y acepta con humildad sus autoengaños y vanidosas justificaciones; la que aprende a desconfiar de la razón y relativiza sus explicaciones.*
>
> *La existencia humana no es plenamente inteligible ni analizable ni sintetizable. Si se pierde de vista que somos seres vulnerables y paradójicos, nos salimos de la realidad. La madurez humana se construye de otra manera, a través de la materia prima de nuestros dolores, en la creciente conciencia de nuestra indigencia radical, necesitados de los demás y compartiendo con ellos nuestras experiencias. Esto significa que somos muchas veces perdedores al lado de otros perdedores y que crecemos junto con ellos en la medida en que compartimos una misma vulnerabilidad.*
>
> *Este lado oscuro de nuestra existencia sirve de contrapeso a la tendencia al logro y le devuelve su sentido humano. El triunfo y el éxito y las dinámicas que tienden a ellos adquieren en esta perspectiva un sentido diferente: no se saborean egoístamente como desplazamiento del competidor vencido, no se basan en la exclusión y el menosprecio, sino se reciben como una nueva responsabilidad de solidaridad. El liderazgo que así brota –los liderazgos son necesarios en toda sociedad por democrática que sea, lo que importa son los valores que los constituyen- es enteramente diferente del de la psicología simplista y manipuladora del self-made man triunfador (Latapí Sarre, 2001: s/p mis itálicas).*

Con Latapí, se puede sostener entonces que las élites (líderes) son necesarias, pero si sus "valores" son el menosprecio de los menos escolarizados, se produce "la reacción populista" de la que habla Sandel. Pero aquí considero que hay otro problema que omite Sandel en su libro y que Amartya Sen (2000) ha identificado en su texto Mérito y Justicia. Los sistemas de recompensa de acciones meritorias personifican al mérito perdiendo de vista si la acciónο acciones de las personas merecen ser categorizadas como meritorias. Esta diferencia es central para repensar la función del mérito en las sociedades contemporáneas, ¿puede haber gente talentosa que propicia acciones meritorias? Los ganadores de prestigiosos premios como el Nobel enlazan tales características. En cambio, una persona que se cree "inteligente" pero que denosta al otro pierde, en ese momento, mérito. Esto, claro, si la sociedad en donde vive repudia el desprecio humano. ¿Enseñan las universidades de nuestro país a valorar – y recompensar - actos valiosos y humanos – y a poner en cuestión - los atroces e inhumanos?

La formación de élites responsables y sensibles a la problemática social es entonces una función pendiente de la universidad. A ello habrá que agregar un punto sociológico, de formación cívica y también moral:[3] ¿cómo funcionan las respectivas sociedades para reconocer el talento y el esfuerzo individual?[4] Mientras hallamos respuestas, es claro que cultivar la ideología simplista del "self-made man", como la llama Latapí, desemboca en lo que Sandel llama la tiranía del mérito.

Describir los efectos – reales - de sobreestimar la función del mérito en la sociedd estadounidense, podría llevar a pensar que es totalmente inútil y por tanto, habría que desaparecerlo para no impulsar a esas élites engreídas que miran sobre el hombro a los menos capacitados académicamente. Esto cortaría el poder de algunos líderes populistas, algo que suena muy tentador para la consolidación democrática, pero reflexionemos más serenamente.

CONSECUENCIAS DE SUBESTIMAR EL MÉRITO

En la Introducción de su libro, Sandel repasa el caso de William Singer que fundó en Estados Unidos un negocio para quebrar por afuera el "supercompetitivo sistema de acceso de nuevo alumnado a las universidades" más prestigiosas de Estados Unidos (2020:15). Esto consistía en que padres muy ricos le pagaban a Singer para que sus hijos fueran admitidos en Yale, Stanford o Georgetown mediante estrategias "irregulares" como sobornar entrenadores de deportes o corromper a los supervisores que realizaban las pruebas de ingreso a la universidad.

