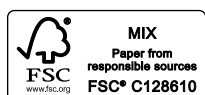


LAND OF CONTRAST, CONTEXT OF EXCLUSION
Social Capital in Policy Formulation:
Valle Del Cauca - Colombia,
1998-2008

Karem Sánchez de Roldán

The research was funded by Universidad del Valle, Colombia and COLFUTURO



© Karem Sánchez de Roldán 2017

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission by the author.

ISBN 978-90-6490-074-7

LAND OF CONTRACT, CONTEXT OF EXCLUSION
Social Capital in Policy Formulation:
Valle Del Cauca - Colombia, 1998-2008

LAND VAN CONTRACT, CONTEXT VAN UITSLUITING
Sociaal kapitaal bij beleidsvorming:
Valle del Cauca - Colombia, 1998-2008

Thesis

to obtain the degree of Doctor from the
Erasmus University Rotterdam
by command of the
Rector Magnificus
Professor dr. H.A.P. Pols
and in accordance with the decision of the Doctorate Board

The public defence shall be held on
Monday 12 June 2017 at 16.00 hrs

by

Karem Sánchez de Roldán
born in Bogotá, Colombia

International
Institute of
Social Studies

The Erasmus University logo, featuring the word "Erasmus" in a stylized, cursive script.

Doctoral Committee

Doctoral Dissertation Supervisors

Prof. I.P. van Staveren

Prof. R.E. van der Hoeven

Other members

Prof. P. Dekker, Tilburg University

Prof. J.M. Baud, University of Amsterdam

Prof. A.H.J. Helmsing

*To Isabella and all my grandchildren to come
because theirs is the future*



Contents

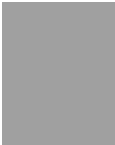
<i>List of Tables, Figures and Maps</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Acronyms</i>	<i>xv</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xvii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>xxiii</i>
<i>Samenvatting</i>	<i>xxv</i>
1 Contexts and Contrast: The Research	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 The Colombian context, 1998–2008	4
1.2.1 La Apertura	5
1.2.2 A new political constitution	7
1.2.3 Violence and conflict	8
1.2.4 Society and the institutional crisis	10
1.3 Research questions	11
1.3.1 Research question	13
1.3.2 Sub-research questions	13
1.4 Study objective	14
1.5 The analytical framework: theories and concepts	14
1.6 Methodology	17
1.6.1 Research location	18
1.6.2 Time period	19
1.6.3 Data collection	20
1.6.4 Data analysis	26
1.6.5 Challenges and limitations	27
1.7 Importance of the study and contribution of this research	29
1.8 Overview of the Chapters	31
Notes	33

2	Social: Exclusion, Capital, Policy: A Theoretical Framework	35
2.1	Introduction	35
2.2	'Social exclusion-social capital': A dyadic conceptual device	38
2.2.1	Foucault's definition	39
2.2.2	<i>Dispositif</i> : Meanings and connotations	41
2.2.3	The normative connotation	42
2.2.4	'Social exclusion–social capital' – a dyadic (conceptual) device	43
2.3	Social exclusion	45
2.3.1	Theoretical approaches to social exclusion	46
2.3.2	Social exclusion, social order, and power structures	49
2.4	Social capital	50
2.4.1	Origins and the explicit emergence of social capital	50
2.4.2	Definitions and theoretical issues in social capital: Toward a conceptual network	55
2.4.3	Measurements and assessment	65
2.4.4	Flourishing of social capital discourse	72
2.4.5	Whither social capital?	79
2.5	Social Policy	82
2.6	Social: exclusion, capital, policy: An analytical framework	84
	Notes	86
3	Land of Contrasts: Valle del Cauca 1998-2008	88
3.1	Introduction	88
3.2	The geographic, historic, and demographic background	89
3.2.1	Geography	89
3.2.2	Historical Background	90
3.2.3	Demography	92
3.3	Economy	96
3.3.1	Macro-economic variables	96
3.3.2	Employment and labour force	98
3.3.3	Formal and informal labour markets	106
3.4	Society	108
3.4.1	Poverty and income inequality	109
3.4.2	Education	112

3.4.3	Health Care System's coverage of Colombia and Valle del Cauca	114
3.4.4	Social security	116
3.4.5	The Human Development Index (HDI)	119
3.5	Land of contrast: Contexts of exclusion?	120
3.5.1	Five municipalities, diversity, and heterogeneity	121
3.5.2	Demography	124
3.5.3	Economy	129
3.5.4	Society	130
3.6	The institutional crisis	138
3.7	Concluding remarks	139
	Notes	140
4	Grounds for Social Policy Formulation: 1998-2008	143
4.1	Introduction	143
4.2	Internal processes	145
4.2.1	The 1991 Colombian Constitutional Chart	145
4.2.2	Decentralization and social policy	146
4.2.3	Development Plan (DP), context and compass for social policy formulation	150
4.3	External influences	159
4.3.1	International Financial institutions and Development Organizations	159
4.3.2	Approaches, ideas, and concepts for a social development agenda	164
4.4	Power relationships in social policy formulations: Concluding remarks	170
	Notes	172
5	A Decade of Social Policy Formulation (1998-2008)	173
5.1	Introduction	173
5.2	Social policy in National Development Plans: 1998–2010	176
5.2.1	NDPs: The strategy structure and content	177
5.2.2	Social policy in NDPs	183
5.3	Social policy in Valle del Cauca and five municipality development plans (1998–2008)	192
5.3.1	Development plans: Structure and content	194

5.3.2 Social policy in DDPs and MDPs	198
5.3.3 Content of social policy	201
5.4. Concluding remarks	206
Notes	210
6 A Dyadic Conceptual Device at Work: ‘Social Exclusion-Social Capital’	212
6.1 Introduction	212
6.2 Social exclusion in the ‘social exclusion–social capital’ dyad	213
6.2.1 Exclusion-inclusion	213
6.2.2 Exclusion–poverty	214
6.2.3 Exclusion and vulnerability	215
6.2.4 Exclusion and the lack of social and political resources	216
6.3 Social capital in development plans: The government’s approach	217
6.3.1 Social capital in development plans: The conceptual network	218
6.3.2 Convergences and divergences	224
6.4 Concluding remarks	225
Notes	225
7 Social Capital: Experiences and Perceptions	227
7.1 Introduction	227
7.2 Structural social capital	228
7.2.1 Organizations	229
7.2.2 Organizations, a proxy of structural social capital?	263
7.2.3 Associativity in Valle del Cauca and the four selected municipalities	264
7.2.4 Bonding, bridging, linking	274
7.3 Cognitive social capital	276
7.3.1 Solidarity	276
7.3.2 Trust	277
7.2.3 Cooperation	281
Notes	282
8 Conclusions	283
8.1 Introduction	283
8.2 The contribution	283

8.3	Answers to the research question	284
8.4	The power of words, the words of power	286
8.4.1	The development debate, a heterogeneous ensemble	286
8.4.2	Illuminating and concealing dimensions of social arrangements	288
8.4.3	The normative and prescriptive power	289
8.5	A future research agenda	289
	<i>Appendices</i>	293
	<i>References</i>	301
	<i>Curriculum Vitae</i>	343



List of Tables, Figures, Maps and Appendices

Tables

1.1	Contacted and interviewed people	22
1.2	Household survey Valle del Cauca 2007 Socio-demographic characteristics (n = 2050)	24
1.3	Sub-research questions, methods, and information sources	25
2.1	Apparatus/Device: the meanings	41
2.2	Three Paradigms of Social Exclusion	47
2.3	Key Arenas in Social Exclusion	48
2.2	Social Capital Definitions	57
2.3	The SOCAT: Topics and questions	68
2.4	The Social Capital Integrated Questionnaire	71
2.5	Social capital in the scholarly literature	80
3.1	Population (1985–2005)	93
3.2	Demographic indicators (1985–2005)	93
3.3	Urban–Rural population (1985–2005)	95
3.4	GDP growth rate (1998–2008)	97
3.5	Employment indicators (1998–2008)	99
3.6	Employment by economy sectors (2001–2008)	101
3.7	Employment by status in employment (2001–2008)	104
3.8	Employment by status in employment (2001–2006)	105
3.9	Informal and formal employment (2001–2007)	107
3.10	Informal labor market by sex (2001–2007)	108
3.11	Unmet Basic Needs (2005)	109
3.12	Poverty, extreme poverty, and income inequality (2002–2008)	110

3.13	Multidimensional Poverty Index by indicators (2005)	111
3.14	Education (2002–2008)	113
3.15	Health Care Contributive System (2005–2008)	114
3.16	Health Care subsidized system (1998–2004)	115
3.17	Health Care subsidized system (2005–2008)	115
3.17	Human Development Index (2000–2008)	119
3.18	Human Development Index by indicators (2005)	120
3.19	Municipality’s categories, Act 617 of 2000	121
3.20	Population in the Selected Municipalities	124
3.21	Socio-demographic Indicators (2005)	126
3.22	Infant mortality rate (2005–2008)	126
3.23	Deaths by firearm (2001–2007)	127
3.24	Deaths by firearm (2001–2007))	128
3.25	GDP per capita (2005)	129
3.26	Total Dependency Ratio (1993–2005)	130
3.27	Other social indicators (2009)	131
3.28	Enrollment per education level (% of total enrollment)	132
3.29	Health Care Contributive and Subsidized System (2005–2008)	134
3.30	Kidnaps (1998–2007)	135
3.31	Forced Displacement (1996–2011)	136
4.1	Principles in Colombian planning system	152
4.2	National and Sub-national Development Plan (DP): General structure	156
4.3	WB loans to Colombia 1998–2008: Total and sectorial distribution	162
5.1	Development Plans (DP) 1998-2008	175
5.2	National Development Plans (1998–2010): General Structure	177
5.3	Social policy approaches in NDPs (1998–2002)	184
5.4	Social policy in NDPs (1998–2010)	189
5.5	Social Policy formulation in NDP	190
5.6	Valle del Cauca DDP (2001–2011)	194
5.7	MDP 5 selected municipalities in Valle del Cauca (1998–2011)	195
5.8	Development plan’s general structure (1998–2011)	196

5.9	Titles in social policy formulation	199
5.10	Social services and goods in social policy	202
5.11	Social groups in social policies	203
5.12	Social and institutional infrastructure	205
5.13	Governors and majors in office (1998–2008)	209
6.1	Social capital conceptual network in DPs (1998–2008)	221
6.2	Coexistence, peace, and security: Some connotations	222
7.1	Organizations in Valle del Cauca	229
7.2	Commerce Chambers in Valle del Cauca, organizational features	232
7.3	Trade and business associations in Colombia	234
7.4	Active labour unions and unionized workers in 2013	236
7.5	Financial inclusion in Colombia 2011 and 2014 based on selected indicators	240
7.6	Membership or participation in organizations, Colombia 1998-2008	265
7.7	Membership in organizations Valle del Cauca and four selected municipalities (2007)	265
7.8	Membership in organizations Valle del Cauca and four selected municipalities	267
7.9	Trust, race, and ethnic group Valle del Cauca and four municipalities, 2007	278
7.10	Trust in institutions, Colombia, 1998, 2007, 2008	279
7.11	Trust in institutions Valle del Cauca and four selected municipalities, 2007	280
7.12	Trust in institutions Valle del Cauca and four selected municipalities, 2007	281
7.13	Cooperation Valle del Cauca and four municipalities, 2007	282

Figures

1.1	The research analytical framework	17
2.1	Apparatus/device: Semantic fields	44
2.2	‘Social exclusion–social capital’ conceptual device	44
2.3	Dimensions in social capital	60
2.4	The social capital conceptual network	65

2.5	Analytical Framework	86
3.1	Unemployment (1998–2008)	100
3.2	Land tenure (2006)	137
4.1	International development organization system, International financial system, and Multilateral Development Bank	160
5.1	Change for building peace	180
5.2	Elements in social policy	185
6.1	Concepts in ‘Peace, security, and coexistence’ DPs	223
6.2	Frequent terms in ‘peace, security, and coexistence’ in DP	224
7.1	Organizations and groups: Providers of social services and goods	273

Maps

1.1	Valle del Cauca and five selected municipalities	19
2.1	Colombia and Valle del Cauca	92

Appendices

1.1	Qualitative data documents 1998–2008	293
1.2	Quantitative data documents 1998–2008	294
1.3	Technical aspects of households survey sample	295
1.4	Questionnaire distribution per zones	296
1.5	Household’s survey questionnaire structure	297
1.6	General objectives in ‘Peace, security, and coexistence’	298



Acronyms

BN:	Basic Needs
CPC:	Colombian Political Constitution
DANE:	Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística
DDP:	Department Development Plan
DNP:	Departamento Nacional de Planeación
ECH:	Encuesta Continua de Hogares (Continuous Household Survey)
ELN:	Ejercito de Liberación Nacional
EPL:	Ejercito Popular de Liberación
EVS:	European Values Study
FARC:	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia
FCF:	Family Compensatory Fund
GEIH:	Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares (Integrated great household survey)
GPS:	General Pensions System
GSSSH:	General Social Security System in Health
IADB:	Inter-American Development Bank
IGAG:	Intituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi
IDH:	Indice de Desarrollo Humano (Human Development Index)
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
MDP:	Municipal development Plan
MDI:	Multilateral Development Institutions
MEN:	Ministerio de Educación Nacional
MPI:	Multidimensional Poverty Index

MSMB:	Micro, Small and Medium Business
NDP:	National Development Plan
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organizations
SISBEN:	Sistema de Identificación de Beneficiarios (System of Identification and Classification of Potential Beneficiaries)
OECD:	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SCI:	Social Capital Initiative
SDG:	Sustainable Development Goals
SOCAT:	Social Capital Assessment Tool
UBN:	Unmet Basic Needs
UNDP:	United Nations Program for Development
UN:	United Nations
WB:	World Bank
WVS:	World Value Survey



Acknowledgements

There are no casual encounters. At the end of 2007, when I was almost giving up on the idea of enrolling in a PhD program, I came across a special issue of *Review of Social Economy* entitled ‘Beyond Social Capital’ on the internet. It was edited by Irene van Staveren and Peter Knorringa, two professors of whom I have never heard in the Colombian, Spanish-speaking academic world. The price of downloading the issue – around USD 30 – made me hesitate while buying it. Six months elapsed during which I frequently went back to the online issue’s Table of Contents. The growing interest in the subject and a broad critical perspective of social capital finally impelled me to spend what I see today as a ridiculous amount of money. This decision would change my life personally, academically, and intellectually.

At the time, I was conducting the Social Capital and Social Inclusion survey in the framework of the Human Development Report of Valle del Cauca – what I think has been the largest social capital survey in Valle del Cauca so far. Its findings convinced me that I had a valuable data treasure in my hands that, under appropriate analysis conditions, would give me the opportunity to shed light and gain an understanding of the cultural, social, and economic intricacies shaping this part of Colombian land that has become my home and with which I suffer and rejoice.

This fortunate coincidence influenced me to search who Irene van Staveren and Peter Knorringa were and where they were located institutionally. It was my first contact with the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, The Netherlands – far from my Colombian environment geographically, culturally, and linguistically. The only reference I had of this country was the training course my father took in Phillips at Eindhoven when I was a baby. Nothing more.

Once I discovered the PhD program at ISS and that there was no age limit to enroll, I presented what I thought was the ‘first draft’ of my doctoral dissertation. Such naivety! I didn’t know what I was getting into. However, academic issues were not the only concern gravitating upon me, as the financial

ones were not a smaller matter. As a full-time professor in Universidad del Valle, I could take advantage of the policy allowing faculty members to pursue postgraduate programs in Colombia or abroad. It was the famous 'Comisión de Estudios' as stated in the Resolution of the Superior Council 031/2004. Nevertheless, the items this policy provided for did not cover the full living expenses priced in euros in The Netherlands. At the eve of one of the world's worst financial crises, when no other private or state institution was willing to provide the needed funds, against all the odds, I was granted a scholarship credit from Colfuturo. The conditions were ripe for the doctorate academic adventure.

If the prelude to the PhD program was uncertain and full of big and small challenges, it has certainly not been different all the years that I have been devoted to this cherished project. Leaving my cozy home, family, and friends, although heartbreaking, it was an opportunity to find new friends while adding to my vital experience the colorful taste of cultural and religious diversity. Becoming a student, in all that this word means, gave me the opportunity to explore new approaches, ideas, and research methodologies and particularly to develop and exercise critical thinking. This is something that – just to mention the case of social capital – I realized academics and practitioners in social development environments, including myself, lacked at least in my surroundings. In fact, where I came from, in many cases, everything was about taking given ideas without the benefit of inventory and putting them into practice immediately.

