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# **SOCIAL CAPITAL IN A POOR NEIGHBOURHOOD IN A SLUM AREA OF BOGOTÁ**

## **Case Study of the Neighbourhoods of Paraiso and Bella Flor in Ciudad Bolivar**

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## Summary

Great inequality and very harsh living conditions for the urban poor of the city of Bogotá are issues that need to be tackled in ways that may generate great impact to the well-being of these urban poor. Approaches need to be designed for the specific context and therefore, a good understanding of the actual situation is a requirement.

Social relations play a big role in the collectivistic culture of Colombia and therefore, social capital is a concept that can be tackled in order to improve the well-being of the urban poor. First hand knowledge about the way social capital works in a poor setting is essential to make use of the opportunities and account for the possible hurdles.

Informal horizontal social capital was found to have great relevance in the survival strategies of the inhabitants of the studied area. It was also found to be the most common form in which social capital is manifested. The stigmatisation of the area and the lack of trust in the public institutions from the inhabitants, have limited the vertical manifestations and therefore bridging social capital.

Smaller scales such as the own street and the family show the greatest levels of social capital and are of great relevance for the people's survival. Larger scales present lower levels of trust for instance.

The location and conditions of the neighbourhoods have given them particular rural characteristics and have constituted a world of their own for the inhabitants of the area. That has impacts on the social capital and on its possible development that could contribute to improving their conditions.

Social control plays a big role in the daily lives of the people and in their interactions. Violence and insecurity, clientelist practices and the distance of the government have also affected the social capital of the area in different ways.

Social capital has had great relevance for the development of the area in the past and has great relevance for the inhabitants in their survival and also in their psychological well-being currently.

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## Chapter 1 Introduction and research methods

### 1.1. Motivation and background information

*“It is difficult to define poverty. The lack of goods is not sufficient to distinguish it. Many stingy rich people are accounting for everything and are always saving like poor. And I have met happy and generous poor people that live on the shores of the rivers off of fishing and a plantain tree, sing from sunrise and smile without hate, ambitions or bitterness. Full of kindness, regardless of everything. The greedy person in top of his chest of gold, hungry and lonely, is a sad picture of the misery... In the countries where the material poverty stopped to be and issue, the people die of boredom, suicide, hollowness, and isolation. Alcoholism and drug addiction mitigate the poverty of the soul...” (Escobar, 2006)*

Poverty and inequality are problems that many cities in the world face today, especially in developing countries. These problems are increasing with time in the sense that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer in a capitalist world led by neoliberal economics, with its ideas that are being spread thanks to international bodies such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund, and the governments that they directly or indirectly influence with their ideas. These ideas are immersed or embedded in a particular social order (Bourdieu, 2005). “The economics discipline, both scholarly and popular, continues to focus mostly on problems and challenges faced by the industrialised world” (Basu) in (Isham et al., 2002).

“Rich countries” are helping “poor countries” in their fight against poverty. For that, guidelines and approaches on poverty alleviation are being developed constantly. Now, are those approaches always suitable for these “poor countries”? In the fight against poverty, one of the most predominant discussions is about how to generate more income for the poor. Now, does only more income generate increased well-being for poor households, or are there other factors that influence it? *The Voices of the Poor*, a large empirical study undertaken by the World Bank in many regions of the world where several thousands of poor people were interviewed, answers this question with one of its main conclusions. It was found that “the poor rarely speak of income”, but more over managing their assets (social capital among them) “as a way to cope with their vulnerability”, and that poverty is multidimensional. One of its forms is the psychological dimension and it was argued that “the maintenance of cultural identity and social norms of solidarity helps poor people to continue to believe in their own humanity, despite inhumane conditions” (Narayan et al., 2000).

Geert Hofstede presented as one of the results of empirical studies undertaken in many countries in the world, that most developed countries tend to have societies that are more oriented towards individualism than the societies in most developing countries. He argues that individualist societies not only practice individualism, but also consider it superior to collectivism. The current leading economic theories were

born in rather individualist countries and therefore, economics have also remained an individualist science, based on individualist assumptions, which are unlikely to be applied in more collectivist societies (Hofstede, 1991). Bourdieu talks about the ‘*spirit of capitalism*’ and argues that “*the cult of the individual and ‘individualism’, the basis of the whole neoliberal economic thinking*” (Bourdieu, 2005). On the other hand, strong social relations seem to be a very predominant aspect in the cultures of developing countries. To a great extent, this seems to be the case in Colombia, where my investigation is intended to be. Social relations among the people in their families, neighbourhoods and workplaces seem to be very important in the daily lives of the inhabitants.

Narayan et al. also argue that well-being has both economical and psychological sides and that they are independent of one another. This is a fact that can be seen instinctively on rural populations, that despite their lower economical situation, seem to live happier lives (Narayan et al., 2000). The benefits of social capital for the psychological well-being are instinctively more apparent, in the sense that social relations and friendships are how people spend part of their free and leisure time. Economical well-being has however been found to also be related to social capital by several recent studies (Narayan et al., 2000).

In those terms, social capital could represent an asset that could be tackled and developed strongly in order to improve the well-being of poor people instead of focusing only in aspects that help them generate more income. I think, greater income brings greater purchasing capacity, hence not necessarily better or improved living standards, or most importantly, increased well-being. Some studies have shown, that when social capital improves, economical conditions improve as well, as was found in a recent study on the relationships between social capital and income for the urban households in Colombia, that used data from an empirical study (“Encuesta Social”) made by Fedesarrollo in five different cities of Colombia. The results of this study, allowed to conclude that the social capital allows households in urban areas of Colombia to derive more income (Polanía Reyes, 2005).

The more assets people can efficiently use, the less vulnerable they are. Therefore, governments should also try to remove obstacles so poor people can make the best possible use of those assets (Moser, 1998). Poverty reduction strategies should focus more on local demand and address the local assets, rather than try to use frameworks and approaches that were designed, based on a developed country’s context or with “*an economic common sense, linked, as such, to the social and cognitive structures of a particular social order*” (Bourdieu, 2005). Such strategies should be thought up for the particular context where they will be implemented. The best way to accomplish that is by carefully analysing the local groups and working to use their potential assets as poverty reduction strategies in terms of well-being as opposed to mainly focusing on economical growth.

Social capital is a concept that has been studied vastly in the past years and several empirical studies have been undertaken in various part of the world, including Colombia. This research, however, aims to provide knowledge about the actual way



of functioning of the social capital in a specific context: a poor neighbourhood in an area of the city of Bogotá, where large concentrations of poverty are found.

Social capital can vary in its way of working in different contexts. The culture of a community dictates the behavioural attitudes of the people immersed in it and that makes social capital context-dependent. It is therefore crucial to study it for a specific context, so the understanding of it is better, which may in turn make the approaches to tackle it more effective.

## **1.2. Objectives**

The objective of this study is to identify the perceptions of the people with regard to the idea of social capital, the potential development and the relevance of this idea in a poor neighbourhood in a slum area of Bogotá. To do so, I will analyse the local needs and perceptions of the inhabitants and the way the social capital works there. Based on the results, I will try to give recommendations of possible strategies to be conducted to develop and increase this form of capital to help improve the well-being of the vulnerable inhabitants of a poor neighbourhood.

## **1.3. Research question**

For that, I will base my research on the following question:

How does social capital work in a poor neighbourhood of Bogotá and what relevance does it have for its inhabitants?

In order to answer that question, I will use the following sub-questions:

- What are the inhabitants' perceptions on social capital?
- Does social capital contribute to their survival strategies and how do they use it?
- How can their social capital be tackled in order to improve it and what constraints are there?

## **1.4. Method**

### **1.4.1. Design of the study**

The thesis is intended to be a case study of a poor neighbourhood in a slum area of Bogotá. For that, a set of interviews and/or talks with the inhabitants and key actors are going to be undertaken. A complement of this will be field observations of the daily life that will also be made during the fieldwork period in the neighbourhood.

The analysis of the subject will be done by making use of the concept of social capital, which will be defined according to a good literature review of the main authors that have defined this concept and also the definitions of studies that have

measured it in the specific context of the city or country in the past years. Indicators, to be identified in the interviews and observations to be made, will be developed according to the framework that will be developed after the review of the literature.

As mentioned above, social capital has already been measured for the city of Bogotá. Trusty surveys have been done in a broad way and I will make use of those studies as a starting point and then, try to identify the results in a smaller scale by researching the topic in a specific neighbourhood. After that, I will try to identify social capital's potential for development.

There are a number of organisations that have social programmes in a certain deprived neighbourhood of Bogotá. I shall do volunteer work for one of them, and by doing that, gain access to the community in order to facilitate the different observations and interviews seeking to answer the research questions.

The approach will be to undertake an extensive theoretical literature review of the concept of social capital and a review of related studies that have researched social capital and other social issues in the city of Bogotá. Those studies may be used as sources for secondary data prior to the fieldwork. With that, I shall develop a good understanding of the concept and the forms and ways how it may appear in the field. This will be done, so the observations and interviews can be more focused in order to be able to answer the research questions and conclude with recommendations for the background of strategies aiming to increase the well-being of the inhabitants of these vulnerable neighbourhoods.

Most of my research is intended to be made by talking to the people in the neighbourhood and trying to get insights on their perceptions of the concept of social capital. This in turn will involve their perceptions in regard to the degree of impact that the different institutions and social relations have in their lives. As mentioned, I shall also work as a volunteer for one NGO, which will allow me to get insights on the institutional context. To support this, visits to other NGOs shall be undertaken. The institutional environment can have great influence on the social capital of the individuals and of the communities as will be discussed in the following chapter. For that reason, I intend to find how the different institutions have an influence on the community in terms of trust, solidarity, organisation and social relations in general. By conducting in-depth interviews with members of the community regarding general issues of their *social lives*, I expect to be able to identify the influence that the different institutions have in their livelihoods. I shall also try to interview members of some institutions, both public and private, to understand their ways of dealing with their programmes in the field and their interactions with the other institutions involved in one way or the other.

My research shall be qualitative, where I don't want to measure something or prove a theory. Instead, what I want to look for the actual way in which social capital works in the specific context. For that reason, it is more relevant for me to pay attention to the perceptions of the people and observe the daily functioning of the social relations among them, rather than study the perceptions of the different institutions or the

programmes that are being undertaken. However, I expect to get information about those topics from my talks with the people and by working for the NGO.

#### **1.4.2. Research instrument**

Social capital can be best analysed using a qualitative research method, because of its complexity to be measured. The current value of social capital “lies primarily in its usefulness for qualitative analyses of social systems” (Coleman, 1990). Therefore, the research is going to be conducted using qualitative research methods and using semi-structured interviews of members of the households and also of key actors in the neighbourhood. Observations of the research population as a participant observer will also be used as instruments for the research. Attendance to meetings and focus groups may be undertaken if the context allows for that.

#### **1.4.3. Method of data collection**

I plan to go to the neighbourhood to be studied every day and will try to get involved in the daily life of the inhabitants as much as possible, to be able to get the most inside information and observations related to the research concept. This shall be made possible by volunteering for an organisation and working inside the neighbourhood.

The fieldwork is intended to last four full weeks and by working six days every week, it should be possible to conduct at least one interview per day. During the first week, it may not be possible to accomplish one interview every day, but the following weeks should make up for the possible loss, since the increased involvement in the community should facilitate the process.

By accomplishing the goal of at least one interview per day, six days every week and for four weeks, the result should be a set of around 24 interviews. Each should be processed initially at the end of every day or more desirably after the interview itself. Doing so, the information gathered in each interview will not be susceptible to being forgotten.

Before the fieldwork, one organisation had already been contacted and the possibility of working with them was open and there was interest from both parts. The name of the organisation is Fundación Bella Flor<sup>1</sup>. This NGO has different programmes aiming to contribute to the communal development of the neighbourhood, by channelling economical, human and physical resources as well as implementing programmes to improve the quality of live of the children and their families in the

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.bellaflor.org/>

neighbourhoods of *Bella Flor* and *Paraiso* of the locality of Ciudad Bolivar in Bogotá<sup>2</sup>.

#### **1.4.4. Analysis of the data**

The information collected in each interview and in the observations during the fieldwork should be transcribed into a log book (field journal) as soon as possible to avoid only trusting in the long term memory of the researcher. Notes about possible interpretations during the interviews or observations should also be noted down. These will be clearly separated from the actual data gathered. By the end of each day, a review of the information collected should be undertaken and if possible, a better processing of it should be made.

After the fieldwork concludes, all the data should be organised in a pre-established scheme that will be developed in the theoretical framework further on. That will help to have the data organised to be able to answer the research questions and analyse the data.

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<sup>2</sup> Bogotá is divided into 20 different sub-municipalities or localities (localidades). Out of those 20, Ciudad Bolivar is possibly the most populated and where the highest concentration of poverty is found.

## Chapter 2 Social capital

### 2.1. Social capital in the current literature

#### 2.1.1. The beginnings of the concept

The idea of social capital has been around the social sciences for a long time. Until the late nineteen-eighties and early nineteen-nineties, the development and economic fields accounted for small and sometimes contradictory contributions from the social relationships for economic development (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

The concept social capital was developed in the mid eighties by Pierre Bourdieu in “The Forms of Capital”, where he argued that the structure of the social world is represented in different forms of capital and not only in what economic theory recognized. He argued that capital can present itself in three forms: *Economic Capital*, which is the most material form of capital and can be directly converted into money. *Cultural Capital*, which is convertible into money on certain conditions and is institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications. *Social Capital*, which is a form of capital that is made up of obligations or connections that may be institutionalised and can sometimes be converted into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Later, in the beginning of the nineteen-nineties, James Coleman introduced the concept of social capital into the *closed American sociological arena* with the argument that there was a *fiction* in modern economics that society consisted of a set of independent individuals acting to achieve own goals and the functioning of the social system was merely the combination of these actions. He introduced social capital as an asset for the individual in the form of a set of social-structural resources. He defined social capital as a variety of different *entities* that consist of some aspect of a social structure and that facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure. Social organisation constitutes social capital and facilitates the achievement of goals that could not be achieved or would be more difficult to achieve (higher cost) (Coleman, 1990).

After Coleman, Robert Putnam popularised the concept more and used it for studies on the Italian and the American societies. He argued that “the core idea of the concept is that networks have value”. Physical Capital refers to physical objects, Human Capital refers to the individual’s characteristics and social capital to the connections among individuals; “it refers to the collective value of all social networks” (Putnam, 2000a).

The concept became *highly fashionable* in the mid nineteen-nineties, when some international institutions adopted it for their research and policies. Among others, it was adopted by the World Bank, the IDB (Inter-American Development Bank) and the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme).

## **2.1.2. The concept of social capital**

As mentioned above, the idea of social capital is not something that only started to be discussed in the past years; many fields of the social sciences have studied the social relations and social networks. The economic and development fields, however, did not account for the value of social interactions in society until recently.

People have always interacted with one another in various ways and for different reasons. The value of these interactions is what social capital is about. Social interactions can present themselves in many ways and between different individuals or groups. People have social interactions in their houses, neighbourhoods, workplaces, religious gatherings, education places, leisure places and so forth. On the other hand, these interactions are with their families or friends, people from the same beliefs, culture, educational level and interests in general, with others for business issues, etc. These interactions not only occur within these groups, but also between ones and the others indifferently.

In economic theory, the concept of capital is seen as a factor or means of production. It has a value and can be invested in order reproduce it. This fact is what makes the notion of social capital so complex in the sense that it deals with the value of the social relations. Other forms of capital like, economic, financial and physical capital for instance are completely tangible and material and therefore easier to identify and measure; human capital is less material and can be found in the skills and knowledge of individuals; social capital is even less tangible as it is present in the relations between people (Coleman, 1990).

Social capital deals with the social relations or networks that can have impact or value for the development, well-being, happiness and other aspects of the individuals and/or communities. It is represented in the social networks and relations that groups or individuals have and that are based on concepts like trust, reciprocity, solidarity and cooperation among other things. These networks provide benefits for its members and can improve the lives of individuals and groups in different ways.

The principal authors that laid the foundations for the concept of social capital are Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam<sup>3</sup>. Each has a slightly different focus to his approach. Hereafter, I will explain the concept based on their work.

### **2.1.2.1. Pierre Bourdieu**

Starting with Bourdieu, he describes social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986). He emphasises the importance of the social networks formally or

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<sup>3</sup> Several other authors have dealt with the concept, but the most of the sources for their work seem to come from any of these three authors.

informally institutionalised in the form of a group. It is a resource that is necessarily connected with a group or social network.

These groups and the networks of relationships that constitute them are the product of individual or collective, conscious or unconscious investment strategies aimed to establish and reproduce them. The relationships that are constituted will not necessarily have effects on the short term, but the effects can be seen on a longer term. The basis of the groups should be solidarity. These investment strategies to reproduce the social capital presuppose an unceasing effort of sociability and the relationships will continuously be affirmed and reaffirmed (Bourdieu, 1986).

The degree of social capital that an individual has, “depends on the size of the network of connections that he can effectively mobilize” (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, the amount of profit that the effort to build a relationship can produce, depends on the size of social capital that each of the involved parts has. In other words, building up a relationship with someone who has a wide range of social relationships brings indirectly more benefits in the sense that the group is increased greatly, and therefore its social capital. The degree of being able to transform circumstantial relationships into lasting connections is also of great importance (Bourdieu, 1986).

Most groups have a more or less institutionalised way of delegating the social capital and leadership of the group to an individual or a smaller group of individuals that concentrates the social capital of the group. However, that has the effect of limiting the effects of each individual in the group (Bourdieu, 1986).

The assurance of the reproduction of capital is done by different strategies of converting the different types of capital (economic, cultural and social) from one form to the other. These conversions or transformations presuppose a specific labour, which from a narrow economic point of view, can seem as a waste. But, put into the logic of social exchanges, this labour is an investment that should bring profit in the longer term, both in the form of monetary or non monetary capital or profit. This however, has the risk of ingratitude or lack of reciprocity, which will hinder the expected exchanges that the strategy aimed to produce (Bourdieu, 1986).

#### **2.1.2.2. James Coleman**

Coleman on the other hand, starts by arguing that there is a *fiction* of the modern economics. It is that society consists only of individuals trying to achieve their own goals, not taking into account the importance of the social relationships that occur during these processes. The different individuals act according to their own interests, but engage in events that may have other actors involved. This gives space for the different types of relationships to take place and possibly have a certain persistence over time. He distinguishes the main types of relationships as being “authority relations, relations of trust, and consensual allocations of rights which establish norms” (Coleman, 1990).

These relationships should not only be seen as part of the social structure, but also as resources that the individuals can use for their own good. They are thus, forms of social capital that individuals can use as an asset. Social capital is therefore defined by its function, it is not one entity, but a variety of different entities with two common characteristics, namely being part of a social structure and facilitating the actions of the individuals within these structures (Coleman, 1990).

In other words, “social organisation constitutes social capital”. It “is created when the relations among persons change in ways that facilitate action”. In those terms, the fact that social capital is defined by its function is clearer. It is the value of the relations for the individuals and can be seen as resources that can serve them for their own interests. It is however a set of organisational resources that can be also combined with other resources available for the individuals to produce different outcomes (Coleman, 1990).

Coleman identifies two elements that he considers critical for social capital, namely the level of *trustworthiness of the social environment* and the *actual extent of the obligations held* to one another by the different individuals in the social structure. This means that social capital implies that different actors do certain things for others, and therefore, obligations of reciprocity are established between one another. The level of trustworthiness is crucial to this issue, since the higher it is, the more likely it is that the reciprocity occurs. When the extent of obligations from the people is large, it means that social capital is working, in the sense that people are making their tangible resources available to others that need them most at a certain time, and therefore hoping that it will come back to them in return, if the situation is the other way around (Coleman, 1990).

The actual needs of the people and the availability of other sources of aid (as for instance the government or welfare institutions) determine how large the extent of the obligations will be. When there is much need and not many sources of aid, the obligations that will be acquired inside the social structure are bigger than in other situations. Cultural differences in terms of the way people give help or ask for help can have an impact on this issue (Coleman, 1990).

Another attribute of social capital is that it is not the private property of any of the individuals that benefit from it, but it can be seen as a public good. Not only the persons among a social structure who organise it are the benefited from its social capital, but all the members related to the social structure as well. Groups that follow different kinds of norms and sanctions are controlled by some actors, but their actions benefit others as well (Coleman, 1990).

When individuals are able to satisfy their needs by other means such as aid or self-sufficiency, they fail to add to the social capital stock of their social structures. It is also to be noted that the investment in social capital is more complex than into other forms of capital in the sense that the products of the investment are not private goods as discussed above and the person investing is not directly being rewarded for that, but others in the social structure. As mentioned above, that can change in longer term perspective, but it is not as clear at the time of investment. However, “social capital is



an important resource for individuals and can greatly affect their ability to act and their perceived quality of life” (Coleman, 1990).

### **2.1.2.3. Robert Putnam**

Putnam starts from the idea that “social networks have value” as has been mentioned previously. He argues that “a well connected individual in a poorly connected society is not as productive as a well connected individual in a well connected society” (Putnam, 2000a).

“Social capital refers to the connections among individuals”, both in formal and informal ways. It has to do with the “social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” and that have a mutual benefit for the individuals that are involved. Independent of the individual’s assets, social capital can also be seen as a *civic virtue* of the individuals and this in turn has more power when it is “embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relations” (Putnam, 2000a).

Social capital is a concept that can be seen as having three main components. Firstly, it deals with moral obligations and norms, secondly it involves social values as trust and lastly, it deals with social networks. According to Putnam, almost by definition, networks imply mutual obligations. Networks are not interesting as only contacts, but also on the reciprocity that they may constitute. This reciprocity can have two forms: *specific reciprocity* where individuals do something for others expecting a certain return for that. However, it is more valuable when it is a *generalised reciprocity* in the sense that individuals act and provide benefits to the others without expecting anything in return (Putnam, 2000a). The latter allows the social capital to grow more and facilitates its benefits for the community.

It is important to note however, that as stated above, “social capital refers to networks of social connection”, which means that the individuals taking part in these networks are *doing things with* one another and not only one *doing things for* the other, which does not imply social capital according to his definition (Putnam, 2000a).

Putnam also accounts great importance to both formal and informal networks. Formal networks tend to be more institutionalised and organised than informal, yet he has found empirical evidence that even the smallest casual social interaction has an effect on reciprocity. “Each of these encounters is a tiny investment in social capital” (Putnam, 2000a).

