

CHAPTER 8

THE DYNAMICS OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR (2010 – 2016): PARTICIPATION, TRUST, AND VOLUNTARY AID¹

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→ A Sunday like any other in José Miguel Petro's house. On this occasion, his daughters and granddaughters were visiting. From left to right: Karen Naranjo (granddaughter), Cristian David Naranjo (grandson), Consuelo Petro (daughter), don José, Lucero Petro (daughter), and Cristian José Petro (grandson).

8.1. INTRODUCTION

→ Thanks to the three ELCA waves (2010, 2013, and 2016) it is possible to explore the dynamics associated with prosocial behavior, which can be understood as the ability that individuals have to involve themselves in activities that are outside the market and their relations with the State. They provide others in their community with well-being or construct what is known as 'social capital'.

Prosocial behavior can be expressed in multiple ways. In this chapter, we will explore three of the most important dimensions: i) participating in social organizations, ii) placing trust in others, and iii) helping others or receiving help from them.

Belonging to and participating in social organizations, particularly when the person has leadership skills allows -from voluntary individual's contribution- to provide members of the organization and the community in general with benefits. Similarly, the ability to trust and to be trusted by others is one of the ways in which individuals can generate social interactions with opportunities for mutual benefit, and, as such, be benefitted in a way that sometimes cannot be provided through market

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1. We would like to thank the Bolivar-Davivienda Foundation for their generous financing that helped undertake this study.

transactions or by State programs. Likewise, help given or received by family members or friends outside the household also constitute prosocial behavior. This could be for either altruistic reasons or for reasons to do with reciprocity; volunteering time to help others is a good example of one of the reasons that we will analyze based on ELCA's data.

When either participating, trusting, or helping, individuals voluntarily incur in a personal cost in order to contribute to providing the community with goods and services. Examples of these voluntary contributions are the time dedicated to participating in a social organization's activities, contributing to an activity that is potentially mutually beneficial while at the same time running the risk that others take advantage of trust given, or giving up either material resources or time to improve others' wellbeing that could have been used for the individual themselves or their household. There are, however, significant incentives to not contribute but still benefit from the engagement, the help, and the trust of others. Therefore, there is a high risk of this prosocial behavior being destroyed, which will prevent important benefits coming from organized civil society. As such, using ELCA to monitor households' prosocial behavior is of the utmost importance to be able to understand the possibilities and potential barriers that prevent maximizing this social energy that complements the functioning of the markets and the State.

In the first part of this chapter, we will describe the evolution of these behaviors over the six years



→ One of the workers who decorates and landscapes the Nuevo Gramalote construction.

of ELCA, and we will later analyze some phenomena that have become clear about these dynamics over time.

Specifically, we will explore the role that State programs could be playing in generating changes in some of these prosocial behaviors due to the importance of a series of State strategies to provide

citizens with goods and services. When exploring the data, we found that State programs may be motivating or inducing individuals to increase their engagement in social organizations.

One of the reasons for this could be that, often, State entities promote and even require that whoever wants to receive State aid needs to partner



→ Workers eat lunch while working on the Nuevo Gramalote construction.

ELCA's data suggest there is greater participation in these social organizations due to the State programs or help, which is opening important discussions about the role State programs may be playing. However, the data also suggest that when households leave social programs, participation in organizations is reduced. This supports the argument regarding the purely instrumental nature of membership to gain access to State benefits.

themselves in some way, and, as such, belonging to or forming a community organization becomes a simple requirement to access this State help. Government entities can promote this associativity because they are looking to reduce the transaction costs when implementing programs. They can do so if they have a way to coordinate the activities with the leaders of an organization and not with each member. Another reason for promoting associativity is because they consider it to be an important factor in encouraging the so known 'social capital'.

ELCA's data suggest there is greater participation in these social organizations due to the State programs or help, which is opening important discussions about the role State programs may be playing. However, the data also suggest that when households leave social programs, participation in organizations is reduced. This supports the argument regarding the purely instrumental nature of membership to gain access to State benefits.

8.2. PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS (2010-2013-2016)

In the survey's social capital module, the head of the household and/ or spouse is asked if they participate in any of the following groups or organizations: Community Action Board (CAB), a religious organization, a neighborhood or rural district community organization, an educational organization, a charity organization (a member rather than

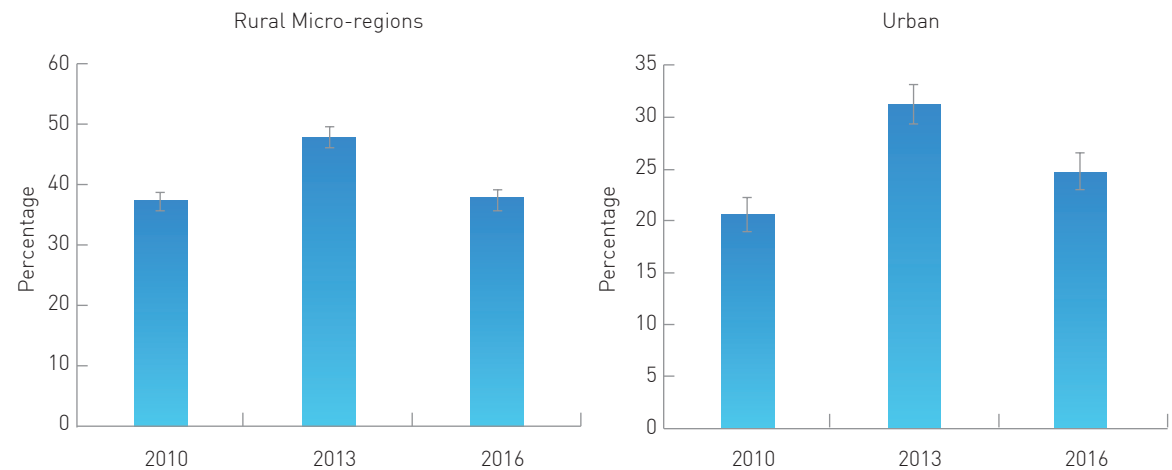
beneficiary), an ethnic organization, an environmental organization, a political movement or party, a cultural or sports organization, a work cooperative or farmers' association, a union, a community security association, and/ or a residential building council. For the following calculations, household participation is defined as what the head of the household or their spouse reports to have participated in (in terms of the previously listed social organizations).

For the category 'unions', it is important to highlight that in 2010 there was only one classification for being a member of a union or work cooperative or farmers' association; however, in 2013 and 2016 these were separated into two categories (the first being unions and the second being work cooperative or farmers' association). As such, the calculations have been made by joining together both categories to maintain the round's comparability.

The report on participation in social organizations, which has shown an increase between 2010 and 2013, shows a fall in 2016; however, the levels are somewhat higher than those observed in 2010 (Graph 8.1). The fraction of households² that report to be a member of social organizations continues to be higher for the rural population than for the urban population in all three ELCA rounds.