Esto ocurría, según Sandel, porque en la sociedad americana, "ingresar en una universidad de élite es un premio muy codiciado" (2020:21). Un premio que no todas las familias ricas estadounidenses podían obtener, ¿por qué? Porque el sistema de selección basado en el mérito académico del postulante parecía funcionar. Esta es la parte de la historia que Sandel omite mencionar en su libro. No por mucho dinero que tuvieran esas familias poco escrupulosas, sus hijos e hijas eran aptas – académicamente - para entrar a las universiades de "prestigio". Es decir, la riqueza material de esos hogares no parecía estar ligada con su capacidad intelectual. Este es un principio central para adoptar esquemas basados en el mérito.[5]

Entonces, ¿es tan malo el mérito que hay que desecharlo? Sandel abre el Capítulo 2 de su libro afirmando que "[n]o hay nada de malo en contratar a las personas sobre la base

3 Agradezco a un dictaminador/a anónimo/a que me hizo ver que lo moral no excluye lo social ni lo cívico.
4 Esto quizás apunte hacia la "naturaleza contigente del mérito", como observa Sen (2000:14).
5 También es cierto que Sandel muestra, con base en datos de otro profesor de Harvard, Raj Chetty, que de 1,800 universidades estudiadas, sólo 2 por ciento de sus estudiantes se movieron del quintil más bajo del nivel de ingreso hasta el más alto. Es decir, no por ir a la universidad se alcanza mejor estrato social.

de su mérito; de hecho, es en general el modo correcto de proceder” (2020:47). Y prosigue: al momento de “llenar vacantes laborales el mérito es importante” tanto por razones de eficiencia (la incompetencia cuesta caro) como por equidad (¿quién discriminaría al candidato más cualificado por un prejuicio?).

Aquí está uno de los puntos más difíciles de discutir en la actualidad: ¿cuáles serían las alternativas viables ante los efectos perversos de la meritocracia y sus ventajas teóricas? Si en países como México, que no se han instaurado esquemas confiables[6] ni generales basados en el mérito, sino en el el favoritismo, “palancas” y clientelismo para asignar puestos públicos, ¿qué genera más resentimiento en nuestro país? ¿La soberbía de la élites engreídas o la gandallez del arribista?[7]

Posiblemente, en México tenemos un doble problema: ni hemos podido crear sistemas de selección y promoción generalizados y confiables para contratar servidores públicos, maestros, rectores, directivos y profesores universitarios basados en el mérito, pero lo rechazamos como si se hubieran instaurado al nivel que se hizo en otros países como Estados Unidos. Me atrevo a pensar que en nuestro país hemos conocido sistemas de acceso a las universidades, selección y promoción docente pero en otro campos de responsabilidad pública conocemos poco sobre la meritocracia para proclamar su desaparición o total inutilidad. Si bien habrá que aprender de la experiencia externa y no repetir errores, también hay que reconocer la persistencia de esquemas basados en criterios no meritorios y anti individuales como, por ejemplo, la “lealtad” al proyecto presidencial, abriendo con esto la puerta a una creciente ineficiencia e inequidad.[8]

¿La idea del anti mérito, instalada y muy popular en países como México, puede crear bien común o solo contribuye a socavarlo? Expresar en qué consistiría una sociedad que funcione para todos y cómo podemos abatir la desigualdad y alcanzar la paz, es un primer paso para volver a discutir la función del mérito.