Putnam distinguishes two different categories of social capital, namely *bridging (or inclusive)* and *bonding (or exclusive)*. These are not “*either-or*” categories to classify social networks, but it is a way to better analyse and compare them. He also argues that “bridging and bonding social capital are not interchangeable”. They comprise different aspects and serve different purposes (Putnam, 2000a).

### **Bonding social capital**

Bonding social capital has to do with the relationships between members of formal or informal organisations or communities within themselves. These organisations are

mostly exclusive and homogenous entities and are by choice or by necessity *inward looking*. This type of social capital is good for reinforcing reciprocity and mobilising solidarity and trust inside communities, but on the other hand, it may foster negative types of networks or organisations in the form of criminal gangs for example (Putnam, 2000a).

### **Bridging social capital**

Bridging social capital, on the other hand, has to do with *outward looking* networks. It deals with the relationships between organisations or communities and the social networks between socially heterogeneous groups. It is “better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion” (Putnam, 2000a).

Bridging social capital is argued by Putnam to be “crucial for *getting ahead*” and have more benefits for societies, governments, individuals, and communities than bonding social capital, which is good for “*getting by*” (Putnam, 2000a). Given the limited economical resources that poor people have, bridging social capital is crucial for them, so they can accomplish broader goals (Narayan et al., 2000). Bonding social capital is however considered crucial to building up trust for instance, which is one of the main concepts of social capital. It has to also be noted, that the poor struggle daily for survival and bonding social capital is crucial for this matter.

#### **2.1.2.4. Other ideas about social capital**

### **Linking social capital**

Some authors also differentiate another category of social capital. They call it *linking social capital*. In this perspective bonding or bridging social capital are seen as mainly dealing with relations among individuals and groups that have a certain *demographic or power homogeneity*. Linking social capital in contrast, deals only with relations that involve individuals or groups with external agents in different *power instances*. Relations of individuals or groups to institutions or *power players* are seen as linking social capital.

### **Horizontal and vertical social capital**

Another way to look at social capital, which is similar to Putnam’s idea of bonding and bridging is that social capital can be seen as working in two different ways, namely horizontally and vertically. Horizontal and vertical social capital are similar categories to Putnam’s bonding and bridging, but looking into social capital this way, does not only deal with intra and inter group relationships, but also accounts for individual relationships both horizontally and vertically. These two ways of categorising social capital are by no means exclusive of one another, but can be treated simultaneously and one can provide extra insights to the other one. As discussed above, the mobilisation of resources is crucial for the social capital to be productive. This mobilisation of resources comprises the level of associations and the character of them (horizontal or vertical, or bonding or bridging).

Horizontal social capital is when the relationships that take place either among individuals or groups occur between parts with similar ‘*power*’ or socio-demographic characteristics. This form of social capital can be instinctively more associated with bonding, but it can occur between groups as well and not only within the group. In this sense, it has to do with bridging social capital as well. Horizontal networks of individuals are argued to enhance community productivity and cohesion.

On the other hand, vertical social capital has to do with the relations that occur between individuals or groups with different ‘*power*’. This is more related to linking, yet, there can also be vertical relations inside of the groups for instance. This is how this is related also to bonding and even to bridging.

### 2.1.3. Relevance of social capital

Social capital is a concept that has great relevance in the development and poverty alleviation discourses currently and throughout most of the developed and developing world. Many different entities and governments have been attempting to measure social capital in their countries, and worldwide comparatives have been made. The World Value Survey is one example of such a comparison.

It was discussed previously that most developed countries have rather individualist societies. Hofstede also found that Colombia has a very high index of collectivism and therefore the social interactions between people have great relevance in their lives (Hofstede, 1991).

*“Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in groups, which throughout people’s lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty” (Hofstede, 1991).*

In general, for developing countries, a fact that is well known, is that poor people tend to have a lack of physical forms of capital. The study of the *Voices of the Poor* by the World Bank, found however, that they make great investments in their social relations for psychological, cultural and economic well-being and that social capital can have a vast impact on the lower income quintiles in developing countries (Narayan et al., 2000).

The World Development Report of 2001/2001 proposes to attack poverty in three main ways: promoting opportunity, facilitating empowerment and enhancing security. “Supporting poor people’s social capital” is one of the main aspects of the empowerment strategy (World Bank, 2000). One of the keystones of the current paradigm of development is then, the idea of participation in the sense that it plays a big role in empowerment. Social capital has a great relevance for participatory processes in the sense that people are more likely to participate in society and in the development of their environment, if they are organised in one way or another and if the trust in the different institutions is high.

Combined efforts of people can accomplish broader goals and increased trust is needed to create profitable linkages and build up social capital with productive means. When communities are cohesive and have good networks, they are more likely to attract resources from the government and other organisations (Narayan et al., 2000).

It is also a great advantage of social capital that its presence in a community is of great help for the community to organise itself and take advantage of the collective action and use the strength of the numbers. This allows communities to have a better position to negotiate and make their voices be heard (Narayan et al., 2000).

Poor people are often excluded from involvement in formal institutions and they need to rely primarily on their own informal institutions and networks. These however, have to be understood, and their limitations have to be accounted for. As discussed above, these own informal institutions and networks are related to bonding as opposed to bridging social capital, where even though they provide poor people with help to survive and overcome difficulties, but their scope may not be very wide.

There is criticism however, that social capital “neglects considerations of power, especially for those who are relatively powerless...”, but “... a social capital perspective can be used not only to explain the emergence and persistence of power relations, but – perhaps more important – to provide a constructive basis for doing something about it” (Woolcock, 2000).

#### **2.1.4. Criticism of social capital**

Social capital has many advantages for communities, but there is also criticism to it. A strong hindering element for the social capital in Bogotá seems to be violence and insecurity, which create hostility and lack of confidence as opposed to trust.

Social capital can have negative impacts for some groups. In this sense it is mostly referred to as negative social capital, but also found in the literature as the dark side or the downside of social capital. In these cases, as opposed to productive social capital, this type of social capital has costs that outweigh the benefits for the whole community (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). It is mostly associated with bonding social capital and is represented in the forms of *anti-social groups* like gangs or cartels on the one hand, or ghettos and other closed or exclusive groups on the other hand. The most evident cost of these forms of social capital is that only specific groups benefit from it as opposed to the majority of a community. When talking about gangs or cartels, it may hinder other groups or individuals and when talking about exclusive groups, it may create divides of the society or social exclusion, where some are left out of the possible benefits. These costs may represent an obstacle for the development of the communities.

These types of social capital may also hinder the development of other forms of social capital, because of factors like exclusion of individuals or groups from joining bigger networks and also by creating mistrust because of insecurity for instance.

### **2.1.5. Social capital and institutions**

Institutions may play a big role in the social capital of the communities, both directly, by organising them with programmes directed to increasing the trust and solidarity and also indirectly, by programmes that have other goals, yet contribute in creating more institutionalised networks within the community.

Positive social capital is about having social contacts, that in one way or the other, benefit both the individuals and the community in shorter or longer terms. The institutions that have programmes related to increasing trust and solidarity of the members of the communities for instance are directly influencing their social capital by building up on some of the principles of the concept.

Most programmes require the members of the communities of all ages to come together for one purpose or the other. This will in most cases enhance the social interactions and create wider and more diverse networks. This also contributes to organising the networks of social interaction. Even when it's only children that participate on the programmes, their parents have to get involved in them at some given time.

Whatever goals the institutions may have with their programmes, they all require a certain organisation of the community. This has an indirect effect on the capacities of the individuals to organise themselves and come together, which along with other concepts like trust and solidarity, enhance their social capital.

### **2.1.6. Social capital measurement**

Social capital is a concept that doesn't manifest itself in a material form as discussed previously. It is present in the connections or relations between the individuals and not in the individuals themselves. That fact makes it difficult to identify and measure social capital. It's not what people have, but it's one of the ways that people use what they have. The purpose of this work is not to measure social capital, but to identify it and understand the way it works in a specific setting. I shall however make use of different studies that have indeed measured social capital in Colombia. With them, I shall be able to get a background or departing point for the investigation.

Since the concept of social capital started gaining importance in the social and economical development fields, there have been several attempts to measure it and therefore several instruments have been developed. Most of these instruments attempt to measure social capital in a quantitative way, which can be comparable over time and space, yet some others have also opted for a qualitative approach.

So far, there has been no generalised consensus over a tool to measure social capital that can be used in all cases. The concept has "full definitional and operational ambiguities" itself (Isham et al., 2002). Starting with the definition of the concept, many authors differ in their opinions and therefore, the range of concepts and

indicators that can be developed by different researchers may not be consistent with others.

As an example to illustrate the complexity of the measurement, Krishna and Shrader cited one definition by Putnam of social capital: “features of social organisation, such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit”. An empirical difficulty arises from here: how to address the measurement? Some studies have emphasised the concept in terms of network density, while others have approached in terms of trust and others in terms of norms and so on (Krishna and Schrader, 1999).

### **2.1.7. Perspectives of social capital for research**

Putnam’s way of categorising social capital is probably the one that most authors agree on, but there are also other ways of doing it. According to Woolcock and Narayan there are four perspectives in which social capital research can be categorised, namely the communitarian view, the networks view, the institutional view and the synergy view (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

The *communitarian perspective* looks at social capital through the groups and associations that are present in the communities. It pays attention to the quantity and density of these groups, where the more the better for having a positive effect on the community’s welfare. It doesn’t however account much for the negative side of social capital (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

The *networks perspective* accounts for both the negative and the positive sides of the social capital and pays attention to the importance of both the vertical and the horizontal associations between individuals and groups. It deals with two main propositions, first that “social capital is a double-edged sword”, because it provides benefits, but also involves costs, and second that the “sources of social capital need to be distinguished from the consequences derived from them to avoid making tautological claims regarding the efficacy of social capital”. It argues that different combinations of bonding and bridging social capital result in different outcomes that can be attributed to social capital and identifying the good aspects that need to be harnessed from bonding social capital and helping the poor get better access to institutions and expanding their bridging social capital is the challenge (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

The *institutional perspective* accounts for the importance of the political, legal, and institutional environment in the vitality of the community networks and of the civil society. Therefore, it argues that “investments in civic and government social capital are thus highly complementary to investments in more orthodox forms of capital accumulation” (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

The *synergy perspective* tries to combine the networks and the institutional views. It accounts for an interaction between the public and private fields of society and acknowledges that these fields are complementary and embedded in one another. It

argues that the central tasks to develop social capital are to identify the nature and extent of social relationships and institutions and their interactions, to “develop institutional strategies based on these social relations” and to determine how the positive social capital (*cooperation, trust and institutional efficiency*) can offset its negative side (*sectarianism, isolationism and corruption*) (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

The following table summarises the four views discussed with their involved actors and prescription for policies.

**Figure 1. Four Views of social capital**

| <i>Perspective</i>                                | <i>Actors</i>   | <i>Policy prescriptions</i>  |
|---|---|--|
| <i>Communitarian view</i>                         |   |  |
| Local associations                                | Community groups<br>Voluntary organizations             | Small is beautiful<br>Recognize social assets of the poor  |
| <i>Networks view</i>                              |   |  |
| Bonding and bridging<br>community ties            | Entrepreneurs<br>Business groups<br>Information brokers | Decentralize<br>Create enterprise zones<br>Bridge social divides   |
| <i>Institutional view</i>                         |   |  |
| Political and legal<br>institutions               | Private and public sectors                              | Grant civil and political liberties<br>Institute transparency, accountability                                    |
| <i>Synergy view</i>                               |   |  |
| Community networks and<br>state-society relations | Community groups, civil<br>society, firms, states       | Coproduction, complementarity<br>Participation, linkages<br>Enhance capacity and scale of<br>local organizations |

*Source: Woolcock and Narayan, 2000*

## 2.2. Theoretical framework

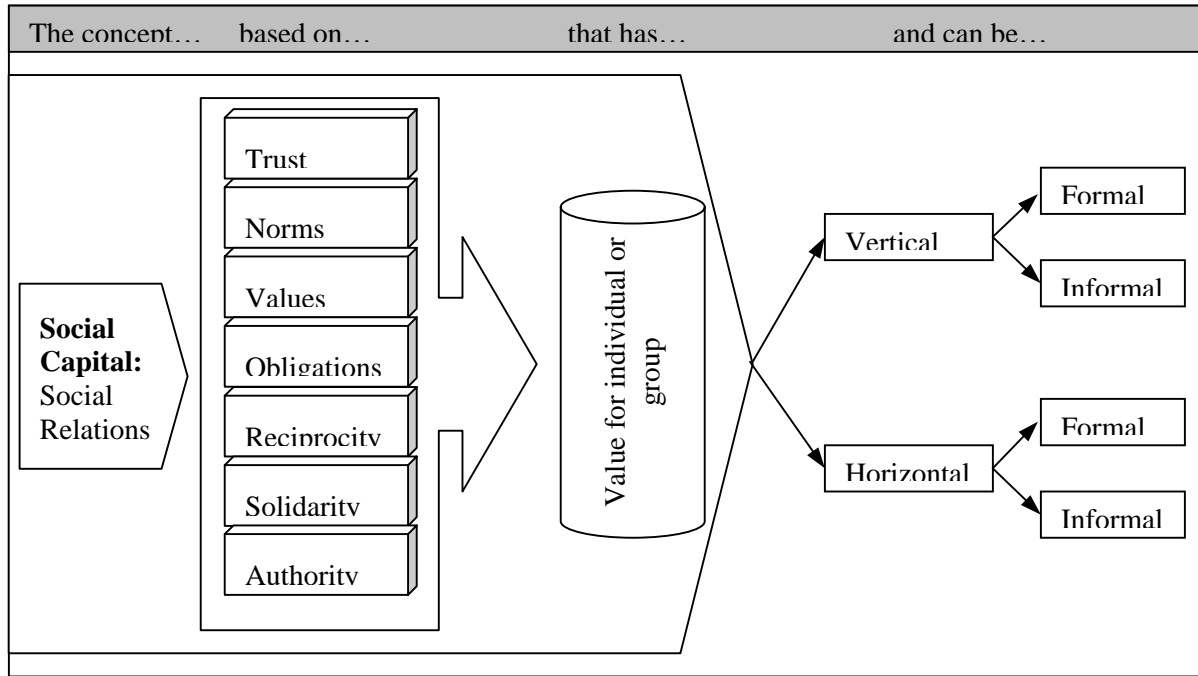
Having reviewed the current literature and different ideas about social capital, I now will describe the framework that will be used to approach this research.

As discussed by Woolcock and Narayan, there are four different ways to approach social capital research, namely, the communitarian, the networks, the institutional and the synergy views. The synergy view combines the networks and the institutional views. For the purpose of this study, I will look at social capital from the synergy perspective, paying more attention to the networks than to the institutional aspect of it, since the focus of this work is on the perceptions of the inhabitants.

The focus of this study will be on the social capital that not only benefits certain closed groups as gangs or other similar manifestations mentioned previously. Social capital will be understood as the resources that are present in the formal and informal relations between individuals or groups, and that have value for them. It is about the

relations that are based on a set of different concepts shown in the figure below. It can manifest itself in a formal or informal way and can be vertical or horizontal.

Figure 2. Social capital research framework



The different concepts that will be used to analyse the idea of social capital for this study result from the literature review undertaken previously and will be described here briefly. These concepts are what the social relations to be studied are based on, as illustrated in the figure.

Trust: one of the core principles of most social capital theories. Social relations need to be based on trust from all parties involved, for the social capital to work.

Norms: every context has certain norms that govern the social interactions of individuals or groups. Some of these norms may be established in codes or other forms, but some other may be tacit and immersed in the cultural context.

Values: all individuals have their own values. Some of these values have an impact on their social interactions and therefore on the social capital that is present in them.

Obligations: obligations of the individuals or groups in the community may arise from their norms and values, but may also arise from reciprocal relations or actions.

Reciprocity: deals with the actions that one party (individual or group) undertakes that benefit a second party directly. These actions may or may not cause returns to the former coming from the later. If one party acts without expecting *reciprocal returns*, this is referred to as generalised reciprocity.

Solidarity: deals with the unity of formal or informal groups of individuals. Is what binds people together and how people would help one another, united by common goals, interests or sympathies.

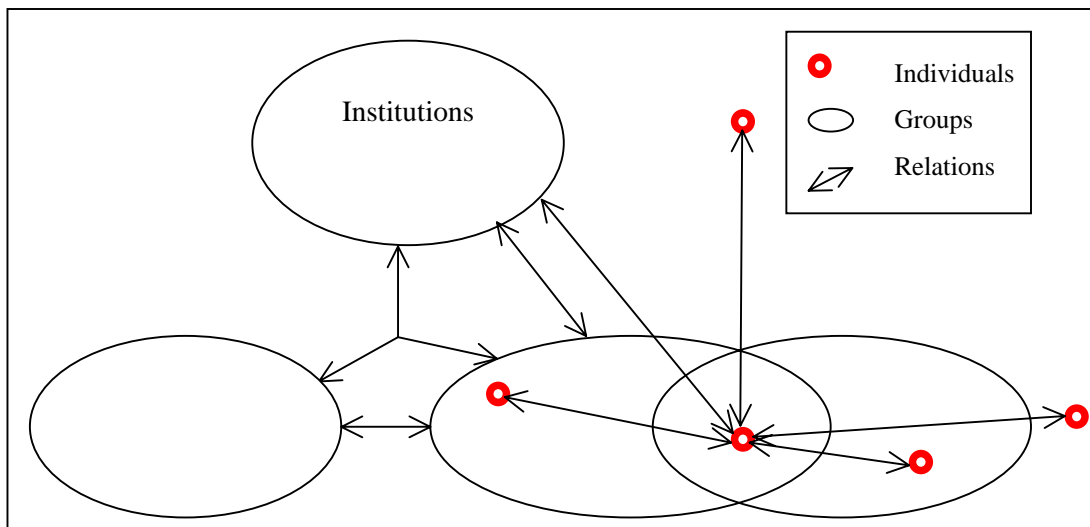


Authority: social relations can have authoritarian components, especially when talking about vertical relations.

As seen in the scheme, social capital can manifest itself in many different ways and can work in different directions. The data gathered from the fieldwork will be processed according to the scheme to be able to identify it in its specific form. This scheme can be modified as the fieldwork goes on, since the specific cultural context and the perceptions of the people may differ from it and add extra fields or perspectives that were not taken into account,

The purpose of the research is not to undertake a social capital measurement, but to identify it in the field and for the specific context of the neighbourhood to be studied. I will use the previous analysis of the concept to be able to capture the most information possible from the interviews, talks and observation in the field. However, and as stated above, the concept of social capital is going to be analysed for a specific context and therefore new indicators and forms may be developed during the fieldwork as the research is being done. These new indicators may arise from the actual interviews or observations and can also be identified from the inhabitants' perceptions. In other words, during the interviews, strong emphasis is going to be paid to what the people describe as being important in terms of their social relations. The following scheme tries to pre-identify the different types of relations that are expected to be seen in the fieldwork.

**Figure 3. Possible forms of relations** (*the direction of the arrows represents the horizontal and vertical relations*)



Using these two schemes, the data collected from the interviews and observations, will be organised and categorised and thereafter, an analysis of it will be made. As the interviews and observations advance, adjustments to the schemes may be made and topics that are perceived as more relevant may be researched with more detail. However, even if the schemes are not altered, new indicators will be developed according to the people's perceptions.

### 2.3. Related variables and indicators

According to the research questions and the objectives of this study, the approach for the fieldwork should be to come with an open mind and try to identify how the people perceive social capital and how it works in this specific environment. The related variables and indicators developed in this part are therefore only a way to focus on the topic to be studied during the fieldwork, yet these are not going to be measured quantitatively. As mentioned above, these will be further developed as the fieldwork advances and different indicators may be identified and perceived from the inhabitants.

**Figure 4. Related variables and indicators of social capital**

| CONCEPT     | INDICATORS/VARIABLES  |
|-------------|---|
| Trust       | Lending<br>Saving Groups<br>Credit shopping<br>Delegation of tasks (by will)  |
| Norms       | Social control (by institutions and by community)<br>Respect for others<br>Cultural habits<br>Paternal control<br>Authority control |
| Values      | Cultural habits<br>Civic education<br>Family education  |
| Obligations | Delegation of tasks (have to)<br>Social control (by institutions and by community)<br>If... then...                                 |
| Reciprocity | Do... later....<br>Lending and Owing  |
| Solidarity  | Help<br>Cooperation   |
| Authority   | Leadership<br>Clientelism<br>Power distance   |

### **2.3.1. Question guidelines for interviews**

The following questions shall be used as guidelines for the interviews or talks with inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Not all the questions will be asked in each interview, and depending on the answers given for each questions, further questions relating to it will be made, if the information provided seems to have more specific information behind. I now proceed with categorising the questions into the different aspects of the framework. Some questions fall in more than one category, but as I said, they are only guidelines, so the data gathered from them shall be classified afterwards.

#### Trust:

- Can you take buy things from the shops and pay later?
- How do you get along with your neighbours?
- Do you have good friends here?
- Do you trust the people in your neighbourhood?

#### Norms:

- Please tell me about your neighbourhood.
- How is the “living together” (convivencia) in the neighbourhood?
- Are there rules in the neighbourhood? Who sets them?

#### Values:

- Is there respect among people here?
- What are you proud of in the neighbourhood?

#### Obligations:

- What kinds of meetings are there? Do you go?

#### Reciprocity:

- Are the people thankful?
- If you have problems, who do you go to? What do you do?
- Do you lend money?
- Do you owe money?

#### Solidarity:

- Who provides help in the neighbourhood?
- Who do you help?
- Who helps you?
- Is there any type of work in common?
- Do you take care of one another?
- Do you know your neighbours?

#### Authority:

- Are there any leaders/ organisers? Who? How are they elected?
- Who has power in the neighbourhood?
- Who in the government or in any organisation do you have contact with?

Value:

- Who helps you the most in bettering your conditions?
- Are social relations important to you?
- Are social relations useful for you? How?
- How can social relations improve?