The structure of this distribution, by type of organization, shows some interesting trends. The Community Action Board continues to be, both in rural and

GRAPH 8.1.
HOUSEHOLDS' PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS BY ZONE
(PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS).



Confidence intervals are reported at 95%.

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013 and 2016. Authors' own calculations.

Note: Household participation is defined as the head of the household or their spouse reporting to participate in a social organization: Community Action Board, religious, community, educational, charity, ethnic, environmental, political, cultural, sport, association, union, occurrences of participation that are promoted by the State, residential building council, and/ or security organization. The rural sample is only representative for the micro-regions: Atlántica media, Cundiboyacense, Eje cafetero, and Centro-oriente.

urban zones, ELCA households' most common form of participation, which can be seen in Graph 8.2.

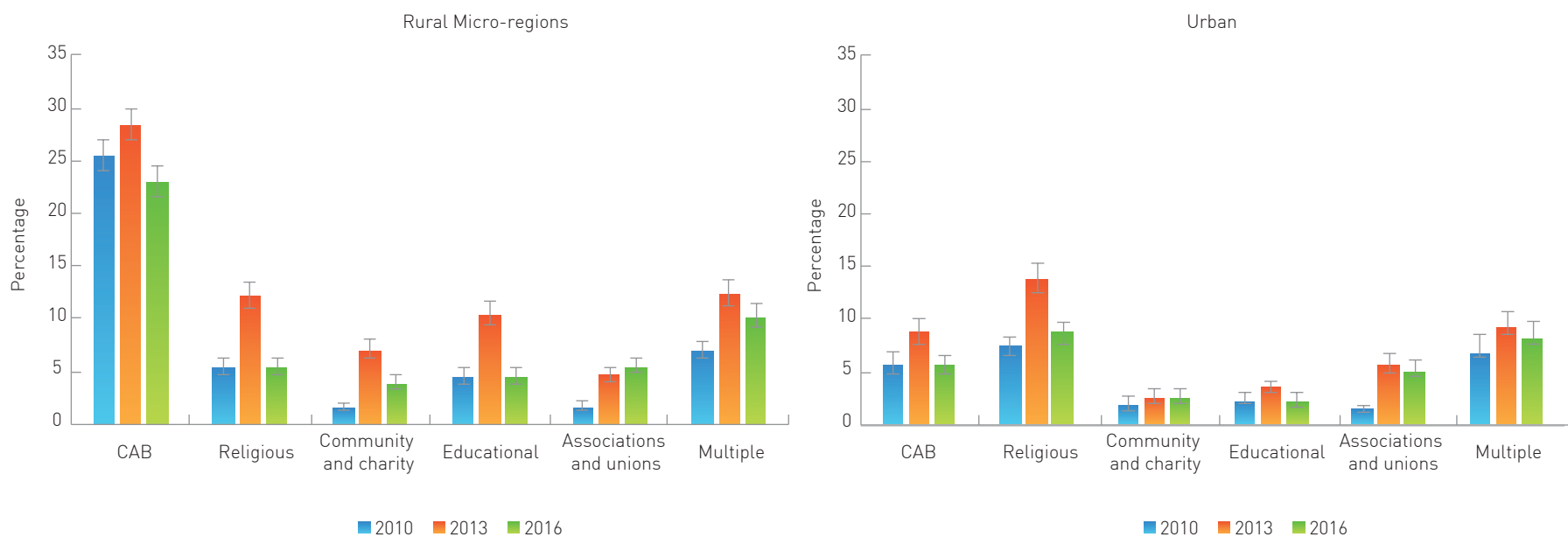
In both the rural and urban sample it can be seen that from 2013 to 2016 there were important reductions in participating with religious organizations,

which reduced from 12.2% to 5.35% in rural zones and from 13.86% to 8.72% in urban zones: this was a reduction to 2010 levels. This fall is particularly noteworthy when we observe that participation in this type of organization was the same that largely produced the increase in the general levels of

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2. It can be said that 'the household participates' when at least one individual from the household is a member or a social organization.

GRAPH 8.2.
PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION BY ZONE AND TYPE OF ORGANIZATION



Confidence intervals are reported at 95%.

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013 and 2016. Authors' own calculations.

Note: Household participation is defined as the head of the household or their spouse reporting to participate in a social organization. The category 'multiple' includes ethnic, environmental, cultural or sport, security organization, political movements or parties, or occurrences of participation that are promoted by the State. The rural sample is only representative for the micro-regions: Atlántica media, Cundiboyacense, Eje cafetero, and Centro-oriente.

affiliation from 2010 to 2013. Similarly, in the third round (2016) there were substantial reductions in participation in Community Action Boards, and also in educational organizations in rural zones, which reduced from 10.5% in 2013 to 4.5% in 2016.

It is worth mentioning that although there was a low percentage of participation in the majority of organizations between 2013 and 2016, associations and unions remained constant, or even increased slightly, in both rural and urban zones. We can also

see that in urban zones participation in community and charity organizations remained stable.

One of the biggest advantages of ELCA is that as well as allowing us to see three photos in time, it

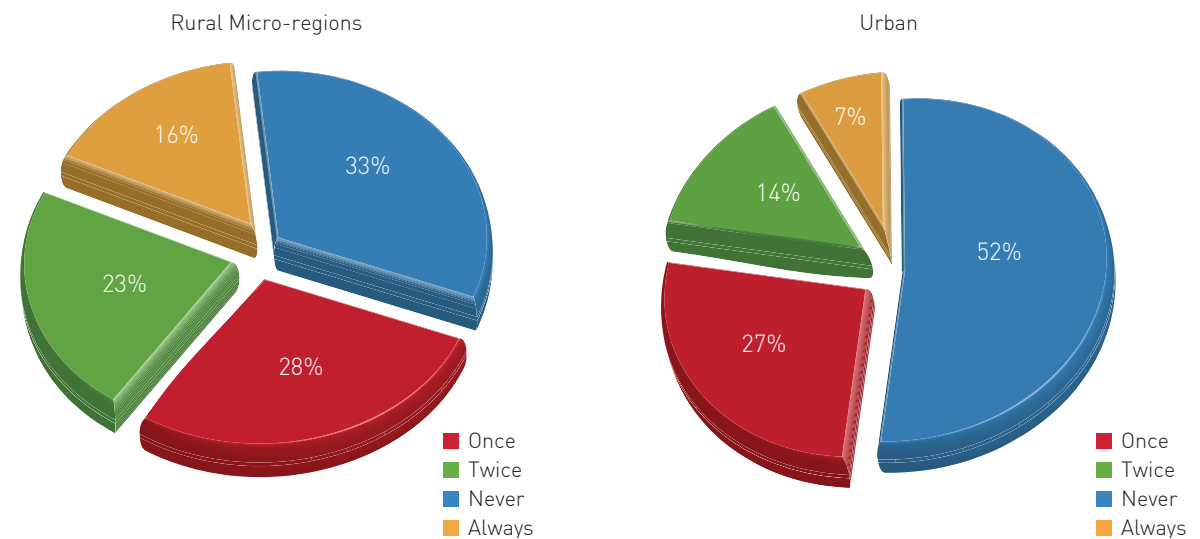
allows us to construct a video of the same families and explore the community within social organizations. The data available shows unstable household investment in social organizations, which evidences the fragility of the attempt to construct social capital. In urban zones, more than half of households (51.99%) have never participated in social organizations, 26.86% have participated during only one of the years (2010, 2013, or 2016), 14.02% have participated on two occasions, and only 7.12% have reported to have participated in the three waves. In rural zones, the percentages are 32.71%, 28.47%, 22.7%, and 16.12%, respectively (See Graph 8.3.).