Pero mientras nos embarcamos en esta tarea, debemos reconocer que, como buen filósofo, Sandel se hace preguntas interesantes. ¿Por qué si el mérito propicia buenas

[6]Este caso fue discutido ampliamente a partir de la reforma educativa de 2013 y la contrarreforma de 2018. Los debates pueden encontrarse en el portal de Educación Futura (www.educacionfutura.org), el blog de la revista *Nexos* llamado Distancia por Tiempos, en los debates parlamentarios, y discusiones académicas dadas por Giovanna Valenti, Manuel Gil Antón, Alberto Arnaut, David Calderón, Carlos Ornelas, Sylvia Schmelkes, Alma Maldonado, Emilio Blanco, Dinorah Miller, Roberto Rodríguez, Arcelia Martínez, entre muchos otros investigadores e investigadoras. De hecho, en el Congreso Nacional del Consejo Mexicano de Investigación Educativa de 2019, hubo una mesa sobre el mérito. En el Anexo 1 puede verse de qué se trató y alguna literatura que se consideró.

[7]Coincido con un dictaminador que el resentimiento es un fenómeno multicausal. Expongo así esta pregunta para ilustrar que una u otra cosa pueden ser fuentes diversas de ese sentimiento de rechazo.

[8]En este sentido, Steven Pinker, psicólogo cognitivo de Harvard, citó a Adrian Woolridge en un tuit: ¿No te gusta la meritocracia? Prueba otras alternativas como nepotismo, palancas, cuatismo, herencia y discriminación racial o étnica”(Dislike meritocracy? Consider the time-honored alternatives: nepotism, patronage, cronyism, inheritance, racial & ethnic discrimination) (@sapinker, 01/12/21).

prácticas deriva en malas? ¿Cuándo se volvió "tóxico y cómo lo hizo"? (2020:47). El profesor de Harvard ofrece una respuesta: al pensar que somos los controladores únicos de nuestro destino empezamos a asumir posiciones irreflexivas que obvian las conexiones, relaciones, lazos y nexos que forman el bien común. Se instaura entonces el tiempo de los "triunfadores", que describiría Pablo Latapí Sarre hace 20 años. La autosuficiencia nos hace inconscientes y para esto, no debería servir la educación, al contrario. "La existencia humana no es plenamente inteligible", diría Latapí (2001:s/n), hay contigencia y suerte en nuestras trayectorias, piensa Sandel (2020), por tanto, es un error asumir que las personas por sí solas podemos controlar totalmente nuestro nuestro propio destino.

El "ideal meritocrático", prosigue Sandel, "otorga un enorme peso a la noción de la responsabilidad personal". Produce una visión de agencia humana "entusiasta" (2020:28) y esta "hiperagencia" tiene un lado "oscuro" (2020:64). Asumir que el éxito es individualmente construido, sí puede nutrir la soberbia y apartarnos de la humildad para justificar el menosprecio a quienes no logran lo que supuestamente uno ha alcanzado. No obstante, no fijar la responsabilidad individual que cada uno tenemos de manera más profunda puede llevarnos a un reduccionismo que puede ser peligroso en términos humanos y democráticos. Algunos líderes políticos populistas, adversos al mérito, tampoco consideran que la individualidad o la agencia humana sea algo central, pues en su noción de "pueblo" está subsumida la persona. Por eso critican el "individualismo".

En el libro, Sandel reconoce que "[r]esponsabilizar a las personas de lo que hacen es bueno, *pero solo hasta cierto punto* y esto significa, según Sandel, respetar su capacidad para pensar y actuar por cuenta propia, como agentes morales y como ciudadanos" (2020:49 mis itálicas). Pero, ¿cuál es ese "punto" del que habla Sandel? Creo que aquí Amartya Sen (2000) acierta cuando observa que el hecho de recompensar el mérito y el mismo concepto de éste depende de la manera en que consideramos qué es una "buena sociedad". Una "buena sociedad" será entonces aquella que reconoce la individualidad de las personas, su libertad y que ésta no puede ser restringida o cancelada en aras de imponer un proyecto colectivo o nacional.