Form:

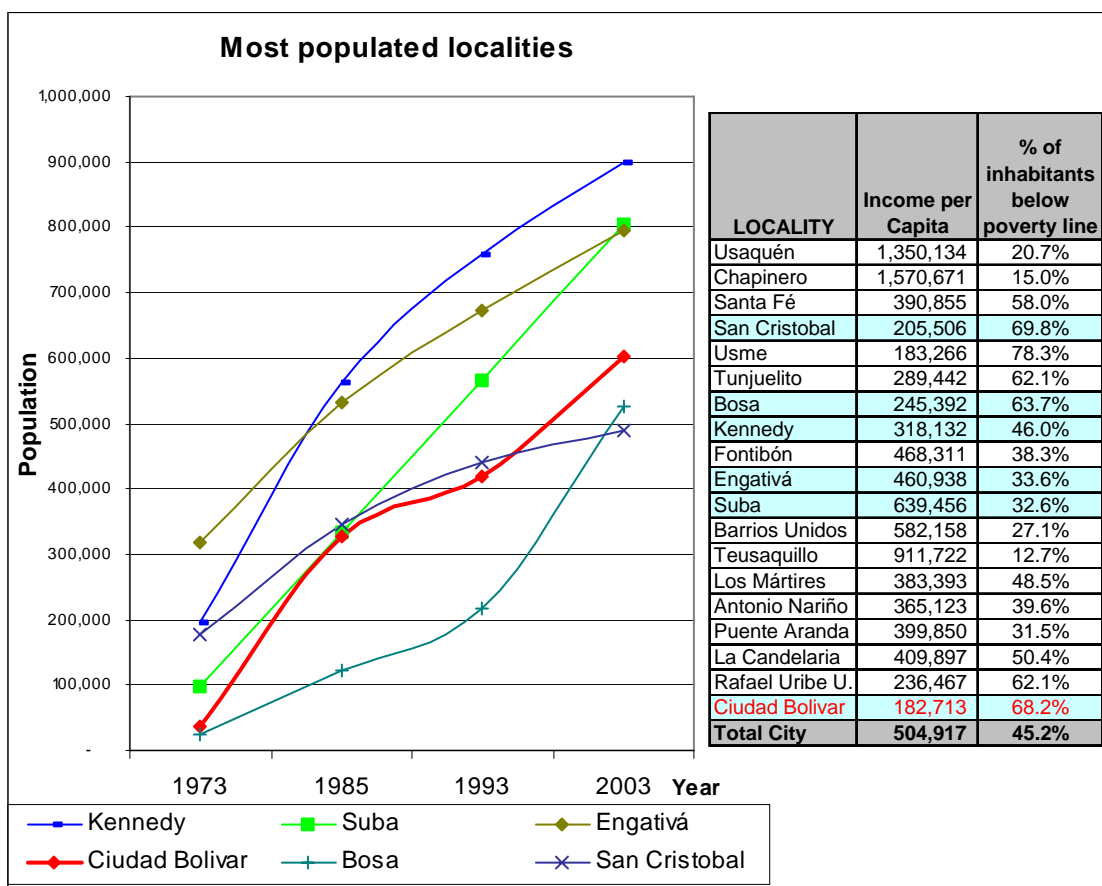
- What communal activities are there?
- Please tell me about the community action board (junta de acción comunal).
- Do you go to any meeting?
- Do you know many people?
- How is the relationship with your extended families and or “padrinos”?
- Are there people that help you economically?
- Who could do it and how?
- Tell me about the church / religious institutions here.
- When and where do you meet your acquaintances?
- How are your relations in your work?

## Chapter 3 Research data

### 3.1. Context of Ciudad Bolívar

Bogotá is divided into 20 different sub-municipalities or localities ('localidades'). See figure 8 for a map of the whole city and its political divisions. Out of those 20, Ciudad Bolívar is one of the most populated localities. According to official figures, Bogotá has around 6.8 Million inhabitants and Ciudad Bolívar more than 0.6 Million, which accounts for about 10% of the total population of the city. There are other sources however, that argue that the population of Ciudad Bolívar is above 1 Million inhabitants, making it the locality most populated in the city and also one of the fastest growing as can be seen in the graph on figure 5.

Figure 5. Trend of most populated localities in Bogotá and income per capita in Colombian pesos



Sources: DANE, DAPD<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> DANE: Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística. Population Census in 1973, 1985, 1993. DAPD: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital y DANE. Encuesta de calidad de vida 2003.

Ciudad Bolivar is situated on the edge of Bogotá and most of its area lies on the mountains that surround the city on the southwest. Therefore, most of its human settlements are located in hilly areas and in most cases above the altitude of the rest of the city. That makes living conditions more difficult for several reasons that will not be discussed here.

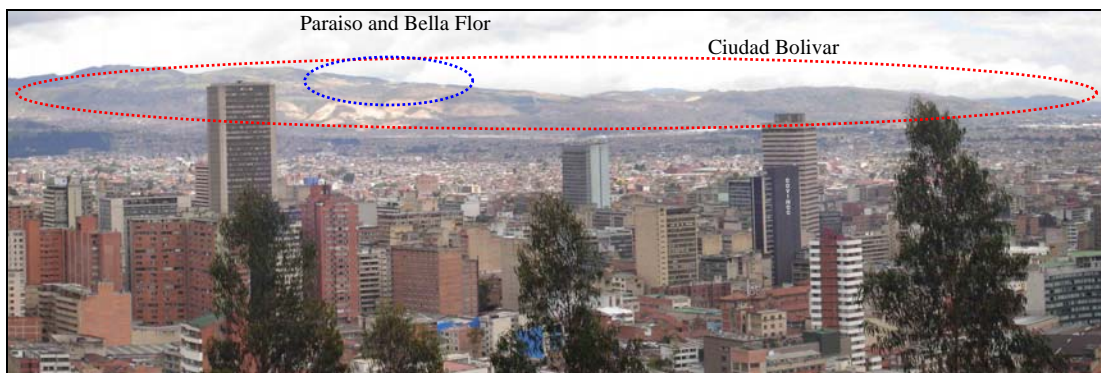
**Figure 6. Indicators of life quality comparing Bogotá and Ciudad Bolivar**

| Bogota & Ciudad Bolivar - Global Indicator of Life Quality (ICV) 1998 |                  |           |        |           |               |              |                |   |
|---|------------------|-----------|--------|-----------|---------------|--------------|----------------|---|
|   | Housing Standard | Education | Health | Transport | Income & Work | Public Areas | Citizen Secity | Global Indicator of Life Quality 98 ICV |
| Ciudad Bolivar  | 20,5             | 27,4      | 53,4   | 50,1      | 20            | 0.7          | 29             | 28,74                                   |
| Bogota  | 51,8             | 52,8      | 51,5   | 47,7      | 43,6          | 27,8         | 26,7           | 43,13                                   |

Source: Echanove, 2004. From Rueda-Garcia, *Understanding Slums: Case Studies for the Global Report 2003: Bogotá*, UN Habitat 2003

Several studies of the city of Bogotá show that Ciudad Bolivar accounts as one of the localities with worst socio-economic indicators, if not the worst in the city. The table in figure 6, which compares the city of Bogotá and Ciudad Bolivar using some general indicators, shows vast differences. Looking at the map of figure 8, where the darker red represents the lowest average income per family, it is clear where the highest concentration of poverty is found.

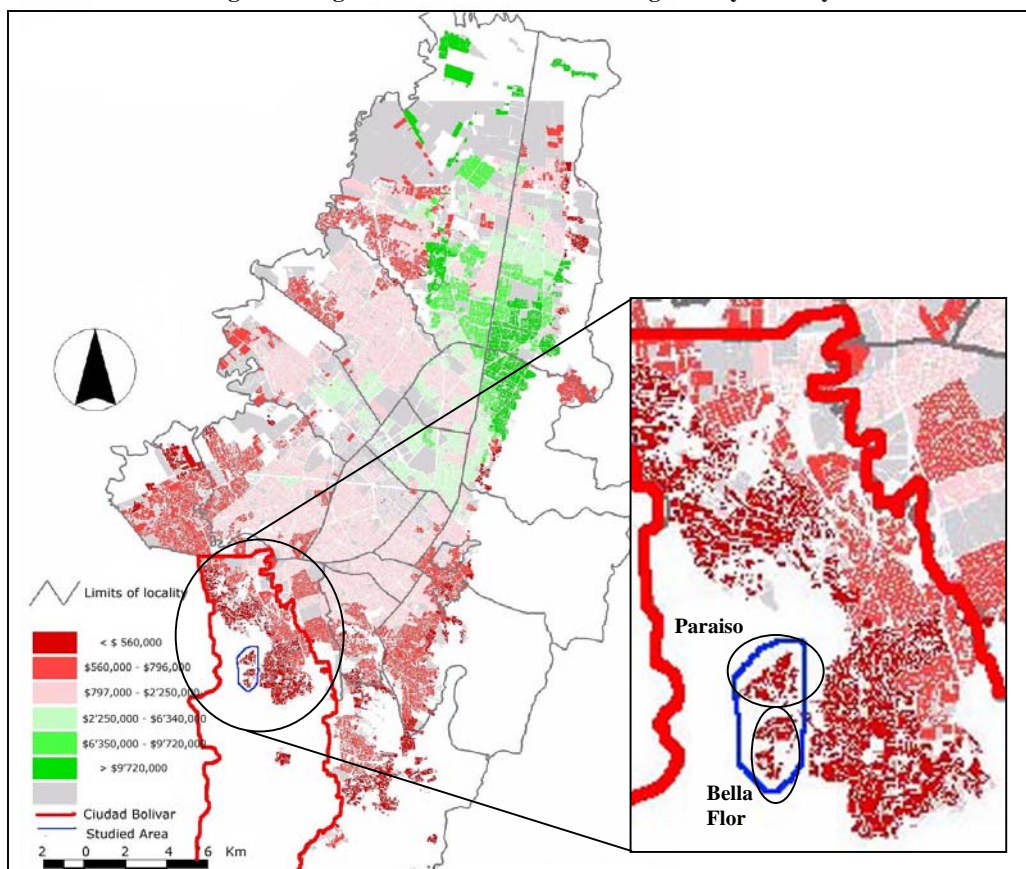
**Figure 7. View towards Ciudad Bolivar from the city centre of Bogotá**



### 3.1.1. Description of study area

The area where the study was conducted comprises three *main neighbourhoods*, namely Bella Flor, Mirador and Paraiso. I say main neighbourhoods, because there are some smaller neighbourhoods that are in the area, but they are either very small or are in the process of formation. For the purpose of this study, it is not of great relevance to rigorously distinguish the political boundaries of each particular neighbourhood, but it's useful to divide the area into two main areas. They are going to be referred to the neighbourhoods of Bella Flor and Paraiso during this research. The main reasons for this arbitrary division are the geo-physical characteristics of the areas studied.

Figure 8. Bogotá and Ciudad Bolívar average family monthly income



Source: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital

Both neighbourhoods lie on one of the highest areas of the city of Bogotá with an altitude of around 3000 meters above sea level<sup>5</sup>. They are located above an area that used to be a rock quarry and are divided from the rest of the neighbourhoods of Ciudad Bolívar by a small creek. That can be observed on the figure 8 by the blank area that separates them of the rest of the neighbourhoods. Their borders are mostly with rural lands of the area of Quiba, also part of the locality of Ciudad Bolívar.

As stated previously, the study area will be handled as two main areas in the rest of this document: the neighbourhoods of Bella Flor and Paraiso. The reasons for this arbitrary division can be explained by looking at the figure 8, where it's clear how these two areas are physically divided. The geographical conditions of both are different as well. Bella Flor is located on top of and on the hillsides of a hill next to Paraiso. There is an unpaved road that goes up to the central part of the neighbourhood, but in fact, most of the access of the inhabitants is granted by different sets of stairs or paths (see figure 9) that go from Paraiso to Bella Flor. In terms of infrastructure, Paraiso is more developed than Bella Flor in the sense that it

<sup>5</sup> The majority of the city of Bogotá is located at an altitude of around 2600 meters above sea level.

has a defined street grid (some streets paved) as opposed to Bella Flor's main access road and walking paths that characterise its *streets*. Most commercial activities and institutions are located in Paraiso. Another notorious difference is the physical conditions of the housing stock of Bella Flor, which in general terms is worst than in Paraiso.

**Figure 9. Typical streets in Paraiso (above) and walking paths in Bella Flor (below)**



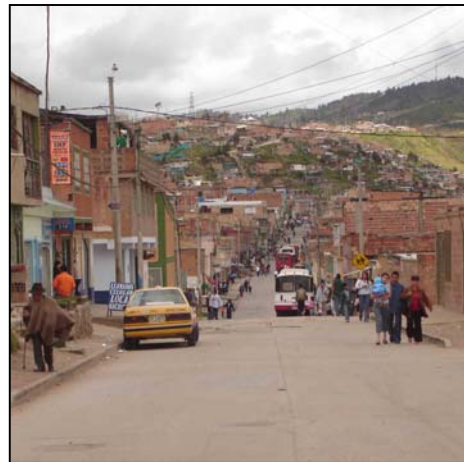
In general, the forced migrants and the population of limited economical resources settle in the peripheral rings of the neighbourhoods that are already established in the south of Bogotá (Pening G., 2005). Paraiso and Bella Flor were rural lands around 20 years ago. They started to be a part of the urban context of the city of Bogotá in the mid nineteen-eighties. People from different parts of the city started settling down in this area with the purpose of having their own houses. The area offered some of the most affordable alternatives for people with low socio-economical characteristics. Later, and as migration from other parts of the country to the city of Bogotá started growing, many of these migrants settled down in the area as one of the only alternatives as well. Paraiso and Bella Flor are still located on the edge of the urban limits of the city and have a small distance separating them from other neighbourhoods.



Figure 10. Stairs to Bella Flor and ‘la avenida’

It wasn't until recently (less than ten years ago) that the neighbourhoods started being legalised and have the same public services that the rest of the city has (water, electricity, gas, telephone). In terms of public transportation, the access to the area was not very good, until Transmilenio<sup>6</sup> incorporated a route that goes up to Paraiso. That brought better access, both because of the service and also because of the paving works that came with it. The inhabitants of Bella Flor, however, still have to climb a set of around 250 steps from where the buses stop, up to the main area of the neighbourhood.

Besides the main street (‘la avenida’) of Paraiso and some other smaller streets that connect to it, no other streets are paved. This ‘avenida’, as people refer to it, is where most buses ride and where most of the commercial activities and social life of the whole area takes place. There is no police station in the area. A small station (CAI<sup>7</sup>) located in another neighbourhood provides its services by patrolling the area occasionally. In terms of healthcare, there is a small medical centre (UBA<sup>8</sup>) and patients are remitted to nearby attention centres with better infrastructure if necessary. There are two primary education public schools (‘escuelas’), a secondary education public school (‘bachillerato’) and several other primary education private schools (‘colegios’). There is one Catholic church in Paraiso and several Christian<sup>9</sup> churches in the area. Lastly, several NGOs have presence in the area working with the community and mainly with the large amounts of children that



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<sup>6</sup> Transmilenio is a new massive transportation system of the city of Bogotá. It started operations around the year 2000 and works with long articulated buses that have exclusive lanes and stop only in the designated stations. Paraiso is reached with one of the system's *alimentation routes*, which are buses that take the users into the main system.

<sup>7</sup> CAI: Centre of immediate attention.

<sup>8</sup> UBA: Basic attention unit.

<sup>9</sup> The predominant religion in Colombia (around 90%) has been the Roman Catholic Church since the Spaniards colonised the country. Other churches of different Christian denominations that have presence in the area will be referred to as Christian arbitrarily. This has no relevance to the subject studied. In general, people talked about these churches during the fieldwork in that same way.

inhabit this area. There are only a few public spaces such as parks or sport places in the area.

***Fundación Bella Flor***

*The Bella Flor Foundation is an NGO that has had presence in the neighbourhoods of Bella Flor and Paraiso for over four years. With its programmes, it provides benefits to children between 4 and 16 years of age and to a lesser extent, also to their families. The foundation has a house in the neighbourhood of Paraiso, where the children go three times per week for the different activities. They work with over one hundred children and have three main programmes for them. They support the children economically for the education and with health issues, they pay for their lunch at another NGO during the schooldays and they give them education in values.*

Each neighbourhood has at least one community action board ('*junta de acción comunal*'), which is the head of the neighbourhood for organisational issues and for the relations with the public institutions and politicians. Any inhabitant of the neighbourhood has the right to be a member of the board, but the participation is not very high. They are led by a president who is elected by a voting process of the members of the board.

The education levels of the population of Ciudad Bolivar are rather low in the context of Bogotá. The rate of illiteracy for the locality is about 5% and less than 2% for the rest of the city. The average years of study for people over 34 years of age are about 6 years as opposed to the average for the city, which is around 10 years (Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital and Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, 2004). In terms of the labour market situation, Bella Flor presents low levels of occupation. The occupied people accounts for only around 37% of the population in working age of the neighbourhood (Pening G., 2005). The situation of Paraiso should be fairly similar, but no data was found.

**Figure 11. Dwellings in Bella Flor**



### **3.2. Results of other studies in the same context**

As I have commented previously in this work, different studies have dealt with the topic of social capital in the country of Colombia and also in the city of Bogotá in particular.

I would like to start this review by discussing the main results of a study made by the National Planning Department of Colombia about social capital in Colombia. This was probably one of the first approaches to this concept in the country. Its objectives were to design an instrument to measure the social capital in the country over time and make a first measurement of it. This study was also used for the World Values Survey, where in the comparison with other countries, most indicators for Colombia were rather low, especially basic ones for social capital such as interpersonal trust (Sudarsky, 1999).

The study recognised different dimensions of social capital according to the empirical analysis. These dimensions were: civic participation, institutional trust, solidarity and mutuality, horizontal relations, hierarchy or vertical articulation, social control, civic republicanism, political participation, information and transparency and lastly media. Among these dimensions, the ones that had most relevance on the social capital according to their results were solidarity and mutuality, horizontal relations and social control (Sudarsky, 1999).

In terms of solidarity and mutuality, it was found that the value of belonging to similar interest organisations, unions or clusters and political parties was of great impact to the social capital. In regards to the horizontal relations, they found that the impact of these, had great relevance, but it would still necessary to look deeper into the regional differences to conclude further. However, a problem observed in this dimension is the lack of generalised interpersonal trust that can create rigid limits between groups and generate exclusion. This issue was identified to have a potential development with a help of a third party enforcement working on expanding more generalised trust. The solidarity on the horizontal social relations also had a significant impact on the social capital as opposed to other of its forms like general and vertical solidarity which didn't have such an impact (Sudarsky, 1999).

The dimension of social control emerged as a result of the changes in governance of the country<sup>10</sup> from a state- towards a people- oriented governance with more participation mechanisms. This dimension has to do then, with the trust in these different mechanisms to control the state. This dimension showed the greatest relevance on social capital. It was recommended then, to study its variables more in detail, especially the trust in the institutions that control the state. It was also found that social control was highly correlated with education, and therefore education had a great impact on social capital. "A child that doesn't go to school will not have the abilities to be a citizen" (Sudarsky, 1999).

They also argued that social capital can be found in different specific forms or territorial circumstances: interpersonal relations, civil society, politics, educational settings, work, state, media, recreation and religion. Among these forms or circumstances, the ones that were found to be most important were family, civil society and religion (Sudarsky, 1999).

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<sup>10</sup> The National Constitution of Colombia was changed in 1991.

Family and religion were the two circumstances or forms that seem most important in Colombia. These however, are argued not to contribute to social capital and seem to be more of refuge that people take because of the lack of generalised trust of the society. Religion is not only argued not to contribute to the generation of social capital, but is also argued to create a non-secular civil society, especially in the case of Colombia where a vast majority of the population belong to the Roman Catholic Church. To create a more secular society is of great relevance to generate social capital and that can be done for instance by generating more voluntary non religious organisations (Sudarsky, 1999).

Civil society is where most social capital is found in Colombia. It is however, mostly civil society that is contained in neighbourhoods and does not transcend to broader instances. Bigger territorial instances are not significant when it comes to civil society and generation of social capital in Colombia. There is a great distance between the neighbourhood and the nation and/or the society (Sudarsky, 1999).

I now would like to discuss some of the results of another study undertaken by the World Bank about the Social Dimensions of the Crisis<sup>11</sup> in Colombia. This study concluded that there is more of a process of erosion than of creation of social capital in Colombia. They argue that in time of crisis and insecurity, such as the current situation of Colombia, trust diminishes. According to their empirical study, “mistrust is the variable that limits the process of formation and consolidation of social capital”. Violence increases mistrust and therefore affects social capital negatively (González, 2001). They also found that forced migrants and displaced people have more problems in the formation of social capital, due to the fear and mistrust that their migration circumstances<sup>12</sup> left in them.

This study identified the most evident form of social capital in Colombia as being the one established by the households to resolve short-term problems like solidarity actions with family issues (deaths or births), shortages of water or food. They argue that not even informal arrangements are common, unless it is for some sort of temporary solution for specific vulnerability issues. They also found that women are the ones that generate most inter-household social capital in order to solve these short term issues (González, 2001).

It was also found that the social capital with productive means or to solve longer term issues is less developed. These more organised forms of social capital are the ones that lead to gains like reducing transaction costs. They also argue that there are indications that these forms of social capital contribute to the formation of human capital, increase the well-being by working in community and even maybe contribute to increasing income (González, 2001). They formulate this as a hypothesis for further research due to lack of strong evidence from their empirical study.

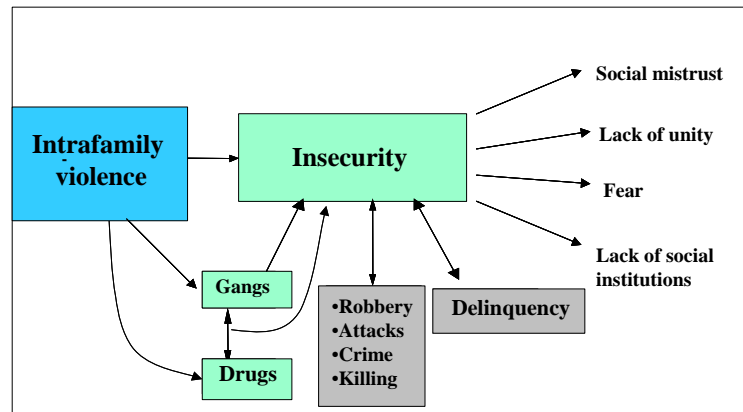
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<sup>11</sup> The Colombian crisis refers currently mostly to the consequences due to the internal armed conflict in the country.

<sup>12</sup> Many of these migrants have had to leave their places of residence in forced circumstances due to the armed conflict of the country.