Participating in courses, conferences, and seminars at ISS and abroad allowed me to experience firsthand a truly vibrant, motivating, and encouraging international thinking community. Its focus on the main social, economic, cultural, human rights, and global development problems made me feel that I could contribute with my grain of sand from the Colombian and Latin American perspective. It was also an opportunity to witness the humanity of people whose great names I was acquainted with only through their books and published articles. I will never forget the lectures of Joan Galtung, Amartya Sen, Anthony Atkinson, Martha Nussbaum, and many others who left a deep impression on me.

In this incredible journey, during which intellectual and academic life intertwined with daily life and its facts, life and death, health and illness, joy and sorrow, laughter and tears, energy and exhaustion, welcomes and farewells, abundance and scarcity, the debts of gratitude are simply immense. There are many institutions and individuals who have supported me in one way or another. I offer my deepest appreciation to them all.

At the risk of not mentioning some names, I would like to express special acknowledgments:

To Universidad del Valle and the Facultad de Ciencias de la Administración for granting the required leave of studies, funds for the fieldwork in Valle del Cauca, and permanent administrative support from colleagues and staff;

To COLFUTURO for the awarded scholarship-credit;

To my dearest and admired promoters Prof. Dr. Irene van Staveren and Rolph van der Hoeven at The International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University (ISS-EUR). They provided firm and patient guidance, invaluable lessons that I will never forget, and an example for me to follow;

To the International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University in The Hague for giving me the opportunity to be a part of a world-class development research community;

To ISS-EUR professors and researchers who kindly acted as internal senior discussants or chairs in the Research Design, Field Work, and Final Dissertation Seminars. Their valuable comments, suggestions, and sharp constructive criticism allowed me to narrow down the scope of my research, make my arguments accurate and consistent, and improve my works and documents. They are Bert Helmsing, Arjan de Haan, Peter Knorringa, Mohamed Salih, and Des Gaspers;

To the professors affiliated to other universities in the Netherlands who participated as senior external discussants in those seminars illuminating my approaches and understandings with their wise expertise: Dr. Godfried van Engbersen of Erasmus University of Rotterdam and Prof. Dr. Michel Baud, director of the Center for Latin American Research and Documentation (CEDLA);

To my fellow researchers Moushira Elgesiri, Mariana Cifuentes, and Chistina Sathyamala whose capacities as doctorate discussants challenged my views and helped me gain renewed analytical perspectives;

To professors and lecturers at ISS-EUR from whom I learned theories and research methods:

Des Gasper, Karin Astrid Siegman, Andrew Fisher, Roy Huisman, and Georgina Gómez;

To Linda McPhee and Almas Mahmoud for their permanent assistance on my writing and presentation skills;

To ISS-EUR administrative staff Susan Spaa and Dita Dirks in the PhD secretary office, Martin Blok in the student's welfare office, Saskia Scheffer

and Lidwien Lamboo in the library, John Sinjoro, Silvia Cattermole, and Robin Koers, Benjamin, and Danny in Dorus Reijersplein Residency;

To Joy Misa, the person who devised the thesis template, formatted and finalised most of ISS doctorate theses in the past 20 years. Certainly, it has been the case with my manuscript. Countless times she worked deep into the night to get the work done as soon as possible. By no means, it is impossible to overestimate the work that goes into 'fixing' a large document for publication. Because it is in her character to deliver as perfect a product as possible every time, she usually spends more time and effort on the work than people realize.

To ISS chaplains Waltraut Stroh and Father Avin Kunnekkadan;

To Christina Sathyamala, Kai Tevappitak, Maazhullah Khan, and Rafaela de Cuadros Rigone (the batch of five) with whom I shared courses, Development Dialogue activities, ideas, coffee, tea, cookies, and delightful dinners. We discovered the cultural, religious, and non-religious traditions from our respective backgrounds, the whole fostering a long-lasting friendship. We could join the large PhD community that was already existing, of which many others became a part along the years;

To my 3.15 ISS-EUR officemates Moushira Elgeziri, Zelalim Yilma, and Kenji Kimura, the Colombian PhD fellows Camilo Villa, Sonia López, and Angélica María Ocampo. Also, to all those from different corners of the planet whose kindness, determination, firm advocacy of rights, and endurance in difficult times I appreciate. Among them are Shamika Jahasundara, Bilisuma Dito, and Denniz Atkins;

To the Bahá'í friends in the Netherlands and the Bahá'í community in The Hague. Without knowing me, but being sure of our shared beliefs and principles, we could become friends while transcending cultural and language barriers, offering sincere friendship and loving care. Mina and Peter Senior opened the doors of their home for me and gave me affection, in the same way. Mahboube Faress made it later when we met each other in the ever-nurturing Bahá'is meetings. Together, we built a spiritual bond that will last forever. The same bonds tie me to Marga Marteens, Maja Groff, Rod Rastan, Bas and Bahar Sluis, Ali Alikah, Benjamin, Marc Vitten, Ramin Homaie, Af-saneh Safaie, Sylvia Karlsson-Vinkhuisen, and Onno Vinkhousen;

To the Bahá'í friends in Cali. They provided attentive and affectionate care to my husband during the long months he was alone in Cali and I was in the Netherlands. My grateful respect to Carmen and Meerhnoosh Sadeghian, Ximena Osorio, Taraneh Rezvani, Carmen Caldas, Orlando Montenegro, Dicci

Avellaneda, Beatriz and Steve Beebe, Cesar Martínez, Diana Sánchez, and many others.

Although mentioned before, I would like to extend particular affection to Moushira. In the intense battles of sharp arguments that overwhelmed and frightened me at the beginning, she became a conversational partner, all of which help me gain confidence in my command of the English language. The friendship and affection we developed are priceless.

Sathya's warmth and affection are an appreciated treasure to me. We went through so many things together and learnt a lot from each other. Her profound sense of justice and outspoken nature combined with generosity and tender care have been a permanent companion all the years we were at ISS-EUR. The relationship we developed grew into a loyal friendship that has a special place in my heart.

I had the opportunity to meet Almas at the occasion of the presentation skills seminars and workshops. Her care for details, elegance, and dignified allure caught my attention immediately. Later, slowly over time, we became friends. To this, we contributed some sporadic talks and coffee meetings, which then turned into lively and entertaining conversations on religion, arts, literature, music, travelling, family, dreams, and desires during our long walks in The Hague woods. Our shared time together allowed me to appreciate her infinite and detached willingness to help others, whether professionally or at a private personal level. I am a beneficiary of her kindness and loving friendship for which I am most grateful.

Many years ago, when my husband was doing his doctorate in Paris, an interesting book came to our hands *L'Art de la These* – a sentence of which I still remember: 'a PhD is a project involving not only to prospect student but the whole family'. I now realize how true this statement is. To my extended family, I give all my appreciation for their invaluable support expressed in many ways: Gloria, Walter, Bernardo, Waltercito Fritzsche, and Alegría Schillert in Germany; Deli and Bizhan Saber in Luxembourg; Herme and Elias Camps in Spain. From Colombia, my mother gave me constant encouragement and spiritual energy through her prayers. Andrés Azuero and Emelda Caicedo were important pillars of support. They took care of my family affairs, allowing me to devote all energy and attention to the doctorate.

While I was doing this doctorate, my children, Angela María and José David, were doing theirs in Heidelberg and Paris respectively. They fulfilled their goals before me. Their experience, maturity, and spiritual insight gave me the opportunity to benefit from their thoughtful advice and loving support. Sam

Saberin and Iris Camps, their husband and wife, and Isabella, my granddaughter composed this family team in which the mutual help is the word of command in all circumstances.

How could I express my deepest gratitude adequately to my dear husband, Jairo Roldán? Words are simply not enough to say thanks to someone who walks through this path with me, shoulder to shoulder, step by step. He and I know very well all that we endured together all these years. In the end, our mutual respect as academics and researchers in our respective fields of interest is bigger and our love in this world and in the spiritual realms is and will be stronger and deeper forever.



Abstract

The development agenda setting that has been addressed to and often imposed on developing countries has resulted from two complex and interwoven forces. On one hand, actors of development generate understandings and interpretations of the existing realities at such countries. However, their heterogeneity means that they offer conflicting insights into the development and well-being of the citizens' for good measure. On the other hand, within the context of internationalization and globalization, the actors of development interact and negotiate amid the divergences and, to some extent, convergences exerting a differential power. From a dialectic perspective, specific policies are a synthesis of these driving forces. As part of a complex political framework, policies are also tools of power framed by means of choices in terms, expressions, and discursive devices highlighting or concealing particular faces of reality. Poverty, social exclusion, and social capital have become 'buzzwords' in development. Their power and constraints have become central in the analysis of the development agenda.

The literature has been prolific in terms of examining this synergic interaction in development agenda setting at the international and global level. However, less is known about how these driving forces interact and have consequences at the national and subnational level, in specific contexts of countries, departments, and municipalities.

This dissertation seeks to shed light on factors such as the strains, convergences, divergences, and expectations that are brought about in the encounter/clash of understandings and interpretations of existing realities as well as on the differential power that actors exert in development. These factors are examined in the specific national and subnational context of Colombia, in one of its departments, Valle del Cauca, and in five of its municipalities. Buenaventura, Cartago, Cali, Florida and Tuluá. The research examines the understandings and interpretations promoted by strategic development actors leading to the framing of particular social policies and then turns to analyse the experiences, perceptions, and interpretations of people to whom those

policies are addressed. A Foucauldian approach of a dyadic conceptual device composed of 'social exclusion' and 'social capital' brings to light the complex networks of power relations supported by particular forms of knowledge. Each term, a device in itself, configures a system of the heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, and philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said is as much as the unsaid. The two, in their synergic interactions, bring about social policy that in turn becomes a conceptual device rooted in its specific time and space. Thus, the epistemological, heuristic, and methodological value of the conceptual device allows one to understand and respond to the rising tension between the social, economic, political, and cultural structures and the tendency towards social change in the historical context. Furthermore, it provides a theoretical tool to overcome the definition-related and isolation problems gravitating over the key concepts and practices that build the social policy. It draws attention to the prevalent interpretations, contents, knowledge, and power relationships gathered under such labels and acknowledges and brings to the fore the central relational character of the set of elements that are historically located in the heterogeneous ensemble under consideration.

Land van contract, context van uitsluiting. Sociaal kapitaal bij beleidsvorming: Valle del Cauca - Colombia, 1998-2008.



Samenvatting

De ontwikkelingsagenda die wordt opgesteld voor ontwikkelingslanden en er vaak aan wordt opgelegd, is het resultaat van twee complexe en onderling gerelateerde krachten. Aan de ene kant genereren actoren in ontwikkelingslanden de opvattingen en interpretaties van de bestaande werkelijkheden in die landen. Hun heterogeniteit betekent echter dat ze tegenstrijdige inzichten in ontwikkeling en welzijn bieden. Aan de andere kant interacteren en onderhandelen actoren in ontwikkelingslanden, binnen de context van internationalisering en globalisering, te midden van de divergenties en, tot op zekere hoogte, convergenties waarbij machtsverschillen een rol spelen. Vanuit dialectisch gezichtspunt is specifiek beleid de synthese van deze drijvende krachten. Beleidsmaatregelen zijn als onderdeel van een complex politiek kader ook machtsmiddelen die door middel van keuzes worden uitgedrukt in termen, uitdrukkingen en discursieve instrumenten die bepaalde kanten van de werkelijkheid benadrukken of verbergen. Armoede, sociale uitsluiting en sociaal kapitaal zijn ‘modewoorden’ geworden op het gebied van ontwikkeling. De kracht en beperkingen van deze termen zijn centraal komen te staan in onderzoek naar de ontwikkelingsagenda.

Veel van de wetenschappelijke literatuur is gewijd aan onderzoek naar deze synergetische interactie bij het opstellen van de ontwikkelingsagenda op internationale en wereldschaal. We weten echter minder over de interactie tussen deze drijvende krachten en de gevolgen ervan op nationaal en subnationaal niveau in de specifieke context van landen, bestuurlijke gewesten en gemeenten.

Dit proefschrift belicht factoren als de spanningen, convergenties, divergenties en verwachtingen die ontstaan in de ontmoeting/botsing van opvattingen en interpretaties van bestaande werkelijkheden zowel als de variërende macht die actoren uitoefenen in het ontwikkelingsproces. Deze factoren zijn onderzocht in de specifieke nationale en subnationale context van Colombia: in het departement Valle del Cauca en in vijf gemeenten. Het onderzoek is gericht op de opvattingen en interpretaties die worden

uitgedragen door actoren betrokken bij de strategische ontwikkeling, en die vormgeven aan een bepaald sociaal beleid. Vervolgens worden de ervaringen, percepties en interpretaties van mensen voor wie dit beleid wordt gemaakt geanalyseerd.

Een Foucaultiaanse benadering van het tweeledige conceptuele instrument bestaande uit 'sociale uitsluiting' en 'sociaal kapitaal' werpt licht op een complex netwerk van machtsrelaties die worden ondersteund door bepaalde vormen van kennis. Elke term, een instrument op zich, configureert een systeem van het heterogene ensemble van discoursen, instituties, bouwkundige vormen, regulering, wetten, bestuurlijke maatregelen, wetenschappelijke uitspraken en filosofische, morele en filantropische proposities. Kortom, het uitgesprokene is evenveel als het onuitgesprokene. De twee elementen brengen in hun synergetische interacties sociaal beleid teweeg dat vervolgens ook weer een conceptueel instrument wordt dat is geworteld in een specifieke context van tijd en ruimte.

Daarmee stelt de epistemologische, heuristische en methodologische waarde van het conceptuele instrument ons in staat om de toenemende spanning tussen de sociale, economische, politieke en culturele structuren en de tendens naar sociale verandering in de historische context te begrijpen en erop te reageren. Daarnaast biedt het een theoretisch middel om het hoofd te bieden aan de problemen van definitie en isolement die kleven aan de belangrijkste begrippen en praktijken van het sociaal beleid. Het vestigt de aandacht op de heersende interpretaties, inhoud, kennis en machtsrelaties die schuilgaan achter dergelijke etiketten; en het erkent en belicht het centrale relationele karakter van de elementen die zich historisch gezien in het heterogene ensemble dat onderzocht wordt bevinden.

1

Contexts and Contrast: The Research

“For the great majority of mankind are satisfied with appearance, as though they were realities and are often more influenced by the things that seem than by those that are”

Niccolò Maquiavelli

1.1 Introduction

Since its inception, the development agenda setting that has been addressed to and often imposed on developing countries has resulted from two complex and interwoven forces. On the one hand, actors in development generate the understandings and interpretations of the existing realities in those countries. The people (individuals, social groups, and communities), the national governments, and the international development organizations all have their own interpretations of reality. These actors all shape policies and courses of action, whether economic or social. However, within the wide array of priorities and opinions, these interpretations are not homogeneous. In fact, their heterogeneity means that they offer conflicting insights into development and well-being. Actors in development interact and negotiate amid the divergences and, to some extent, convergences.

On the other hand, within the context of internationalization and globalization of capitalism, actors in development exert a differential power. These actors may or may not promote their own specific interests and priorities embedded in economic and political power structures. From a dialectic perspective, policies – whether economic or social – are a synthesis of these driving forces.

The development literature has been prolific in terms of examining this synergic interaction at the international and global level. In the case of Latin America, this can be seen, for example, in the approaches analysing the Washington Consensus and the neo-liberal agenda since the 1980s, along with their causes and consequences. However, less is known about

how these two driving forces in a development agenda setting interact and have consequences at the national and subnational level, in the specific contexts of countries, departments, and municipalities. Such an approach involves theoretical and methodological consequences emerging from the change in the scale and magnitude for the analysis. In fact, the more closely the reality under study is examined, the more vivid, humanized, and richly nuanced the results become. Ultimately, development and its agenda setting is about people's lives. This dissertation seeks to shed light on factors, such as the strains, convergences, divergences, and expectations that are brought about in the encounter/clash of understandings and interpretations of existing realities, as well as the differential power that actors exert in development. These factors are examined in the specific national and subnational context of Colombia; in one of its departments, Valle del Cauca and in five of its municipalities. Some theoretical and methodological choices have clarified my thinking and strengthened its results.

Although acknowledging the intrinsic relationship between the economic and the social in development, this research is focused on the social dimension in a twofold way. On the one hand, it examines the understandings and interpretations promoted by strategic development actors leading to frame particular social policies and on the other hand, it analyses the experiences, perceptions, and interpretations of people, to whom those policies are addressed.

In examining the ways in which actors in development exert power, it became clear that language and discourse were/are exceptional powerful tools. They can construct reality or make it invisible. Social policy, as one of the central tools in development, is framed by means of choices in terms, expressions, and discursive devices. All of these contribute to highlighting or concealing particular faces of reality. Thus, it was necessary to look at the role of language in development agenda setting, and more specifically, in social policy framing. As a result, 'buzzwords' in development and their power and constraints became central in this analysis, especially poverty, social exclusion, and social capital, which are at the core of a development agenda setting.