Tan distorsionada es la idea del *self-made man* (Latapí, 2001) y del sujeto hiperagenciado (Sandel, 2020), como el "echeleganismo".[9] Así como las primeras ideas omiten reconocer los lazos de cooperación colectiva o el bien común, la segunda da poco reconocimiento a la capacidad individual de actuar en función de ciertos fines y valores. Ontológicamente es un error y reedita el clásico determinismo sociológico. En este sentido, José Antonio Aguilar expresa:

[9] El echeleganismo es una manera de referirse a la idea de que esforzándose se puede salir adelante. El término denota cierta mofa dado que se cree en una persona hiperagenciada sin tener en cuenta las condiciones estructurales de su respectivo entorno.

> *Si la meritocracia es una "ilusión", también lo es el determinismo. Es cierto que el esfuerzo de los individuos está acotado críticamente por sus circunstancias, negarlo sería simplemente absurdo, pero también lo es creer que la iniciativa individual no tiene ningún impacto en el resultado, que es lo que quieren hacernos pensar los enemigos del mérito. No hay nada progresista en creer que somos simples epifenómenos de nuestra circusntancia de nacimiento. Ese determinismo niega con frecuencia las experiencias de vida de las personas. Decirles que sufren de una falsa conciencia de su éxito y que nada de los que hacen importa porque están condicionadas por su cuna no es realismo sociológico, es pura hybris ideológica (2021: https://literalmagazine.com/merito/).*

Una idea más elaborada de agencia y estructura es necesaria en las discusiones sobre mérito, bien común y educación humanística. Es arriesgado repetir los errores de la "tiranía del mérito" desde el otro lado. Esto es: "dado que todo es producto de mi contexto socioeconómico y cultural, aunque me esfuerce no lograré mucho, por tanto, me merezco que el gobierno me otorgue todo, hasta una plaza de docente". Atacar el mérito mofándose del "echeleganismo".

REFLEXIÓN FINAL

La discusión sobre el mérito y su relación con el bien común hace pensar en cómo las sociedades actuales se organizan para recompensar el esfuerzo individual, las acciones de las personas y qué papel se le otorga a las relaciones, nexos y lazos de cooperación mutua para cumplir con un objetivo común.

En ello, la educación en general y la universidad en particular desempeñan un papel preponderante. Por esto, fue muy oportuna la publicación del libro del profesor Michael Sandel intitulado La Tiranía del Mérito: Qué ha sido del Bien Común (2020) donde atinadamente señala las contradicciones en las que las sociedades pueden caer, al privilegiar como criterio único de selección y prestigio el mérito. En la sociedad estadounidense, obsesionarse por entrar a las universidades más prestigiosas como prueba fehaciente de capacidad, ha derivado en diversos vicios de sus talentosas élites: engreimiento, soberbia, rechazo de las personas cuyo escolaridad es baja, poco reconocimiento al trabajo y una respuesta de tipo populista enarbolada por personajes como Donald Trump. Esto ha dañado la vida pública y la democracia en ese país.

¿Qué ocurre en países como México que no han adoptado al mérito de manera generalizada y en donde, desde 2019, se impuso la gratuidad y obligatoriedad de la educación superior? Primero, que se rechaza la idea del mérito sin ni siquiera haber llegado a las prácticas meritocráticas que los vecinos del norte tienen, aunque es verdad que no pocas universidades han utilizado criterios meritocráticos para seleccionar a los jóvenes. Segundo, es claro que el mérito resuelve cuestiones de eficiencia y equidad, pero para eso habrá que pensar, junto con Sen (2020), que el concepto de mérito es profundamente contingente de nuestras perspectivas de lo que es una buena sociedad.

¿Es posible entonces construir una "noción abierta" de mérito en donde en las universidades públicas admitan personas de cualquier origen socioeconómico, pero que busquen formarlas bajo criterios de alta exigencia académica y planes de estudios basado en la conciencia de que sus logros son resultado de sus comunidades y que cualquier "superioridad" deben hacérsela perdonar porque si no, perderán mérito y la sociedad mexicana los rechazará?