The study also argues that the importance of third party actors is really important to accomplish formal arrangements among households, citizen organisations and participation, which are all relevant elements of social capital. The community action boards represent an important actor this respect. They found that in communities with strata<sup>13</sup> 1 and 2 in Bogotá, the community action boards have facilitated the processes of citizen organisation and participation. They also found that among rural groups, there were no organised network systems (González, 2001).

Figure 12. Outcomes of insecurity



Source: Moser, 2005

A participatory empirical study about the Social costs of conflict and local peace initiatives in Colombia by Caroline Moser, she found that the outcomes of insecurity are not only increased fear, but also erosion of unity, trust and a lack of social institutions such as service delivery organisations and membership groups. Half of these membership groups however, were violence-related groups (Moser, 2005).

On a study about the relations of social capital and income in urban households in Colombia, one of the conclusions state that the horizontal organisations are necessary for a stable income with less variations and to accomplish broader goals with lower transaction costs and more information transfer for all levels of income. As it was mentioned previously as well, the findings lead to conclude the social capital has positive effects on the income of the households. It also argues that the results match a previous study<sup>14</sup>, where people considered organisation and common work as one of the best ways to survive, develop and improve the conditions (Polanía Reyes, 2005).

<sup>13</sup> The city of Bogotá has six different socio-economical strata in which each area is classified for purposes as scaled payment of public services for example.

<sup>14</sup> Arboleda, J., P. Petesch y J. Blackburn (2004) *Voices of the Poor in Colombia. Strengthening livelihoods, families, and communities*. World Bank.

### 3.3. Methodology of fieldwork

As argued in the first chapter, the purpose of this research was to understand the way that social capital manifests itself in a poor neighbourhood of the city of Bogotá and to try to find the inhabitants' perceptions in regards to the subject studied. It was therefore of great relevance to speak with the local inhabitants and participate in their daily lives as much as possible to get the most insight into the substance of their social capital, as opposed to only measuring the extent of it. Quantitative measurements about the extent of social capital in the city and country have already been undertaken and have given much information, but for the purpose of this work, a qualitative research using different techniques like in-depth interviews and participatory observations for instance, suited more to answer the questions posed.

The studies discussed previously suggested certain issues to be approached in a different and more specific way. The first one suggests looking deeper into the regional differences to conclude more about the horizontal relations and also argues that civil society that is contained in neighbourhoods is where most social capital is found in Colombia. The second one found that women are the ones that generate most inter-household social capital in order to solve these short term issues. This research suits all of these issues as will be discussed hereafter.

The fieldwork was undertaken in the month of July 2006 in the city of Bogotá. I spent four weeks working as a volunteer for the Bella Flor Foundation. That granted me an *entry pass* for the area studied, being it a *difficult neighbourhood* in terms of insecurity for instance. It was also a way to facilitate the response of the people to be interviewed, since they would behave more naturally, because it was no stranger talking to them, but the member of an NGO helping the neighbourhood.

During this time, my tasks for the NGO were to undertake household visits to the families benefited by their programmes and make a survey of their quality of life. Another aspect was to provide support to the field coordinator in her daily activities in the neighbourhood. Thanks to that, I was able to attend a few capacity building activities undertaken by the Bella Flor Foundation and other NGOs of the area. It also gave me a chance to meet many inhabitants of the area and participate in their daily activities.

The field coordinator, a local leader<sup>15</sup> herself, would also introduce me to other inhabitants of the neighbourhoods and to different community leaders. I was also introduced to different NGOs and other institutions that I could get to interview. The fieldwork consisted of two activities. One part was to undertake interviews to inhabitants, local leaders and institutions. The other part consisted of being a participant observer by attending capacity building meetings, institutional meetings,

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<sup>15</sup> Local or community leaders are those persons of the neighbourhoods that participate most in communal activities. It is not a formal distinction, but people do recognise them as leaders. Their participation can be by organising activities, being involved in the community action boards or in politics and being active in other kinds of communitarian work for instance.

parent's consultations, visits to schools and other institutional activities on the one hand, and more informal activities such as informal gatherings, chats, visits and walks through the neighbourhoods on the other hand. In all of these activities, observations and interviews/conversations were made. The data was collected in the field book during the activities.

I now will provide a brief discussion of all data sources mentioned above:

Interviews to inhabitants: mostly by visiting them in their houses. Interviews made about the social relations of them and others in the neighbourhood. Also about the institutional context and when it was the case, about their relations at work or in other parts of the city.

Interviews to local leaders: visits to their houses. Interviews made about their different levels of participation in the community and their activities. Also about the social relations of them and others in their neighbourhood, the institutional linkages and interactions, and the levels of participation of the rest of the community.

Visits and interviews to institutions: visits to the specific locations of the institutions. Presentation of the institution and its tasks by them. Depending on the fields of work, questions about certain aspects related to social capital. Interviews made about the institutional context, its linkages and the participation of the community.

Attendance to capacity building activities: visits to the different activities related to capacity building to the community by public institutions, NGOs or combined programmes. Role of participant observer filled by collaborating in the activities and chatting with other participants and organisers.

Institutional meetings: attendance as participant observer to inter- and intra-institutional meetings in regards to ongoing programmes or possible linkages to be developed.

Parent's consultations: role of participant observer in consultations made by the beneficiaries of the programmes of the Bella Flor Foundation to the field coordinator and sometimes to me as part of the staff of the NGO.

Informal gatherings, chats, visits or walks: spending much time with the field coordinator, participated in her social life by being present in different kinds of informal and friendly meetings in her house, other's houses and on the street. By the end of the fieldwork, I would meet people on the street myself and chatted with them.

Visits to schools: visits to schools and interviews about the role of the community (parents) in the education of the children and the different values and attitudes of the families and children.

Other institutional activities: daily routine activities of the Bella Flor Foundation and observing the attitudes of the community towards the NGO.

For the in-depth interviews that were undertaken at all instances, no fixed questions were asked, but the list of questions that was prepared in the framework was used to guide the conversations, and depending on the answers and the interviewee, different

questions were asked to go deeper into the answers or to find out about other aspects that were not predefined in the framework and came out during the interview. Other interviews or activities as participant observer did not have a fixed structure either, but the strategy was to participate actively and talk with participants and ask some questions related to the subject studied.

A total of 34 interviews (21 women, 9 men and 4 small groups) were conducted and a table with the descriptions of the interviews can be found in the annex. Only the formal interviews are registered here, but in top of that, many chats, observations and interpretations were made during the fieldwork and some of notes taken may be found in the annex.

The interviewees were chosen with purposive sampling, trying to speak to all possible representative groups of the population. The institutions visited were chosen purposively depending on the work they were doing with the community and its relevance to the topic. The attendance to meetings and other activities were decided based on the possibilities and information gathered in those regards.

Out of the 34 interviews, the majority were women. That was due to the fact that the interviews were undertaken during the day. Men do not spend much time in their houses. Either they are working or out doing other things. Women on the other hand stay in their house most of the time and as it will be discussed further on, they seem to be centre of the households.

### **3.4. Results of fieldwork**

Having described the context and explained how the study was undertaken, I now proceed with the main results that came out of the fieldwork. I will present this part in order to try to answer the questions stated in the first chapter, and therefore, I will organise these results according to the questions. As a reminder, I want to go back to the main research question, which is what I intend to answer with this study. So, how does social capital work in a poor neighbourhood of Bogotá and what relevance does it have for its inhabitants?

To answer this question I developed the framework of figure 2 and with it directed the research in order to be able to gather data to be used with it. The collected data were organised according to this framework and here is some of this gathered information divided into the topics addressed by the three sub questions.

#### **3.4.1. Inhabitants' perceptions on social capital**

The first question is about the perceptions of the inhabitants of the area of interest on social capital. In order to get an idea of these perceptions, the interviews and observations were directed according to the concepts of trust, norms, values, obligations, reciprocity, solidarity and authority previously described in the



framework for this research. I now proceed with the results gathered from the interviews.

### **3.4.1.1. Trust**

In regards to the perceptions of the inhabitants of the research area about trust, people argue that, in general, trust levels are low in both neighbourhoods. There may be a slight difference between the perception of trust of the inhabitants of Paraiso and the ones of Bella Flor, where the former sometimes argue that they trust the others in the neighbourhood, and the latter argue mostly that they don't trust others. This issue is however, counterweighted with several indications, which show that there are high levels of trust between the neighbours in their own street. "One can leave the door of the house open and nothing will happen. Neighbours are always paying attention".

There are also great levels of trust among the people who participate in religious activities, who trust both their religious institution and their *religious leaders*. They also argue to trust the other members of the *religious community* they belong to.

One of the prerequisites for trust is time. "You gain friendship and trust with time and by talking to your neighbours". Gaining trust from others is a task that involves showing that you can be trusted, "people trust when the results are seen". This is also true for the trust that the institutions have to gain from the community, "NGOs have to proof that have good will" in order to be accepted by the people. "You only trust friends who you know very well" and "nobody really cares about the others unless the level of trust in someone is big". Time is also needed for people to make friends and trust them. It doesn't only have to do with close friends however, "stores let people pay later mostly if they know them" and "because you inspire trust. Once you pay, they trust you more".

Several constraints in regards to trust were also identified from the interviews with the inhabitants. People "don't trust everybody. You give trust to some, and they take advantage" or "let you down when you don't expect it". Trust is lost in cases like this, because some people say they "have helped a lot, but people have paid badly" like for example a lady whom "I was helping by letting her stay in my house and she was taking my husband away from me". People cannot be trusted for reasons like the previous ones, but the context also plays a role in these regards. "The neighbourhood was dangerous and the consequences are still there". Violence and insecurity of the neighbourhood have an impact in decreasing the trust of the people. In this environment also, "you never know with whom, the people you know, deals with", and therefore, people only trust others they know well.

When it comes to the different institutions, there are low levels of trust from the community to them. On the one hand, there have been problems with the politicians, because of non-accomplished promises, which in turn come back to the trust towards the government institutions. There have also been NGOs that came to the neighbourhood promising benefits and made the people commit themselves but ended up leaving and stealing from them. On the other hand, internally, there has been a

decrease of trust in the community action board, because people argue that they only want to benefit themselves. “The lack of honesty generates mistrust”.

### 3.4.1.2. Norms

In terms of norms that are present in the daily lives of the inhabitants of the research area, culture and habits is what regulates the social interactions. It is hard to describe all the norms that govern the area, but it can be said that the life in the neighbourhoods of Paraiso and Bella Flor “is like living in a town, not in the city”. The life in the neighbourhoods seems to be more rural than urban partly due to the recent settlement of the area<sup>16</sup> and also to the settlers themselves, who in a great quantity have migrated from rural regions of the country. A comment that came out often however, is that “inhabitants have become *more civilised* as the neighbourhoods have developed”. Community action boards have played an important role in this development and in the organisation of the neighbourhoods. They have created some rules and diverse mechanisms to make the co-existence in the area better. People for instance, go to the “conciliator of the action board before going to other institutions to solve problems”. The use however, of formal mechanisms such as lawsuits is also very common.

An aspect that has great relevance in this topic is social control. There are many indications that lead to say that this issue is very high in the researched neighbourhoods. Inhabitants control one another in their neighbourhood in a rather informal way at different levels. Starting by the families, where parents exert great pressure over their family. When youngsters are *off-track*, they are immediately addressed by their families and if things don't change, they are probably forced to leave their home. Then we go into the social control exerted by the neighbours in each street. Most neighbours seem to be controlling what goes on in their street. “When *strange people* are around, we alert each other and take actions if necessary”. Community leaders also exert much control in the area. They are always aware of what is happening in the neighbourhood and also exchange information constantly with other leaders and undertake actions to solve *issues that come up*.

Another way of social control that appeared to have great relevance is the one exerted by the different armed groups<sup>17</sup> in the neighbourhood. In the case of Paraiso and Bella Flor, the ‘paramilitares’ was the prevailing force. This is something that has decreased in the past years, as the presence of the police has increased in the area, yet people still talk about the *social cleansing* undertaken by this group. Some years back, the area was ruled by the so called “paramilitary law” and this group would control the area by killing the people that did not act according to their norms (e.g.

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<sup>16</sup> The neighbourhoods of Paraiso and Bella Flor started being settled in the mid nineteen-eighties

<sup>17</sup> The Colombian conflict has three different main actors or armed groups. The national government and its *army*, the ‘*guerrillas*’, two “left wing” rebel armed groups (FARC and ELN) and the ‘*paramilitares*’, who are the guerrilla’s far right counterpart.

thieves, drug addicts, prostitutes, etc). Others, however, were also affected, but some people say that it “helped to decrease problems, because before *getting yourself into trouble*, you had to think that you could get killed for that”. That is however, not a generalised opinion, since most people say that “the area is dangerous, because of the social cleansing” and that has certainly diminished trust in others.

On the other hand, “in *these circumstances*, people learn to co-exist well with one another”. “People respect the others” and that makes the communal life better. This “respect that people give you is created by you”, but fear also plays a role here, because “people in this neighbourhood are very violent” and that makes people respect one another, so no problems are generated.

### **3.4.1.3. Values**

The different values that people have are a determining factor in the social capital of a community. People have certain ways of thinking that may either contribute or be a hurdle for their social capital. In general, the inhabitants of this area place a great deal of importance to social relations. “Man is social by nature” and “social relations are important. If I don't leave my house, I am no one”. However, people say that “there is much envy of people here” and “they are too proud” to participate and have relations with others. “People are also too selfish” and “think that people that help others, should mind their own business”.

The low levels of education are a problem that has great impact on the values of the people. Most values are learned in the families and maybe at school. Many of the adults of this area have not had much education and have had a pretty *hard life* themselves. “It's hard to change values of adults” and they transfer their own values to their children. This is a vicious circle and “the children here have different values than in *more developed* parts of the city”. “Schools and NGOs are teaching values to children” and have a strong responsibility in regard to this. “People have more education now. There is more participation and more socialisation”, but some values that are not contributing to the social capital of the community, such as the ones described previously “are too hard to change because of the culture”.

Values not only come from family and education, but there is also a personal aspect to it. The way people feel about themselves has great impact on how they live their lives and project their values. In this area some “people don't value themselves” and this is not very good for their social capital. “The change has to start from the inside (yourself)” and if you “respect yourself, there will be respect in the family and in turn respect outside”. “Without self esteem and other values, it's too difficult to understand ourselves” and in turn the others.

A general attitude of the inhabitants of this area is that they “expect to be helped without doing anything to help themselves”. “People in other places recognise our necessity and give to us (pity)”. This attitude contributes negatively to the social capital of the people themselves, because they don't want to contribute to their own lives. If that doesn't happen, their social capital is not being used.

Religion also plays a big role in the values of people. Religious institutions are constantly trying to teach their values to the people. The majority of the people are still Catholic, but Christian religious institutions have been gaining adepts at great pace in the area. The values taught by each belief are somewhat different and the impacts on the daily lives of people are big. “My mother in law changed religion (Catholic to Christian) and that changed her. Now she is always there for us”. It is to argue if a specific religion has more positive impact to social capital than others. That may be a topic for another research, but in this case, I will say that they all contribute to people’s values.

Certain values of the people generate certain gender differences, which in turn have relevance to the issue of social capital. It was observed that men and women have completely different functions in their family. While men are responsible for bringing the economical support, women are in charge of the household and are responsible for the children. The economic responsibility of men is transferred to women, when men fail to fulfil it. Women’s responsibility with the family is then full and they cannot transfer it further, so they have to somehow find ways to fulfil the needs.

#### **3.4.1.4. Obligations**

In general in the neighbourhoods studied, “people don't like to be leaders, participate and commit themselves”. Some have the attitude of not liking to involve others in their lives and get involved in the others’ lives themselves. The “I solve my own problems” attitude is very common. Other “members of the community participate too much, and that takes away the obligations of others”, situation which is not desirable, since the social capital works when people acquire obligations to one another and only one-way actions are not considered as social capital.

“It has to be an effort from the whole community. People have to give or contribute in order to receive”. The inhabitants of the neighbourhoods have been used to receive benefits from a *paternalistic state and private sector* in the previous years. Now “people think that institutions (public and private) have the obligation to help them”, without efforts from their side.

The community action boards have also been affected by this issue, since the “people are unsatisfied with the board. It should respond better”, but the contributions they make are none. The level of association to the board is not very high and the active participation and commitment even less. Yet, people still “go to the board for help”. According their statutes, the members of the board have certain obligations, but the incentives to follow them decrease in the sense that some other inhabitants, who don’t belong to the board, don’t follow them. In that sense, members would have obligations that other don’t.

Most NGOs and private schools that are involved in the area require that the parents get involved with the institutions in order to receive the benefits. A good example of that is the Oasis Foundation, that works with the concept of “trueque social” or social

exchange. They have to contribute in one way or the other to the NGO, so they can be benefited. In other words, these institutions are creating obligations for the people.

### **3.4.1.5. Reciprocity**

“Helping others without interests makes social relations better” is the opinion of some people of the area. These are the ones that are usually some kind of community leaders. “As long as one can, one helps” is however not the way most people go about this. A more generalised thought however is that you help your friends, because “that’s what friends are for. How about if one is in need later?” To a certain extent, I identified that there is some kind of generalised reciprocity in the area. It is more evident in some groups. Looking at the different community leaders for instance or at the newcomers, who “tend to provide more help, people that have been settled longer get tired of it”. On the other hand, not speaking of generalised reciprocity only, I also identified that “if someone treats me right, I do too”. People recognise, when others respond to actions that they undertake in order to benefit the others. “People that are really suffering, are more grateful when helped” and that makes other efforts to help, more likely occur.

People also have short-term reciprocal relations that benefit both parts at the same time. “I have a good relationship with one lady in the neighbourhood and we help each other and give advice to one another”. So, people give each other “mutual support in all problems (with friends)”. Some inhabitants also “refer each other for work opportunities”.

Most relations are seen to have a degree of interest by the different parts. “People get organised if it involves receiving something. They do it for self interest and not for conviction”. “Nobody helps without interest” and “people collaborate with NGOs in order to benefit from their services”. Some people are also very defensive and “if you bring something, you are welcome, otherwise go back like you came”. For the different institutions, it is “difficult to educate people that they have to give in order to receive”. It is however, not only interest that drives the relations, but also values that make people help one another in tasks like taking care of children or “if you give food to somebody, you are never going to lack food”. People help each other quite often with the little food they have, when they can, and they also receive food back when they are in need.

There are some constraints to reciprocity according to the inhabitants. Some people ask for help to the others, but after a certain time of asking, they feel that they cannot ask anymore and have nothing to be reciprocal with. “I ask my neighbour for gas, but now I am embarrassed, because it has been for a week already”. Others “don’t like to owe anything to anybody, because I get scared of not being able to pay back somehow”. In that sense, not having anything to offer in return is a constraint for the use of their social capital. It also can be the case that people are not reciprocal by choice. “I receive job referrals from my friends, but I don’t recommend anyone, because they can make me look bad”.

People also identified some bad experiences in their reciprocal relations. “The more people receive, the least they give” and some even “get angry if you charge them what they owe you”. These kinds of experiences make people hesitate to involve themselves in such *transactions*. On the other hand, if “people help me, then they humiliate me”, so some people prefer not to receive any help from others in order not to feel humiliation afterwards.

#### **3.4.1.6. Solidarity**

“Solidarity amongst poor people is good. They give the little they have”. The concept was defined on the level of unity of different groups for instance. I could recognise it at different levels in the area studied. Families are the first and most basic level. When people are in the need for help, they go to their closest group, which is very commonly their extended family. The neighbours in their own street bond themselves in solidarity networks as well. “Newcomers bond themselves more” than the people that have been in the neighbourhood longer. The community action board constitutes another level; they help create unity among the people of the community. NGOs and religious institutions can also be seen as solidarity networks for the community, since they provide help to their beneficiaries or *members* respectively.

The different manifestations of solidarity in these different levels mentioned are various. “When people realize that one doesn't have, then they contribute”. One of the prerequisites for solidarity to work is need. Community action boards “collect from community when there is some kind of a need” either of a member or of the community as a whole. The Catholic Church is building a new church in Paraiso and “all contribute to get funds for the church”. “In other places, people don't help each other like in this neighbourhood” is also something that came out in many cases. However, not only inhabitants are the ones that engage themselves in solidarity actions, but the vast presence of the civil society in the form of NGOs in the neighbourhood is a factor that has great relevance, in the sense that they organise solidarity networks among their benefited population.

“When people have a negative shock, most people help”. Most of the inhabitants are very responsive when it comes to help other people that have gone through negative shocks like for instance a family death. Food transfers are also a very common way to find solidarity, especially amongst neighbours. “If I have more than I need, I share it with my neighbour”. They also take care of one another in their own street. “When thieves come, people come out to the street”. Another way that was found, was the communal work that some members of the community undertake. “Some people have land and others put the work but no land, and all work together and divide the harvest”. The community action boards played a big role in organising the people in previous years when public services were not provided. “People got together to buy material and install water provision from the next town”.

There are however some constraints that were identified in this issue. Envy and resentment of the people started hindering the unity of the neighbourhood (Pineda, 2000). “People don't help much. The envy of them is an obstacle”. *Envy* was

constantly identified as being one of the probable causes for people not to help one another in the neighbourhood. It was difficult however, to understand the exact connotation of the concept of *envy*, because people use it in a rather ambiguous way and it was hard to capture indications of the precise connotations. It deals however, apparently, with people not wanting to let others develop more than them. Another constraint is the fact that “after having helped much, one gets tired” of doing it. Some members of the community participate more than others and that can be something that in the long term hinders doing it.

### **3.4.1.7. Authority**

Authority is a concept that is not directly mentioned by the people in the different talks, but several indications of hierarchy can be identified in different relations that take place. Starting by the family relations again, they certainly imply a degree of hierarchy, where generations are the level of measure. In many cases also, “family is the first source for help”. “The community action board is like the mother and father of the community” in the sense that they represent a rather higher level in the neighbourhood. The economical situation of the different inhabitants also defines a certain level of hierarchy. “I ask for help to people that are better off”. Another level of hierarchy that was identified was that “previously settled residents rule over newcomers”. In one way or the other, the established residents make the others feel that they have more power. A more ambiguous level of hierarchy identified, was the one represented by the different criminal groups such as ‘paramilitares’ for instance. “Here, you have to have *bad people* as friends too. They may help you, but I treat them carefully, they can harm you”.