Social policy intends to bring about improvements in the quality of life and in the general well-being of many. Consequently, it reflects particular approaches on social issues prevailing during a particular time. Therefore, it is possible to 'read' into social policy the dominant/hegemonic ideology

in regard to development itself and to the role assigned to political, economic, and social actors in it: the state, private sector, social groups, and individuals. From an analytical and methodological perspective, the elucidation of descriptions, understandings, and interpretations contained in social policy, and the explicit exposure of the many underlying choices and assumptions contributes to unravel implications and consequences for the beneficiaries. Often, such research procedures have been neglected, particularly at the national and the subnational level. Some of the reasons for this neglect are to some extent linked to the nature of social policy in itself. As part of a complex political framework, policies are also tools of power.

Developing countries being not fully self-sufficient financially, administratively, and/or technically are compelled to follow directions of multilateral development organizations, international aid organization, national non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and private sector actors. By allocating financial resources under specific conditions to selected subjects for development and social policy and not others, they set a development agenda. Under these conditions restricting the room for manoeuvre, presidents, governors, or majors are interested in promoting those subjects in social policy that provide political returns during the length of their term in office. Thus, the urgency to produce outcomes in the lines imposed by financial organizations, the pressures due to time constraints, the acquired political commitments, and the need to react and solve urgent real social problems are all factors preventing governments (at the national and particularly to the subnational level), policy-makers, and practitioners to devote resources to understand the multidimensional implications of the whole social policy process and the intended and non-intended effects it produces in people and society. In this regard, those at whom the policies are directed always remain silent.

This dissertation addresses these questions, framed within specific boundaries: a clearly defined geographical area in a Latin American country – Valle del Cauca, Colombia, a significant period of time – 1998–2008, a relevant issue for social policy – social exclusion, and a singular theoretical and ideological discourse for social policy – the social capital approach.

The remainder of this chapter first introduces the general context in Colombia and Valle del Cauca during the period of the study in which social policies were designed and implemented. The research questions and the

study objective are presented next. Drawing on a multidisciplinary approach, this research turns to sociology, cultural anthropology, political science, economics, and development studies for its theoretical and interpretative analytical framework. The ‘social exclusion-social capital’ dyadic conceptual device is the epistemological and heuristic ensemble guiding the research. A brief discussion on the three core concepts in which this research is built upon – social exclusion, social capital, and social policy – is followed by the methodology, some consideration on the importance of this dissertation, and finally its organization in chapters to follow.

It is the goal of this research to explore the implication of social policy in context-dependent situations and provide a new perspective from a particular case in Colombia in order to improve, enrich, and foster conditions for a fruitful dialogue on these important development issues at the international level.

1.2 The Colombian context, 1998-2008

Three relevant factors contributed to shaping Colombia’s fate in the last decade of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. First, *La apertura* made way for economic liberalization and generalized implementation of neo-liberal policies within the framework of the so-called Washington Consensus (Birdsall et al. 2010, Williamson 1990). Second, the new political constitution was proclaimed in 1991, which, for the first time in the country’s history, acknowledged the pluri-ethnic and multi-cultural character of the nation (Colombia, 1991). Third, new forms, contents, and spaces for violence and conflict, which were related to a large extent to drug trafficking and other illegal activities (J. Arocha and G. Sánchez 1987, A. Montenegro and P. Posada 2001)

The combination of these elements, closely interwoven, resulted in a particularly critical context from 1998 to 2008, with unprecedented economic, social, and political circumstances. Although the new economic and political framework entailed changes and consequences of great magnitude, violence, and conflict captured the attention of the national government, social scientists, international organizations, and the Colombian society in general. Moreover, the findings of research and studies revealed the magnitude of facts and figures showing the atrocities caused by vio-

lence. Overshadowed by the number of deaths, other social problems similar to those described in terms of poverty and social exclusion were less visible on the public agenda.

It is in this context that the social capital approach appears as a response and solution to the acute social unrest. Little by little, social capital became the interpretative key for understanding most of the Colombian social problems and the driving principle for social policy formulations. Therefore, the remainder of this section explores three factors contributing to make Colombia a fertile soil for the promotion and use of the social capital approach: la apertura, the new political constitution, and violence and conflict. This gives us a better understanding of the social and institutional crisis characterizing the timeframe 1998–2008.

1.2.1 La Apertura

‘Welcome to the future’ was the slogan that the Colombian President Cesar Gaviria (1990–1994) used in his presidential campaign. In fact, Colombia was welcomed to economic liberalization and neo-liberal policies. In a nutshell, that was la apertura. The national development plan *La revolucion pacifica* (The pacific revolution) (DNP 1991) prioritized economic development and its necessary conditions: structural reform, decentralization, and institutional adjustment.

In fact, at the time, Colombia, as other developing countries, was compelled to adhere to the Washington consensus. This world-renowned expression, coined by John Williamson in 1990, referred to ‘the lowest common denominator of policy advice being addressed by the Washington-based institutions to Latin American countries as of 1989’ (J. Williamson 2000: 251). The main lines of policy advice according to the Washington consensus consisted of fiscal discipline, redirection of public expenditure priorities toward activities offering both high economic returns and a potential to improve income distribution, such as primary health care, primary education, and infrastructure, tax reform (to lower marginal rates and broaden the tax base), interest rate liberalization, a competitive exchange rate, trade liberalization, liberalization of inflows of foreign direct investment, privatization, deregulation, and secure property rights. (Williamson 1990, 2000). The economic and social impact of these measures was felt a few years later.

President Ernesto Samper (1994–1998), in his government’s national development plan *El salto social* (The social leap) (DNP 1995) recalled that ‘it was the time of the people’, as a way to address the emerging negative social effects due to the implementation of neo-liberal policies. His attempt to have a government with a strong social approach failed when he was confronted with the enormous scandal caused by allegations of having financed the presidential campaign with resources from drug-lords. The subsequent inquiry known as *the 8000 trial* ensured that social issues were set aside. Instead, the institutional crisis and legitimacy of the state came to the fore. In the meantime, social indicators continued to raise red flags related to inequality, poverty, unemployment, and other social issues.

The political turmoil and the increasingly deteriorated quality of life many submerged in poverty and inequality had to face were the prelude to President Andrés Pastrana’s government (1998–2002). The introduction of the social capital approach began with the national development plan *Cambio para construir paz* (Change for building peace) (DNP 1999). Its first chapter, depicting the Colombian context of change, is inspired by and devoted to the social capital approach; the state’s main endeavour was conceived as to rebuild the social fabric and strengthen the social infrastructure. This government quadrennial focused on the peace process with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) *guerilla*, while the ordinary citizen, whether in cities or in rural areas, were victims of the actions of this armed group. Massive kidnapping, extortion, and blackmail affected every one equally.

This sense of a lack of security was the perfect terrain for President Alvaro Uribe’s first term in office (2002–2006). The idea of democratic security structured the national development plan *Hacia un estado comunitario* (Towards a communal state) (DNP 2003). Its goals were to confront and overcome challenges derived from the prevailing forms of violence and their multiple actors. Terrorist acts, homicide, kidnapping, and the proliferation of illicit business were not only threats for the people, but also major obstacles to economic growth. In order to overcome violence and corruption, the participative, decentralized, and managerial state would be the solution. In addition, incentives for the private sector investments were crucial for Colombian competitiveness, a better economy, and therefore, less poverty and inequality.

The success obtained in fighting the guerrilla and other armed groups and a renewed security atmosphere in the whole country was the ground

for President Uribe's second term (2006–2010). Besides the priorities given to defence and democratic security, the national development plan *Estado comunitario: desarrollo para todos* (Communal state, development for everybody) (DNP 2007) addressed poverty alleviation, employment, and equity. The communal state's pattern had five principles: democratic security, respect for individual freedom, social cohesion building, transparency, and respect for the independency of state institutions. In president Uribe's terms in office, neo-liberal policies were implemented with all their implications.

1.2.2 A new political constitution

The Colombian political constitution, proclaimed in 1991, marked a turning point in the direction the country would take in forthcoming decades. It was the result of social and political process urging for changes in the institutional social, economic, and political spheres. 'New rules of the game' were necessary. The immediate antecedent to the new political chart was a student's movement driven by political forces aiming at the institutional reform of the State. Its leaders succeeded to include the 'seventh vote card' in the legislative elections of 1990. It posed the question: 'In order to strengthen participatory democracy, do you vote for the convening of a national constitutional assembly formed democratically and popularly with representation of a nation's social, political, and regional forces in order to amend the political constitution of Colombia?' 90% of voters answered yes.

Late in 1990, members of the national constitutional assembly were elected. Besides the traditional liberal and conservative political parties, other political and social groups that were ignored until then participated as well. The newly demobilized M-19 guerrillas, human rights activists, indigenous people, women, religious groups other than Catholic were among them. In the debates, they tried to build a new political framework to address what at the time were the main problems of the Colombian society. Some of the most relevant problems were the constraints of a restrictive political regime inherited from the National Front¹, not allowing political forces other than those of bipartisanship (Liberal and Conservative parties) to grow; other problems were the intense armed conflict in Colombia between *guerrillas* and the State on one hand and the action of strengthened paramilitary groups on the other²; also, the consequences of the neoliberal economic model, namely poverty and inequality, in the face

of the shrinking of the state and the challenges of an open economy and the increasing drug trafficking and its associated consequences of violence and corruption.

The national constitutional assembly authored the 1991 Colombian political constitution. It recognized a large list of civil rights, comprehensive social protection mechanisms, and a wide array of political participation forms unprecedented in Colombian history. It was also the first time that the multi-ethnic and pluri-cultural character of the nation was formally acknowledged. Despite the essential agreements on principles and values, the political chart was not devoid of tensions and difficulties due to conflicting interests of diverse pressure groups.

1.2.3 Violence and conflict

A dismal tradition of violence and conflict has always marked Colombian history. It does so even today. It has assumed particular features since the second half of the twentieth century. An overview to violence and conflict researches allows to get the gist of its forms and varieties. It also provides the background to understand how and why this particular background helped to make of the social exclusion-social capital dyad such a relevant interpretative analytical tool.

Since the mid-twentieth century, Colombia suffered one of the most ferocious episodes of political violence that occurred between the two traditional political parties. In 1948, the assassination of the Liberal presidential candidate Jorge Eliecer Gaitan triggered what would be known as *La Violencia* (The Violence). The political agreement named The National Front seemingly put an end to the carnage of both liberals and conservatives. However, it did not solve all the political issues. It was then that guerrilla movements started their fight for gaining political power. These are the origins of main Colombian guerrilla groups (FARC, ELN EPL, and later M-19)³.

Very soon, however, the political approach to violence became insufficient. Many aspects of it started to show up that were linked to new underlying social, economic, politic, and cultural circumstances. Such was its magnitude⁴ that in 1987, President Belisario Betancour (1982–1986) established a special commission for studying violence. What this study revealed was overwhelming (Arocha and Sánchez 1987). Violence seemed to permeate every sphere of the country. The commission configured a

study field *per se*, and it also defined its researchers professionally. ‘Violentology’ and ‘violentologist’ respectively contributed significantly to further Colombian social sciences during the last decade of the twentieth century.

These new studies shed light on new forms and contents of violence: economic, social, and political. Its victims were not only politically involved activists, but also ordinary citizens, migrants, ethnic minorities, including homeless people, among other social groups. Victimizeres were of all sorts, including the rising and powerful drug-traffickers. The new approaches describing and understanding violence were of particular importance because they made the wide array of far-reaching, powerful new actors located in political groups and economic and social elites visible. This period witnessed with unusual cruelty the war between the two most powerful drug cartels – Medellin, led by Pablo Escobar, and Cali, led by the Rodriguez Orejuela brothers.

The extent of conflated relationships between drug-lords and politicians is still unknown. What is certain is that the financial power of the drug cartels permeated the politic, social, and economic spheres. In search of social status and acceptance, drug lords interacted with social and political elites. For some, that was a way to transform the rigid existing social structures and a possibility for social mobility. Although the whole country experienced this partnership it took a particular flavour in Valle del Cauca. There, the illegal and illegitimate forces undermined the legal institutional arrangements.

Simultaneously, the guerrillas gained presence at the national level, and their actions affected civil population. The flows of forced displacement population roamed particularly in urban areas. In 1999, when President Pastrana inaugurated the demilitarized zone in Caguán, east Colombia, the national and international media broadcasted the famous scene of the ‘empty chair’. The FARC’s chief Manuel Marulanda did not show up, a premonition of the failed process. This was the time when kidnapped soldiers and policemen remained in captivity in the far-off Colombian jungle. In addition, the failed peace process promoted by President Andres Pastrana brought about the worsening of armed conflict. Guerrilla groups and drug lords were new allies.

In 2002, FARC guerrilla dared to kidnap twelve deputies of Valle del Cauca’s department assembly. In a cinematographic action, a guerrilla command took from the very centre of Cali’s city its military targets. The

group of politicians endured five and a half years of captivity and were then murdered, all but one. The rise of guerrilla's actions combined with other factors resulted in the emergence of paramilitary groups.

In such social unrest and political uncertainty, it was easy to understand the extent to which the public opinion favored Alvaro Uribe's programmatic strategy of 'democratic security'. With the slogan 'A firm hand, and a big heart', he was elected president (2002–2006) with 53% of votes in the first round. This marked the intensification of a militarist solution started few years before the public order situation, and was supported by the United States financed Plan Colombia. Uribe ran and won for a second term (2006–2010) continuing, until the end of his mandate, the democratic security strategy. National and international human right organizations did not spare criticisms and complaints with regard to the consequences of civil population – particularly in rural areas – and other social activists were very easily labelled as terrorists.

1.2.4 Society and the institutional crisis

The civilian population and, in general, the public opinion expressed their anxiety and fears in different ways. Some studies inquiring about the prevalent perceptions were very telling (Latinobarometro 2009, World Bank 2009, World Values Survey 2009).

Particularly interesting are the results drawn from the waves of World Value Survey (WVS) for Colombia. In the time span 1998–2008, the views of the citizens with regards to the main institutions are worrisome. The 1998 WVS wave showed that 73.3% of Colombians did not trust the parliament, 49.6% did not trust the police a lot or at all, 81.1% did not trust political parties, 51% did not trust the justice system, 70% were not interested in politics, and 76.3% thought the country was run for the best interest of few, instead of for everyone. The 2005 wave showed similar results for the same variables (World Values Survey 2009).

The World Bank's study on governance confirmed those results. In it, governance consisted 'of the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of the government to formulate effectively and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social

interactions among them'(World Bank 2009). It considered six dimensions: voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government's effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption⁵ (Kaufman et al. 2009). Although from 1996 to 2008, the indicators' trends had quite a mediocre performance, two of them proved to be critical: political stability and rule of the law. However, after 2002, there were improvements in some of the indicators. Was the democratic security working? All in all, an institutional crisis emerged. The intricacies of such a crisis took their own expression at the subnational level, and not to a lesser extent in Valle del Cauca.

Social, economic, and political actors of all sorts claimed for the recomposing of institutions while describing the situation in terms of a deep crisis characterized by social exclusion. The revitalization of norms and rules, the re-building and strengthening of the social fabric in a nutshell, and the promotion of social capital were at the heart of the speeches of the government, politicians, private sector actors, and non-governmental organizations.

1.3 Research questions

Since long, actors in development have played a role – some as active promulgators, some others as passive witnesses – in the widespread use of 'buzzwords' that shape both problems and solutions. These uses contribute to extending and legitimizing development perspectives supported in and derived from those words. Furthermore, they strongly influence the development policy agenda (Cornwall and Cock 2005, Cornwall and Eade 2010).

Governments design public policies to address social, economic, or environmental problems. The policies' formulation depends on and is subjected to the way in which the problems it addresses are understood, interpreted, and framed by policy-makers. Regarding the formulation and design of social policies, studies in social sciences and research have the potential to influence the process. From time to time, some of the concepts framing and structuring interpretations, theories, and recommendations become 'buzzwords'. They could play a crucial role in at least two different ways – on the one hand, because of their comprehensive scope and explanatory power, which pertains to the realm of academia and expert policy decision-makers and on the other, because of their capacity to

transcend the sphere of expert audiences and colonize the public opinion in various forms. When these buzzword concepts coincide and overlap with the ideological inclinations and understandings of those with power to set the policy agenda (Saunders and Walter 2005), they are prone to be considered the cure for all the ills.

In Latin America, during the last decade of the twentieth century and the first of the twenty-first, social exclusion and social capital have become buzzwords. They have permeated public policy discourse and public opinion in Colombia and Valle del Cauca. In the face of the circumstances derived from the multifaceted context described in the previous section, governments at the national and subnational level, policy-makers, and other actors in development focused on social exclusion as the central problem of the Colombian society. They found in social capital an analytical and pragmatic approach to tackling the challenges the country confronted. Even though neither social exclusion nor social capital was well-defined or clearly understood, they composed a dyadic conceptual device gravitating on the social policy formulation process.