Tercero, aunque la formación de "líderes" o élites sea necesaria, los valores que adoptan es una cuestión moral que habrá que analizar más allá de este plano. Una perspectiva más amplia es entonces necesaria. Enfatizar los fines instrumentales de la educación podría generar conductas sociales contrarias a la noción del bien común, así como centrarse en la "personificación del talento" más que en las acciones que demanda una recompensa por ser meritorias (Sen, 2000), nos lleva a juicios apresurados y acciones regresivas.

Pero el mérito, en la obra de Sandel, mostró funcionar en algunas universidades estadounidenses y entonces, gente económicamente poderosa pero académicamente no apta, no logró entrar a las universidades de prestigio de ese país, por tanto, se propició un negocio irregular para quebrarlo desde fuera. Este punto es omitido en el libro de Sandel, como también es confuso el papel de la responsabilidad individual en la construcción de nuestros propios destinos. ¿Por qué la gente que se asume como "talentosa" produce acciones detestables y sobretodo, por qué la sociedad estadounidense lo recompensa?

Ubicar entonces mejor la libertad y la responsabilidad individuales, las acciones que merecen ser reconocidas por meritorias (Sen, 2020), la manera en que la sociedad responde o no a éstas, así como la agencia humana, la consciencia y el bien común es un tema de pendiente investigación en los sistemas universitarios de países como México.

*Pedro Flores Crespo**

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BOOK REVIEW

SANDEL, M., THE TYRANNY OF MERIT: WHAT'S BECOME OF THE COMMON GOOD? UK: ALLAN LANE, 2020, 272 PP[1]

Patrick Riordan SJ*

Michael J. Sandel has acquired a reputation as the world's foremost public philosopher. This well-deserved reputation is largely due to his online profile, presenting Harvard's course on justice and the BBC Radio 4 series The Global Philosopher, as well as his many publications. Like this latest volume, his books are addressed to a wide audience and are eminently readable. The title and subtitle of this book contains an implied assertion and an explicit question. The assertion is that there is a tyranny of merit. The explicit question in the subtitle – 'what's become of the common good?' – suggests that there has been some change in the status or nature of the common good.

I begin with the second topic of the common good. Sandel's volume is yet another recent book expressing both concern for and partisanship for the common good, as noted in a previous contribution to Thinking Faith. Like many of the other authors who invoke the term, Sandel does not directly discuss the notion of common good or articulate what it might mean. However, it is possible from his many references to the term to piece together a sense of what is at stake.

'Common good' is not offered as a panacea or readymade solution to the problems discussed. It is acknowledged to be an inescapably contestable term (p.214). It is not merely that some ignore the topic, while others engage with it; rather, those who use the notion of common good are not in agreement about its meaning. Sandel focuses on one polarisation in particular. He targets an economic interpretation of the common good (p.28), whereby it is understood as Gross Domestic Product, the summation of the satisfaction through market exchanges of the needs and desires of consumers (p.29). The political competence required by government for the sake of such a common good is technocratic, the mastery of means. Opposed to the technocratic approach is a concern with purposes and ends, not primarily means. But purposes are not predetermined: they must be chosen, and that presupposes a form of politics that facilitates deliberation about purposes (p.209). If citizens are to engage in deliberation and debate about the purposes of common life, they will require civic virtue and practical wisdom (p.99). Traditional approaches exemplified by philosophers like Aristotle and the founders of the American Republic are acknowledged for their emphasis on the moral education of citizens, and the inclusion of this task among the common goods of the polity (p.28). Other aspects of

*Senior Fellow for Political Philosophy and Catholic Social Thought at Campion Hall, University of Oxford.