These levels of hierarchy can also be seen as different power relations, and in some cases, that power provides most benefits to ones on top. Working relations with the bosses can be a case where this is found. “My ex-boss harassed me and I had to quit”. Clientelism was also very commonly indicated, both by the boards and by the community itself as can be seen here: “*Ediles*<sup>18</sup> are the bridge from boards to government. The allocate budget depends on number of votes received from each neighbourhood”. “Politicians come before elections and never again”.

In regards to these hierarchical relations, some problems were found. The main problem that was identified was the mistrust that some of these relationships have built in the community. “The board wants to get benefits always” and “wants to manipulate the community”. People are also “scared of the institutions and government”, because of bad experiences that have been adding up. “Corruption and bureaucracy of the institutions” was also identified as being a factor with great relevance.

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<sup>18</sup> An edil is a citizen (politician) that is elected by the inhabitants of sub-areas of a locality. The edil is the representative of the inhabitants in the sub-municipalities (‘localidad’).

### **3.4.2. Relevance and manifestations of social capital in the area**

The second question deals on the one hand, with the contribution of social capital to the inhabitants of the studied area and on the other hand, with the way social capital is manifested in the area. To deal with these two issues, I go back to the framework and first look at the value of the social capital for the individuals or communities according to their perceptions, and then at the different manifestations of social capital that were found during the fieldwork, categorising them in the form of manifestation.

#### **3.4.2.1. Value of social capital in the context**

To start discussing about the relevance that social capital has for the inhabitants in the neighbourhoods studied, it is crucial to mention some issues that they have accomplished with their social capital in the past. “It was a big ‘solidarious’ family that helped mutually in the construction of their dwellings and supported the initiatives of the first leaders who started a long process for the public services provision” (Pineda, 2000) “The community started advancing with the efforts of leaders and community action boards”. They organised the inhabitants and channelled their needs to the different public institutions and attracted their attention. “Public services were brought thanks to the community action boards”. It was not only the public services, but the inhabitants themselves (via the boards) achieved most of the current conditions of the area.

“I like to be ok with everyone. That is good for all”. The relevance that people place to social relations in their lives is high. “The people that live in the same street are constantly taking care of each other”. Direct neighbours are not the only source to generate positive impacts to the life of the people, but “the more people you know, the more work comes to you” shows the importance of having vast networks. Job referrals by other members of the community are a quite common method for getting jobs.

“Social relations are essential for support, advice and for times of need”. People give great support to one another in their daily lives, both in material and non-material forms. “We always talk about our problems with my neighbour” and people advise and support one another. Taking part in different communal activities also brings benefits, because “meetings help me take the problems out of the head”. These different forms of social capital contribute to the well-being of the people according to them. “Elderly people have others looking for them and have less loneliness”. The networks they create by themselves or via NGOs or public institutions are crucial for their subsistence. Religious institutions also provide these types of non-material benefits to the people. “Church represents moral support and spiritual happiness”.

Another aspect that can be argued to be of great value for people is the communication and information transfer that arises from the social relations that people engage themselves in. “There is communication about different aid that is available between neighbours”. “You get information of what is happening in



neighbourhood (friends, enemies, jobs, etc.)”. The modern communication technologies however, have hindered the human communication processes to a certain extent (Pineda, 2000), although the levels of technology that the inhabitants have access to are not vast. Again, the bigger your social network, the most benefits you seem to get. “People know me, and therefore buy from me, give me jobs etc”. “You sometimes need favours, and if you have good social relations, you can get things easier”.

“Social relations are important, because without them, there can be no organisation, and therefore it will be more difficult to undertake programmes for the community”. “It is important to organise people in community action boards for the development of the neighbourhood”. “Group actions are broader and that generates more impact”. People recognise the importance of the organisation of the community. “If people are united, they get more attention from the institutions”. “Since the community is working together, there are less internal problems” and they “are solved internally faster than via the institutions”.

### **3.4.2.2. Vertical manifestations**

Vertical manifestations of social capital are all manifestations that occur between individuals or groups that are in *different levels*. These different levels have to do mostly with different degrees of power, be it political, institutional, hierarchical, socio-economic, religious, or at the work environment. These manifestations can be formal or informal, depending if they occur through any established mechanism or in a more spontaneous way respectively.

#### **Formal**

I will start by discussing the formal vertical relations that the inhabitants themselves may have. One point that has to be made in relation to this, is that there is much “discrimination towards the people of Ciudad Bolívar” coming from the inhabitants of other sectors of the city, from the private sector and even from some institutions themselves. This issue is mainly due to the stigma of this locality as being a focus of insecurity in the city. They are discriminated from the formal private sector job market. “Some institutions don't help you”. Needless to say then, the formal vertical relations of the inhabitants are not extensive. People have almost “no contact with institutions, only with the church” and only the ones that have a job in the formal sector have these types of relations in the workplace. The amount of people however, that are in such conditions is limited. Only about 23% of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Bella Flor are occupied and about 50%<sup>19</sup> of the heads of the households have jobs that offer them such conditions<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> Figures taken from PENING G., J. P. (2005) La descentralización a la luz del caso Bella Flor en Ciudad Bolívar, Bogotá. *Cuadernos de Economía*, XXIV, p.p. 197-226.

<sup>20</sup> About 50% of the occupied people work in domestic care, construction and in private security. The other half works in either *informal jobs* or *self employed*.

The vertical relations with some institutions and with the private sector are not very common, especially outside the boundaries of the neighbourhood. However, several public and private institutions (NGOs) have direct presence in the area and the interactions with the inhabitants are more common. The inhabitants participate in several capacity building programmes and there are “community dining halls, that promote social inclusion using alimentation as a means to make people participate more”. Private schools are also promoting “more participation of the parents in the school. It was an obligation before and now they do it voluntarily”.

The communitarian organisations and their relations with other actors set a good base to promote civic culture and social capital (Flórez, 2005). The main bridge connecting the government and its institutions with the people of the neighbourhoods, are the community action boards. The inhabitants interact with them mostly through “the community leaders, who make requests to the community action board” or through “the members of the community, who organise themselves in groups to interact with the board”. In turn, “the bridge between boards and submunicipalities are the ‘ediles’”. The boards say however, that “the communication with local government should be direct and not via ediles”, because these relationships with the government become complicated because of political reasons”. The relations with the ‘ediles’ present high degrees of clientelism in most cases. “Politicians come before the elections and never again” and “the allocated budget depends on number of votes received”. “Bureaucracy and formal procedures take too much time” and that also hinders these relationships. There is a certain level of prevention from the people and boards towards the institutions, because “they come to the neighbourhood, take what they need and don't make a contribution”.

### **Informal**

The distinction of formal and informal vertical manifestations of social capital is not always very clear, since some of the manifestations mentioned above present themselves in both forms in the sense that they occur for different reasons and in different points in time. “The board works together with government institutions”. The contacts between the board and the different institutions are sometimes through formalised mechanisms, but they also present themselves informally. “You have to go to the sub-municipality periodically, so that they have you in their mind”. The relations based on clientelism have a high degree of informality as well, because the *transactions* between the people and the boards with the ediles occur mostly in an informal way.

As stated above, the access to the formal labour market is not very high for the inhabitants of Ciudad Bolívar. However, those who have formal jobs in other parts of the city make use of informal relations with their superiors or bosses when they are in need. Many women for instance work in houses of “rich people”, cleaning, taking care of the children or cooking. “I have good relationship with my bosses and they help me if I ask for it”. “The recommendations from previous bosses are good for job search” and they sometimes can find help from their previous jobs, for getting new opportunities.

The different groups that exist among the inhabitants of the area have informal relations with the board or its members and “the benefits go mostly to organised groups that have relationship with board”. People make use of the different available vertical relations, when there is some kind of a need or problem. “I go to the foundation if I have problems”. “I stopped going to church regularly for no reason, but go if I am not well, to look for help”. There is no actual need to be a part of organised vertical mechanisms, when there is need. Informal manifestations are very common. Having acquaintances in groups in different levels is another way to gain access to the benefits provided. “I have relations with friends in police and army. We work together... I give, they give...”.

### **3.4.2.3. Horizontal manifestations**

The manifestations of horizontal social capital seem to be more frequent than the previous category for the area studied. These horizontal relations have to do mostly with relations that are among groups or individuals on the *same level*. These manifestations occur commonly within the neighbourhood itself. Similar to the previous category, these horizontal manifestations can be formal or informal.

#### **Formal**

Formal horizontal social capital deals mainly with the different groups that make the social networks of the inhabitants have certain regularity, formal character, or be institutionalised to a certain extent. I mentioned the community action boards of the neighbourhoods in the previous category, but it dealt mostly with the relations of it with other organisations. The board itself is a horizontal manifestation of social capital, since it is a group composed by the actual inhabitants of the neighbourhoods.

“Each neighbourhood has a community action board” and Bella Flor itself is divided in three different sectors, but for the purpose of this research, that is not going to be discussed in detail. “Politics plays a big role in the community action boards”, since the presidents of the boards are elected by the other members of the board. “There is good communication between the boards of other sectors, especially for macro projects”. This communication, however, is not institutionalised, but works in an informal way. The participation of the community is not very high, “people don't attend board meetings”. This issue may have to do with the lack of trust to the boards by some inhabitants. “*Board* is a group of drunken men. They only give benefits to their friends”.

Inhabitants of the area engage themselves in other groups formed mostly for specific purposes. There are several groups of women, youngsters, elderly people, and etc. “I belong to a group of 5 women who manage a common area for agriculture, we all share the tasks and receive the same benefits. We exchange the harvest with other groups and local stores and we help each other from group to group”. There is also “gangs of youngsters (between 10 and 20 years of age), that hang out on the street at night” and paramilitary groups, that are manifestations of bonding social capital for anti-social purposes.

Community mothers are other manifestations that are found often. It is women that receive aid from public funds to provide day-care services for the children, whose parents are not at home during the day. Very important as well, are the different religious groups. “People gather up in their churches every Sunday” and “members of the church help each other in getting jobs for instance”.

Different institutions have impact on the organisational capacity of the inhabitants. “Private schools have generated organisation of parents” in the sense that the school has committed them to the education of their children. However, “most parents of children of the foundation don't participate much”. Creating organisation is a process, but NGOs and private schools are working on organising the parents and making them commit to doing things themselves as well. Institutions have also organised people directly, by creating different “programmes for capacity building” and by “creating networks that take care of one another (elderly)”.

### **Informal**

This category is probably where most manifestations of social capital were found. “Social life is big in the neighbourhood”. The interactions between the people in the area are quite common. They “take place mostly on the street. You meet lots of people on the street and if you look for somebody, you only have to ask others”. Most people know each other, or at least know where most people live and who their friends are. This is especially true, when you look at smaller scales. People know who lives where in their own area, not necessarily in the whole neighbourhood. “The principal avenue of the neighbourhood of Paraiso is where *everything happens*”. It is where most of the commercial activities are located and where people meet for various reasons. It is always crowded.

“Men spend most of their free time in bars (‘tiendas’) and billiards”. “When I used to drink, I had many drinking friends, now I have good friends instead”. “People get together for leisure purposes, not for productive purposes”. However, this is something that may also contribute to their well-being and it does not always work the same way. “I have had a friend for years now and we support ourselves. We get together to play billiard and talk about our lives and our problems”. “Good friends introduce you to other good friends” and the networks grow. “The friend of my friend is my friend too”. These expanded networks also contribute to the information transfer. “Information is transmitted by word of mouth” and people get information that may help them in some cases.

Most manifestations of social capital are found on rather small scales. There are “strong relations within the family”, and it “has great relevance and provides much support” for the people. “I like this neighbourhood, because my family lives here”. The extended family seems to be the closest source for the people for their survival strategies. As important as the family, the street where people live plays a big role in

their lives as well. People talk about the 'cuadra'<sup>21</sup> quite often. "The 'cuadra' has great relevance". "It is important to have good neighbours". In most cases, when there is some kind of need or problem, people recur to the neighbours in their 'cuadra'. The 'cuadra' is especially important for the women. "I stay at home most of the time, but I get together with neighbour to talk" or for assistance of any kind. Food transfer is a very common way of helping one another, but also taking care of the children, the properties and one another.

There are certain networks that were found and appear because of different reasons. As has been discussed previously, "the newcomers bond themselves more" and create their own support networks. "People also get together to talk about god" outside of the religious institutions, and informally.

### **3.4.3. Development possibilities and constraints**

Social capital in the studied area could be developed in several different fields that were identified during the fieldwork. These different fields or possibilities came out during the interviews to the inhabitants and institutions. Needless to say, there are several constraints or hurdles that need to be overcome in order to develop the social capital in the area. The possibilities that were identified could be tackled in one way or the other to improve the social capital of the area.

High degrees of mistrust from the inhabitants towards the different institutions were found. On the one hand, "the public institutions don't do anything and there is too much bureaucracy and political interests in them". People have lost trust in the different public institutions due to the distance that has separated from them since the beginnings of the neighbourhood and also due to the practical complications of the current interactions with them. On the other hand, "some private organisations have come to steal from the community with the disguise of being foundations that come to help the neighbourhood. They now have to gain respect in order to be trusted". The people have had bad experiences with fraudulent organisations that have promised many things and have made them pay *affiliation fees* in order to be able to receive benefits, and then disappear. That has decreased the trust on NGOs from some, specially the ones that were directly affected. A process of regaining the trust that people deposit in the different institutions that have presence in the neighbourhood would facilitate the vertical interactions and develop the bridging possibilities. The inter-institutional relations or linkages are also not very developed. Every institution seems to be working on its own, without having much coordination with other organisations. Developing better communication mechanisms would help their programmes be more efficient.

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<sup>21</sup> 'Cuadra' is the word that refers to a block in the city. In this context, the 'cuadra' has no clear boundaries. Your 'cuadra' could only be the street where you live, but could also be that street and a few others around it. It is used indifferently and according to each person's perception.

As has been discussed above, the area is *less developed* than most other areas of the city of Bogotá. “The neighbourhood is like a town, it’s not like part of a city”. The values that the inhabitants have are also *less civic*. “Differences in values to other parts of the city can be noticed by looking at the children; the state of their clothes, the level of cleanness, their organisation, their attention, their attitudes”. For an urban context like this area, certain civic values can be reinforced for social capital to work better.

“People have many necessities and there is a lack of opportunities for them”. That in combination to an “area with hostile environment” “results in different alternatives like gangs of thieves and other anti-social options”. Developing different alternatives and more opportunities for the people and especially the youngsters, who tend to get engaged in anti-social activities with more frequency will diminish the insecurity and help with the low levels of trust and therefore contribute to the social capital.

There is also a “lack of unity” of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. “People tend to act only for their own profit”. Even “the presidents of the community action boards all pull to their side to get acknowledgements for things done”. For social capital to work, people have to have certain degrees of unity and have solidarity. “There is much racism and generalisation”. People have prejudice against certain groups of people, because of generalisation. There are many stigmas that certain groups have and others are affected by that. The area is inhabited by people from different regions of the country and that makes this aspect critical, because they don’t work together, but form secular groups. “It would help us black people to have more unity and no envies”. Developing more unity and sense of *togetherness* is crucial for the development of their social capital. “An action of one person can compromise a whole community”.

Some of the main constraints that were found during the interviews have to be taken into account if trying to develop social capital in the area. “Poor people think that because of being poor, someone has to help them without efforts from their side”. For social capital to work, all actors have to contribute. There is no social capital in altruistic relations as has been discussed previously in the theoretical review. “Envy”, “selfishness” and “gossiping and talking bad about the others” are hurdles that have to be overcome, because that hinders the positive development of the social relations. The bad stigma of Ciudad Bolívar affects the social capital of the area and makes vertical relations and bridging social capital difficult.

## **Chapter 4 Analysis**

Having reviewed the existing literature and some studies made in the particular context of Colombia, and having gathered data of the perceptions of the people and the way social capital works in a poor neighbourhood, I will now proceed with the analysis of this data. Previous to that, I will briefly discuss some expectations I had prior to the research in regards to the topic studied. These expectations were part of the motivation for this research; hence not hypotheses that I wanted to test. I will then follow with a discussion about the results of the research against the literature and the previous studies and comment about the expectations.

### **4.1. Expectations prior to fieldwork**

Before mentioning the expectations that I had in regards to the social capital in the area studied, I have to say that these were not used as hypotheses to be tested, because the purpose of the study was to understand the social capital from the inhabitant's perspective and my knowledge about that was merely intuitive. It was however, part of my motivation to undertake this research.

As I discussed previously, the social interactions in Colombia seem to be quite high. People seem to have a big social life in all socio-economical strata and especially in the lowest strata. The life outside the houses seems to be quite big in the low-income areas of the city and I expected therefore, the people to contribute much to one another. This was an indication to me, that social capital could have a potential for development of the population with most needs in the cities. Poverty is a lack of most material forms of capital, but social capital being less material as discussed previously, could represent an asset that poor people could benefit from. I expected therefore, great contributions of the social capital to the well-being of the people, mostly represented in their relations amongst each other.

I expected the community to perceive more influence from other than governmental institutions, since the government is still increasing its presence there and it may still be too far away from them. I expected the people trust and help one another and rely on private organisations more than in the government due to its failure to provide the minimal services for many years.

### **4.2. Analysis of results of fieldwork**

Having classified the results of the fieldwork into different categories according to the theoretical framework developed, and by doing that given relevant information to answer the three sub questions of this research, now I proceed with the analysis of these results in order to give insights to the main question. I will divide this analysis in the main topics that came up from the results of the fieldwork and that can explain

how social capital works in the studied area and the relevance that it has to the inhabitants. I then shall discuss some development possibilities and the main constraints to overcome.

#### **4.2.1. Context**

Firstly, I want to comment about the relevance of the social capital for the neighbourhoods of Bella Flor and Paraiso until now, and since they started to be settled. As has been mentioned previously, the community action boards had great relevance in the development of the neighbourhoods. When the neighbourhoods started to be populated in the mid nineteen-eighties, the inhabitants started getting organised and created groups to lead their efforts. These groups turned into the community action boards that exist presently thereafter. They were responsible for most of the development that the neighbourhoods accomplished by channelling the needs of all the inhabitants and taking them to the government to acquire recognition and the corresponding actions. The degree of public service provision is one of the best indications of the results accomplished. This clearly shows the relevance of the social capital in the development of the area until now. This manifestation of social capital both was manifested in the forms of bonding and bridging, as Putnam would classify them. It was an effort of horizontal organisation of the inhabitants to constitute the boards and also a manifestation of vertical actions to transcend to higher instances and receive the benefits respectively.

So, social capital has had relevance to the neighbourhoods so far, but what is the situation now? Ciudad Bolivar has some of the worst socio-economic indicators of the city of Bogotá, as it was shown previously. Amongst these indicators, the figures of insecurity and violence have given the locality the stigma of being a *dangerous area*. This is an issue that has had great impact on the social capital of Paraiso and Bella Flor along with all the other neighbourhoods that are part of the locality of Ciudad Bolivar. There are high levels of discrimination towards the inhabitants of this area coming from the people in most other parts of the city. This issue has reflected on the vertical social capital, which the inhabitants could potentially use. The access to the labour market is difficult, for instance; they are discriminated from job applications because of living in the area. This stigmatisation, with its consequent discrimination is even identified in their relations with some institutions, that don't pay attention to them in some cases.

This issue and their physical distance to the rest of the city, have lead Paraiso and Bella Flor to constitute a *world of its own*. Some inhabitants of these neighbourhoods stay in the area most of the time and constitute their lives with what they can find inside the neighbourhoods. They work, buy their things, go to schools and undertake their daily activities inside they boundaries of the neighbourhoods. This issue gives more relevance to bonding than bridging social capital for them. The interactions to other actors outside the boundaries of the neighbourhoods are not as common as the ones inside them.



#### 4.2.1.1. Urban vs. rural

As has been described previously, Paraiso and Bella Flor are located on the edge of the urban area of Bogotá, surrounded by rural lands and divided from the other neighbourhoods of the area by a small creek. The inhabitants come both from Bogotá and from different parts of the country. These aspects make the neighbourhoods have certain characteristics that resemble rural settings in some ways. As some inhabitants and some members from different institutions pointed out, being there is like being in a town. Some norms and values that govern the area could be argued to belong to rural settings yet, the area is urban. People seem to have less *civic*<sup>22</sup> *values and norms*. This issue, however, can be researched more in detail in a further study, in order to be able to make better conclusions.

The culture and habits of the people are however shaped mainly by the context where they grow up. The great majority of the inhabitants either come from rural environments or grew up in *difficult settings* like this area itself. The levels of education of the people are not very high either, as was shown before, and those factors combined, create an environment where the values of the inhabitants are values that don't necessarily favour social capital in urban settings. This is in turn transmitted forward to the new generations and enters a vicious circle.

Figure 13. Perspective of Paraiso and Bella Flor



#### 4.2.2. Horizontal vs. vertical

Coming back to the discussion that was left in the previous segment about the different forms in which social capital is manifested, I will continue discussing about the horizontal and the vertical manifestations of social capital that were identified in this research.

I interrupted the discussion stating that bonding social capital had more relevance than bridging for the studied area and that the interactions inside the boundaries of the neighbourhoods were more common than outside them. Since most of the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods have similar socio-economic characteristics, I can say that the horizontal manifestations of social capital are more frequent than the vertical manifestations.

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<sup>22</sup> Civic referring to city, thus urban

As opposed to vertical interactions, which are limited by the stigma of the area, social relations inside the neighbourhoods represent a very important aspect in the lives of the inhabitants of the area. The *social lives* of people are quite ample in the sense that most inhabitants are constantly interacting with others outside their houses for diverse reasons; be it religious, work, leisure, advice and support or to seek for help to fulfil unsatisfied needs. Most people however, do not like to commit themselves formally and acquire obligations to others or to the community. That makes the associational and organisational levels not as high as they could be. In other words, the most common manifestations of social capital are the ones represented by non formal horizontal relations.

Now, informal horizontal social capital is constituted by various kinds of relations. Family relations and friendship or acquaintance networks represent the most common representations in this case. The different kinds of informal relations that people have with their friends and acquaintances build up their networks. These networks are created and expanded by different efforts from each individual. They can also be initiated or constituted by third actors such as NGOs or other institutions that promote them. These relations are of great relevance for the survival strategies of the inhabitants and the bigger the networks of a certain individual or household, the most benefits that are likely to result from them. Family relations will be discussed in more detail further on.