8.2.1. LEADERSHIP

There are different ways of participating: one important activity to construct social capital and uphold it in the mid and long-term is households' participation in organizations' management structures. As such, as well as gathering information on membership, the ELCA asked each one of the previously mentioned organizations if the individual regularly attended meetings and if they are one of the organizations' leaders. For the purpose of making the calculations in this chapter, leadership in the household is when the head of the household or their spouse report that they are leaders of an organization in which they participate.

Graph 8.4 shows the change in the percentage of households that are leaders in social organizations in both rural and urban zones. Generally,

GRAPH 8.3.
THE DYNAMIC OF PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS (PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS)



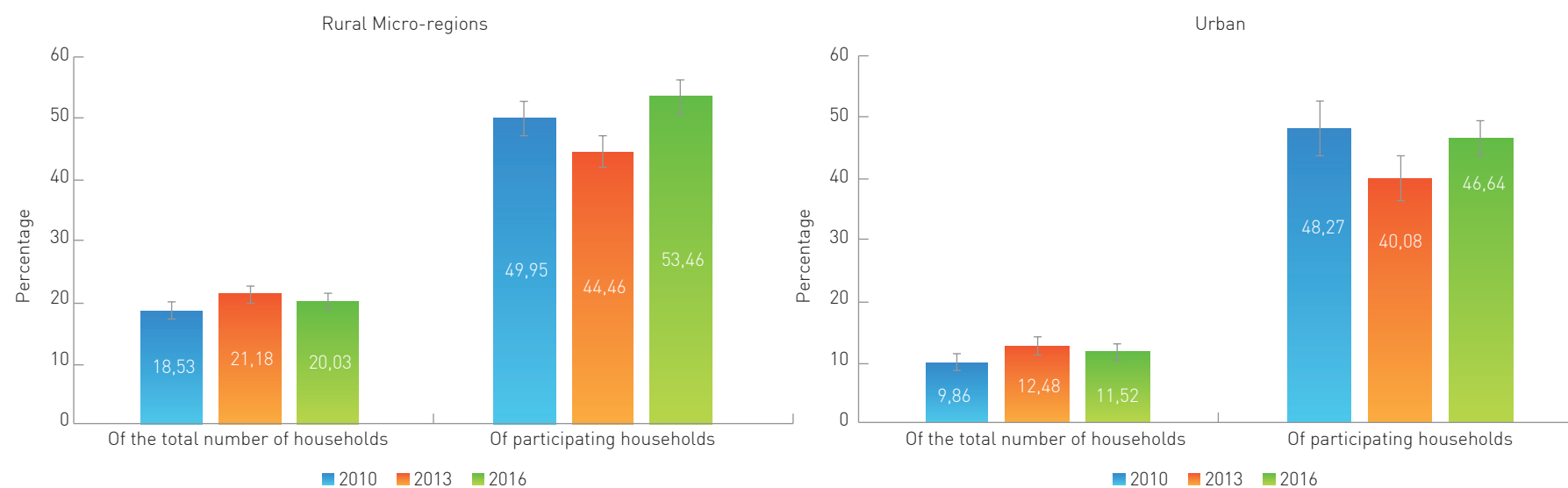
Source: ELCA 2010, 2013 and 2016. Authors' own calculations.

Note: Household participation is defined as the head of the household or their spouse reporting to have participated in some social organization. The category 'always' indicates that the household participated in social organizations in the three rounds of the survey, 'twice' indicates that it participated in two of the three rounds, 'once' indicates that the household participated in one of the three rounds, and 'never' indicates that it did not participate in any round. The rural sample is only representative for the micro-regions: Atlántica media, Cundiboyacense, Eje cafetero, and Centro-oriente.

participation on a leadership level is higher in rural zones than urban zones, which can be seen based on percentages relating to membership, attending meetings, and leadership throughout the three rounds of the survey. The data suggest a slow

progress in households' participation in leadership³ over these six years: in urban zones, between 2010 and 2016, there was an increase from 9.86% to 11.52%, respectively, and in rural zones the increase was from 18.53% to 20.03%, respectively.

3. A household is defined to participate in leadership when at least one individual from the household reports to be a leader of an organization.

GRAPH 8.4.**HOUSEHOLD LEADERSHIP IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS BY ZONE (PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS).**

Confidence intervals are reported at 95%.

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013 and 2016. Authors' own calculations.

Note: Leadership is defined as the head of the household or their spouse reporting to be leaders of a social organization. In the three first bars of each graph, we can see the ration between the percentage of households that are leaders of the social organization to which they belong and the total number of households (this includes the households that are not leaders as they do not even participate in an organization). The second and third bars of each graph show the percentage of households that are leaders out of the total number of households that participate in each social organization. The rural sample is only representative for the micro-regions: Atlántica media, Cundiboyacense, Eje cafetero, and Centro-oriente.

In the same way, between 2010 and 2013, the percentage of households that are leaders in terms of the total number of households that participate in organizations decreases by close to 5%. However, it then increases in 2016 to similar levels as those seen in 2010 (see Graph 8.4). Regarding the demographic characteristics of the people who participate, there are no differences between the fraction of participants and leaders for men and women in these organizations.

We can see from the data presented that the fraction of those who report to belong to social organizations, and, in turn, participate in leadership activities is very similar, between 40% and 50%, for rural and urban zones-respectively-. However, from the total number of households, the percentage of rural participation is substantially higher than urban participation: the level of participation in leadership roles is almost one out of every two members. However, from the total number of households in the sample, there is low participation; half of these members take on a leadership role in both rural and urban social organizations.