[1]This review was first published on October 15, 2020, by Thinking Faith the online journal of the Jesuits in Britain at thinkingfaith.org

Email: patrick.riordan@campion.ox.ac.uk

common life would also belong among this more civic vision of common good, such as the character of the relations between fellow citizens, including the quality of their communication and the extent of their material inequalities. Have citizens the capacity to negotiate their differences in public spaces that enable open debate and deliberation? (p.227)

These scattered references point to a vision of a political community that has the material, intellectual and spiritual resources to engage in deliberation and debate about its ultimate purposes. Such a vision would enable a revaluing of all kinds of work as contributing to the common good (pp.210-212). Catholic Social Teaching as exemplified in Pope John Paul II's Laborem exercens is acknowledged for exemplifying this approach, and Pope Francis is seen as an ally in the rejection of a purely technocratic form of politics (p.112). Assuming such a vision, we can see the point of Sandel's stress on 'contributive' as distinct from 'distributive justice' (p.212):

> *Contributive justice, by contrast, is not neutral about human flourishing or the best way to live. From Aristotle to the American republican tradition, from Hegel to Catholic social teaching, theories of contributive justice teach us that we are most fully human when we contribute to the common good and earn the esteem of our fellow citizens for the contributions we make. According to this tradition, the fundamental human need is to be needed by those with whom we share a common life. The dignity of work consists in exercising our abilities to answer such needs.*

Sandel's answer to the question in the subtitle is now evident. The former vision of the purpose of human life and of social cooperation has been lost. Our modern world offers instead an economic standard of wellbeing that focuses on the satisfaction of consumer preferences via markets delivering goods and services. Attention to the needs and desires of individual consumers undermines the possibility of solidarity formerly rooted in the communal bonds uniting citizens. The corresponding style of politics is the pursuit of interest, and a collaborative deliberation about purposes no longer has any place.

Turning now to the title's 'tyranny of merit'. On close reading it appears that neither merit nor desert are the tyrant, but the elaboration of the notion into the social ideology that would have society and the economy structured as a meritocracy. The positive sense of merit as an issue of justice arises when people applying for a job, or for a university place, find that they lose out because another applicant with the 'right' connections or family background or some other arbitrary factor is chosen in preference. And then the protest is made that the appointment or allocation should be done on the basis of merit. Sandel seems to have no difficulty with this core sense: efficiency and fairness are served when jobs are filled on the basis of merit (pp.33-4). It is meritocracy that has become toxic and tyrannical.

The toxicity arises from the widespread assumption fostered by a meritocracy that those who succeed have deserved their success, and those who have not succeeded equally deserve their fate. This assumption results in a sense of entitlement and pride among the successful, and humiliation and loss of self-esteem among those who fail (p.183). The public display of success and failure results in a loss of solidarity, and of any sense of interdependence within society. Sandel cites the British sociologist Michael Young, The Rise of the Meritocracy (1958), and acknowledges that he had foreseen the consequences of implementing a policy of equality of opportunity in generating ‘hubris in the winners and humiliation among the losers’ (p.30). Far from supporting such a policy, Young pointed to its dangers as a source of social division. The gap between rich and poor would be deepened, because the wealthy would be convinced of their entitlement to their wealth, while the poor could have no consolation in the thought that they had lacked opportunity. Instead they would be confronted with the realisation that they are inferior and hence have failed. Young, Sandel records, forecast a political backlash, predicting that ‘the less-educated classes would rise up in a populist revolt against the meritocratic elites’. Sandel comments further, ‘[i]n 2016, as Britain voted for Brexit and America for Trump, that revolt arrived’ (pp.116-9). Michael Young in his 80s took to print again to bemoan in 2001 the British Labour Party’s espousal of meritocracy under Tony Blair, who promised ‘to create real upward mobility, a society that is open and genuinely based on merit and the equal worth of all’. Young’s rejoinder in the Guardian newspaper pointed to the consequence that a society based on merit would expose many to the judgment that they had no merit, and that they deserved what they got, i.e. failure (p.192).