Speaking about more formal or organised forms of horizontal social capital, community action boards, *religious communities*, the different *purposive groups* created by some inhabitants and the groups created by the different institutions, constitute very valuable manifestations of these kinds or relations. One issue that has to be noted is that most of these groups are constituted or created by either third actors or by the so-called community leaders that inhabit the neighbourhoods. That is to illustrate that, in general, I could identify certain individuals that participate vastly and undertake different actions for the community. That issue relieves many others from acquiring obligations and responsibilities and makes them *ride along* without much contribution. Nevertheless, these different manifestations of more organised horizontal social capital contribute vastly to the survival strategies of the individuals and to the development of the neighbourhoods as has been shown previously. Group actions have broader impact and the coexistence inside the neighbourhoods is better when there is more organisation of the inhabitants.

The most common manifestations of vertical social capital are the ones that deal with the vast amount of NGOs that have presence in the area. Due to the bad indicators and stigma of the locality of Ciudad Bolívar, there is a growing presence of organisations and public institutions that provide benefits to the inhabitants. With different activities such as capacity building programmes and community dining halls with contributions from the beneficiaries for instance, most of the institutions are involving the inhabitants and not only providing benefits to them. That is, contributing to their social capital.

Community action boards contributed with their vertical social capital to the development of the area, but the levels of trust in them by the inhabitants are not high currently, due to various reasons that have been illustrated previously. The stigmatisation that exists towards the inhabitants of the area has been discussed above, yet it must be noted that the trust levels from the inhabitants towards the different public and private institutions are not high either. There has been a stigmatisation of the institutions due to problems dealing with lack of presence, bureaucracy, clientelism and other issues described previously. This generalised lack of trust in the vertical relations has certainly hindered the potential for the vertical social capital in this case.

People of the area tend to recur to their vertical social capital in times of need or other problems, but not for their daily survival strategies. Both, horizontal and vertical manifestations of social capital seem to be more frequent in rather smaller scales. The family, the own street ('la cuadra'), the neighbourhood, the NGOs, the community action boards and the boss are for example the instances that people refer most to.

#### **4.2.2.1. 'La cuadra'**

Probably, 'la cuadra' is the instance that accounts most relevance for the people in the area. It is at this level, where most interactions that represent manifestations of social capital take place. People rely on their direct neighbours greatly for their survival strategies. Food transferring is a very common action that the people undertake. Inhabitants recur to their neighbours to ask for collaboration whenever there is a lack of food for their family. The levels of trust in the neighbours that inhabit the 'cuadra' seem to also be higher than the trust in other levels. People take care of each other and help themselves in any case necessary. The levels of solidarity between neighbours of the 'cuadra' appear to be quite high. They are especially relevant for the women, who are the ones responsible for the household ultimately, as will be discussed further. They also spend much time in their houses and subsequently also in the 'cuadra'.

#### **4.2.2.2. Family**

For most of inhabitants, their extended family represents the first source to recur to, as part of their survival strategies. It is in most cases the closest tie that people have. It is a source of support both material and non-material wise. In the case of the neighbourhoods of Paraiso and Bella Flor, I could identify many families that live close together in the same neighbourhood. So, families tend to try to be close in order to support each other.

#### **4.2.3. Survival strategies**

Most inhabitants of the neighbourhoods of Paraiso and Bella Flor have many necessities. The lack of opportunities they have makes them derive different kinds of

strategies for their survival. This research was not intending to find these different strategies, but only how their social capital contributed to them. This is however a subject that could be studied more in detail in the future.

As I discussed previously, the neighbourhoods have undergone a process of development facilitated among other things by their social capital. The accomplishments that have been generated by this process have brought the minimal living conditions offered by the city of Bogotá to the neighbourhoods, namely water, sewage, electricity, transportation and communications. With these minimal conditions present, the efforts of the inhabitants seem to have stagnated and most of them are now mainly focused granting their survival instead of keeping up with the process of development. An indication of this are the low levels of participation of the people in the community action boards and their greater participation with the NGOs as individuals.

In regards to their survival strategies however, people don't seem to recognise the level of support they provide to one another. Among these strategies, the most common actions that were identified were food transfer, lowering transaction costs by product exchange ('trueque'), job referrals, social networks expansion and receiving aid by *inspiring pity*.

#### **4.2.3.1. Food transfer**

Food transfer is probably the most common manifestation of social capital encountered in the neighbourhoods. Lack of food for the alimentation of the family is a daily concern of many households. Due to their insecure income generating strategies, giving them a non-stable income in most cases, food shortages occur often. In most cases, when that happens, there is somebody from who people can get some food. People give the little they have, without sometimes thinking about themselves. There is always however, some sort of reciprocal return action that fulfils the needs. This is mostly true for the closest neighbours who support each other with these forms of reciprocal actions constantly and back and forth.

#### **4.2.3.2. Aid**

The previous *paternalistic approaches* of the state and other organisations simply provided aid to the people in this area, without them having to do anything in for it. That led most inhabitants to get accustomed to receiving benefits without putting any efforts themselves. Many of the inhabitants think that the institutions, NGOs and even the community action boards have the obligation to provide everything for them, because of *being poor*. One common strategy of survival then, has been to inspire pity and wait for the aid to come, without doing many efforts themselves. This is an issue that highly hinders the social capital of the people of the area, since this form of capital only works if people *give and receive* or acquire obligations. One-way transactions don't represent social capital.

#### 4.2.4. Trust, solidarity and reciprocity

In general, most of the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods argue that the levels of trust are low in the area. They don't trust the institutions, the community action board, the others in the neighbourhood, but they do trust the neighbours in the 'cuadra' and most NGOs, especially if they are part of their programmes. People have had many bad experiences in the past that have affected their general trust perceptions. Trust is gained with time and demonstrating good intentions and many NGOs have accomplished one, the other or both things. The neighbours of the 'cuadra' however, are a different case. The fact of living close to one another is a guaranty that builds up trust. People share their needs and if they don't trust their neighbours, who else can they trust? Violence and insecurity in the area are issues that have certainly affected the levels of trust that people have to one another. The levels of violence and insecurity have been so high that people start mistrusting most others unless they know them very well. People have had many bad experiences that have led to this.

As people's trust levels appear to be low in general, the solidarity they have developed has a better panorama. Due to the shared needs and the hard circumstances that the area has gone through, people have developed a certain unity. The contribution that the community action boards and the leaders themselves have made to this issue have been vast, since they have organised the community and created a sort of solidarity network in their neighbourhoods. The different NGOs and religious institutions that have presence in the area have also contributed to this process of unity, however in a more secularised way, since each institution creates such unity within their own beneficiaries or *followers* and not for the neighbourhood as a whole. The newcomers also tend to build up certain solidarity networks, since they are all undergoing similar processes of adaptation and have similar needs in most cases. Most of them also come from other parts of the country due to forced migrations because of the country's conflict. That creates a sort of unity amongst them in most cases.

People recognise the need of others in the neighbourhood and mostly in their 'cuadra' and tend to help as much as possible. This is true mostly for periods of crisis or great need and as part of the survival strategies of people. People help one another when the need is recognised and obligations from the receiver are acquired in most cases. Nevertheless, when the returns for the actions that some undertake are never to be seen, and in contrary, people take advantage of it, the willingness to help others decreases. People give the little they have to others in need, but bad experiences hinders those actions. On the other hand, when people give but also receive benefits from others, the reciprocity levels rise. So, it is more likely to find reciprocal relations inside smaller groups as opposed to finding them in the neighbourhood as a whole.

NGOs and private schools are building up on the values that make trust, solidarity and reciprocity grow in the area. It is a slow process, but efforts are being made, especially on the level of the children. It is more difficult to change the values of the adults and that may hinder the efforts with the children as their families generate great impact on these issues as well.

#### 4.2.5. Social control

Social control appeared to be a very predominant issue in the area studied. It is manifested in various ways and at various levels, but in all cases, it has a vast impact on the social capital of the people in the neighbourhoods. Some of the ways in which social capital works are defined by the norms that govern the interactions of the people. Social control defines some of these norms in various ways. *Social pressure* is one of this ways. There are certain common values that people have in different levels and the members of each one of these levels should respect those values. The group exerts a certain pressure to individuals that don't *behave accordingly* to these general values. This situation can be found within the families, neighbours and the different groups that exist in the area. The different community leaders, community action boards or even the groups that belong to higher levels such as NGOs, and public institutions, can also exert this social control to the different individuals. Another way in which the individuals apply social control is via more formal mechanisms provided by the state. Lawsuits, police involvement and different kinds of complaints to other institutions constitute some of these formal mechanisms.

A somewhat different form of social control is the one generated by the different groups that use violence as the means to make others *obey their rules*. Groups such as gangs and paramilitary groups mostly, use this kind of social control. By making use of violent actions against other inhabitants, they create a certain respect that is governed by fear of the people. This issue has a negative effect on the levels of trust of the people, since they mistrust most others because of the different violent actions that can affect them.

#### 4.2.6. Gender differences

The way women and men use their social capital in the area studied appears to be somewhat different. In general, they have fairly different roles in their households. Men are the ones with the responsibility of generating the income for the households. To talk about a general strategy to generate income is difficult and is not the purpose of this work. Nevertheless, I could identify some general categories in regards to income generation. Some of these categories are working for an employer both formally and informally, owning a business of any kind, producing and selling goods themselves, working as contractors in any field, begging for money or even stealing<sup>23</sup>. As I showed in the previous chapter, the levels of occupation are quite low and that shows that in many cases, their income is not stable and has no security. Sometimes they have to leave their households for longer periods of time to as part of their income generating strategies.

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<sup>23</sup> Some interviewees talked about many bands of thieves in the neighbourhoods.

Women on the other hand, in general, are responsible for all other matters of the household. They are in charge of the daily life in the house. They have to provide the alimentation for the whole family, take care of the education of the children, and do the general household tasks. When men fail to provide the income necessary for the survival due to reasons such as lack of job, absence for longer periods of time, break-up of the relations, or even death, women have to somehow fulfil their responsibilities with the family. Many women also engage themselves in income generating strategies such as the previously described for men, but still need keep their other responsibilities to the family.

Having described some differences, I now proceed with making a distinction of the way they use their social capital. Social capital plays great relevance for men in their income generating strategies. They use it to get information about possibilities, get referrals from friends or colleagues and for assistance in times of need. This is mostly in the form of economic support and coming from their friends, colleagues or even from their superiors at work. As it can be seen, men use both their horizontal and vertical social capital for their purposes.

On the other hand, women rely more on their horizontal social capital for their survival strategies. They tend not to go outside the neighbourhood, unless they have a job or go to other (*better off*) parts of the city to beg for money or food. They also seem to participate more in the community in the sense that they sometimes have to contribute in different ways, so their children can receive benefits from the public institutions and NGOs. As described before, they have to respond for the alimentation of the whole family and men sometimes fail to provide the income to acquire the food. This is when women use their social capital, especially in smaller scales like the 'cuadra'. Trust, solidarity and reciprocity have great impact on their survival strategies at this level and therefore bonding social capital is very relevant for them. Women have had a quite important role in the life of the locality (Pineda, 2000).

#### **4.2.7. Differences between Bella Flor and Paraiso**

In the previous chapter, I mentioned the main differences between the neighbourhoods of Bella Flor and Paraiso and briefly discussed the reasons for arbitrarily dividing the study area in these two neighbourhoods. I now proceed with some differences found during the fieldwork in terms of their social capital. At the beginning of this chapter, I also discussed about the two neighbourhoods having some rural aspects and being in an urban setting. This issue comes back into the discussion now, in the sense that there are differences between Bella Flor and Paraiso in these regards. The former seems to have more rural characteristics than the later and therefore some differences were perceived in terms of the values and norms that govern the neighbourhood and *shape* their social capital. I will now discuss a few issues to illustrate this idea.

The perceptions of trust in both neighbourhoods are different. Most interviewees in Paraiso argued that the levels of trust in the neighbourhood were good. In Bella Flor

in contrary, they argued the levels of trust were low. Nevertheless, some indications lead to conclude the opposite, especially in smaller scales such as the 'cuadra'. People in Bella Flor have great levels of trust in their neighbours<sup>24</sup>, as opposed to people in Paraiso that don't show such levels.

Some interesting differences can also be found in the *general values* of the inhabitants. As it was discussed previously, the general values that groups have, have an effect on the social control exerted by the group. Being Paraiso *more developed* in the sense that the general living conditions are better, the perceptions of *what-should-be* are more severe there. People *do certain things* and organise themselves more, because the general values claim *it should be* that way. This could explain why the perceptions of trust for instance are higher there. People know they *should* trust the others, but in fact they don't trust as much as they claim.

#### **4.2.8. Well-being (non-material benefits), communication**

Before finishing the discussion about the relevance of social capital and how it works in the particular context studied, I want to discuss about the non-material benefits that social capital provides to the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods studied. The mere fact that these benefits are non-material makes them difficult to be identified and measured. They however, may contribute vastly to the well-being of the people.

The inhabitants of both neighbourhoods place much importance on their social relations as has been discussed previously. This degree of importance doesn't only have to do with the tangible benefits that people receive from their social interaction with others. Living in such difficult environments, as these neighbourhoods can have, constitutes a big challenge for the inhabitants. Their first source of support is their environment itself. This is when their social capital plays a relevant role in their lives. People give each other a great deal of *moral and psychological support* in order to overcome the hurdles they find on their daily struggle for survival. Religion also plays a role here, since their *faith and humbleness* helps them overcome their difficulties. It is also social capital, what people use for their leisure activities, especially in such a collectivistic society, as Colombia appears to have.

#### **4.3. Development possibilities and constraints**

Various issues can be tackled in order to develop the social capital in the neighbourhoods of Paraiso and Bella Flor. I will start this discussion by talking about trust. I have already discussed how the levels of trust in the area seem to decrease as the scale increases. Trust levels in the 'cuadra' level are good and they start decreasing as we look at broader levels such as the neighbourhood and community action board levels, and even more in larger scales such as the different institutions for instance. People identify constraints such as envy as being critical in this aspect.

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<sup>24</sup> Most argue that they can leave their house open and nothing will happen to it, because of their neighbours.



Nevertheless, if people trust their neighbours and they in turn trust their neighbours... A challenge is how to transfer the trust in order to have a more generalised trust in larger scales. The issues regarding the different institutions will be discussed hereafter in more detail.

The area of the values of the inhabitants constitutes another development possibility. I have discussed how the inhabitants of these areas lack certain *civic values* that could facilitate the usage of their social capital in this urban setting. Civic values can be the driving force for improving solidarity, reciprocity and trust itself. The process of changing the values of the people is a process that will require great efforts by third actors like NGOs and schools for instance. The greatest challenge is to change the values of the adults. They are part of their culture and the low levels of education in most cases, don't contribute to facilitating the efforts. Children's values are constituted during their education, but their families have great influence as well. Mechanisms such as the *social exchange* ('trueque social') that some NGOs are using are ways of involving the adults more and creating awareness amongst them. The attitude of inspiring pity to receive aid needs to be changed.

The vertical interactions of the inhabitants and their groups need to be improved in order to allow for more bridging social capital and access more benefits from *more powerful levels*. This however needs to be started by changing the bad stigma that exists from the higher levels towards the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods, but also the one that the inhabitants have developed towards the different institutions as will be discussed hereafter.

Finally, different alternatives for development of the individuals have to be thought of, in order to create more motivation of the people to develop themselves and improve their situation. This is true, especially for the youngsters, who find no good alternatives and take the easiest options, which are in many cases certain anti-social activities such as stealing or joining armed groups. The children have been brought up in a difficult environment and they have developed a certain strength, which should be channelled in the proper direction.

#### **4.3.1. Institutions (third actors)**

There is a vast presence of different kinds of organisations in the neighbourhoods. On the one hand, the presence of public institutions has been growing and now more provide their service directly in the area. On the other hand and due to the bad indicators of the locality of Ciudad Bolivar, many NGOs have presence in the area. The impact of these third actors in the neighbourhoods has been very positive for the inhabitants. However, the communication and coordination of the different institutions does not seem to be very good. I couldn't identify many formal mechanisms of communication and some institutions are not even aware of the presence of others providing the same services and benefiting similar populations. The efforts are then, somewhat fragmented and the impact could be more if a better coordination and communication could be established.

Most inhabitants of the neighbourhoods have decreased their participation as has been commented previously. It is therefore critical that third actors work on increasing the communitarian values and create conscience that people have to make efforts and acquire obligations in order to continue with the development of the area and of themselves. The neighbourhoods have to create wider solidarity networks to create more positive impacts.

As shown before, the levels of trust from the people to the different institutions are not very high, due to bad experiences that people have had. A process of regaining that trust would facilitate the vertical interactions and develop the bridging possibilities.

#### **4.3.1.1. Public institutions**

The relations of the inhabitants with the public institutions are not very developed. On one hand and partly because of the physical localisation of the neighbourhoods, being at a high altitude and rather separated from the rest of the neighbourhoods, the presence of the different public institutions has only increased in the previous years. The neighbourhoods had to survive and develop themselves without the presence of the government for many years. On the other hand, most of the relations that the inhabitants have with the government are via the politicians and they present high levels of clientelism.

In order to develop these relations positively, the perceptions of the inhabitants need to be changed. The distance they feel to the government is rather big and the *clientelist relations* with the politicians in combination with the bureaucracy have affected the trust of the people in the government. More direct mechanisms communication and participation are being developed, but the efforts have to increase, in order to change the perceptions of the people and make them use these mechanisms to improve their vertical relations and be able to access better opportunities.

#### **4.3.1.2. Non-governmental institutions**

Several non-governmental institutions have presence in the area. Religious institutions, NGOs and schools are the most significant ones. They all have contributed to the neighbourhoods greatly, each one in its own ways. They are of great relevance to the social capital of the inhabitants, since they are organising the community in one way or the other. Most of them are working in giving communitarian values to the people and the levels of involvement of the beneficiaries have been increasing. People have to be taught that they should not only participate in order to receive benefits, but that the participation has to be voluntary and the long term benefits will be more.

The NGOs in particular have a hurdle for their acceptance by the inhabitants. Many NGOs have betrayed the trust that people have given them and that has made the people develop mistrust towards most of them. It is only when they show good

intentions that people accept them. It's a big challenge then, to try to increase the trust that people deposit in them.

#### **4.3.2. Power levels**

The differences of power are an issue that may constitute a constraint towards the development of the social capital. The power differences between the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods and other actors are very big and they are certainly in the less powerful level. This issue creates certain difficulties for the social capital to give benefits to the inhabitants. If one part constantly benefits more than the other part, the relationship will erode. In most cases, the more powerful parts receive most benefits, as can be seen in a clientelist relationship for instance. This issue generates mistrust from the less powerful part and hinders the willingness to commit to such relations. This is the case that was found in the area, where the inhabitants have decreased participation due to bad experiences with higher instances.

Another form in which these power differences are found, is in the different groups that have a role in the armed conflict of the country. In the case of the neighbourhoods of Bella Flor and Paraiso, the presence of the 'paramilitares' and their actions to rule the area with mechanisms such as social cleansing, has eroded the trust that people have to one another. People have been violently forced to follow certain rules that benefit only some and not the community as a whole. That has created fear and the trust levels have gone down, because people don't know whom they can trust anymore.

#### **4.3.3. Violence and insecurity**

I want to end this discussion by shortly commenting about the effects of the violence and insecurity on the social capital of the people. Talking about this can be the topic of a new study, so I will not go very deeply into explaining the cause of the high levels of violence and insecurity in the neighbourhoods. They are, however, manifested in different ways in the area. The 'paramilitares' and their social control mechanisms constitute one of the forms of violence that has greater impact on the inhabitants as has been discussed. Another manifestation of violence and insecurity is the presence of several gangs of youngsters and bands of thieves who undertake different violent actions that affect the rest of the inhabitants. This violence only increases the levels of mistrust among the people.

#### **4.4. Final remarks**

Before going on with the conclusions of this research, I would like to make a few comments about the final analysis in relation to the studies previously made and to the expectations I had prior to the fieldwork. One of the expectations I had was that

social life would be big. Being in the neighbourhood during the fieldwork and talking to the people about the importance of the social relations corroborated that idea. In general, the results from the other studies and my results corroborate the fact that most of social capital manifests itself in the horizontal relations. The levels of solidarity are high especially to resolve short-term problems and it's the women, who make most use of this form of social capital for their survival strategies. The vertical social capital is not very developed and social capital is used mostly for survival purposes as opposed to long-term development. The smaller scales are where social capital manifests itself in most cases and the family plays a big role.

When it comes to trust, the lack of generalised trust is an issue that was identified during my research. People bond themselves more in small and sometimes excluding groups because of the low trust levels to others in larger scales. The lack of trust is increased also by the violence and insecurity that play a big role in the area. This fact is something that can be influenced highly by third actors such as NGOs, schools and religious institutions as opposed to one of the studies, which argues that religion does not contribute to social capital. I argue that religious institutions are also a big contributor to the values of the inhabitants. The government is not playing such an important role in this issue, but generating more trust will create big impacts on the vertical social capital of the people. Participatory mechanisms and bringing the institutions closer to the people is what one of the studies argues to be social control. It deals with the institutions that control the state and has in turn great relevance to the social capital.

One of the studies argues that there is more of a process of erosion than of creation of social capital, and my results corroborate that partially in the sense that vertical social capital and participation of the people have decreased. I say partially, because if we look at the social capital that provides support to people as part of their survival strategies, it is difficult to say that it is eroding, since the levels of support of people in the smaller scales are still of great importance.

I speak about civic values and differences between rural and urban settings. One of the studies argues that the levels of organisation in networks found in rural groups throughout the country, are far smaller than in urban settings. Thus, the social capital may work differently in both settings. The neighbourhoods of Paraiso and Bella Flor are in an urban setting and therefore, civic values should be higher.

One of my biggest expectations was that the social capital contributed greatly to the well-being of the people in such a context. I did find that its degree of relevance towards the survival strategies of the people and its contributions in the form of non-material benefits had great impact. The contributions to their further development however, did not seem that apparent in this context. Now, has the well-being of the people a relation with their development or with their actual circumstances? I can say however that it does contribute to making life easier for the people and in some cases even improving it.

## Chapter 5 Conclusions and recommendations

### 5.1. Conclusions

Based on the literature found for the topic, the fieldwork experiences, and the results and analysis, I continue now by formulating the conclusions. These were generated during, and in combination with all the stages of this research. Thereafter I follow with recommendations for possible strategies to approach this topic and the principal issues that should be accounted for. I shall also comment about the different uncertainties that arose during the research.