Individuals' participation in organizational management warrants an additional analysis as it implies an extra contribution of effort in time to support the organizational process. However, this leadership function also increases the visibility of the leaders, and questions could be asked about the risks that they face in the context of the current situation in Colombia where social leaders are the victims of threats and targeted murders. As can be seen in

4. <http://www.ideaspaz.org/publications/posts/1530>

5. <http://www.observatorioidetierras.org/donde-y-como-estan-matando-a-los-lideres-rurales-variables-municipales-en-el-asesinato-de-lideres-sociales-rurales/>



→ Cristian Moreno remembers his time playing for the lower league side Envigado FC. He has now finished his university degree and plays for the Rionegro Águilas in the Argos Futsal League. He has left professional football.

Graph 8.4, there is, in general, a higher participation of households in the rural sample as a total percentage of the households; however, the fraction of households in management positions, as a fraction of those who are members, is similar in both the rural and urban samples.

Rural participation in social organizations and violence towards leaders deserves special attention. According to figures from the Ideas para la Paz

Foundation, in 2017 alone (until June) 36 leaders were murdered.⁴ Additionally, a report from the Observatory of Restitution and Regulation of Agricultural Property Rights⁵ found that the murder of rural leaders particularly affected the Community Action Boards, and that in 77% of cases the affected organizations are local: exactly those about which ELCA enquired. Also, according to the data in this report, between 2005 and 2015, rural leaders have been victimized at least 500 times.

Victimizing leaders can have serious impacts on the construction and stability of social capital as it can disincentivize both households' active participation in the organizations that they attend and even membership. This is even more the case when the social capital network is just starting out and is not very stable, which has been shown by ELCA's data.

Another valuable source of information in ELCA is the questionnaire about "Communities" that is given to the community leaders in both rural and urban zones. It gathers information about institutional supply, infrastructure and public services, shocks and conflicts, and social capital.⁶

One of the questions that we explore in this chapter is the following:

*During the last three years, what is the main thing that the people living in this rural district have done to improve security?*⁷ The results from this question in the three rounds of the survey are presented in Graph 8.5.

According to the perceptions of community leaders in rural zones, solidarity as a way of improving security substantially decreased in 2013 and 2016 compared to levels in 2010⁸ while helping public authorities has become more important. However, as the figures on violence in the previous



→ Pueblito Paisa is one of the main tourist attractions in Medellín. It is a replica of the traditional towns in Antioquia.

section have shown, leaders are being continuously threatened, despite the public authorities having become more relevant in a context in which the community's solidarity seems to have weakened. Furthermore, when asking rural leaders how much the people living in their rural area help each other, it can be seen that the percentage of people who said they helped a lot has decreased

and the percentage of people who claim to help a little has risen.⁹

Conversely, in urban zones, there have not been significant changes in the leaders' insights into security; however, the percentage of communities in which leaders have reported that the general public are helping less have increased.

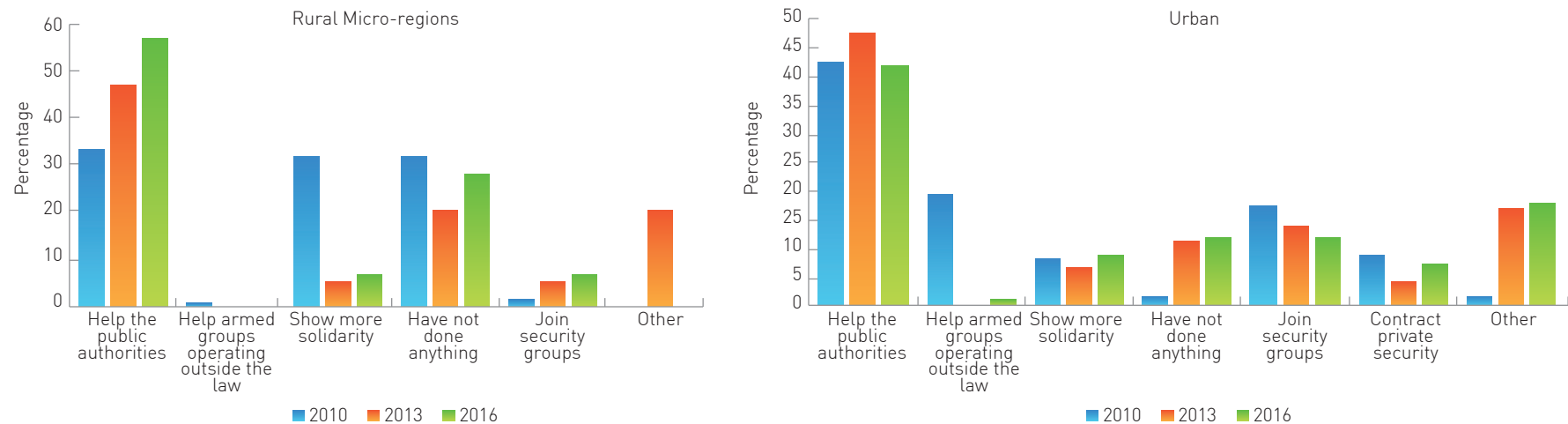
6. The questionnaire for leaders is a consensus survey: a survey was given in each neighborhood or rural district with the joint participation of at least three community members. This questionnaire seeks to collect context information for ELCA households and thus it is only valid for this communities.

7. The answer options for this question are the following: helping the public authorities, helping armed groups outside the law, showing more solidarity, not having done anything, setting up security groups, contracting private security groups, or something else.

8. This means that in a lower percentage of communities, leaders have reported that showing more solidarity has been a way of improving security.

9. The question is structured in the following way: In general, the people living in this rural area (1) Help a lot, (2) Help a little, (3) Do not help.

GRAPH 8.5.
ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN TO IMPROVE SECURITY (PERCENTAGE OF COMMUNITIES)



Source: ELCA 2010, 2013 and 2016. Authors' own calculations.

Note: The question is structured in the following way: During the last three years, what is the main thing that the people living in this rural district have done to improve security? The answer options are the following: help public authorities, help armed groups operating outside the law, show more solidarity, have not done anything, join security groups, contract private security, and other. The sample is only representative for the micro-regions: Atlántica media, Cundiboyacense, Eje cafetero, and Centro-oriente.