As a matter of fact, the umbrella concept of social exclusion gathered phenomena, such as indigence, poverty, unemployment, violence, a generalized perception of living in a fractured society, and the like. In turn, social capital and its related notions – reciprocity, mutual help, and cooperation, among others, occupy the interstices of the Colombian society as one of the best alternatives to overcome those issues. Social capital, embedded in the intricacies of some sociological and economics theories of the 1980s, came to the fore. Whether a notion, social theory, practical resource, or political discourse, social capital allowed not only the depiction of realities but also assured promises of solutions.

An overview of social policy documents for Colombia and Valle del Cauca in the time span 1998–2008 revealed frequent references to exclusion and social capital in its wide range of varieties. They became the discursive grounds, from the most pragmatic to the most idealistic. Apparently, the use of the social capital approach achieved a needed ideological harmony with the multilateral and international development organizations where this dyadic conceptual device was entrenched. It was instrumental in facilitating the flow of financial resources, a politically correct discourse forcefully promoting participation, a compelling explicit and/ or implicit call for rebuilding the social fabric, and an invigorating moral tone, palliative to the hopelessness of a society which looked at itself in a deep crisis of

values. Social exclusion and social capital – their use and abuse – was depicted, providing an understanding and interpreting the national and sub-national realities, and forged an approach to formulating social policy.

In this context, issues relevant to development studies should be examined and researched, namely to decipher whether specific ways to frame problems and solutions in the social development context – using conceptual devices, in case of social exclusion and social capital, make visible some dimensions and conceal others, all this for the sake of preventing real social changes and in the benefit of maintaining current power structures. The dissertation explores the subject in the Colombian case focusing on Valle del Cauca and five selected municipalities. It is explored addressing the following research and sub-research questions.

1.3.1 Research question

Does ‘social exclusion-social capital’ become a dyadic conceptual device used to understand and interpret the Colombian social reality influencing both social policy formulation and people’s perceptions, and at the same time becoming instrumental to maintain underlying power relationships structuring the society? The research examines the case of Valle del Cauca and five selected municipalities in the decade 1998–2008.

1.3.2 Sub-research questions

The following sub-research questions develop the research question:

1. What is the general conceptual network shaping the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ dyadic conceptual device? (Chapter 2)
2. Which are the geographical, social, economic, and cultural features of Valle del Cauca and its five selected municipalities composing the heterogeneous ensemble in which ‘social exclusion and social capital’ conceptual device is instrumental to understand and interpret their realities? (Chapter 3)
3. What were the internal processes and external influences shaping social policy formulation in Colombia in the decade 1998–2008? (Chapter 4)
4. In which ways was the social exclusion-social capital dyadic conceptual device present in the essential instruments of policy formulation, such as the Development Plan Documents (DPD) at the

- national and the subnational level (Valle del Cauca and five municipalities) during 1998–2008 (Chapter 5 and 6)
5. How do people in Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities experience and perceive social exclusion and what are the behaviours at the subnational level that are ascribed to social capital, such as associative practices, reciprocity, mutual help, and trust? (Chapter 7)
 6. In which ways has the dyadic conceptual device of social exclusion-social capital been instrumental in maintaining underlying power relationship structuring the Valle del Cauca society? (Chapter 8).

1.4 Study objective

The objective of this research is to explore theoretical, empirical, and pragmatic dimensions of the social exclusion-social capital dyadic conceptual device. In doing so, its goal is to scrutinize each of these notions and its combined treatment in the social policy formulation in the Colombian and Valle del Cauca context. Going beyond the surface of common sense usages, or for that matter, intuitively accepted meanings, the research seeks to demonstrate that social exclusion is related but not limited to poverty and poverty reduction. It aims at uncovering convergences and divergences between perceptions of exclusion by social groups and interpretations and approaches contained in social policies addressed to alleviate exclusion. This research will argue that social capital approaches, central to the social policy formulation, became instrumental to mitigate existing social tensions.

Complementing the prevalent economics perspective, a sociological and anthropological approach to the study of social exclusion-social capital dyad this research examines the links to poverty and development. It simultaneously highlights the underlying conflicting ideas about social order and power structures.

1.5 The analytical framework: theories and concepts

From a theoretical perspective, this research explores approaches, meanings, and uses of the three notions central to the research question: social exclusion, social capital, and social policy. The search for conceptual synergies in the ‘social exclusion and social capital’ dyad, and the way in which

they land in social policy formulation allows to identify key elements, explaining its powerful success. It also suggests weaknesses prompting a replacement.

The analytical conditions in this procedure are grounded in the following considerations: First, the meanings, implications, and uses of 'the social' as the common denominator; second, the history, meanings, and uses of the notions in references in development theory – social exclusion and social capital; third, their conceptual confluences leading to policy formulation.

In this line, this research confronts peculiar theoretical circumstances. On one hand, some authors look at these notions separately as 'umbrella' concepts. Pointing at the somewhat blurry and all-inclusive definitional approach, these critics argue that most of the social phenomena, particularly in the field of social development, can be placed in one way or the other under these umbrella concepts. For instance, the literature review shows that most of the matters related to poverty, deprivation, marginalization, and disadvantage could be directly related to or understood from the social exclusion perspective (Johnston 2009, Kabeer 2000, Rawal 2008, Smith 2007, Yepes 1994). In a similar way, matters related to the nature and shape of social relations, particularly social networks, trust, reciprocity, cooperation, and so on, can be located under the broad notion of social capital. (Brunie 2009, Hulse and Stone 2007, Ming Yu Cheng 2008).

The acknowledgement of these umbrella concepts is not new. Back in 1973, Clifford Geertz (1973) had a preliminary insight in this regard related to the notion of 'culture'. In the first paragraphs of his 'thick descriptions', he refers to how some concepts explode (blow up) in the intellectual landscape and seem to be the panacea for understanding and explaining almost everything. In the time span considered in this research, 1998–2008, social exclusion and social capital seemed to be part of such a notion, as the abundant literature reveals. However, besides their supposedly explanatory power, what may be new is their pragmatic and applied character. These notions are not only meant to 'explain almost everything', but also to frame specific actions as those stated and promoted in actual social policy.

This issue highlights the intrinsically difficult task of building up working definitions with unambiguous epistemological and instrumental value. In this respect, the three notions this research deals with are not homogeneous. A theoretical-instrumental approach to and a definition of social

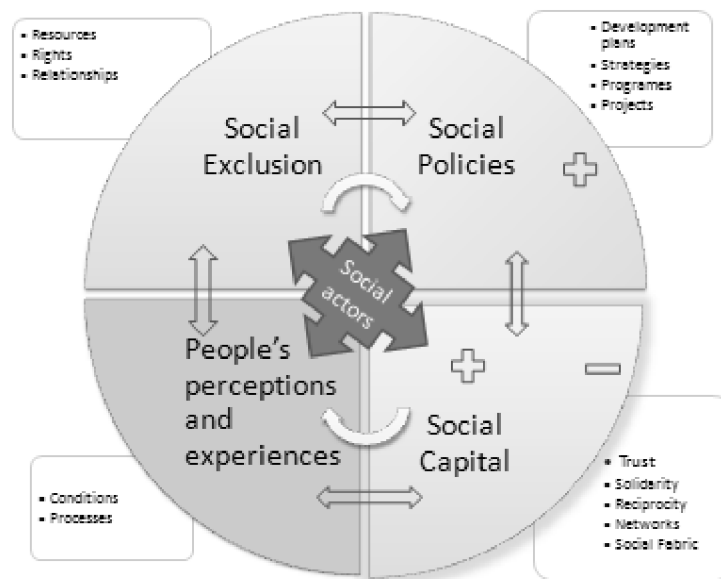
policy seem to be much more straightforward than the theoretical and operational approach to social exclusion and social capital.

Another peculiar circumstance is related to the ideological and political connotation of the social exclusion-social capital dyad. In fact, these connotations have been at the heart of burning discussions within and between social sciences academics, policy-makers, and practitioners in development. In a sort of dialogue of the deaf, these discussions did not necessarily led to a fruitful dialogue or to any dialogue at all. Theory and praxis, as well their interrelationship are at stake for tackling urgent social problems. This research suggests that social policies formulation for addressing social exclusion comes from and is a token of the way in which the dialogue within and between the mentioned research communities is finally achieved.

Hilary Silver points out that ‘the power to name a social problem has vast implications for the policies considered suitable to address it (Silver 1994: 533). In this light, the social exclusion-social capital dyad configures a compelling discourse shaping social policy in Colombia and Valle del Cauca. It seems that governments and other actors central to social policy formulation appropriated concepts and language of the social exclusion-social capital dyad (Wilson 2005).

The emphasis on social capital and its related notions – trust, cooperation, reciprocity, solidarity, and the rebuilding of social fabric – imply a particular way of defining and analysing the ‘problem’, while the social exclusion issue is to be considered as a condition or a process. Consequently, in policy papers, particularly the national and subnational development plans, this conceptual synergy results in highlighting relational and societal dimensions rather than the economic dimension. The underlying assumption is the virtuous relationship between social capital and social exclusion captured in social policy formulation. In it, the logic would be that the more social capital is promoted, enacted, and nurtured, the less social exclusion would exist. The literature review indicates the utility and instrumentality of social capital as a catalyst for related debates in development. They include, additionally, other buzzwords, such as social cohesion, social inclusion, and social responsibility, among many others. These ideas are explored in-depth in chapter 2.

Figure 1.1
The research analytical framework



This research's analytical framework also allows the examination of a seemingly, but not less important missing link. It is the link between the policy formulation based in the social exclusion-social capital dyad, and the actual experiences, perceptions, and understandings of the population to whom these policies are addressed.

Figure 1.1 illustrates linkages between the three notions drawing the analytical framework guiding this research. It illuminates the analysis of the empirical evidence collected to address the research questions.

1.6 Methodology

This section provides the details of the methodological strategy that involved the use of quantitative and qualitative research techniques, identification of sources for obtaining primary and secondary data, and references to the main analytical tools (Jong 2009, Schuurman 2008). These strategies focused on the geographical setting and time period outlined in the following paragraphs.

1.6.1 Research location

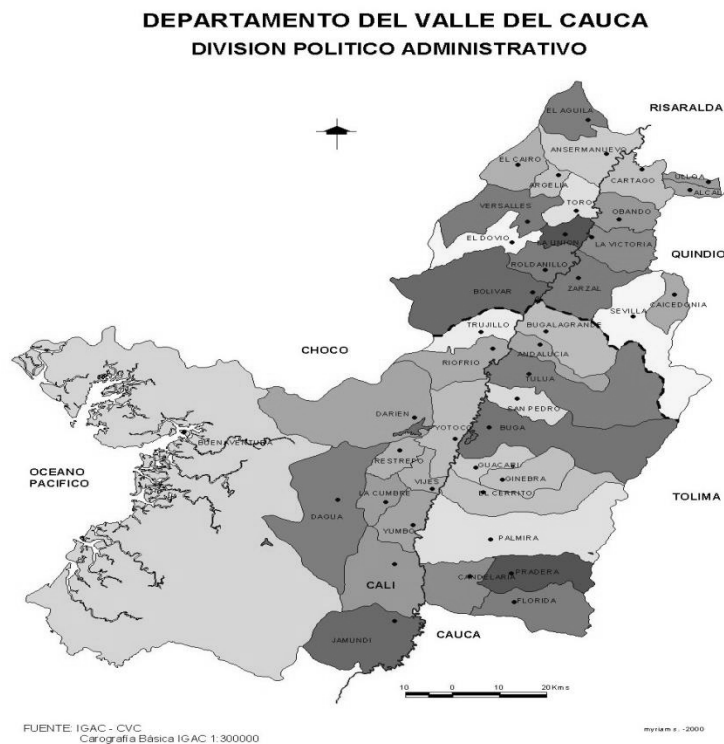
The research was conducted in Valle del Cauca. This Colombian department⁶ quite well summarized the country's economic, social, cultural, and political characteristics. From the topographic and geographic perspective, the location consists of a coast, mountain, and plains. Its economic and social history since the Spaniard conquest in XVI c. to our times reflects, to certain extent, the country's history. From the economic perspective, the *hacienda* and mining activity, based on indigenous and African-descendant slave labour from XVIII c., and the strategic role played as commerce crossroad, transformed later into the agro-industrial and modern economic activity. Thus, Valle del Cauca is an example of the challenges of development, internationalization, and globalization. From a social and political perspective, it echoes the struggles Colombia confronts as a whole.

This richness and complexity make of Valle del Cauca a good selection for deciphering the intricate forms of social exclusion and how it is addressed.

In a dialectic interplay between homogeneity and heterogeneity, this research looks at Valle del Cauca as a whole, and examines, for the sake of diversity, five of its municipalities exemplifying existing heterogeneity (See Maps Annex 1 (IGAG 2010)). Administrative and fiscal criteria guided the municipalities' selection. According to the administrative criterion, Valle del Cauca groups its 42 municipalities in five zones. These respond to geographic parameters and refer to different types of economic activities and social, cultural, and historical tradition.

The fiscal criterion refers to the categorization defined by Colombian law⁷, which allocates national transfers to municipalities in lower categories. Population size and municipal free destination income are the organizing principles establishing a ranking from 1 to 6. The lesser the population and income, the lower the rank. Consequently, there is a higher dependency on the national government transfers, particularly for financing social policy in the lower ranked municipalities. For this research, a municipality out of each zone and category was selected. From north to south, they are Cartago, Tuluá, Buenaventura, Florida, and Cali.

Map 1.1
Valle del Cauca and five selected municipalities



1.6.2 Time period

The research focuses on the decade from 1998 to 2008, when the features of general Colombian context took particular intensity in Valle del Cauca. Economic, social, and politic dynamics were specially encompassed by financial crisis, drug trafficking activities, violence and conflict, poverty and inequality, and political and institutional predicaments. This was the background to settle ‘the social’: social exclusion, social policy formulation, and a strong discourse pointing at social capital. Collected primary and secondary data, quantitative and qualitative, refer to 1998–2008. A household survey was carried out in 2007. Interviews, discussion groups, and search of documents were conducted in 2010.

1.6.3 Data collection

Data and information sources

At the national level, the sources of information were civil servants and archives from the Finance Ministry, National Planning Council, National Comptroller's Office, and the NGO Transperencia por Colombia. At the department and municipal level, the governmental sources were active and retired civil servants, governors, mayors, councilors, education, health, and social development secretaries. The department of planning committee gathers information from other administrative secretariats, such as health, education, and other offices in charge of the social matters of the department; other archives are collected from Valle del Cauca's assembly and the municipality secretaries and councils. Private sector sources were three chambers of commerce – Buenaventura, Cali, and Cartago, NGOs and some grassroots organizations. Other sources of information were existing municipal libraries (Cali, Tuluá, and Buenaventura), Central Bank Library (Cali and Buenaventura), Historic Archive (Cartago), Universidad del Valle audiovisual documentary 'Faces and Trails' (*Rostrros y Rastrros*) and The Isaac Virtual Center⁸ (Centro Virtual Isaac, portal cultural del Pacífico Colombiano, Universidad del Valle).

Last but not the least important were the citizens from Cali, Buenaventura, Cartago, Florida, and Tuluá, who provided valuable information whether in responding to the household survey questionnaire or in formal interviews and informal conversations.

Data collection

Interviews

Strategic actors from a wide range of social, cultural, and political backgrounds were interviewed in order to obtain a first-hand perspective on social exclusion and social policy in Valle del Cauca and the selected municipalities. They also provided their understandings about social capital discourse. Relevance of interviewees and selection criteria were based on the following: first, representativeness in geographic coverage and in diverse fields of action – government at national and subnational levels (department and municipalities), private sector, NGOs, and Family Compensatory Fund (FCF), Valle del Cauca's senators and representatives to the Congress of the Republic, and members of grassroots organizations at the municipal level.

Second, knowledge and experience of persons who played a role between 1998 and 2008 were taken into consideration. The screening of potential interviewees was particularly challenging in the government sector, due to changes in the staff of head offices in the department and municipalities following political ups and downs and changing political coalitions. Civil servants in technical positions, being more than 15 years in their post, were exceptional witnesses of all changes, and therefore, crucial for the recollection of the events in the past. Most senators and representatives to the Congress of Republic have developed a similar political carrier: city counsellor, municipality mayor, departmental assembly representative, governor of department, representative, and senator. One of the interviewees followed all these steps precisely during the 1998–2008 period being Cali's Mayor, Valle del Cauca's governor, representative, and senator. This is meaningful in the sense that this particular person has a broad and deep knowledge of circumstances at the municipality and the department level, but was also able to refer to the intricate power networks behind this. Contrary to heads in office in government, private sector's actors, NGOs and FCF's members (CEO, president, program managers, and the like) are highly steady in office.

A third criterion was to cover the whole range of the political spectrum representativeness in the case of city counsellors, the departments' assembly members, representatives, and senators. Interviewees belonged to main political parties or movements, such as Partido de la U (the Colombian President's party at the time), Cambio Radical, Liberal, Conservative, Polo Democrático Alternativo (leftist), and all the local varieties.