1. The neighbourhoods of Bella Flor and Paraiso have constituted a world of their own. Their distance to the rest of the city; the difficult vertical interactions outside their boundaries; and their particular mixture of urban and rural characteristics, immersed in an urban setting; all constitute a special combination that isolates the area from the rest of the city and makes bonding social capital have great relevance for the inhabitants.
2. Social capital seems to be context dependant and works differently in rural and urban settings. Certain civic values are a requirement for social capital to work in favour of the development of urban communities. Paraiso and Bella Flor both lack some of these so-called civic values.
3. The values of the inhabitants of Paraiso and Bella Flor seem to be quite similar, but the *more urban* conditions of Paraiso dictate *what should be* and that creates social pressure on the inhabitants. This issue then affects their perceptions and sometimes even their actions in the community.
4. In settings, where the need is great and the aid provided is not very high, social capital has great relevance. As the minimum needs are fulfilled and the aid has more relevance, social capital stagnates and works only to maintain the current situations.
5. Social capital plays a great role in the survival strategies of poor people in the area studied. Informal horizontal social capital represents the most common manifestation in the context studied. It also provides great benefits to the survival strategies of the people.
6. People in Paraiso and Bella Flor don't seem to recognise the level of support that they provide to one another. Their perceptions in these regards are lower than the actual role and relevance they play in each other's lives.
7. Women are ultimately responsible for the survival of the households. They use their horizontal social capital to a great extent in order to satisfy the needs that they cannot fulfil in different ways.
8. Material benefits are not the only contribution of social capital to the survival strategies of the poor. Psychological support helps them live, despite the difficult

living conditions. Social capital contributes thus, to their psychological well-being.

9. For the area studied, social capital works more in smaller scales. As the scale increases, trust levels decrease and therefore the social capital. The benefits for the psychological well-being are more in the smaller scale as well.
10. Inhabitants of the studied area are mostly preoccupied with their daily struggle for survival. Unless their survival is secure, it is unlikely that they think about their further development and about improving their conditions.
11. Poor people think about today, not about tomorrow. They recognise the need of others and give everything without planning for their own future. Their levels of solidarity are high. Their individualism levels seem low.
12. Investments of any kind from the inhabitants without short term benefits are not likely to occur. Investments with long terms benefits may be perceived as a waste. Poor people don't seem to have much conscience about the possible benefits on the long term.
13. The trust that the inhabitants of the area have in the public institutions is low. Without it, their relevance on the development of the people is not high.
14. The role of *third actors* in improving the base for social capital to work is great. Public institutions, NGOs, schools and religious institutions have great relevance to the maintenance and improvement of the values necessary for social capital.

## **5.2. Recommendations**

1. The levels of trust in the larger scales have to be improved in order to allow for more vertical relations to develop and therefore, for bridging social capital.
2. Using the fact that there are good levels of trust in small scales, these should be *transmitted* to larger scales gradually.
3. Improving the trust in the public institutions requires time and many efforts. This trust, however, needs to be re-established so the government can have more impact in the development of the people.
4. Leaders and community action boards have had great relevance on the development of the area studied. Their relevance seems to have decreased in the past years. More research to find about the possible reasons of this phenomenon is recommended.
5. The participation of the different inhabitants of the area should to be more equal. Some inhabitants participate too much and others not at all. Community leaders are a good example of this issue. More programmes designed to involve all inhabitants should be developed in order to equalise participation among the community members.

6. There are different authority relations that generate mistrust in the sense that the powerful part receives more benefits. Those relations shall be converted into equal benefit relations.
7. The civic values of the urban population should be reinforced in order for their social capital to work properly in their *urban setting*.
8. The role of the different religious institutions in the *civic value education* has to be researched more in detail, due to contradictory results from this research and a previous one, that argues that religion does not have impact on the social capital.
9. Bonding social capital has to be reinforced by improving the organisational capacity of the people to allow them to take advantage of bigger scales.
10. Bonding social capital is essential for the survival strategies of the poor people. When the survival is granted, bridging social capital can start to be developed, so the community can perceive more development.
11. Social capital is measured in many cases as the associational level in a population. In a context like the one of this study, the levels of social capital, if seen with this perspective, may be measured as low. However, social capital levels seem to be significant and have great relevance. So, social capital should not only be looked at from the perspective of the association, but informal relations should also play an important role in its measurement.

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Appendix 1: Interviews

| <b>INT. No.</b>    | <b>DATE</b>   | <b>PLACE</b>  | <b>INTERVIEWEE</b>                    | <b>M, F, G *</b> | <b>DESCRIPTION</b>   | <b>SHORT</b>        |
|--------------------|---------------|---|---------------------------------------|------------------|--|---------------------|
| <b>DESCRIPTION</b> | <b>PHOTOS</b> | <b>NAME</b>   |                                       |                  |  |                     |
| I1                 | Wed-12-Jul    | Bella Flor Foundation from Paraiso Neighbourhood walk of neighbourhood              | Luz Melida                            | F                | Field Coordinator of Bella Flor Foundation - Resident and local Presentation and introduction of myself and overview of neighbourhoods and some institutions. Short No |                     |
| I2                 | Wed-12-Jul    | Nueva Vida School and issues of the neighbourhood                                   | Adriana                               | F                | Principal and owner of School  | Overview of school  |
| I3                 | Thu-13-Jul    | Los Andes University Neighbourhood. Discussion about possible tasks for field work. | Carolina Rodriguez and Sandra Polania | G                | No   |                     |
| I4                 | Fri-14-Jul    | Bella Flor Neighbourhood from Paraiso Neighbourhood                                 | Luz Melida                            | F                | Field Coordinator of Bella Flor Foundation - Resident and local Walk through Bella Flor and talk about "Community Mothers"   | No                  |
| I5                 | Fri-14-Jul    | Bella Flor Community Hall - Community Dinning Hall                                  | Patricia Montoya                      |                  |  | F                   |
| I6                 | Fri-14-Jul    | Bella Flor Community Hall - Community Dinning Hall Dinning Hall participation       | Nancy Bautista                        |                  |  | F                   |
| I7                 | Fri-14-Jul    | Interviewee's house Bella Flor  | Andreti                               | M                | President of Community Action Board of Sectors A, B and D of Interview about neighbourhood, Social Capital and Community Action Board                                  | No                  |
| I8                 | Fri-14-Jul    | Interviewee's house Flor  | Flor Alba Renteria                    | F                | Mother of children of Bella Flor Foundation. Inhabitant of Bella Interview about Neighbourhood and Social Capital  | No                  |
| I9                 | Sat-15-Jul    | Paraiso visit walk from Paraiso Neighbourhood                                       | Luz Melida                            | F                | Field Coordinator of Bella Flor Foundation - Resident and local Comments about neighbourhood during visits to households of the children of the foundation             |                     |
| I10                | Sat-15-Jul    | Interviewee's houses close to river outside of Bella Flor                           | Vida Rojas and neighbour              | F                | Mothers of children of Bella Flor Foundation. Inhabitant of house Interview about Neighbourhood and Social Capital   | No                  |
| I11                | Tue-18-Jul    | Nueva Vida School and parents of school   | Yenny Chaves                          | F                | Academic coordinator of school   | Talk about children |

|     |            |   |  |                    |   |                   |
|-----|------------|---|--|--------------------|---|-------------------|
| I12 | Wed-19-Jul | Interviewee's house<br>Interview about Neighbourhood and Social Capital                                       | Maria Ema Murillo                          | F<br>Yes           | Mother of children of Bella Flor Foundation. Inhabitant of Bella Flor |                   |
| I13 | Wed-19-Jul | Bella Flor Foundation<br>Interview about Neighbourhood and Social Capital                                     | Marcela Acuña                              | F<br>No            | Mother of children of Bella Flor Foundation. Inhabitant of Bella Flor |                   |
| I14 | Fri-21-Jul | Bella Flor Community Hall - Community Dinning Hall  |  | Patricia Montoya   |   | F                 |
| I15 | Fri-21-Jul | Bella Flor Community Hall - Community Dinning Hall  |  | Luz Melida Huertas |   | F                 |
| I16 | Fri-21-Jul | Interviewee's house<br>Interview about Neighbourhood and Social Capital                                       | Maria del Carmen                           | F<br>Yes           | Mother of children of Bella Flor Foundation. Inhabitant of Bella Flor |                   |
| I17 | Fri-21-Jul | Interviewee's house<br>Neighbourhood and Social Capital   | Jhon Fredy                                 | M<br>No            | Ex-drug addict. Inhabitant of Paraiso                                 | Interview about   |
| I18 | Sat-22-Jul | Interviewee's house   | Sandro Alarcon                             | M                  | Father of children of Bella Flor Foundation. Inhabitant of Mirador    |                   |
| I19 | Sat-22-Jul | Interviewee's house<br>of Mirador<br>Interview about neighbourhood, Social Capital and Community Action Board | Ana Cecilia Rodriguez                      | F                  | Vice-president of Community Action Board of Mirador. Inhabitant       | No                |
| I20 | Sat-22-Jul | Interviewee's house<br>Neighbourhood and Social Capital   | Grandma Eudomira                           | F<br>No            | Inhabitant of Paraiso. Community leader                               | Interview about   |
| I21 | Mon-24-Jul | Interviewee's house<br>Inhabitant of Paraiso  | Hernandez Family                           | M                  | Father, mother and uncle of boy of Bella Flor Foundation.             | Yes               |
| I22 | Wed-26-Jul | Interviewee's house   | Lopez Family (Carlota, brother and sister) |                    |   | G                 |
| I23 | Wed-26-Jul | El Oasis Social Foundation<br>manager of foundation   | Sandra Lilibiana Sanchez and Miguel        | G                  | Interview about El Oasis, neighbourhood and Social Capital            | Creator and<br>No |
| I24 | Wed-26-Jul | Bella Flor Foundation   | Santiago Rodriguez                         | M                  | Father of children of Bella Flor Foundation. Inhabitant of Mirador    |                   |
| I25 | Wed-26-Jul | Bella Flor Foundation<br>Salud al Derecho and work in neighbourhood   | Marta                                      | F<br>No            | Coordinator of Salud al Derecho                                       | Interview about   |
| I26 | Thu-27-Jul | Catholic church in Paraiso<br>Neighbourhood and Social Capital  | Anderson and lady                          | G<br>No            | Members of church   | Interview about   |
| I27 | Thu-27-Jul | Interviewee's store in Paraiso  | Julia Peña                                 | F                  | Inhabitant of Bella Flor and owner of store in Paraiso                |                   |

|     |            |   |                     |          |   |
|-----|------------|---|---------------------|----------|---|
| I28 | Thu-27-Jul | Street in Paraiso   | Juan Mendez         | M        | Inhabitant of Bella Flor and son of owner of store in Paraiso         |
| I29 | Thu-27-Jul | Interviewee's house / billiard  | Jose Eleasar Moreno | M        | President of Community Action Board of Mirador                        |
| I30 | Fri-28-Jul | Bus<br>Interview about Neighbourhood, Social Capital and capacity building programme for forced immigrants in Corona Foundation | Jorge Ariel Ramirez | M        | Inhabitant of Bella Flor. Forced immigrant of Bogota from countryside |
| I31 | Sat-29-Jul | Bella Flor Foundation<br>Interview about Neighbourhood and Social Capital   | Patricia Chacon     | F<br>Yes | Mother of children of Bella Flor Foundation. Inhabitant of Bella Flor |
| I32 | Tue-01-Aug | Interviewee's house<br>Interview about Neighbourhood and Social Capital   | Felisa Chavez       | F<br>Yes | Mother of children of Bella Flor Foundation. Inhabitant of Bella Flor |
| I33 | Tue-01-Aug | Interviewee's house<br>Interview about Neighbourhood and Social Capital   | Amparo Fino         | F<br>Yes | Mother of children of Bella Flor Foundation. Inhabitant of Bella Flor |
| I34 | Wed 02 Aug | Interviewee's truck   | Edgar and Wife      | M        | Owns a truck and offers transportation services                       |

\*

|                   |           |
|-------------------|-----------|
| <b>TOTAL</b>      | <b>34</b> |
| <b>MALE (M)</b>   | <b>9</b>  |
| <b>FEMALE (F)</b> | <b>21</b> |
| <b>GROUP (G)</b>  | <b>4</b>  |

## Appendix 2: Observations

| DAY        | No. | PLACE                  | OBS./INT. | OBSERVATION or INTERPRETATION  |
|------------|-----|------------------------|-----------|--|
| Wed-12-Jul | O1  | Paraiso                | O         | Many children are outside on the street playing  |
|            | O2  | Paraiso                | O         | Men meet in billiards and "tiendas" (bars)   |
|            | O3  | Paraiso                | I         | Social life takes place outside of the houses  |
|            | O4  | Paraiso                | O         | There is discrimination in Bogota towards the people that live in Ciudad Bolivar (e.g. rejection from job opportunities) |
| Fri-14-Jul | O5  | Bella Flor             | O         | The neighbourhood is less urban (more rural) than Paraiso and Mirador  |
|            | O6  | Bella Flor             | O         | The neighbourhood feels less aggressive (safer)  |
|            | O7  | Bella Flor             | O         | There is not so many people on the streets in Bella Flor as opposed to Paraiso <b>WHY?</b>                               |
|            | O8  | Bella Flor             | O         | The neighbourhood is less developed  |
|            | O9  | Bella Flor             | O         | Neighbours help themselves taking care of children when one family is away and the children stay alone                   |
|            | O10 | Bella Flor             | O         | Social control so there is no abuse of girls <b>(?)</b>  |
| Tue-18-Jul | O11 | Nueva Vida School      | I         | The general values that parents give the children are low. That has effects on the social capital that they can develop  |
|            | O12 | Nueva Vida School      | I         | There is social control inside the families. That has an effect on the crime and violence                                |
|            | O13 | Paraiso                | O         | There is not many public open spaces for the entertainment of people   |
|            | O14 | Paraiso                | O         | Public open spaces (e.g. sport courts) are mostly visited by men (mostly youngsters)                                     |
|            | O15 | Paraiso and Bella Flor | O         | Intrafamiliar violence is very common. Men beat up women and they children   |
| Wed-19-Jul | O16 | Paraiso and Bella Flor | O         | Families have MANY children (at least 3 children in a typical family)  |
|            | O17 | Paraiso and Bella Flor | O         | The roles and activities of men and women are very different   |

|   |     |   |            |  |
|---|-----|---|------------|--|
|   | O18 | Paraiso and Bella Flor                                | O          | Promiscuity, adulterous sexual relations and jealousy create problems often              |
| to kill my brother because he took Carlos's wife) | O19 | Paraiso and Bella Flor                                | O          | Children have adult problems (e.g. 4 year old girl said: "Carlos sent the paramilitaries |
|   | O20 | Paraiso and Bella Flor                                | O          | The woman is the centre of the family  |
|   | O21 | Paraiso and Bella Flor                                | O          | Children are taken care by the mothers (physical, economical and education)              |
| neighbourhood                                     | O22 | Paraiso and Bella Flor                                | I          | Ambiguous stands relating collaboration and support between people in the                |
| other neighbourhoods                              | O23 | Paraiso and Bella Flor                                | O          | People stay in the neighbourhood, because there is more help coming to it, than to       |
| Fri-21-Jul  | O24 | Bella Flor community meeting for animal               | "cattling" | outside group of "collaborators"   |
|   | O25 | Bella Flor community meeting for animal               | "cattling" |  |
|   | O26 | Bella Flor community meeting for animal               | "cattling" |  |
| going to steal from them or something like that"  | O27 | Bella Flor community meeting for animal               | "cattling" |  |
|   | O28 | Bella Flor community meeting for animal               | "cattling" |  |
|   | O29 | Bella Flor community meeting for animal               | "cattling" |  |
|   | O30 | Bella Flor community meeting for animal               | "cattling" |  |
|   | O31 | Bella Flor community meeting for animal               | "cattling" |  |
| Sun-23-Jul  | O32 | Capacity building programme for mothers of foundation |            |  |
|   | O33 | Capacity building programme for mothers of foundation |            |  |
|   | O34 | Capacity building programme for mothers of foundation |            |  |
|   | O35 | Capacity building programme for mothers of foundation |            |  |
|   | O36 | Capacity building programme for mothers of foundation |            |  |

|  |     |   |   |  |
|--|-----|---|---|--|
|  | O37 | Capacity building programme for mothers of foundation               |   |  |
| Wed-26-Jul   | O38 | Paraiso   | O | People collaborates with foundations in order to receive benefits from them                |
|  | O39 | Paraiso   | O | Law suits are a very common tool for inhabitants within themselves                         |
| Fri-28-Jul<br>anymore                                | O40 | Paraiso and Bella Flor  | O | Politicians come often before elections to get voters and after that, they don't appear    |
|  | O41 | Paraiso and Bella Flor  | O | People takes aid and often takes more than entitled  |
|  | O42 | Paraiso and Bella Flor  | O | Group of inhabitants got together to clean the river                                       |
|  | O43 | Paraiso and Bella Flor<br>the family would take better care of them | O | Social control. Handicapped kids were not taken care of and leaders intervned so           |
| Sat-29-Jul<br>but one meets them often on the street | O44 | Paraiso and Bella Flor  | O | Life on the street is very big. It is not necessary to go look for people in their houses, |
|  | O45 | Paraiso and Bella Flor  | O | When looking for somebody, it is useful to ask neighbours and people on the street         |
|  | O46 | Paraiso and Bella Flor  | O | After 3 weeks of being in neighbourhood, I already meet much people on the street          |
| Sat-05-Aug<br>wise                                   | O47 | Paraiso and Bella Flor  | O | People help themselves a lot, when it comes to taking care of the houses and food          |

Appendix 3: Analysis

**No, TRUST, NORMS, VALUES, OBLIGATIONS, RECIPROCITY, SOLIDARITY, AUTHORITY, VALUE, VERTICAL, HORIZONTAL, HINDERING FACTORS**

**, FORMAL, INFORMAL, FORMAL, INFORMAL,**

I1,

I1, Trust is generated after results are seen, Neighbourhood is more "organised". Less violence now, NGOs teaching values to children, Parents have to get involved with NGO, If you bring something, you are welcome, otherwise go back like you came, Neighbourhood has public services, Community action board had contact with gov. for service provision, Creation of community action board to bring public services to neighbourhood, Knocking doors **(mostly women and children)**, People with many necessities. Lack of opportunities. More insecurity

I1, Social cleaning groups from the neighbourhood (Paramilitaries), People expects to be helped without doing anything to help themselves, People give to others, Somebody I know helped my son get a job, Each neighbourhood has a community action board, People don't help each other because of **envy**

I1, Social control in the neighbourhood is big, People have more education now. More participation and more socialisation, as long as one can, one helps, My sister helped my son get a job where she works, Several religious institutions present in neighbourhood, People tend to act only for their own profit

I1, It better to beg than to rob, People in church help each other, Civil defence group by locals, Interinstitutional relations not very developed

I1, I don't ask neighbours, because I am ashamed to do it, Community mothers,

I1, Most parents of children of foundation don't participate much,

I2,

I2, School teaching values to children and to parents too, Parents have to get involved with school, Improvement of intra-family relations of children from school, Parents to school. Before obligation, now voluntary, School has generated organisation of parents, Lack of opportunities and alternatives ==> gangs, thieves, etc.