Additionally, the surveys for leaders contained the following two questions:

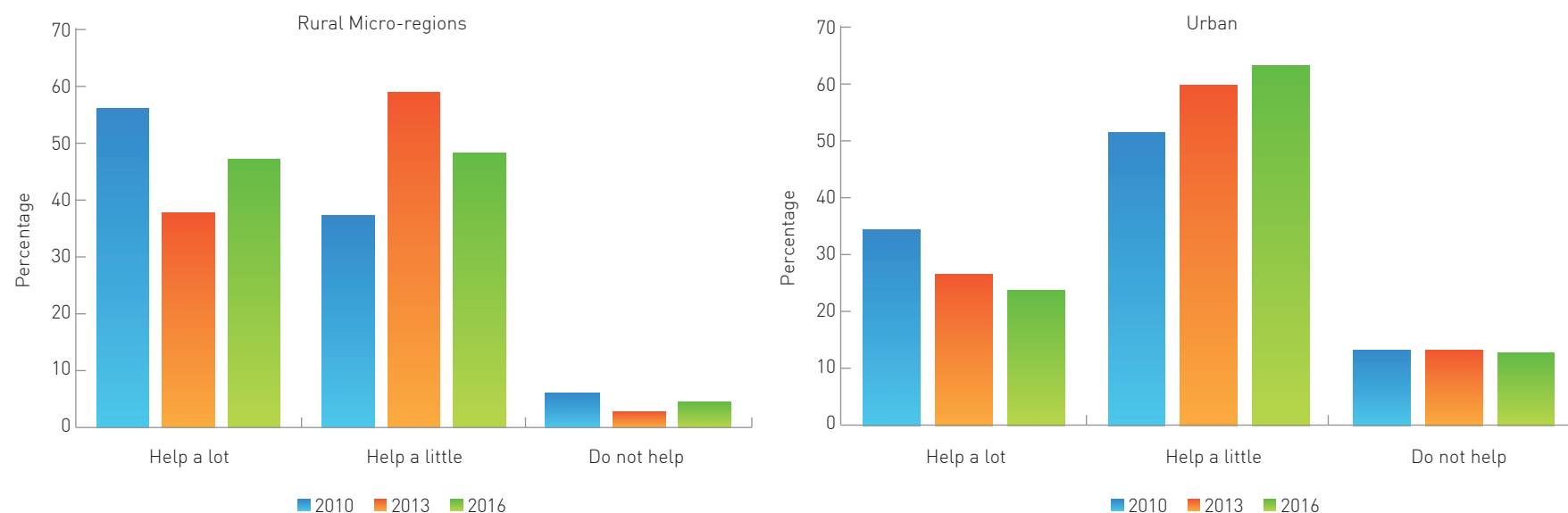
1. To resolve problems or conflicts, do people living in this rural area mainly go to: the legal system, community leaders, religious leaders, armed groups operating outside the law, or others?
2. To resolve non-criminal conflicts, do people living in this rural area mainly: Resolve them

themselves, ask for help from other neighbors, ask for help from armed groups, ask for help from family members or friends who live in other places, ask for help from community leaders, ask for help from religious leaders, ask for help from the authorities, or other ways?

The data for 2016 show that people living in rural zones mainly go to the justice system (80.34%) to

resolve criminal problems; however, 18.38% went to community leaders.¹⁰ 64.53% of communities resolve non-criminal conflicts between themselves, 17.95% ask for help from community leaders, and 12.39% ask for help from the authorities. Furthermore, according to leaders, the percentage of communities in which the people go to the authorities has decreased from 17.16% in 2010 to 15.58% in 2013 and then to 12.39% in 2016; conversely, the

10. These data remained relatively constant during the three rounds.

GRAPH 8.6.**TO WHAT EXTENT DO THE RESIDENTS OF A COMMUNITY HELP? (PERCENTAGE OF COMMUNITIES)**

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013 and 2016. Authors' own calculations.

Note: The question is structured in the following way: In general, the people living in this rural area (1) Help a lot, (2) Help a little, (3) Do not help. The sample is only representative for the micro-regions: Atlántica media, Cundiboyacense, Eje cafetero, and Centro-oriente.

percentage who ask for help from community leaders has increased from 14.22% in 2010 to 16.05% in 2013 and then to 17.95% in 2016.

Moreover, in the urban zones there seem to be different dynamics in terms of the options to which

the communities turn to resolve criminal and non-criminal conflicts. By 2016, 76% accessed the justice system, which increased from 65.11% in 2010; however, the importance of community leaders has been decreasing from 27.88% (2010) to 22.05% (2016). In urban zones, the percentage of leaders

who report that criminal conflicts are resolved by the neighbors themselves is much less than in rural zones and has ranged between the following figures: 36.22% (2010), 44.61% (2013), and 40.68% (2016). Similarly, they report an increase in accessing community leaders from 26.12% (2010),

to 28.88% (2013), and to 30.80% (2016), while the percentage of leaders who perceive that people go to the authorities to resolve conflicts has reduced from 26.32% in 2010 to 20.15% in 2016.

It is noteworthy that the percentage of neighbors turning to religious leaders in order to resolving non-criminal conflicts is minimal both in rural (zero in 2016) and urban zones (0.95% of leaders for 2016); this is despite the relevance of participating in religious organizations that we have seen previously (Graph 8.2).

8.2.2. HELPING OTHERS

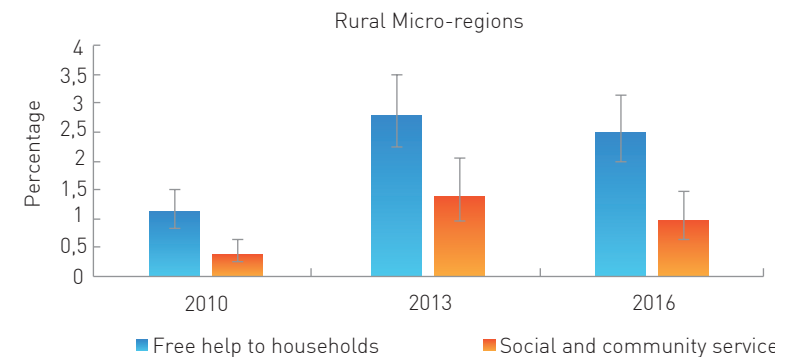
As well as belonging to social organizations, some households make efforts to contribute to their community through their work as well as other forms of transferences to projects involving the community, neighborhoods, or their closest friends and family. The ELCA allows us to see that, in Colombia, citizens occasionally resort to informal mutual support mechanisms through relationships involving exchanges, loans, and gifts among acquaintances, which are outside the private formal or State system.

These calculations are based on the survey's module on use of time¹¹ from which we obtained information regarding if a member of the household dedicates time to free-help activities for others or to help with social or community projects outside their household. In this section, the interviewee is asked to reconstruct the activities undertaken in a typical weekday during the previous week from when they woke up until when they went to bed. Based on the different activities that were recorded in this chapter, we concentrate on two: providing other households with free help, and undertaking social or community service activities that are part of the prosocial behavior that we will explore below.

Broadly speaking, this dimension of social capital is the most disappointing because, as can be seen in Graph 8.7, despite there being an increase in the percentage of rural households that dedicated time to social or community service

GRAPH 8.7.

DYNAMICS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS THAT DEDICATE TIME TO PROSOCIAL ACTIVITIES: SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICES OR FREE HELP TO HOUSEHOLDS IN RURAL ZONES (PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS).