Fourth, in order to maintain a comparative approach among municipalities, heads of similar offices in the five municipalities were selected, e.g. mayors of all municipalities, heads of the municipal planning committee office, heads of education health and social development secretaries in all selected municipalities, and so on. In the same vein, presidents of chambers of commerce were also chosen where they existed.

Table 1.1 indicates the number of interviewees; some were interviewed three times. Some also agreed to a trip field with the researcher in order to prove views that are already supported by other quantitative and qualitative data. This provided a unique ethnographic experience documented with photographs.

Table 1.1
Contacted and interviewed people

	People contacted and interviewed	People contacted but not interviewed	Total people contacted
Buenaventura	15	8	23
Cali	23	18	41
Cartago	10	5	15
Florida	5	5	10
Tuluá	15	13	28
Bogotá	8	1	9
Congresistas del Valle del Cauca	4	4	8
TOTAL	80	54	134

Source: Author's elaboration

In searching for mayors and other civil servants in office in the period 1998–2008, I found that some of them were killed, mostly because of having business or political relationships with illegal group activities (drugs cartels, paramilitaries, and guerrilla) or because of fighting such activities. This sensitive topic was never openly addressed by informants who, when asked, avoided the subject, implying fear and persisting danger. Low voice and secrecy were the rule. Some others were in prison, serving sentence after being found guilty because of illicit enrichment, (this was mainly related to corruption by drug lords) and of relationships with paramilitary groups. Some others were hidden, avoiding trials and sentences. Some others were dismissed from the office, and after serving the sentence, withdrew from public life, and rejected any personal approach. Nevertheless, this was not the case for a dismissed Valle del Cauca governor who I found handling the national, department, and municipal web of power from his house.

In terms of accessibility, Cali presented more difficulties than other municipalities. Private sector and FCF presidents and CEOs as well as Heads of Departments secretaries were just unreachable. Presidents and top staff of two of the most important NGOs operating in the department were fully accessible.

I discovered during the fieldwork a new group of actors in social policy, programs, and projects: the 'First Lady and the governors' and mayors'

wives taking care of social matters and having official budgets at their disposal. If the governors or mayors are bachelors, this position is fulfilled by mothers or sisters.

Group discussions

Two discussion groups held in Tuluá and Florida provided valuable data related to social policy implementation at the local level in municipalities: Civil servants in charge of social secretaries agreed to share experiences and ideas in meetings which lasted about four hours each.

The Carvajal Foundation's executive president (CEO) made it possible to hold a group discussion with top staff and heads of the main projects. Based on a guide of questions related to the nature of their activities, it was possible to gather views and perspectives of the staff in a morning-long meeting.

Documents

The following documents for the period 1998–2008 were obtained: from government actors, three national development plans, department development plans, Cali development plans, Buenaventura development plans, development plans of selected municipalities each, as well as documents on strategies, programmes, and projects at the department level from the social secretaries. Furthermore, documents of programmes were explicitly inspired by social capital and designed to address social exclusion from selected NGOs and private sector organizations (Appendix 1). Other documents included statistics and aggregate data regarding demographics, poverty, sexual and reproductive health, and SISBEN. (Appendix 2)

Household surveys

IDH-Valle UNDP. Social Inclusion and Social Capital in Valle del Cauca (2007)

This household survey took place within the framework of the Human Development Report for Valle del Cauca (PNUD 2008). One of its main objectives was to obtain information at the municipality level, gathering primary data which could complete the picture for the whole department. The studies already done were focused in Cali. The sample size was 2050 respondents.

The sample design allows a statistical inference at the department and municipal level. It is the first time such information is available for the 41 municipalities. Other surveys such as the ECH (Continue Household Survey) or the GEIH (integrated great household survey) carried out by

DANE include 23 major cities in Colombia; among them, only three are Valle del Cauca municipalities. Beyond interesting descriptive statistical data, the databases of this survey provides valuable information about population perceptions on medium and small municipalities.

Table 1.2
Household survey Valle del Cauca 2007
Socio-demographic characteristics (n = 2050)

Sex distribution	Female 54%	Male 46%					
Age	(15-20) 14.4%	(21-40) 47.2%	(41-60) 29.0%	(60+) 9.4%			
Ethnic self-recognition	African- de- scend- ant-Mix 17.9 %	Mestizo 43.3%	White 33%	Indige- nous 2.8%	NA 3%		
Education	Primary School 24.6%	Second- ary School 45.9%	Technic Ed. 15.5%	Univer- sity Post- grad. 12%	None 2.1 %		
Employment	Em- ployee 28.6%	Inde- pendent worker 28.3%	Em- ployer 0.5%	Student 12.1%	House- hold 18.9%	Retired 3.9%	Unem- ployed 7.7%

Source: Author's elaboration

Appendix 3 presents the sample technical aspects. Appendix 4 presents questionnaire distribution per municipality and geographical zones. Appendix 5 presents the questionnaire structure, containing nine thematic modules and 49 questions in total. Table 1.2 presents some socio-demographic characteristics of the Valle del Cauca survey population.

Household survey on social inclusion EHSIISAS Santiago de Cali (2008)

As part of a governmental strategy, Cali mayor Ivan Ospina decided to design an information system on social exclusion for promoting social inclusion. The general idea is to look in detail at living circumstances of the population already registered by SISBEN⁹. *EHSIISAS* (household survey for the information system of social inclusion in Santiago de Cali) examines particular variables related to a condition on social exclusion. The questionnaire has six chapters and 265 variables. Like SISBEN, it captures micro data at the household level, aiming to find out in which ways people

look at the institutional social services offered by municipalities. Other relevant subjects are migration, labour market, participation, social norms, and values are the main themes.

Table 1.3
Sub-research questions, methods, and information sources

Sub-Research Question	Methods	Information Sources
1. What is the general conceptual network shaping the 'social exclusion-social capital' analytical device?	Qualitative Methods: - Literature review - Document analysis	Theoretical and empirical research on social exclusion and social capital contained in: Books Journal Articles Institutional Working Papers and Reports (World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, United Nations)
2. Which are the geographical, social, economic, and cultural features of Valle del Cauca and its five selected municipalities composing the complex space in which 'social exclusion and social capital' conceptual device is used to understand and interpret their realities?	Qualitative Methods: - Document analysis - Interviews Quantitative Methods: - Statistics analysis - Aggregated data analysis	Colombia Central Bank Library Valle del Cauca Assembly Archives Municipality Archives Municipal Council Archives Commerce Chamber Archives Former and current civil servants in department and the five municipalities DANE (Statistics National Administrative Department) Department and Municipalities Planning offices
3. What are the internal processes and external influences serving as the background for social policy formulation in Colombia in the 1998–2008 decade?	Qualitative Methods: - Document analysis - Discourse analysis	National Historic Archives
4. In which ways is the dyadic conceptual device 'social exclusion-social capital' present in the essential instruments of policy formulation, such as the DPD at the national and subnational levels (Valle del Cauca and five	Qualitative Methods: - Document analysis - Content analysis - Discourse analysis	National, department, and municipality DPD

Sub-Research Question	Methods	Information Sources
municipalities) in the 1998–2008 decade?		
5. How do people in Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities experience and perceive social exclusion and behaviors ascribed to social capital, such as associative practices, reciprocity, mutual help, and trust?	Qualitative methods: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interviews - Group discussions - Document analysis - Discourse analysis Quantitative Methods: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Household survey (Social Capital and Social Inclusion Households Survey - SCSIHS, 2007) - Statistical analysis 	1998–2008 Former and Current Valle del Cauca: Senators and Representatives Governors Planning Officers 1998–2008 Former and Current Buenaventura, Cali, Cartago, Florida, and Tuluá: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Majors - Planning Officers - Education, Health, Social Development Secretaries - Municipal Councilors 1998–2008 Relevant ONG staff CEOs of FCFs Valle del Cauca citizens located in 41 municipalities who composed the sample for SCSIHS, 2007 (n = 2050)
6. In which ways has the dyadic conceptual device 'social exclusion-social capital' been instrumental in maintaining underlying power relationship structures in the Valle del Cauca society?	Qualitative Methods: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discourse analysis 	Obtained findings

Source: Author's elaboration

Table 1.3 synthesizes the methodology and strategy-making process, explicating the use of methods and information sources for each sub-research question.

1.6.4 Data analysis

After filtering, primary, and secondary qualitative data collected by interviews, group discussions, and documents were organized according to the three main conceptual dimensions of this research: social exclusion, social policy, and social capital. Data were translated into analytical matrixes structured according to the categories suggested by the analytical framework. In each case, the identification of a set of terms, expressions, and other semantic units, such as text and narratives provided the grounds to

apply some varieties of discourse analysis: text-content analysis, frame analysis, rhetoric analysis, and interpretative policy analysis (Apthorpe and Gasper 1996, Gasper 2009a, Yanow 1996, 2000). This approach made use of the computer program Atlas.ti 6.2. It allowed to locate, code, and annotate findings in primary data material to weigh and evaluate their importance and to visualize complex relations between them (Lewin and Silver 2007, Siegman 2009).

Primary quantitative data collected by means of two household surveys were analysed using SPSS16.

In search for understandings, interpretations, and value choices, these qualitative and quantitative data analysis' strategies are interconnected. Together, they shed light on experiences, perceptions, and yearnings of individuals, communities, and social groups. They also reveal hidden assumptions and the powerful use of metaphors and other rhetoric devices in social and political action. The comparative perspective in the data analysis was central in order to gain a complete insight at the municipal level among municipalities and between the municipalities and the Valle del Cauca department as a whole.

1.6.5 Challenges and limitations

The methodological strategy was confronted by challenges and limitations caused by the discontinuity and incompleteness of government's time series databases and other files, the human factor, security concerns, and the social and political conjuncture in which the field work was carried out. The data search covering the time span 1998–2008 faced in different ways the discontinuity and incompleteness of official statistics, time series databases, and other documents. At the national level, there was a lack of official information and statistics on poverty due to changes in measurement methodology. A gap from 2005 to 2007 in national and subnational data was partially filled with information provided by the national government commission for the connection of the two different and incomparable time series. At the department and municipality levels, statistics and archives maintenance depended upon the available financial and administrative resources. Even though the sectorial government secretariats and planning offices of Valle del Cauca and Cali keep complete information, the situation is different in the other four municipalities. These face important challenges in keeping historical records and good quality of information and statistics. In some cases, archives were found in a pile of boxes

exposed to sun and water. In others, archives were inexistent for various periods of time, and even important publicly published documents were missing. Changes of government in office often explained this: The previous major or his/her staff did not want to leave traces, and the new responsible officials had to start from scratch. This was particularly relevant where political affiliations of new teams in office were different from the previous one or where corruption risks were high.

The human factor imposed other challenges. The training of enumerators for the survey's field work was carried out in a three-day workshop held in Cali. Once in the field, some of the trained enumerators defected because of hardship conditions (long walks, long interviews, and extreme weather, among others). In other cases, security concerns prevented the enumerators to fulfill the task in the assigned places. This, and the allocation of enumerators defamiliarized with particular municipalities, may have introduced biases in the sample and data collection.

However, the main challenge in the field work was related to security conditions. In Buenaventura, enumerators, even those being locals, were exposed to robberies and inspections by illegal groups (urban militias). Three bomb blasts occurred at the time of the survey, making the data collection and supervision task very difficult. In those municipalities where drug lords or other illegal groups had territorial control, any activity related to survey data collection or interviews was considered suspicious. It was, therefore, necessary to introduce the whole research to '*capos*' or 'commandant in chief' and to request permission from them for doing the survey. In other cases, when it was not possible to follow this procedure, the alternative strategy was to gather information from 'non-dangerous' enumerators' relatives and friends.

One of the limitations of primary data – the survey and interviews, either in their collection or in the nature of the resulting material – resided in the electoral and political conjuncture when the field work was carried out. In 2007, the household survey coincided with majors' and governors' election. In 2010, interviews and site visits coincided with presidential elections. Questions and information required for this research were politically sensitive. Occasionally, fieldwork activities were mistaken with or were related to politic activity, thus introducing biases into the answers and views provided.

Although people's voices were heard and taken into account by means of the household survey, the research would have benefited from a bigger

number of in-depth interviews at the grass-root level and site visits. However security, financial, and time constraints prevented the widening of certain fieldwork activities.

1.7 Importance of the study and contribution of this research

In times of globalization, unprecedented nuances arise in the usual questions about social policy. Among them are its role in social and economic development, its relationship to economic policy, and its scope and possibilities in the framework of less-defined geographical boundaries. Globalization also entails a much more internationally, nationally, and regionally interlinked definition of social problems (e.g. migration, forced displacement, open labour markets, human trafficking, just to mention a few). These issues are such that new disciplines appear in the scholarly landscape, namely global social policy, adding new elements to the ongoing discussion on social policy. However, these new debates and the controversies that emerge out of them would remain uninformed and incomplete without observing the current implemented social policies in national and local settings in developing and developed countries (Deacon 2007).

In a relatively recent context of administrative and fiscal decentralization, as is the prevalent case in Colombia and its departments, we know little about the happenings of social policy at the subnational and local levels and its actual articulation of national and social policies at higher hierarchical administrative and political levels. We know even less about the perceptions of the population who are targeted by these policies and those whose outcomes mostly remain just statistical figures for official records. The conclusions of this research are intended to provide elements that will allow to fill these gaps and to tackle these new problems and questions in a globalized world.

The contributions of this research are intended to advance the current debates on four inextricably related dimensions: first, the balance of information and research leading to the formation of a social policy to address social exclusion or any other social phenomena, a balance that should grant greater importance to the national and subnational-based knowledge of local realities rather than to the externally imposed policy agendas. Fostering interaction and dialog could bridge the lack of connection between universities conducting local research on social sciences and the policy-

makers or private consultants formulating policies at the central government level. Overcoming social exclusion has been an important goal in Colombia, and the rhetoric of social exclusion is present everywhere. However, what does this mean in the Colombian context? This research is intended to contribute to a better understanding of the relational nature of social exclusion in the framework of the Colombian social, political, and economic structure, particularly in Valle del Cauca. A relational approach goes beyond and is complementary to the 'condition' approach, which appears to dominate social policy formulation. This research contributes to a better understanding of the articulation of social exclusion to other social and economic phenomena, transcending the approach focused on poverty or income, and questioning the social and economic structures in which social exclusion is embedded.

A second dimension is the multidisciplinary and theoretical approaches to the central concepts: social capital, social exclusion, and social policy. Policy formulation is in the hands of the government's policy-makers pressed by urgencies imposed by strict timelines and budgets. In these circumstances, there are strong limitations to considering the implications and consequences of framing a social problem in certain terms. Rush and politics make social policy, and are therefore vulnerable to fashionable ideas. A way to counteract this vulnerability consists of scrutinizing such buzzwords using various multidisciplinary and theoretical approaches revealing all that they entail or conceal. From a disciplinary perspective, the research will contribute to social policy studies in as far as it will provide insights into social policy formulation in local contexts. Sociology stresses and discusses the social relational issues involved in the social exclusion-social capital dyad looking for an epistemological and instrumental value. Political science will examine the role and interaction of the state at different levels with other significant actors (international organizations, the private sector, and NGOs) in designing and implementing social policy, thus shaping complex power relationships. There is also a potential contribution to a (new) sociology of ideas. In scrutinizing the way in which a concept, notions, or discourse appear in particular fields, such as in that of social policy, rises in importance, has a climax and then declines, giving space to a new idea, ready for reproducing the cycle.

A third dimension relates to policy implications and advice. Claims have been made for a systematic analysis, built on credible methods, to

provide improved policies and practices. It implies that in combining different methods, social science research and policy may be linked together to find ways of altering policies to improve outcomes (Bedi 2009). Following Saunders and Walters, analysis and results of research like those proposed here might influence policy in three entry points, first by influencing professional opinion by publishing; secondly, by influencing policy opinion by interacting and informing, and thirdly, shaping the policy debate by 'framing the problem' and influencing the discourse and ideas that surround it (Saunders and Walter 2005: 12).

Finally, and encompassing the ideas above, this research is first and foremost aimed at contributing to the current reflection and debate on development, problematizing the power relationships in the production of knowledge in developing countries. It recalls the questions posed by de Haan and Maxwell (1998), in which research on social policies to address social exclusion could enrich the dialogue between the north and the south, the south being analysed by a southern scholar with the expectation that new insight and contribution from the south would enrich a vibrant and ongoing debate all over the world.

1.8 Overview of the Chapters

This dissertation organizes its arguments, findings, and conclusions in eight chapters as follows. Chapter 2, *Social exclusion, capital, policy: A theoretical framework*, introduces the 'social exclusion-social capital' dyadic conceptual device inspired by the Foucaultian *dispositif*. It reviews and discusses the most relevant literature on social exclusion, social capital, and social policy. Last, drawing on the working definition of the social exclusion-social capital dyadic conceptual device builds the analytical framework which allows to answer the research questions guiding this dissertation.