Such references in the book point to the relevance of its thesis to British society and politics, but the main thrust of the argument is directed against the meritocratic culture in the United States. This is exemplified above all by the situation of higher education in the USA, where going to college plays a major role in determining one’s earning capacity and social standing. In fact, the book is largely about education as the key to social mobility for individuals, and the social policy of equal opportunity in access to education as the key to social change across the population. The titles of the core chapters spell out the argument. Chapter 4, ‘Credentialism: The Last Acceptable Prejudice’, speaks of the weaponising of qualifications, especially college degrees. The hope that education would facilitate social mobility and lead to greater equality by ensuring that workers could compete and succeed in a global economy has been frustrated. Those who have been well resourced have been well placed to benefit from greater opportunity, but that has not resulted in greater equality. Chapter 5, ‘Success Ethics’, documents how the language of ‘rising’ as exemplified in social mobility has dominated in the rhetoric of progressive parties, reinforcing the logic of the marketplace that rewards winners and punishes losers. Chapter 6, ‘The Sorting Machine’, details the functioning of the process of college selection as the major structuring influence on society.

Procedures introduced to ensure equality of opportunity were intended to replace the arbitrary influence of extraneous factors in the allocation of university places. Parents' class position, wealth or connections should not privilege their children's chances of accessing education. Only the candidates' demonstrated ability should count in the distribution of places. This was the ambition of James Bryant Conant, president of Harvard University in the 1940s: to replace a hereditary elite with a meritocratic one. He feared the emergence of a hereditary upper class in American society since the top private universities recruited their students from the sons of their alumni, who were predominantly wealthy, white and Protestant. Instead he argued that the country would benefit from having a cadre of intelligent, well-trained and public-spirited people drawn from every background (pp.156-160). Processes of selection should seek out the students best placed to profit from higher education. His vision of equality of opportunity became an accepted stance throughout the sector, with applicants required to undergo SATs (Scholastic Aptitude Tests) and submit their scores with their applications to colleges. Seemingly neutral, these scores should allow for a fair and efficient selection process, ensuring equality of opportunity. However, as Sandel argues, drawing on many studies, those families with wealth and other advantages are able to ensure that their children are well resourced to take the test, so that the fairness of the selection process is compromised. 'SAT scores track wealth', he argues (p.164). Sandel is not seeking reform of the testing system, but points instead to the destructive impact of a meritocratic culture. Inequality is further entrenched, but with the added prejudice that the successful claim their success is due to their own efforts and their talents, while the unsuccessful are left to face the reality of their failure without any consolation that they are not personally to blame (p.174).

Because educational achievement and credentials are so determinative of earning capacity, the measures of success and failure are not simply the certificates attained, but the income and wealth associated with success in a competitive market economy. The hubris and sense of entitlement that the culture of meritocracy lends to wealth exacerbate the growing inequality in our societies. As Sandel remarks, 'the more we think of ourselves as self-made and self-sufficient, the harder it is to learn gratitude and humility. And without these sentiments, it is hard to care for the common good' (p.14). Solidarity and the bonds of community are dissolved also by such attitudes, so the possibility of shared responsibility for the quality of social life and the deliberation about communal purposes is diminished. Hence Sandel's appeal that we face the failures of meritocracy and technocracy and strive to reimagine a politics of the common good (p.112).

That the allocation of jobs and university places should be on the basis of merit, that equality of opportunity should prevail across society, that access to education is crucial for fostering equality, that educational qualifications are the capital of the poor and their key to advancement, are convictions shared by many socially concerned citizens who put themselves at the service of others. Sandel's book challenges us to reflect on some of the

the unintended consequences of this social philosophy. Surprisingly, a concentration on fostering social mobility via education coupled with a commitment to meritocracy can have the consequence of hardening and worsening the situation of those worst off in society, who are made to feel they are to blame for their lack of success and their deprivation of all the social and economic rewards of success. And those who should be motivated to help are inoculated against their responsibilities to share their good fortune by the self-satisfied conviction that they are entitled to their advantages as justly earned.

*Patrick Riordan SJ**

ETHICS, ECONOMICS AND COMMON GOODS

N° 18 (2),
JULY - DECEMBER 2021.