Confidence intervals are reported at 95%.

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013 and 2016. Authors' own calculations.

Note: The graph shows the percentage of households that affirmed to dedicate time to social service or the community and those who affirm to dedicate time to helping other households for free during the survey's three waves. Dedicating time to helping others can be defined as the head of the household or their spouse affirming that they dedicate time to this activity. These data are only available for the rural sample, so they are only representative for the following micro-regions: Atlántica media, Cundiboyacense, Eje cafetero, and Centro-oriente.

or that provided other households with free help¹² from 2010 to 2013, in 2016 there was no progress as the percentages decreased slightly.

When observing the change in these types of behaviors by region, it is possible to see that the increase that took place between 2010 and 2013 was mainly due to the Atlántica Media region; however, in 2016, the levels in this region reduced

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11. This module is only answer by monitored people in rural areas.

12. A household is defined as dedicating time to social or community services or providing free help to other households if a member of the household affirms to dedicating time to one of these activities.

by 7.41% in 2013 to 5.11% in 2016. Although the Centro-Oriente showed slight increases, it is the only region that has shown increasing progress as the figures moved from 0.49% in 2010 to 1.91% in 2013 and then 2.24% in 2016. In the Cundiboyacense and Eje Cafetero micro-regions, the percentage of households that dedicated time to this type of activity has remained relatively stable from 2010 to 2016 despite the Eje cafetero's intermediate variations (see Graph 8.8).

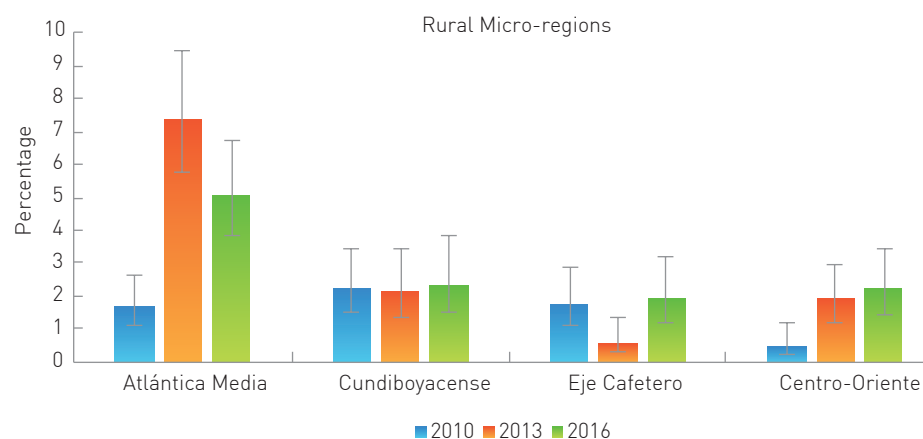
8.2.3. ATTITUDES ON RECIPROCAL ALTRUISM

ELCA also included a section of questions on individuals' opinions; some related to their community's social capital. One of these questions is about how much the person agrees with the following statement: "we must always help those who help us", which reflects the respondent's view on reciprocal altruism. This question was asked in both the 2013 and 2016 rounds, and it allowed us to evaluate the stability of individuals' preferences and then cross this information with other variables.

Although these data show a favorable example in the way that almost all individuals, both in the rural and urban sample, show their agreement or complete agreement (97.32% in 2013 and 96.32% in 2016), by contrasting them with the previous figures on use of time, we can see that there is more prosocial behavior in theory than there is in practice. Additionally, how individuals' preferences change from 2013 to 2016 can be seen¹³ for those individuals who completely disagreed or disagreed (175 individuals), 83.43% (146 individuals) changed their answer to being in agreement or completely in agreement. Moreover, in the opposite case, of the 6,406 individuals who completely agreed or agreed, this figure was much less (3.37% or 216 people), which shows a positive situation, at least based on opinion. It is worthwhile mentioning that approximately half (51.28%)¹⁴ of all individuals are of the same opinion from one round to the next.

Also, as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, trust is one of the ways in which an individual or a community can express its prosocial behavior as well

GRAPH 8.8.
HOUSEHOLDS THAT DEDICATE TIME TO PROSOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN RURAL ZONES BY REGION (PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS).



Confidence intervals are reported at 95%.

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013 and 2016. Authors' own calculations.

Note: The graph shows the percentage of households that affirm to have dedicated time to social or community service or having provided free help to households in the survey's three rounds. Dedicating time is defined as the head of the household or their spouse affirming that they dedicate time to this activity. These data are only available for the rural sample, so they are only representative for the following micro-regions: Atlántica media, Cundiboyacense, Eje cafetero, and Centro-oriente.

as being one of the most important mechanisms to create mutual benefits from social interactions. We included the following question in 2013 and 2016 in order to evaluate each household's perception of an atmosphere of trust in the community: *If your neighbors had \$50,000 pesos in their pocket, how many of them would immediately lend you the money to pay for a medical emergency based on*

13. 7,174 people answered this question in 2013 and 7,467 people answered it in 2016; Information about preference changes can only be analyzed for 6,518 people.

14. To calculate this, the answers were not grouped into the two categories stated at the beginning of the paragraph. The calculation was made by using the four possible answers separately: completely agree, agree, disagree, completely disagree.

TABLE 8.1.
OPINION “WE ALWAYS HAVE TO HELP THOSE WHO HELP US”

2016 \ 2013	Agree	Disagree
Agree	96.63%	83.43%
Disagree	3.37%	16.57%
Total	100% (N=6,406)	100% (N=175)

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013 and 2016. Authors' own calculations.

Note: This table is based on percentage of people who answer: Completely agree, agree, disagree, and totally disagree to: We should always help those who help us. To make easier the analysis the categories had been group as follows: Totally agree and agree in one group and: disagree and totally disagree and other. These data are only available for the rural sample, so they are only representative for the following micro-regions: Atlántica media, Cundiboyacense, Eje cafetero, and Centro-oriente.



→ Carlos García's livelihood comes from his fruit stall in Corabastos in Bogotá. He had to deal with his customer's change of consumer behavior and now makes deliveries.

the promise that you would pay the money back when you were able?