Chapter 3, *Valle del Cauca, the context*, describes and analyzes thoroughly the various dimensions composing the stage in which the social exclusion-social capital dyadic conceptual device unfolds its interpretative power. These aspects include geography, historical background, demography, economy, and other social development traits, such as the human development indexes, poverty and income inequality, education, and social security. The comparison and contrast between the department as a whole

and the selected municipalities suggest the reasons of referring to Valle del Cauca as a land of contrast and a context for exclusion.

Chapter 4, *Grounds for social policy formulation, 1998–2008*, presents and discusses the relevant features of two driving forces configuring the premises for social policy formulation in Colombia and Valle del Cauca. On the one hand, there was the Colombian internal political and administrative processes comprising the proclamation of the 1991 Colombian Constitution, deepening of the state decentralization process, and the strengthening of the strategic role assigned to Development Plans (DP) at the national and subnational level. On the other hand, external influences, -- particularly those exerted by the multilateral development institutions, shaping approaches, ideas and concepts on development contributing to agenda settings. Both played a decisive role to give use and power to the 'social exclusion – social capital' dyadic conceptual device.

Chapter 5, *A decade of social policy formulation: 1998-2008*, seeks to identify and analyze how far, the broad outlines of general approaches to Colombian social policy from 1998-2008, have conceptually transcended from the national to the subnational level. Valle del Cauca and five selected municipalities (Buenaventura, Cali, Cartago, Florida, and Tuluá) are the focus of this pursuit. In search of continuities and discontinuities, selected subjects are compared and contrasted along the length of the period in order to identify changes and variations in approaches and ideas during the decade under study. Particular attention is granted to how social exclusion is understood and addressed and the way in which social capital conceptual network intervene in the framing of social policies contained in these plans.

Chapter 6, *A Dyadic Conceptual Device at Work: 'Social Exclusion-Social Capital'*, describes and analyzes the concrete expressions of social exclusion as perceived by citizens in Valle del Cauca and the selected municipalities. It scrutinizes the social capital conceptual network as it was integrated into the subnational development plans (DP). It concludes suggesting that social capital use and abuse diverted attention from Colombia and Valle del Cauca's social, economic, and political structural dimensions, protecting the existing power structures.

Chapter 7, *Social capital: Experiences and perceptions*, sheds light on the main trends of what were the dominant expressions of social capital dimensions in 1998–2008: organizations and associativity, networks and

mutual help, participation, solidarity, trust, and cooperation. The comparative perspective between the department and the selected municipalities highlights important nuances. The chapter closes after pointing at the existing gap between what DP stated in strategies, programs, and projects, addressing one or more dimensions of social capital discourse network, and the daily experience of 'living together' in the Valle del Cauca community.

Chapter 8, *Conclusions*, complete this dissertation with a reflection about the process of articulating my ideas on social exclusion and social capital with the lens of the dyadic conceptual device, stating the answers to my research questions and looking at the whole research process in the light of the challenges and opportunities to move forward and further steps in the studies of development and its links to power structures.

Notes

¹ The *Frente Nacional* consisted of an agreement by the two traditional parties – liberalism and conservatism – to end the political violence in the mid-twentieth century. In 1957, by means of a plebiscite, it was agreed that Presidency of the Republic would take turns during the 16 years (1958–1974) between the two parties, and all public offices would be shared equitably among them. Even when in the late eighties, the National Front had expired, their traces persisted (and persist) in Colombian politics.

² Shortly before the convening of the Constituent National Assembly, the reintegration into civilian life of several guerrilla groups was already obtained.

³ The vivid descriptions and an analytical approach made in *La Violencia en Colombia* (Guzmán Campos et al. 2005) are a classic obliged reference of the national sociological research on this issue.

⁴ Statistics for the period 1985–2001 show that there were 402,375 homicides, representing almost 14% of total deaths in one of every two people between 15 and 34 years. For an epidemiologic approach to violence and homicide, see Rodríguez, M. D. L. A. (2008) 'Variación estacional de la mortalidad por homicidio en Colombia, 1985 a 2001', *Colomb. Med. Colombia Médica* 39: 154-160. The national police reported that in 2008, Colombia had the lowest rates of homicides in 30 years (16,140); the figure for 2007 was 17,198. In 2008, the rate average was 33 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants. The figures for Colombia are higher than the average homicide rates in South America (25.9 per hundred thousand inhabitants) and Central America (29.3), estimated in a report by the United Nations Program for Development (UNDP) reported that same year. According to the UN, a rate considered tolerable in the homicide rate should be less than five.

Colombia has a population of 44 million inhabitants, and the city of Cali, capital of the department of Valle del Cauca, was the one that recorded the highest homicide rate in 2008: 66 per 100,000 inhabitants. In 2002, homicides were around 29,000 a year. The reduction after the coming to power of President Alvaro Uribe is attributed to democratic security strategy.

⁵ *Voice and Accountability (VA)* – capturing perceptions of the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media. *Political Stability and Absence of Violence (PV)* – capturing perceptions of the likelihood that the government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including politically-motivated violence and terrorism. *Government Effectiveness (GE)* – capturing perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service, and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies. *Regulatory Quality (RQ)* – capturing perceptions of the ability of the government to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations that permit and promote private sector development. *Rule of Law (RL)* – capturing perceptions of the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular, the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence. *Control of Corruption (CC)* – capturing perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of

⁶ Colombia is a Republic formed by 32 departments (*departamentos* in Spanish). These are country subdivisions and are granted a certain degree of autonomy. Each department has a governor (*gobernador*) and a department assembly (*asamblea departamental*); departments are formed by a group of municipalities. Municipal government is headed by the mayor (*alcalde*) and is administered by a Municipal Council. Valle del Cauca is one of the subdivisions formed by 42 municipalities; its capital city is Santiago de Cali.

⁷ The Act 617, 2000 defines the categories of municipalities under two criteria: population size and free destination current income, which is measured in annual minimum wages. Each year, the category of municipality is updated under the certification for populating size issued by DANE and the National General Accountant.

⁸ <http://dintev.univalle.edu.co/cvisaacs/>

⁹ SISBEN is an identification system of potential beneficiaries of governmental social programs. Population classified in socio-economic strata 1 to 3 is eligible to subsidies from the state. (DNP 2010)

2

Social: Exclusion, Capital, Policy: A Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

Literature concerning social sciences and development studies have widely addressed concepts, such as exclusion, capital, and policy. A particular field of research is defined when these terms are coupled with the adjective ‘social’. This chapter aims at establishing a set of connections structuring a theoretical framework. It allows to analytically address the research question at the core of this dissertation: Does ‘social exclusion-social capital’ become a dyadic conceptual device used to understand and interpret the Colombian social reality influencing both social policy formulation and people’s perceptions?

Social exclusion, social capital, and social policy have called the attention of academics, practitioners, and policy decision-makers during the past three decades. This interest has been expressed in different ways due to the variety of contexts in which each one of these concepts has appeared. The ‘social’, at their intersection, outlines a field of research. There needs to be a common ground on which it is possible to decipher linkages generating both systems of interpretation, practices, and concrete actions of current societal arrangements.

Social exclusion has been a key term in development context since the late 1970’s. It refers to at least three connotations – first, to describe the challenges faced by European societies in the process of answering new social situations dealing with to what at that time were considered the excluded (Lenoir 1974); second, to address the consequences of a new social and political context as a result of the configuration of the European Union; and third, to characterize the circumstances of a wide range of population being out of the labor market and social security systems. From there, social exclusion as a concept travelled to the Americas where it is mainly related to poverty. Their conceptual definition blurriness allows the use of these terms interchangeably or facilitates the equivalence.

Social capital appeared in academic sociological literature around mid-1980 as a term referring to the nature and type of social ties building up society. The seminal articles by Bourdieu (1980) in France and Coleman (1986) in the United States were the milestones opening the path to a constellation of theoretical and empirical research. The 1990s witnessed the flourishing of social capital literature in certain academic spheres and later in the development field. Thus, it was considered as a resource to overcome poverty and other social problems. Multilateral financial and development institutions played a crucial role in promoting social capital at national and sub-national levels. They exerted influence with governments to introduce it in development plans and funded social capital-inspired programs and projects.

Social policy is the response from states and governments to tackle social problems and attain populations' quality of life betterment. It materializes in programs and projects derived from general social policy frameworks. In its practical nature underlies a call to action embodied in the different stages of its cycle: policy design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. This trait, subject to the contingencies of funding, budget allocation, and execution, overshadows the social policy theoretical dimensions and their assumptions, that is to say, the ways in which policies conceptualize the social problems seeking to be addressed.

To find the intersection field in which social exclusion, social capital, and social policy meet theoretically, methodologically, and empirically, entails taking into account some analytical issues.

First, there is the definitional problem. As many notions in social sciences, there are no absolute and unique definitions for social exclusion, social capital, and social policy. A sign of the difficulty to assign a theoretical status to social exclusion and social capital lies on the fuzziness of their definitional boundaries and interpretations. As they mean differently to different people, the discussion about the same phenomenon risks being a deaf dialogue. There being no clearly defined conceptual common grounds, in the best of the cases, there is a conflation in the levels of analysis.

Second, the measurement problem derives from the definitional problem. What is it that is measured? Moreover, does it have a possibility for comparison between measurement methods? There are as many ways to measure social exclusion or social capital as the number of theoretical definitions stated. In the same vein, there are as many measure indicators as

choices to make concepts operational. Moreover, a good deal of social exclusion and social capital indicators and index builds upon data collected for different purposes to address the latter two. Lastly, it is to note the frequent recourse to quantitative data aiming at standardized measures allowing comparisons. The question arising is whether this standardization captures all the complexities involved in such a phenomena regardless of the social context diversity. Qualitative data could provide additional insights.

Third, there is the analytical isolation problem. Except for the relation to poverty, most of the research on social exclusion, social capital, or social policy, whether theoretical or empirical, paradoxically loses sight of the relational character of the social phenomena to which they refer to. Connections and linkages to conceptual, analytical, and empirical systems in which they are embedded are not apparent. They are studied and researched separately and disarticulated from a broad and comprehensive theoretical field. There is a little reference in the literature considering the linkages with other social ideas as agency, social structure, or social cohesion.

Lastly, the correspondence problem is the mismatch in the level of analysis when trying to relate social exclusion, social capital, and social policy where the theoretical is confounded with the empirical or factual.

As a solution to these analytical issues and concurrently a methodological compass to address the research question is the notion of 'dyadic conceptual device' as will be referred to in this dissertation. It is inspired by Michel Foucault's *dispositif*. It refers to the heterogeneous ensemble composed of 'discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic proposition,' as well as the system of relations established between these elements. Its strategic function, entailing relations of forces supporting and that are supported by types of knowledge is to respond to an urgent need (Foucault 1977). In this research, the dyadic device is structured by 'social exclusion' and 'social capital' that are in themselves *dispositifs* and their interplay influencing social policy and citizens' experiences and perceptions.

These ideas structure the theoretical and analytical framework to address the research setting that the interplay of social exclusion, social capital, and social policy shapes in Valle del Cauca, Colombia in 1998-2008.

This chapter is organized as follows. First, it discusses the Foucaultian approach to *dispositif*, highlighting its epistemological and heuristic capacities. Its definition, meanings, and connotation, and its power to identify prescriptive and normative strategies in societal arrangements allows formulating the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ dyadic conceptual device as the analytical lens of this research. Second, it examines the dominant theoretical approaches to social exclusion and considers its relations with social order and power structures. In doing so, it establishes the boundaries of social exclusion that can be seized, on the one hand, and can be differentiated from but is related to poverty, on the other (Atkinson 1998, Haan 1998, Sen 2000). Third, it reviews the evolution social capital has had in the social science literature. Thus, it explores its origins, scrutinizes its various definitions, outlines the efforts made leading to its measurements and assessments, and delineates the social capital discourse flourishing in Latin America and Colombia. Focused on its discursive power, it underscores its vital role in framing solutions to social problems with strong political and economic implications to which social policy can be instrumental. Last, it regards social policy as the tool to channel and implement forms of solutions to social problems.

Social exclusion, social capital, and social policy have been at the core of burning discussions both in the worlds of social sciences and the academic and practitioner’s development. These two are not necessarily engaged in a fruitful dialogue or in a dialogue at all. Here, theory and praxis are at stake as well as the relationship between the two for tackling urgent social problems. The shape of resulting social policies inspired in social capital for addressing social exclusion comes from and is a token of the way in which the dialogue within and between the mentioned worlds is finally achieved. The ‘social exclusion-social capital’ dyadic device is a way to articulate these three concepts in an analytical framework for understanding the Valle del Cauca case.

2.2 ‘Social exclusion-social capital’: A dyadic conceptual device

Inspired by Michel Foucault’s idea of *dispositif* (1977), this research defines its theoretical and methodological framework with the notion of a ‘dyadic conceptual device’ as an epistemological and heuristic concept (Deleuze 1992) referred to the pair ‘social exclusion-social capital’. The analytical centrality it plays to address the research questions makes it necessary to

provide the background to the intellectual context in which *dispositif* came to light. It also requires determining the semantic field to which it refers, and lastly, makes explicit what is understood by the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ dyadic conceptual device, as used in the next chapters.

Even though power, knowledge, and governmentality are fundamental pillars in Michel Foucault's works, until recently, *dispositif* (French in the original) did not receive great attention. In particular, it has been so thanks to the publication of Foucault's conferences toward the end of the 1970s in Le College de France (Foucault XX, XX). It was followed by their translation into German, English, and Italian which has allowed a productive theoretical use in different disciplines besides philosophy and social sciences. Notably, it has been the case in the fields of communication, cinema, and technology. It is not in vain that the 21st century is one of ‘dispositives’ of all sorts.

In this background, two features are noteworthy. First, the references to and a definition of *dispositif* by Foucault were mainly oral. They were condensed in the transcription of a famous interview in 1977; what was finally published did not go through the regular editorial process which refines ideas and arguments. As scholars agree upon, Foucault theoretically and methodologically ‘uses’ the ‘*dispositif*’ to understand societal arrangements. From there, the wide array of interpretation and subsequent usages ensue. Second, in a linguistic and semantic approach, there are difficulties in translating the term *dispositif* into other languages, assuring and maintaining the semantic field the French term encompasses. Etymological and semantic research provided equivalent alternatives in English, the most common being ‘apparatus’. However, ‘dispositive’ is also used because of its proximity to the French term.

2.2.1 Foucault's definition

The question ‘what is a dispositive?’ posed to Foucault in a 1977's interview provided the following answer:

What I try to pick out with this term is, firstly, a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements.

Secondly, what I am trying to identify in this apparatus is precisely the nature of the connection that can exist between these heterogeneous elements. [...] between these elements, whether discursive or non-discursive, there is a sort of interplay of shifts of position and modifications of function which can also vary very widely.

Thirdly, I understand by the term ‘apparatus’ a sort of – shall we say – formation which has as its major function at a given historical moment that of responding to an urgent need. The apparatus thus has a dominant strategic function. (Foucault 1980: 194-195)

It integrates three dimensions suggesting the analytical power of the notion. First, the reference to a heterogeneous ensemble and the system of relations between the ensemble’s elements; second, the nature of the connections between heterogeneous elements, and third its strategic function of responding to an urgent need. Some indications regarding what is understood by and contained in each one of these dimensions shows its heuristic and conceptual value for this research.

Foucault’s quote mentions the sort of heterogeneous elements considered in the ensemble, ‘the said, as much as the unsaid’, the tangible and the intangible. *Dispositif* is taken to be material (technological, media, and others); in some cases, even a conceptual or strategic framework makes it possible for a given type of phenomena to occur. As some studies put it, it is also a ‘means to cover up internal contradictions within the field, to “reconcile the irreconcilable and regulate without constraining”’ (Fusulier and Lannoy 1999: 189, Kessler 2007). The relational character is at the core of the approach, the way in which the ‘*dispositif*’ elements interrelate. Thus, it is concurrently a grouping of heterogeneous components, situated within an arrangement, as well as the transversal set of connections between these components. From here, the *dispositif* also stands for ‘precisely the nature of the connection that can exist between these heterogeneous elements,’ which brings about its functional rationality as a diagram in the technical sense. Furthermore, as S. Raffnsøe et al. (2016) explain,

‘[...] it appears that the different aspects of the dispositional arrangement are discernable, not merely as the aforesaid openings of new fields of rationality, but apparently also as mechanisms, programs, diagrams, political technologies, localizations, distributions, organizations, and dispositions, along with special modes and instruments for the exercise of power.’ (S. Raffnsøe et al. 2016: 280)

Lastly, there is the dominant strategic function to respond to an urgent need – in Foucault’s words, ‘strategies of relation of forces supporting, and supported by, types of knowledge’ (Foucault 1977: 301/1980: 196). In this sense, the dispositive points to the multifarious network in which knowledge and the exercise of power reciprocally organize and find themselves organized by each other in a certain manner (S. Raffinsoe et al. 2016: 280)

Table 2.1
Apparatus/Device: the meanings

Definitions	
Apparatus ¹	Device ²
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A group or combination of instruments, machinery, tools, materials, etc., having a particular function or intended for a specific use - Any complex instrument or mechanism for a particular purpose. - Any system or systematic organization of activities, functions, processes, etc., directed toward a specific goal: - Physiology: a group of structurally different organs working together in the performance of a particular function: the digestive apparatus. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A thing made for a particular purpose; an invention or contrivance, esp. a mechanical or electrical one. - A plan or scheme for effecting a purpose. - A crafty scheme; trick. - Literature: a particular word pattern, figure of speech, combination of word sounds, etc., used in a literary work to evoke a desired effect or arouse a desired reaction in the reader: rhetorical devices. - Something elaborately or fancifully designed. - A motto. - [Archaic] devising; invention.