I2, Human charm (calor humano) is good for good relations, Parents are more committed to school, Relations between school staff and parents without hierarchical aspect, TV is de-sensibilizing children and society

I2, Man is SOCIAL by nature,

O,



- O, Discrimination for living in Ciudad Bolivar (stigma), Children get together to play on the street,
- O, Social life happens mostly on the street,
- O, Men spend time in "bars" (tiendas) and billiards,
- I4,
- I4, Community mothers cheat with money (problems), Community mother's programme, Information is transmitted by "Word of mouth",
- I4, Stores let people pay later mostly if they know them,
- I5,
- I5, Capacity building programmes to work together, Some people have land and others put the work but no land, Not only "landholders" benefit, because land and work are exchanged, Community dinning halls promote social inclusion,
- I5, Capacity building to promote common work,
- I5, Some institutions (mostly public or public-private) have relations with the community via the community action board,
- I6,
- I6, Time is needed to build up trust, Lack of interest in one-self, Contributes to dinning hall, so her children can get their lunch, Neighbours don't help. She is being kicked out of her house and community doesn't help, Capacity building for progress of person and of community, Participates in capacity building meetings (talleres) to help the person and the neighbourhood, Many chats with neighbours, If a woman has a man, she is not helped, because he should do it.
- I6, High trust among the own street (cuadra). One sees them more than others in the neighbourhood. Take care of each other, When people have helped, they don't like to help anymore afterwards, Sister had house burnt, and people helped her, Meetings help get the problems out of the head, Community action board helps by making letter for help, The "cuadra" has great relevance,
- I6, Newcomers tend to provide more help, old ones get tired of it,
- I6, Favours. One doesn't know from today to tomorrow, what can happen,
- I6, Lack of reciprocity is a vicious circle,
- I6, more collaboration is needed. People are not united,
- I7,

17, Decreased trust to board from community, Members of board have norms to follow in the neighbourhood, Seeing the results accomplished for organised community generates more organisation. Virtuous circle, People is unsatisfied with boards. It should respond better, People helps. Community work sometimes for common things, People don't help each other, Ediles. Clientelism, If they are united, they get more attention by institutions, The members of the community organise themselves in groups to interact with board, Communication from boards to public institutions is via politicians, Good communication between action board of other sectors, especially for "macro projects". No institutionalised communication, Information is passed from group to group informally, Presidents all pull to their side to get acknowledgements for things done

17, More participation if there is trust of people to board, Use of conciliators of the board to solve problems before the institutions, Some people have too much pride to help and participate, Members of the board have duties with the community. If they don't respond, they are "fined", Old residents rule over newcomers, Benefits go mostly to organised groups that have relationship with board, Good relations with submunicipality, Clientelist relations, Politics plays a big role in community action boards, Social life is big in the neighbourhood, Lack of unity

17, Organised people appropriate what belongs to them, People go to board or help, They have to go often, so they take them into account, Board tries to work with all groups, There is no spaces for leaders. Groups are formed,

17, Newcomers have a more communal culture and participate more, People think that institutions (public and private) have the obligation to help them, The bridge (eje) between boards and submunicipalities are the ediles, Discrimination to people of ciudad Bolivar,

17, Much indifference of people, Discrimination to people of ciudad Bolivar,

18,

18, Take care of the houses of neighbours, It is important to have good neighbours, Some people use me if I help them, but I don't care, They help themselves among neighbours, Good relations with bosses, It would help black people to get organised, Very good relations with bosses (cleans houses of rich people), Good relations with other black families (from the same original region), Envy hinders development

18, Many robberies in the neighbourhood. Trust goes down, Doesn't like her children to have many friends on the neighbourhood (street) because it may cause problems, People get organised if it involves receiving something. For self interest and not for conviction, Bosses have helped her in many occasions, Ex-boss is paying for her son's education, Recommendations from previous bosses are good for job search, Have good relation with other family (relatives), Racism and generalisation of people

18, People trust the others in their own street (cuadra), Helps without expecting anything in return. Does not like to ask for payback to people, Money gathering for people with problems, Found job because of acquaintances,

18, One cannot trust people, NGO contributes to her children,

O,

O, Bella Flor is more rural than Paraiso and Paraiso in turn less urban than the rest of Bogota, Bella Flor has a less aggressive feeling (rural), Families help one another to take care of children,

O, Social control from community leaders and neighbours, so a child is not abused,

I9,

I9, "if I were rich, I wouldn't help and would be more greedy, but since I don't have...", Child was adopted by a couple of community leaders, because she is "special" and mother was not taking care of her and using her to beg, People from other neighbourhoods (better off) come and see. Then they come to help,

I9, Some think that people that help others, should mind their own business,

I10,

I10, Trust among direct neighbours, but not to the rest, Social control for robberies. People come out of their houses and community action board is notified, Does not like to be sociable because she was educated that way (to be alone), Neighbour allows connection to services, Doctor told her about NGO for children, House collapsed and man recommended her and she could get the land where she has the house now, Attend church every Sunday, Organise themselves to talk to community action board,

I10, Thieves and drug-addicts do not respect the others, They help and take care of one another, Met man because of business,

I10, When natural disaster damaged one house (where they get water from), they helped, People get together to talk about god,

I10, I ask my neighbour for gas, but now I am embarrassed, because it has been for a week already, Got together with neighbour, to go ask for illegal water connection at another neighbour's house,

I10, It is important to have good neighbours,

I11,

I11, It is like living in a town, not in the city, NGOs help also to educate and not only economically, Parents of the children of the private school participate, the ones from the public school don't, The principal avenue of the neighbourhood is where "everything goes on",

I11, Children here have different values (less) than in more developed parts of the city,

I11, Children have a hard life here,

I,

I, Social control of families plays a big role in diminishing violence, Low values of people affects Social Capital,

O,

O, Parks and sport places are mostly visited by men, Intra-familii violence very high (men to women and women to children),

O, Groups of teenagers and young men gather in parks,

I12,

I12, I have helped a lot, but people have paid me badly, Your own street (cuadra) is important, Gives food to other family while lady get her pay. Husband got his job because of the lady's ex-man, Takes care of children of other lady, because husband left her, Family provides help (mother in law), Husband got job because a friend told him, Not much contact with institutions, Man asks for help to boss sometimes, They met lady, because husbands worked together, Gossiping and talking bad about others

I12, After some time of asking for help, people trusted that food was for her children, Mother in law changed religion (catholic to Christian) and that changed her. Now she is always there for them, I don't expect anything, she shall judge..., If I have more than I need I share it with my neighbour, Talks about their problems with neighbour, Stays at home most of the time, but gets together with neighbour to talk,

I12, I couldn't leave the house alone before, but the young boys that where doing bad things left and now its safe again, We didn't turn our back to her and she is thankful, When I came to neighbourhood, I asked people for help for my children and it worked, Communication about help between neighbours, Communication about aid with neighbours,

I12, I did work for my sister and she helped me out. She would not only give her and would criticise her for asking, In other places, people don't help each other like in this neighbourhood,

I12, Created a room for another family of neighbours for 6 months and lady helped her out, I used to go collect food in the wholesale and it worked better the more they knew me,

I12, She treats her mother in law great, because she deserves it because of her help to them, You can not ask everyone for help,

I12, If someone treats me right, I do too,

I13,

I13, Comisaria de familia didn't do anything when lawsuit, People are never happy with anything, President of board doesn't do much, because people criticise everything, Good relationship with one lady in neighbourhood and they help each other and give advice to one another, Mother helps her, Ex-boss harassed her and she had to quit, Lawsuit against man, but nothing happened, NGO is important for them, Attends meetings of community action board, Not much contact, but always greetings, Envy of people

I13, If you don't mess with anybody, nobody should mess up with you, When thieves come, people come out to the street, Reunion in NGO for capacity building, Social relations are not important in the neighbourhood, but if less gossiping and envy, then better, People speak bad about one another

O,

O, Men and women have different "functions", People stay in the neighbourhood, because lots of aid is provided there, Promiscuous sexual relations very common ==> problems

O, Children have adult problems,

O, The woman is the centre of the family and is the one that responds for the children,

I14,

I14, Many mothers commit themselves, but don't do anything, When some members of community participate too much, it takes away the obligations of others, Mothers help in dining hall to receive the alimentation of their children, Social worker asks what I come to do here. Prevention because institutions come to neighbourhood, take what they need and don't make a contribution, Group of 5 women manage a common area for agriculture. Share tasks, They exchange products with stores in the neighbourhood (non monetary transactions). "Trueque",

I15,

I15, Food is sometimes not paid right away, but later (fian), Problems are solved with communication, All members of group are responsible and see for one another, Family member offered his truck for transportation of products, People want to enter groups and be leaders, Cook using products that come from community agriculture, Received economical support from NGO to start with cooking project, Group gets together once or twice a week to cook and sell cheap or give for free to community members, Envy

I15, Get to know your neighbour!, Not much is sold, but most is consumed internally, NGO built capacity on agriculture for organised groups, Group of: one landowner and 3 or 4 other women. All work the land and divide the harvest, Lack of participation and time of people make programmes be smaller

I15, Owner of land is the leader of the group, NGO programs meetings, Exchange of products between farms and with stores,

I15, Since community is working together, there is less internal problems, Groups help each other,

I15, Knowledge and product exchange with other groups in other neighbourhoods,

O,

O, One greets people on the street and they think one is going to steal from them, I gave a man a puppy dog and now he lets me buy a goat very cheap, Neighbour help a lot, Experience of members of group is also shared, Group of people for capacity building and advice for cattling organised by NGO, Newcomers bond themselves more,

O, Newcomers bond themselves more, All work in everyone's house on whatever is necessary, Some institutions don't help you,

O, Capacity building programme by NGO for forced immigrants,

I16,

I16, I don't trust people, Better to keep distance to people, People don't respect one another, Family helps much, Social relations have no value for her, Not much participation, Likes neighbourhood, because her family lives here,

I16, They have a little store and let people pay later. When they have the money, they come and pay, Doesn't speak with many people,

I16, No trust in neighbourhood, Man has many friends, who he meets frequently,

I17,

I17, Great trust in church and pastor, Paramilitaries undertake "social cleaning" of youth, Without self esteem and other values, its too difficult to understand ourselves, I want to get better and see others do as well, One has seen and has been in situations. One can share experience with others (kids starting into drugs), Social relations are good, because there is communication, Relationship with God (Christian), Goes to church and pastor for advice and help, Members of church help each other in getting jobs for instance, was a street child and drug addict and friend referred him to re-hab,

I17, Not much trust in neighbourhood amongst inhabitants, I want to get better and see others do as well, I like sharing with others, Being part of the church improves chances and helps (job in church), No contact with institutions (only church), Church members organise themselves to work together for a certain thing, Buy and cook together with another housemate (inquilino),

I17, Neighbourhood was dangerous and the consequences are still there, The change has to start from the inside (one self), Neighbours and housemates: each one does things on their own. Everyone on their things,

I18,

I18, In stores where owners know you, you can pay later, Youth have much free time and nothing to do (opportunities), Difficult neighbourhood to raise children, Mutual support with friend in all problems, I help people (anybody), as long as I can, Paramilitary groups had the power, Communicate problems to friends, Aid by public and private institutions has increased, Stopped going to church for no reason. Goes if he is not well to look for help, Doesn't participate in many communal activities, Family has had great relevance and support, Paramilitaries and thieves in neighbourhood

I18, Does not trust everyone in neighbourhood, People respect each other. Base for living together, Hostile environment, Nothing but problems in return of helping, Asks for help to people that are better off. Has asked for loans to an acquaintance that is better off economically, Here, you have to have "bad people" as friends too. They may help you, but I treat them carefully, they can harm you, Church represents moral support, spiritual happiness and "thanks giving", Good relationship with bosses, Has a friend since years ago and they support themselves. They get together to play billiard and talk (problems),

I18, "Paramilitary law" before, Took children to church to educate them well, The more people receive, the least they give, If someone sees something suspicious, he/she warns others, People in your street are taking care of each other, Does not go to bosses if problems, I took friendship away to someone for a while, because he let me down when I helped,

I18, Social cleaning by paramilitary groups has "decreased" (?) problems, People is ambitious and stingy, People that are really suffering, are more grateful when helped, Help each other at work when needs of someone, I like to be ok with everyone. That is good for all, Only goes to family or close friend if economical problems,

I18, People want things to come to them without fighting for them, Does not like to owe anything to anybody. Scared of not being able to pay back, Good references are important for CV, The friend of my friend...

I18, Between friends, you care for one another, Got job, because of friend, Good relationships at work with colleagues,

I18, People are very violent in the neighbourhood,

I18, I like that my children have friends and learn to be sociable,

I19,

I19, Trust is low, because you never know with who, the people you know, deals with, People have become more civilised as the neighbourhood has developed, People want things without doing anything (no effort), People don't like to be leaders, participate and commit themselves, Community action board collects or organises raffles when necessary, but people only help when they have necessity, When people have a negative shock, most people help, Public services were brought thanks to boards, Several NGOs for children, single mothers and elderly people, Inhabitants had always organised themselves in community action boards for everything they accomplished, Relations between neighbours are good, but there is always problems,

I19, Community action board has norms, but people don't show interest for those topics, Social relations important, People come to community action board when necessity, Helping others without interests makes social relations better, Important to organise people in community action boards for the development of the neighbourhood, Community leaders make requests to community action board, Communication and work among boards,

I19, Lack of sense of belonging, People are not grateful, Helps to negotiate with government, Only 15-20% attendance of members of community action board to meetings,

I19, communication makes social relations better, Knows much people because of being of the board, Channel with the government,

I19, Chance of attending meetings and capacity building because of being part of the board,

I19, Being organised gives priority to boards with institutions,

I19, Without social relations, no organisation, no programmes,

I19, Good social relations, organised in groups, things are found easier,

I20,

I20, Lack of honesty creates mistrust, People don't participate and want everything to come from heaven, Lack of commitment from people, Help who ever needs help, even though they don't ask, After having helped much, one gets tired, Leaders and/or groups don't get together with others, family is important,

I20, Families don't pay attention to youngsters, they go to the street, Community doesn't get together with others,

I20, Envy of people,

I20, First me, second me and third me,

I20, Communication is important,

O,

O, Values are developed and taught, For bakery: I can lend the oven, Meetings for capacity building every 15 days to mothers of children of NGO,

O, Hard lives of mothers ==> transferred to children. Vicious circle,

I21,

I21, Neighbours owe much money, no trust, no lend, "You can't even trust your mother", ... that's what friends are for. How about if one is in need later..., We take care of each other in this street, Friends help with jobs, Good relationship with boss, Social relations in own street,

I21, not much trust, One helps up to his own limits, without expecting anything, Help from neighbours or problems, but not for money, Own street important, Some gossiping,

I21, With time, one knows people better and they too. Trust higher, easier, Some people help a lot. Others none at all, If someone needs something, people help, More people you know, more work comes to you, Organised into group of drinking friends for a loan,

I21, If you trust somebody, that person lets you down when you don't think about it, Boss helps if asked,

I21, Had problems with a friend that failed to pay and he was responsible for him,

I22,

I22, They don't trust everybody. You give trust to some, and they take advantage, Social control in own street, Lots of people like to collaborate, Some people get angry if you charge them what they owe you, Look for help within the family because institutions don't respond, Social relations are important for diversion, Bureaucracy and formal procedures take too much time, Goes to NGO if problems, "Personera" organises many activities, Strong relations within family,



I22, Its better not to invite people to your house unless you know them well and trust them (much time is needed), There is no respect between people (we are too violent), Group of teenagers were taught capoeira and now they teach others, When someone dies, people help family, NGOs can help you with problems, Board is a group of drunk men. They only give benefits to friends, Husband also has social relations with other men in neighbourhood,

I22, Lend money if they have it, Problems are solved internally faster than with institutions, People gets together for religious purposes, Members of board and participate in sport activities (man),

I22, you can pay later in most shops (because one inspires trust). Once you pay, they trust you more, People gets together for fun, not for "projects",

I22, No trust,

I22, You can leave the door of your house open and nothing happens,

O,

O, Many lawsuits, People collaborate with NGOs in order to benefit from their services,

I23,

I23, There is no need for a guard. They trust people, Social control in own street. People help NGO, because they are doing something for the community, Working on sensibilizing people. Young educated people have lost sensibility, People have to contribute in order to receive. Nothing can be given for free, If you give food to somebody, you are never going to lack food, Girl started giving elderly people food, Organised people accomplish more, Travels speaking about her NGO to collect funds internationally, Priest heard about her and took her to Paris to speak, Lack of support by public institutions, People organise themselves to develop themselves and go steps ahead and to look for solutions to their problems,

I23, Educate youngsters giving civic values (formacion ciudadana), It has to be an effort from the whole community. People have to give, Young people that have benefited from NGO, collaborate now as volunteers, People help themselves much, Elderly people have others looking for them and have less loneliness, Instead of only receiving aid, they involve donors in neighbourhood and then let them contribute in what they think, Talks to educated young people to create conscience of problems in other parts of the city, NGO has created networks that take care of one another (elderly), Met leaders in community action board meetings,

I23, Affection is the greatest capital of children, They work with the principle of the "social exchange" (trueque social), When people realize that one doesn't have, then they contribute, Local leaders showed them other NGOs, Relationship with government difficult. Political, Clientelism, De-stigmatise Ciudad Bolivar,

I23, Some values are too hard to change because of culture, Difficult to educate people that they have to give in order to receive, Help to other smaller NGOs, Work in cooperation with some government projects, Communication with local leaders,

I23, The more local the projects, the easier the cooperation,

I23, More control if international organisation,

I24,

I24, Neighbourhood is ok, but sort of "heavy", There is respect for one another, but there is people that..., Help one another with neighbours, For my new house, family, friends and people at work gave me things, Being well known facilitates "business", President of board helps, Works in board as conciliator (about 50% of problems are solved), Religious people help,

I24, Social control: thieves are kicked out of families or killed by paramilitary groups, Its personal to improve conditions and survival, If you help someone, they don't pay, but if you need something, its good, President of board and religious people provide more help, Social relations important. Help to get jobs and follow the "good path", NGO helps children, People don't attend board meetings, When he used to drink, he had many drinking friends, now he has good friends,

I24, People know me, and therefore buy from me, give me jobs etc., People takes care of one another in the own street, Good friends introduce other good friends...,

I25,

I25, Social compromise of community is needed, Capacity building programmes, The people have to do everything on their own. NGO guides and capacitates, NGOs have pampered community by giving everything to them, People don't help themselves, People are scared of institutions and government, NGO has now funds from international institutions, NGO had funding from members to help poor neighbourhoods,

I25, People don't organise themselves, participate, and no interest to learn. Everything should come to them, Works in coordination and using facilities of other public and private institutions,

I25, People collaborate more in other neighbourhoods,

I25, People needs to build conscience of their situation,

I26,

I26, There is no trust due to robberies and insecurity, Neighbours know who enters and who doesn't to the other houses. Social control, Unity vision, People look for members of church for advice, Family is the first source for help, Bad relations with father that drinks, Good relations are more than bad ones, but one learns even from the bad ones, Look for NGOs that can help and that are not here to steal from us, Church gets together with churches in other neighbourhoods,

I26, Trust our neighbours and can leave our door open, Social relations important. If I don't leave my house, I am no one, I help without expecting benefits for me and no matter what happens after, Economic problems. I look for doors I knock on, Church: organisation, understand leaving in community and have social relations, Church is open for everyone,

I26, NGOs have to prove that have good will, All contribute to get funds for church, If necessities, organisation for help, Learn to express and integrate oneself,

I26, Support, advice,

I27,

I27, Doesn't trust neighbours. Each one on its own, Paraiso is more dangerous because of social cleaning, People want development in Paraiso. People in Bella Flor want to inspire pity and get things for that, He who doesn't "work", doesn't eat, You can not close the door to anybody, even if he/she has done bad to you, Worked with DABS on violence and abuse. Liked to help people in need, Relations with neighbours were bad, but since church, better, Gangs of youngsters hang out on the street at night (between 10 and 20 years of age), Opened her house to be used as "church",

I27, Bella Flor is rather calmed. Bad ones from neighbourhood do not do things inside neighbourhood (?), People in Bella Flor live in sheds even though they can afford a house, Social relations essential for support and for times of need,

I27, There is people that never change, Social relations don't help improve life,

I27, Child abuse,

I27, People are not interested in anything,

I27, Low values in families,

I27, Its hard to change values of adults,

I27, The quality of communication is essential (for education of children),

I28,

I28, Doesn't trust friends. You never know and they can make you look bad with others, Social control is higher in Paraiso, Gossiping is bigger in Bella Flor, I solve my own problems, Receives job referrals from friends, but doesn't do the opposite. Mistrust, People help each other in Bella Flor, but more in Paraiso, Works when friends help him get a job, Relations with friends in police and army, More unity in Paraiso. Even though its sometimes for bad purposes,

I28, Trusts friends that knows very well, Each person should live its live without being an obstacle to anybody, I work together with my friends in the police and the military. I give, they give, If big problems, I go to my friends in police or military, Progress is higher in Paraiso. More unity (also for bad things), He introduces me to the other one and so on,

I28, People is not reciprocal (no responde), If someone is going to harm somebody, I help (even my enemies), Social relations important. One gets information of what is happening in neighbourhood (friends, enemies, jobs), Meet people mostly in house,

I28, I help and don't even want people to know, because people don't have anything to thank me with,

I29,

I29, NGOs have cheated and stole the community, Respect of people is good, Lack of education, People got together to buy material and install water provision from Quiba, Solidarity amongst poor people is good. They give the little they have., Board is like parents of community, Community started advancing by efforts of leaders and community action boards, Government support is not clear. Projects are good, but administrators are bad, Board works together with government institutions, Community own plots of land in neighbourhood for public space, People go to board for advice and they guide them on what to do. It is the first instance, Insecurity (paramilitary and guerrilla groups, gangs of thieves)

I29, People trust one another in the neighbourhood, In these circumstances, people learn to coexist good with one another, We refer each other for work opportunities, We collect from community when need, Ediles are the bridge to government. Clientelism. Allocated budget depends on number of votes received, Public services provision thanks to board, Communication with local gov. should be direct and not via ediles, Ediles are the bridge to local government, Community action board organised and legalised neighbourhood. Responsible for all development, Boards work together, Selfishness

I29, Problems with majors. People lost trust in local government, People don't know their rights, People in community collaborate with board and with themselves, Corruption and bureaucracy of institutions, Social relations are a big source of information for people, Organised group in community (elderly),

I29, Without social relations, one is nobody,

I29, The more social relations, the better,

I30,

I30, Capacity building: they teach us to work with others (society), Actions in group facilitate more, Group for capacity building for forced immigrants. Plan to stay together for project,

I30, One sometimes only looks for one self, Was chosen for programme after signing up and because of need,

I30, Group actions are broader. More impact,

O,

O, Social control by leaders. Children were not being taken care of and leaders intervened., People take advantage of aid and take more than should, Politicians come before elections and never again (clientelism), Group got together to clean creek,

I31,

I31, People that see her often, give more. They understand the need, People in other places recognise necessity and give (pity), When help from family, they humiliate afterwards, We go to other neighbourhoods (better of) to beg for food with children (successful), Board want to manipulate community. Non transparent, Talked to priest giving aid in neighbourhood. Now house., Board only helps in extreme cases,

I31, Nobody care about others, unless the trust is big to someone, I don't see faces, but need of people, I don't like to bother neighbours, In whole sale warehouses (Corabastos) always receives food, Board want to get benefits always,

I31, I am very "sociable" (metida) and that gives me benefits, Board helps and then "humiliates" (echar en cara), If I had, I would give, because there is much need in Bella Flor. If I get much food, I give away to most needed,

I31, I was looking after plot of sister and living there therefore, Plot was given to her by brother in law,

I31, Neighbours look after one another. If you take care of me, I do too.,

O,

O, Life on the street is big. You meet lots of people on the street and asking to others.,

I32,

I32, I helped a lady and she was taking my husband away from me, As long as you know how to treat people, they..., Selfishness, One helps, then the other back, Go to family, because after others help, then humiliates (echar en cara), Wife of president of board is too dominant, selfish and no sharing, you sometimes need favours, and if good social relations, you can get it easier, Goes to capacity building from public institution, Social relations with neighbours good, but sometimes problems with children,

I32, Generalised mistrust, Coexistence is ok in neighbourhood, We always want more and not that everyone develops, You help somebody and then they speak (bad) about you. You cannot help, People help each other with food, Gets jobs from friends,

I32, Trust in own street, You create the respect that people give you, Everyone in its own thing, Being alone at home, boring. Went outside to chat,

I32, Respect yourself, respect good in family, respect good outside,

I32, More communication is needed,

I33,

I33, Not much trust, Lack of respect of people, Envy from people that lives better, Nobody help without interest, People don't help much. Envy, Job recommendation from friends and family, Better to have social relationships outside of neighbourhood, Envy, gossiping

I33, I helped a friend and she was taking my husband away from me, Many problems, coexistence difficult, People don't value themselves, One cannot help people from the heart, because bad experiences, Family and NGOs help, Personal relations important to know yourself and learn from others,

I33, Lack of trust because of hypocrisy, People of street takes care of each other, Receive help sometimes,

I34,

I34, Your life is in your hands. You give yourself the life you want, People helps others in need (lady in bed and roof blown away. Neighbours helped, Bad stigma of Ciudad Bolivar makes relations outside difficult, In other neighbourhoods, truck drivers organised. Take care of territory. Not in Bella Flor and Paraiso,

O,

O, Some people help much,