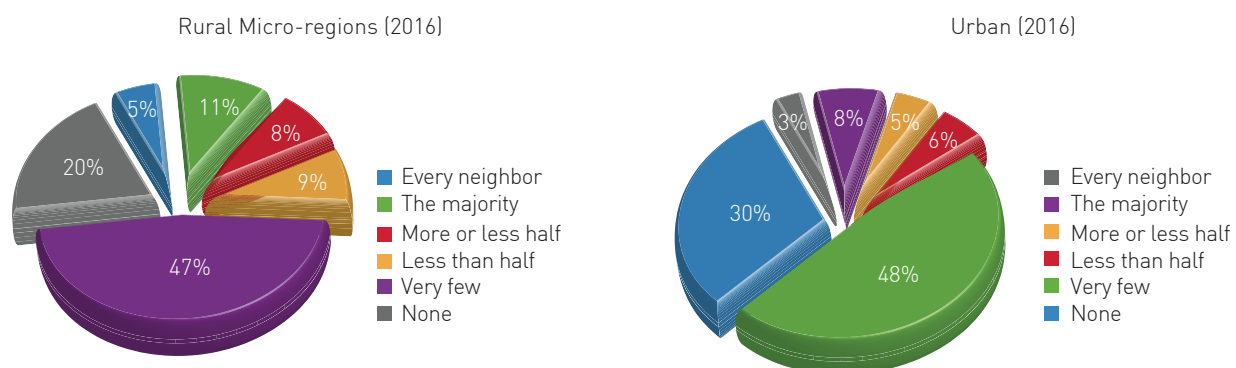
Graph 8.9 shows how both in rural and urban areas almost half the population (47% and 48%, respectively) believe that very few neighbors would lend them the money, and 20% and 30%, respectively believe that none of their neighbors would lend them the money. These figures cannot be compared with other countries as we do not know of any surveys that have similar questions. These data suggest that in the areas where the survey is representative, there is a low perceived confidence in others, which represents an important barrier to the creation of community support networks. The panorama has not improved over time if we take into consideration that from 2013 to 2016, 77.63% of the people surveyed decreased the number of neighbors that they considered would lend them the money (for example, they went from answering “all” to “the majority” or from “the majority” to “more or less half”, etc.). 27.8% responded with the same answer, and a lower percentage (22.37%) increased their answer (for example, they changed from “none” to “very few”).

8.3 THE STATE AS A PROMOTER OF PARTICIPATION IN ORGANIZATIONS

Until now, we have focused attention on the ways in which individuals and households allocate their

GRAPH 8.9.

TRUST NETWORK BETWEEN NEIGHBORS: LOANS FOR MEDICAL EMERGENCIES BY ZONE (PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE).



Source: ELCA 2010, 2013 and 2016. Authors' own calculations.

Note: The graph shows the percentage of people who answered: "All", "The majority", "Half", "More or less half", "Very few", or "None" to the following question: If each one of your neighbors had \$50,000 in their pocket, how many people would immediately lend you the money to pay for a medical emergency based on the promise that you would pay the money back when you were able? The rural sample is only representative for the micro-regions: Atlántica media, Cundiboyacense, Eje cafetero, and Centro-oriente.

efforts to participate, help, and trust others as mechanisms to voluntarily provide goods and services. However, households also receive State help through different programs; this information is also collected by ELCA in the household questionnaire.¹⁵

In this section, we look to analyze the interactions between the dynamics of households' prosocial

behavior and the dynamic of the State help in order to find out, until what point, the State programs affect households' affiliation and prosocial behavior.

We can observe that, in general, there is a causal relationship between households' participation in social organizations and their participation in State programs; this suggests that membership in these

organizations can be instrumental in accessing government programs, or because it is a way to improve the capacity to act in terms of acquiring these benefits through an organization, or because these State agencies require these organizations to be created. The available data do not allow us to be able to clarify the mechanism that creates this effect; however, the causal relationship does seem to be supported by the data.

Table 8.2 shows a transition matrix for membership or participation in social organizations between 2013 and 2016. The boxes highlighted in yellow show the probability that a member of a household will change from not participating to participating in a social organization. The urban sample is in the left-hand column and the rural sample is in the right-hand column. The highest part of the table shows the transition matrix for households that stopped receiving benefits from State aid programs between 2013 and 2016 while the lower bar shows these probabilities for the households that were part of State programs. When the cells highlighted in yellow are compared, we can see that the probabilities of this transition of not belonging to a social organization are greater for those that became part of a State aid program.¹⁶

Similarly, the cells highlighted in green show the probabilities that a household would have stopped

15. The question is the following: *In the past twelve months, has this household received or has it been a beneficiary of one of the following programs?* In rural areas the State programs are: *Familias en Acción*, programs for the elderly, *SENA*, *Juntos-Unidos* network, Colombian Institute of Family Wellbeing, aid for natural disasters, help for displaced persons, providing land titles for land that has no owner, land allocation programs, *Ley de Víctimas y Tierras*, insurance for Agro-income or *Desarrollo Rural con Equidad*, *Oportunidades Rurales*, *Alianzas Productivas*, *Familias Guardabosques*, or others. The three latter programs were not part of the questionnaire in 2010. The rural sample is only representative for the micro-regions: Atlántica Media, Cundiboyacense, Eje Cafetero, and Centro-Oriente. The following are the programs in the urban zones: *Familias en Acción*, programs for the elderly, *SENA*, *Juntos-Unidos* network, Colombian Institute of Family Wellbeing, *Jóvenes en Acción*, aid for natural disasters, help for displaced persons, and others.

16 A multivariate regression analysis corroborates this argument as it estimates the factors that increase the probability that a household begins to become part of a social organization. It was confirmed that this probability increased for those who received state aid and had statistically significant effects.

TABLE 8.2.
BENEFICIARIES OF STATE PROGRAMS AND PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Households that left State programs from 2013 to 2016*

Urban	Participated in 2016		Total
	NO	YES	
Participated in 2013	NO	YES	Total
NO	84.79%	15.21%	100%
YES	61.13%	38.87%	100%
Total	76.60%	23.40%	100%

Rural	Participated in 2016		Total
	NO	YES	
Participated in 2013	NO	YES	Total
NO	82.30%	17.70%	100%
YES	51.05%	48.95%	100%
Total	66.92%	33.08%	100%

Households that joined State programs from 2013 to 2016**

Urban	Participated in 2016		Total
	NO	YES	
Participated in 2013	NO	YES	Total
NO	78.29%	21.71%	100%
YES	49.53%	50.47%	100%
Total	71.50%	28.50%	100%

Rural	Participated in 2016		Total
	NO	YES	
Participated in 2013	NO	YES	Total
NO	77.68%	22.32%	100%
YES	42.86%	57.14%	100%
Total	63.48%	36.52%	100%

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013 and 2016. Authors' own calculations.

Note: The households that leaved state programs between 2013 and 2016 are those that in 2013 reported being beneficiaries of any state program, but in 2016 reported not being beneficiary.

* The households that enter state programs between 2013 and 2016 are those that in 2013 reported not being beneficiaries of any state program, but in 2016 reported being beneficiary.

** Household participation is define by the household head or spouse reporting to participated in at least one social organization. The rural sample is only representative for the micro-regions: Atlántica media, Cundiboyacense, Eje cafetero, and Centro-oriente

belonging to a social organization between 2013 and 2016. We can see here that this probability of leaving a social organization is greater for households that just left State programs, which supports the assumption that these households were using their memberships as part of State agencies' requirements to provide the aid.