Source: Author’s elaboration

2.2.2 *Dispositif*: Meanings and connotations

The centrality of ‘dispositive’ in Foucault’s works points to two complementary dimensions: on one hand, it has a descriptive and analytical capacity to understand the rationality of specific social arrangements, and on the other hand – in a broader sense – as a way to understand the interplay between *dispositifs* heterogeneous elements resulting in a specific historical formation producing both power structures and knowledge (Kessler 2007). Consequently, it has drawn attention to the meanings and connotation of the French term and its equivalents in other languages, in this case, English. (Table 2.1)

The archeology of the term has shed light into its ancient uses and also on its current connotations (G. Agamben 2009, G. Deleuze 1992, H. Peeters and P. Charlier 1991, J. Bussolini 2010, S. J. Collier 2009, S. Raffnsøe et al. 2016). To better appreciate the power of the notion to understand societal arrangements, these authors coincide in pointing at three contexts in which *dispositif* has been used. First, the military strategy which designates the process of planning and refers to a means or an initiative in correlating a given plan and its operation in time and space with regards to the characteristics of the adversary; second, in a legal context in which *dispositif* refers to the effective closing plan of a lawful or administrative text. Here, it specifies the relevance and effect of the declaration, as opposed to the preamble and to the statute itself. Lastly, in its technical, the word dispositive refers to the ‘diagram’ according to which the different components in actuality are organized in a particular machinery. Collier argues that this range of meanings and connotation points ‘to intermediate or in-between circumstances where some potential arrangement or acting order has to be actualized in a certain way’. All these highlight the fact that a *dispositif* also implies a field of forces acting upon a social, legal, or technological context or environment (Agamben 2005). Therefore, the dispositional analysis is always concerned with analyzing more than one dispositive at a time and the specific ‘series of complex edifices’ or ‘a system of correlations they form together’ (Collier 2009).

2.2.3 The normative connotation

An examination of the analytical and methodological power of ‘dispositive’ also includes a review of its normative connotation. Some authors have extensively elaborated on this particular dimension (H. Peeters and Charlier 1999, S. Raffnsøe et al. 2016). The main lines of the normative argument are synthesized as follows. As has been mentioned, according to Foucault, a dispositional arrangement results as an answer to an urgent need regarding a certain historical situation. The elaboration of a dispositive may be seen as a preliminary answer to ‘social indigestion’, in which problems and possible solutions are articulated as the dispositive takes shape. The strategic function of the *dispositif* is normative insofar as it integrates and digests the influences around it. The dispositional analysis is a way of demonstrating how different actions (viewed as prescriptive events) mutually eliminate each other, only to collectively outline a pattern

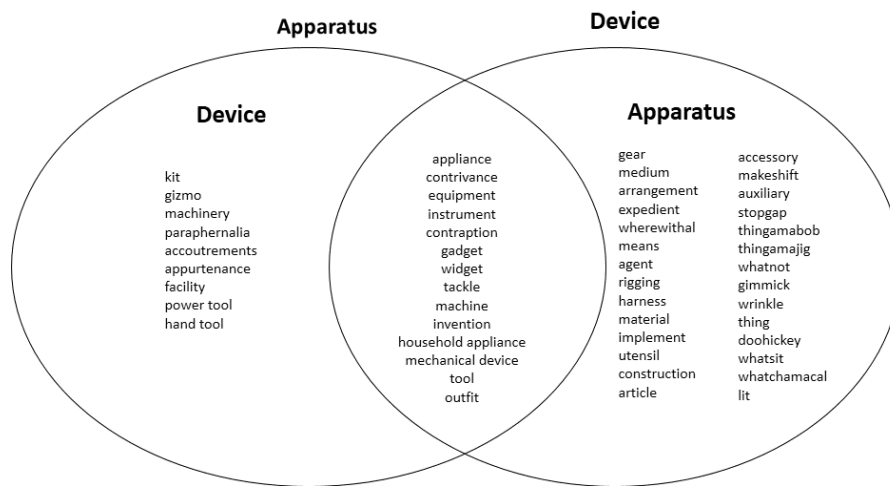
and create a new normative level. In other words, the *dispositif* is an inclusive depiction of whatever seems to have been prescribed or determined as applicable to the social interplay at any given time. Stating the emergence of a new dispositive through a historical transformation amounts to asserting that new guidelines for actions started to make themselves known, and not necessarily that the actions analyzed are in perfect accordance with these guidelines.

The *dispositif* is highly influential because it outlines the way in which one relates normatively to a given situation. At the same time, this normative level is regarded as an inevitable 'reality', as the dispositive influences the (already prescriptive) activities of the society. The effects of the dispositive are embedded in the institutions it reshapes. It has an undeniable influence on the way the individual acts and the way they perceive events. The *dispositif* is real to the extent to which it affects social reality by installing a most real dispositionalism. Moreover, the *dispositif* in Foucault's writings has a totalizing effect and is intimately linked to the production of power and knowledge.

2.2.4 'Social exclusion-social capital' - a dyadic (conceptual) device

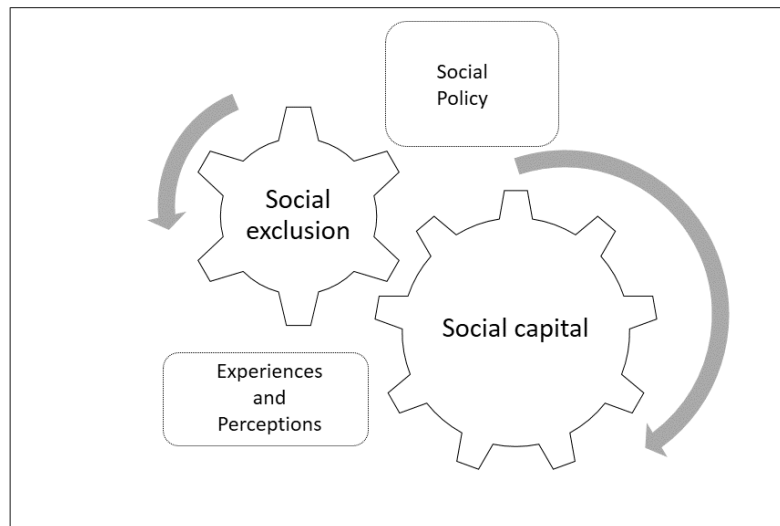
This research considers the pair 'social exclusion-social capital' as a *dispositif* in the Foucaultian sense of the term. From now on in this dissertation, it will be referred to as a 'dyadic conceptual device.' Such a stance deserves clarification and justification. The clarification deals with the use of the term 'device' instead of 'apparatus' as the best equivalent to the French *dispositif*. A comparative examination of the definitions of apparatus and device) shows, on one hand, the systemic and complex, character of apparatus. Consequently, an apparent emphasises on its relational nature. On the other hand, although sharing the semantic fields, 'device' has blurred definitional boundaries. In this sense, it includes a sort of elasticity suitable for *dispositif*, in what has to do with the contents of the heterogeneous ensemble mentioned by Foucault. In support of this election comes the examination of the semantic field for apparatus and device (Figure 2.1). The terms are interchangeable, share a good number of synonyms, and yet, 'device' has a broader semantic field.

Figure 2.1
Apparatus/device: Semantic fields



The epistemological and heuristic power of the Foucaultian approach provides the justification for its election as a theoretical and methodological lens through which the Colombian and Valle del Cauca reality can be examined in a specific historical period. Social exclusion and social capital are considered devices in themselves. Therefore, the intellectual endeavour consists of, first, describing the heterogeneous ensemble – each one consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, and philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions; second, identifying the connections within and between these devices. Moreover, determining the strategic function they play as the answer to an urgent need in which power relationships and knowledge are at stake. In this line, citizens' experiences and perceptions and social policy are part and parcel of the 'social exclusion-social capital' conceptual device exerting mutual influence.

Figure 2.2
'Social exclusion-social capital'
conceptual device



2.3 Social exclusion

The annotated bibliographies and literature review on social exclusion (Smith 2007, V.E. Faria and International Institute for Labour 1994, Yepes 1994) indicate that by the end of the 80's and during the 90's, it began to be strongly present in the academic literature. In the first decade of the XXI century, the stream of literature relating the concept to neighbour notions, such as poverty, deprivation, disadvantage, and more recently, adverse inclusion continued to increase. A subject present in the current debate is the question about the value of social exclusion concept for explaining social phenomena already tackled by the related notion mentioned above.

The literature review on social exclusion reveals the following aspects as well. The concept is European in its origin, precisely French, (Lenoir 1989) with wide developments in UK (Cabinet 2006, Levitas 2004, 2005, 2007). Subsequently, it arrived to North American literature, and more recently, researches and studies leading to academic publications began to appear in Asia (Rawal 2008, Sen 2000), Africa (Johnston 2009) and Latin America (Behrman et al. 2002, Buvinic et al. 2004, Carrillo Flórez 2009, V. Faria 1995, V. E. Faria and International Institute for Labour 1994) with

uneven results. The geographical perspective is relevant in as far as approaches to social exclusion will receive different treatment theoretically and practically (via social policy) according to the specific geographic setting in which it is studied. This emphasizes the fact that it is a context-dependant concept (Maxwell and Haan 1998).

As the main geographical focus of this research is centred in Latin America, and specifically Colombia, it is relevant to mention that major and influential thoughts on social exclusion has been produced by the World Bank (WB), the Inter-American Development Bank (Buvinic et al. 2004, IADB 2010, Márquez and Inter-American Development 2007), and Economic Commission for Latin-America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) (ECLAC 2007).

Theoretical and analytical approaches (A. De Haan 1998, Fischer 2008, Kabeer 2000, Sen 2000, Silver 1994) compete with descriptive and policy-oriented approaches (Barry 1998, Behrman et al. 2002, Buvinic et al. 2004, Márquez and Inter-American Development 2007) and it is in these sources that social policy for addressing social exclusion is nurtured. The debates on social and economic development are part of the stage in which the discussion on social exclusion is brought about (Clert 1999, Munck 2005, Rodgers et al. 1995, Room 1999).

2.3.1 Theoretical approaches to social exclusion

The tracking of social exclusion theory is not an easy task particularly if one acknowledges that the expression is evocative, ambiguous, multidimensional, and elastic and can be defined in many different ways. It is interpreted differently according to the context and time which make it. It has multiple meanings, and in addition, is embedded in conflicting social sciences paradigms and political ideologies.

However, research literature shows that social exclusion is a concept that not only describes a social phenomenon, but it is a scientific concept. It is in this view that the next paragraphs will present the main theoretical lines on this subject.

One of the most relevant papers for tracing the different theoretical trends on social exclusion is Silver's *Social exclusion and social solidarity: Three paradigms* (Silver 1994). She begins by explaining how social exclusion is enrooted in French social and sociological tradition and recalls that the term is a key word in French republican conception linking it to ideas of

the French revolution (liberty, equity, and fraternity). Sen also considers the implication of this inspiration in dealing with social exclusion (Sen 2000). This reference connects with Durkheimian notions of social solidarity and social cohesion grounded on social bonds. In this sense, social exclusion is ‘not only an economic and politic phenomenon but a deficiency of solidarity and a break on the social bonds’. Levitas suggests that in this framework, a Durkheimian hegemony is underlying social exclusion approaches (Levitas 1996).

Table 2.2
Three Paradigms of Social Exclusion

	Solidarity	Specialization	Monopoly
Conception of integration	Group solidarity/cultural boundaries	Specialization/separate spheres/interdependence	Monopoly, social closure
Source of integration	Moral integration	Exchange	Citizenship rights
Ideology	Republicanism	Liberalism	Social democracy
Discourse	Exclusion	Discrimination/underclass	New poverty, inequality, underclass
Seminal thinkers	Rousseau/Durkheim	Locke, Madison, utilitarians	Marx, Weber, Marshall
Exemplars			
Model of the new political economy	Flexible production	Skills, work disincentives, networks social capital	Labor market segmentation

Source: SILVER, H. (1994). Social exclusion and social solidarity: Three paradigms. *International Labour Review*. 133, No. 5-6:531-578 (540).

Looking at the way social exclusion has evolved in European tradition since 80's, she summarizes different approaches in three paradigms which are ideal types in the Weberian sense, the heuristic devices, and the ways of looking at reality (Maxwell and Haan 1998). Solidarity, specialization, and monopoly paradigms each attribute social exclusion to different causes and are grounded on different political philosophies.

Ruth Levitas argues that there has been a shift away from understanding social exclusion as primarily a problem of poverty toward questions of

social integration through paid work (employment) and moral regulation. (Levitas 2005)

Other relevant angles for looking at social exclusion from theoretical points of view have a duality: social exclusion as a state (condition) or a process. Here, theorists tend to move to the extremes.

Maxwell and de Haan adopt a definition focused on the process of social exclusion, ‘the process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live’ (Maxwell and Haan 1998: 2). Given the lack of consensus on the definition of social exclusion, these authors also refer to the key arenas and elements of social exclusion.

Table 2.3
Key Arenas in Social Exclusion

Key arenas	Elements
Rights	Human Legal/civic Democratic
Resources	Human and social capital Labor markets Product markets State provision Common property resources
Relationships	Family networks Wider support networks Voluntary organizations

Source: (Maxwell and Haan 1998: 3)

The authors highlight two relevant points of epistemological and empirical value for my research derived from these. First, Silver’s three paradigms are not mutually exclusive; second, the main dimension of social exclusion will be different in each society. This implies that causes of social exclusion overlap; thus, an interpretative effort would grasp in elements of the three paradigms. The context-dependant character of social exclusion recalls the great possibilities to better understand it when looking at local levels, while also having in mind historical specificities.

The relational character of social exclusion appears to be another important aspect in the theoretical discussion. This is Sen’s perspective on

social exclusion where he reflects on the new insights this notion can provide in relation to poverty, capability deprivation, and policy and social action. For him, 'the real importance of the idea of social exclusion lies in emphasizing the role of relational features in the deprivation of capability and thus in the experience of poverty' (Sen 2000). For him, the real relevance of the exclusionary perspective is conditional on the nature of the process that leads to deprivation. It is important to differentiate 1) the conceptual contribution that the idea of social exclusion can make and the constructive role it can play and 2) the use of social exclusion merely as a language and a rhetoric.

2.3.2 Social exclusion, social order, and power structures

Silver (1994) argues that the notion of exclusion calls for an account of social inclusion: insertion, integration, solidarity, and citizenship provide points of reference for three paradigms of exclusion. What is involved here is the problem of social order, which has its core in social bond. The problem, however, lies in the idea of the reverse of exclusion that implies a clear consensus on integration, and citizenship membership to society. Different people fight exclusion differently.

In reference to this issue, Pierson takes into account the deep political implications involved in tackling the 'social'. 'Achieving inclusion for all people and groups in main stream society has wide appeal across the political spectrum. For the left it suggests a great push towards equality with focus on tackling deprivation and lack of rights. For the right it suggests shaping a more cohesive, unified society uniting behind a strong national regime' (Pierson 2002). Important discussion on this subject also includes the nature of social inclusion. Is it a means or an end?

For a sociological analysis, exclusion represents a social relationship between the excluded and the included. Social action of the activity of the excluded not only changes the condition of those who were integrated, but also the condition of those who want to be integrated.

According to Silver, choosing one definition of social exclusion means accepting the theoretical and ideological baggage associated with it. Instead, keeping in mind Silver's three paradigms, Maxwell and Haan's social exclusion arenas, and the relational character of social exclusion stressed by Sen, I will look at the empirical evidence in the local context, and through feedback, I will test these theoretical approaches and determine

their comprehensive and explanatory power, while simultaneously examining their limitation in the framework of the context-dependent social exclusion situation trying to find out new theoretical elements.