When performing a similar analysis for data relating to leadership in social organizations, we can find similar results to those shown in the previous tables. Those households that were not beneficiaries of State programs in 2013 but were in 2016 had a higher probability of declaring themselves leaders of social organizations in 2016 when they were not in 2013.



→ The shelters in Gramalote.

16. Un análisis de regresión multivariada corrobora este argumento al estimar los factores que aumentan la probabilidad de que un hogar entre a hacer parte de una organización social, entre los cuales, y con efectos estadísticamente significativos, se confirma que dicha probabilidad aumenta para quienes entraron a recibir una ayuda estatal.



→ Marta Rodríguez raised her children Carlos and Angie by herself after the death of their father. In 2010, they lived in the country, and now in 2017 they live in the urban area of Simijaca (Cundinamarca). Marta works in Ubaté.

TABLE 8.3.
BENEFICIARIES OF STATE PROGRAMS AND LEADERSHIP IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Households that left State programs from 2013 to 2016*

Urban	Leader in 2016		Total
	NO	YES	
Leader in 2013			
NO	94.75%	5.25%	100%
YES	70.54%	29.46%	100%
Total	91.07%	8.93%	100%

Rural	Leader in 2016		Total
	NO	YES	
Leader in 2013			
NO	90.68%	9.32%	100%
YES	54.52%	45.48%	100%
Total	81.99%	18.01%	100%

Households that joined State programs from 2013 to 2016**

Urban	Leader in 2016		Total
	NO	YES	
Leader in 2013			
NO	93.87%	6.13%	100%
YES	46.53%	53.47%	100%
Total	89.60%	10.40%	100%

Rural	Leader in 2016		Total
	NO	YES	
Leader in 2013			
NO	86.40%	13.60%	100%
YES	48.73%	51.27%	100%
Total	78.85%	21.15%	100%

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013 and 2016. Authors' own calculations.

Note: The households that leaved state programs between 2013 and 2016 are those that in 2013 reported being beneficiaries of any state program, but in 2016 reported not being beneficiary.

* The households that enter state programs between 2013 and 2016 are those that in 2013 reported not being beneficiaries of any state program, but in 2016 reported being beneficiary.

** Household participation is define by the household head or spouse reporting to participated in at least one social organization. The rural sample is only representative for the micro-regions: Atlántica media, Cundiboyacense, Eje cafetero, and Centro-oriente



→ Segundo Saba and Nubia Calderón have three children. Segundo works sawing wood and Nubia takes care of the housework. Their children study in a school in Simijaca (Cundinamarca).



→ Nicole Vanegas and Paulina Ríos dream of being Youtubers loved by their friends. To achieve this, they plan to make tutorials and challenges such as those they have seen others do on the Internet. They live in Copacabana (Antioquia) and have been neighbors and friends since they were small.

A significant number of households are part of and leave social organizations with net effects that show an increase between 2010 and 2013 and a subsequent net fall in what was reported in the 2016 wave; however, there are differences for each one of the different types of organizations. The prevalence of this affiliation in rural zones in comparison to urban zones is worthwhile highlighting for the aforementioned dynamics.

For example, in urban areas, of the 702 households that became beneficiaries in 2013, 15.1% (106 households) were reported as leaders that year. However, a high percentage of these 106 households (66.98%) were not reported as leaders in 2010. There was a similar situation in rural zones: of the 792 households that began State programs, 21.72% (172 households) were leaders in 2013, but 61.05% were not in 2010. By observing the changes between 2010 and 2016, we can see that this trend remained unchanged. This supports the hypothesis that beginning State programs is positively related with participation in social organizations, as well as with leadership in them.

These data support the proposition that the State aid programs generate incentives so that households join social organizations, either as members or leaders.

The next question is, therefore, if these State aid programs, as well as promoting this higher affiliation,

can also generate increases in other dimensions of prosocial behavior that we have been examining in this chapter, including showing higher levels of trust or providing help to others outside the household. However, we have not found substantial differences in the data relating to these dimensions that allow us to believe that beginning or ending a State aid program has an effect on other dimensions in terms of help or trust. It is worthwhile mentioning that regarding helping others there is very little variation in the data due to the very low percentage of households that reported to dedicate time helping or caring for others in the use of time module.

8.4. DISCUSSION

In this chapter, we have presented an analysis of the following activities: participating, trusting, and helping as expressions of prosocial behavior and as fundamental elements to construct and sustain

“social capital”. First, when observing changes throughout the three ELCA rounds, we see that several of these dimensions show an important dynamism. A significant number of households are part of and leave social organizations with net effects that show an increase between 2010 and 2013 and a subsequent net fall in what was reported in the 2016 wave; however, there are differences for each one of the different types of organizations. The prevalence of this affiliation in rural zones in comparison to urban zones is worthwhile highlighting for the aforementioned dynamics. The Community Action Boards continue to be the most common way of participating in rural areas; however, they are still important in the urban areas. Participation in religious organizations also shows an important dynamism in both the countryside and the cities, and for unions and associations, there has been a growing trend over time although with very low levels when compared to other places. We should also highlight that the low participation, as well as the fact that one out of every two of the few members is a leader, are warning signs in the country’s current context in which social leaders are being threatened and killed in the midst of a polarized national debate.

However, the instability in this participation -and the fact that a considerable fraction seems to be motivated by instrumental reasons to access State help- poses questions about the construction of social capital as a foundation to resolve problems regarding the provision of goods and services when

neither the market nor the State can provide communities with these. In other words, State programs seem to increase participation in social organizations, but they do not strengthen citizens' capabilities for prosocial behavior. The net result of these dynamics allows us to partially unravel the weakness of the consolidation dynamics of an active civil society in the country. This phenomenon of a larger fraction of households that have stopped participating compared to the fraction that are beginning is the same for both the rural and urban areas.

The positive externalities that these State programs can generate by prompting a greater degree of participation and affiliation can open potentially interesting doors to strengthen the bonds of communication, help, and collective action in these communities. This will be the case if this participation in social organizations turns into a stronger social platform for discussion about, coordination with, and the resolution of conflicts as well as creating agency at a community level in its dialogue with the State apparatus. We will only be able to resolve these doubts if ELCA continues to monitor these households.

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→ Santiago is a municipality in Norte de Santander, and it is located between Cúcuta and Gramalote. It has a population of close to 3,000 and is bordered by the Sulia River.





→Inés María Álvarez has had to carry the pain of the death of her son for more than seven years. Her son was murdered in circumstances that have never been clarified in a neighboring farm in the small rural area of Sabanalarga in Chinú (Córdoba).