2.4 Social capital

The notion social capital constitutes of the second half of the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ dyad this research is concerned with. In a similar way, as discussed in the previous section regarding social exclusion, this section seeks to examine the notion of social capital and conceptual network from a theoretical point of view. A thorough literature review allows to first identify the origins of social capital in the disciplinary fields of sociology, anthropology, and economy. Second, it identifies the salient dimensions in the flourishing as a discourse in some fields of social science, particularly in development studies. Third, it examines the current relevance of social capital and its conceptual network in social sciences and development studies. It concludes by pointing out the social capital working definition. It illumines the social capital use, functionality, and instrumentality in Development Plans in Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities, which is the subject of discussion in the next chapters.

2.4.1 Origins and the explicit emergence of social capital

The content of the social capital concept is not new in social science. Some authors suggest that this and its associated notion are in fact old ideas in a new concept (Farr 2004, Ferrugina 2009, Koniordos 2008, Portes 1998). From a disciplinary and theoretical point of view, social capital finds its roots in the questions that bring about classic sociology in the mid-19th century. In their own way, the founding fathers of sociological, namely Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859), Karl Marx (1818–1883), Ferdinand Tonnies (1855–1936), Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), George Simmel (1858–1918), and Max Weber (1864–1920) had pointed out the sociological and political dimensions that social capital would bring to the fore again in the social sciences from the last century until now.

Although not referring explicitly to social capital, in the next set of issues addressed by classical sociology authors, there are direct and indirect references to subjects assigned to it and its derived conceptual network, the art of cooperation and the importance of re-founding the social bonds (Toqueville 1951), capital as a social relation (Marx 1978), the relationship

between individual, community, and society (Tonnie 2001). The meaning, impact, and outcome of sociability in all social groups, the importance of intermediate associations intersecting between civil society and individuals, and the fact that social groups attract individuals to their sphere of action thus draws them into the social life (Durkheim 1964). The notion of the social circle as a harbinger of social capital, the actors' involvement with the potential benefits that the social relations they enter into may entail (George Simmel cited by Bagnasco 2003). Trust is not only developed on a voluntary basis, but can be imposed by the organization upon its members (Max Weber cited by Woolcott 1998).

Regarding the explicit emergence of social capital in the social science literature, bibliographical reviews and annotated bibliographies agree in pointing at L.J. Hanifan (1916) as the first to use the concept. In his role as the state supervisor of the rural school, he considers the importance of the latter as a community center and reflects upon why these are important to accumulate social capital as an asset for achieving the general wellbeing. It is to note, in his words, the reference to the figurative sense of the expression 'social capital', divorcing its meaning from its 'usual acceptance', its economic sense.

Because of its historical importance and the fact to be most mentioned but not much quoted, here it is *in extenso* the opening sentences of his text.

In the use of the phrase social capital I make no reference to the usual acceptance of the term capital except in a figurative sense. I do not refer to real estate or personal property or to cold cash, but rather to that in life which tends to make these tangible substances counts for most of the daily lives of a people, namely, good will, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among a group of individuals and families who make up a social unit, the rural community, whose logical center is the school.

[...] In community building as in business organization and expansion there must be an accumulation of capital before constructive work can be done.

Now we may easily pass from the business corporation over to the social corporation, the community, and find many point of similarity. The individual is helpless socially, if left entirely to himself. Even the association of the members of one's own family fails to satisfy that desire which every normal individual has of being with his fellows, of being a part of a larger group than the family. If he may come into contact with his neighbor, and

they with other neighbours, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community. The community as a whole will benefit by the cooperation of all its parts while the individual will find in its association the advantages of the help, the sympathy and the fellowship of his neighbours.

[...] when the people of a given community has become acquainted with one another and have formed a habit of coming together upon occasions of entertainment, social intercourse and personal enjoyment, that is, when sufficient social capital has been accumulated, then by skillful leadership this social capital may be easily be directed toward the general improvement of the community wellbeing. (Hanifan 1916: 1-2)

From this quotation, it is noteworthy to highlight some ideas that are at the center of the theoretical debate and the functionality value of social capital. To achieve well-being in a community or a 'social unit', not only do social relationships matter, but so does their quality. There is no mention of difficult or unfriendly social relationships as if they are not a possibility in social life. Perhaps because the context in which the author refers to social capital, there is an emphasis on relationships among groups of individuals and families, implying certain homogeneous or horizontal, non-hierarchical relationships. The analogy of business corporation to the social corporation in social capital accumulation entails its economic usefulness. Social capital has a potential to achieve improvements in living conditions. These, among other subjects, have subsequently been addressed since the 90's, bringing about theoretical, conceptual, and policy-making developments in social capital as a tool for poverty reduction and an all-cure remedy.

After a silence of almost fifty years, Jane Jacobs (1961) and Glenn Loury (1977) bring back subjects related to social capital. Although she did not explicitly define the term 'social capital', her usage refers to the value of networks. The latter, in studying income inequalities in minority racial-ethnic groups in North America, points out that 'the social context in which one is embedded strongly conditions one's achievement' (G. Loury 1977).

It was only in the mid 80's, however, that the explicit emergence of social capital – viewed either as a concept a theory, or even a paradigm – exploded as an important trend in sociology, economics, development studies, and social policy, offering a panorama (Adam et al. 2003, Farr

2004, Fulkerson et al. 2008, Harper 2001). Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam are at the inception of this wave. The WB and other multilateral development institutions have brought the social capital to socio-economic development and poverty alleviation programs whether at international or national levels.

It is in the economic sociology where Pierre Bourdieu's seminal contribution to the visibility of social capital can be located. Close to the Marxist tradition, the French author studied the forms of capital. Therefore, cultural and social capital are part of the plethora of capitals together with the economic/financial. The social form of capital in his view provides sociological explanations for socioeconomic phenomenon.

Until that moment, social capital had been studied from the sociology or political science perspectives in a rather theoretical-oriented way. It is The WB which explicitly explored the economic perspective. It was in 1996, with the Social Capital Initiative's (SCI) inception, when the WB showed an interest in the economic and development potentialities of the concept. In addition to the theoretical interest, there was a practical one leading to considering the relevance of social capital for program design and implementation.

The assumptions underlying this interest were that 'A growing body of evidence indicates that the size and density of social networks and institutions, and the nature of interpersonal interactions, significantly affect the efficiency and sustainability of development programs' (WB, 2013). The initiative aimed to test two hypotheses: a) The presence of social capital improves the effectiveness of development projects and b) through select donor-supported interventions, it was possible to stimulate the accumulation of social capital. The Social Capital Initiative (SCI)'s purpose was in line with the three goals guiding the whole project: to assess the impact of social capital on project effectiveness, to demonstrate that outside assistance can help in the process of social capital formation, and to contribute to the development of indicators for monitoring social capital and methodologies for measuring its impact on development.

To advance in theoretical understanding and gain experience in the practical relevance of the concept, the government of Denmark provided financial resources for promoting and strengthening social capital. The SCI included twelve research projects, a conceptual framework, literature reviews, annotated bibliographies, and other associated activities. The SCI's empirical studies were classified in four categories: the role that

social capital can play in the provision of goods and services, and the reconstruction or revitalization of social capital after conflict or political transition, rural development efforts, and enterprise development.³

A special mention to the WB SCI deserves the attention to further social capital's measurement and monitoring. It resulted in the Social Capital Assessment Tool (SOCAT), which combined quantitative and qualitative methodologies (C. Grootaert and T. Van Bastelaer 2001, 2002a, 2002b).

Undoubtedly, WB helped increase the visibility of the concept within development circles and its integration into project design. This new approach, now applied to poverty reduction and development programs, expanded the use of the concept to other development multilateral institutions and the national government. It was a kind of communicating vessels' effect.

Social capital has been pointed out by some (Portes 2004) as a central issue on the agenda for sociological analysis in the twenty-first century. Following the first theoretical approaches in the 80's and the 90's (Bourdieu 1980, Coleman 1988, 1994, Putnam 1993), boundless enthusiasm around social capital theory appeared. It seemed to assure conceptual and pragmatic keys to re-create more inclusive, participatory, and democratic societies. Additionally, it contained promises to provide a better quality of life for people and promote development (Cf. Putnam 1993, 2001; Atria and Siles, 2003). Consequently, it boosted new theoretical and research efforts in a mutually reinforcing relationship between theory and practice.

The literature review shows that social capital has an important potential addressing topics, such as differences in economic development, policies in local development, the importance of the community traditional values, social mobility, the decline of civic and generalized trust in developed countries, the relationships between generalized trust in society, and the development of efficient institutions.

The top of the growth in the enormous volume of academic literature, research, and promotion of social reached its climax in 2005–2006. Then, little by little, it silently declined (Fulkerson et al. 2008, S. Koniordos 2008, A. Dill 2015). Social capital seems to be replaced for some other concepts fulfilling the role once attached to it. Notwithstanding, after almost two decades of excessive enthusiasm, harsh criticism, and heated debates, a new wave of social capital research, implementation, and promotions appears in the panorama.

Following Ferragina and others, social capital is a conceptual focal point around which a comprehensive system of analysis can be built (Dill 2015, Ferragina 2009, OECD 2014). Despite the uses, misuses, abuses, and the enormous amount of criticism, the importance of the emergence and popularity of social capital as a comprehensive and interpretative framework is not negligible, one that contributed to locating important social sciences debates beyond the academic and policy circles. In one way or another, civil society, social groups, and a wider public opinion brought attention to quantity, quality, and forms of relationships, social networks, trust and the societies' structural transformation or not in an everyday, more globalized context.

An overview to the social capital's underlying theoretical dimension and most accepted or current definitions provides a full picture of its potentiality to impact and become relevant for strategically tackling social issues as poverty alleviation, community building, democracy strengthening, and in a more general way, to development studies and policy-making. These topics are the subject of the next section.

2.4.2 Definitions and theoretical issues in social capital: Toward a conceptual network

A better understanding of the social capital success requires an in-depth analysis – whether rooted in sociology or economics – of the underlying theoretical issues it contains. Closely related are its variety of definitions and meanings. Although there is an immense body of literature on this matter, this section considers the most relevant and influential approaches shaping a definitional and common theoretical core. This research will name as the social capital conceptual network the set notions at the intersection of these different approaches..

Definitions

When it comes to a clear definition, social capital sails in difficult waters. In fact, this is the main challenge it confronts. Moreover, it is not a negligible one because a precise definition helps operationalize the concept and create instruments of measurement. Social capital has been used in a non-unitarian way to describe, interpret, and designate a multiplicity of social phenomena.

The social capital definition most influential for development projects and policy making was that of WB inspired by Putnam's approach.

One of the current and popularized definitions of social capital refers to 'the set of networks and institutions and the underlying standards and values that govern the interactions between people and affect economic and social development' (Grootaert and Van Baestelert 2002) In this approach, an operational view of the definition of social capital involves three dimensions: structural social capital, cognitive social capital, and collective action. These dimensions must be placed in its relationship with characteristics of social capital, bonding and bridging, which again refers to the nature of social relationships and how individuals and collective actors interact with each other on levels of micro, meso, and macro analyses.

Structural social capital is expressed in the membership of institutional networks and associations or formal and informal organizations. In this context, structural social capital is meant as a membership in associations and of networks. The effectiveness of structural social capital as a community asset depends on many factors among these groups. Some of them are evident in the type of structure that characterizes them, in the ways of being a member of the organization or associations and the overall functioning of the organization. The structural social capital captures the associative ability and the conduct related to the exercise of such an ability in people in communities. It is aimed at identifying the formal interactions of individuals in the community.

The relevant questions to detect structural social capital are formulated in terms of the organizational density of the community and its characterization. However, it is not only the number of existing organizations in the community which reveals the nature of the structural social capital. It is also done by establishing the vision that the communities have of them, and considering them as being important, protagonistic, and effective in solving the priority issues for the community; it is also done by studying the modalities and mechanisms of formation of these organizations, and by adopting organizational structures and forms of functioning and operation. It follows that the assessment of the community and structural social capital necessarily involves the careful examination of the profiles of those organizational entities considered by communities and homes as the most important. Consider the structural social capital as an asset of each community depending on the characteristics of these associations, such as structure, membership, and operation. This detects the associative

behavior of individuals and the general characteristics of these behaviors within communities.

The cognitive social capital focuses on aspects of subjective order that guide conduct or enhance partnerships. It has to do with the interactions of individuals outside of formal organizations. These informal aspects shape mentalities, thoughts, and attitudes of people regarding their interaction with others. It manifests itself in the interpersonal behavior, the expressions of solidarity, trust, and adherence to the norms of the community. The presence of collective action is an indicator of social capital.

Social capital is defined by the OECD as ‘networks together with shared norms, values, and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups’. In this definition, we can think of networks as real-world links between groups or individuals. Think of networks of friends, families, former colleagues, and so on. Our shared norms, values, and understandings are less concrete than our social networks. Sociologists sometimes speak of norms as society’s unspoken and largely unquestioned rules. Norms and understandings may not become apparent until they are broken.

Table 2.2
Social Capital Definitions

S. Koniorodos (2008: 317)

The relations humans enter into do have the potential to form a source of utility and benefit for them and thus they bear a user’s importance

L. J. Hanifan (1916)

The tangible substances [that] count for most in the daily lives of people: namely good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit. The individual is helpless socially, if left to himself. If he comes into contact with his neighbor, and they with other neighbors, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community. The community as a whole will benefit by the cooperation of all its parts, while the individual will find in his associations the advantages of the help, the sympathy, and the fellowship of his neighbors.

G. Loury (1977:175-176)

The impact of one’s own social position which acts to further or impede the acquisition of human capital (the market-value assets of education and skills).

Bourdieu (1994: 90)

The sum of active or potential resources that are connected through the possession of a network of permanent relations of mutual acquaintance and mutual recognition, which are

more or less institutionalized, or, in other words, with the inclusion into a group, as a sum of [individual action] agents that are not only, endowed with common attributes (amenable to apprehension by the observer, by others or by themselves), but also tied by bonds that are useful and permanent.

Coleman (1990)

A variety of different entities [which] all consist of some aspect of social structure, and [which] facilitate certain actions of actors - whether personal or corporate actors - within the structure.

Putnam (1993)

Those features of social organization, such as networks of individuals or households, and the associated norms and values, that create externalities for the community as a whole.

OECD (2001)

Networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups.

Source: Author's elaboration

Theoretical issues in social capital

The terms composing social capital suggest the disciplines in which are embedded important theoretical issues like sociology and economics. Although intrinsically related in the sense that they address the same societal reality, these two analytical perspectives do not seem to interact, as if they were watertight compartments. The heuristic value of the social capital approach might be found in an interdisciplinary approach.

The next paragraphs examine the main theoretical issues underlying the social capital literature. From a sociological perspective, the main question social capital is functional to regards a basic idea for a better understanding of 'society' and the inherent problem of the relationship between individuals and society, namely that social relation matters. How do individuals interact with and in society? How and in which way do they build social relationships? What are those relationship's consequences for individuals and the society? What are the quantities and qualities of these relationships? What are the main determinant variables in shaping social relations? How are they affected by a multidimensional complex context? These are some of the questions sociology has addressed since its inception, and that social capital, in one way or another, has brought to the fore at the beginning of 21st century. In a critical tone, and not without reason, some authors therefore argue that social capital is a new concept to address old ideas.

Micro meso macro: The scope of social capital

A way in which social capital literature has addressed relationships in the social structure has been identifying three levels in social structures: micro, meso, and macro. Social capital at the micro level refers to the features of social organizations, such as networks of individuals or households, and the associated norms and values that create externalities (positive or negative) for the community as a whole, for example, civic associations. Here, social capital benefits the members of the association, but not necessarily non-members or the community at large. At the meso level, social capital considers relationships among groups rather than individuals. Coleman's social capital definition (Coleman 1990) takes into account vertical and horizontal associations. The former are characterized by hierarchical relationships and unequal power distribution among the members. In both cases, social capital at the meso level looks into the behavior within and among entities, such as firms.

At the macro level, social capital includes the social and political environment that shapes the social structure and enables norms to develop. It involves formalized institutional relationships and structures, for instance, the political regime, the rule of law, the court system, and civil and political liberties. In this perspective, institutions play a significant role. Drawing from institutional economics, two theoretical approaches are central to social capital at the macro level.

First, Mancour Olson, in his theories on groups and organizations (1965) and collective action (1982) addressed the main issues related to the interest groups' organization, their failure and success in achieving goals, and their impact on government decisions and economic growth. In his works, the author points at the interaction of government and civil society, and how this interaction shapes economic performance. Thus, collective action is a crucial subject in Olson's studies.

Second, Douglas North (1990, 1991) works on institutions and their links to institutional change and economic performance. This author defines institutions as follows:

Institutions are the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct), and formal rules (constitutions, laws, property rights). Throughout history, institutions have been devised by human beings to create order and reduce uncertainty

in exchange. Together with the standard constraints of economics they define the choice set and therefore determine transaction and production costs and hence the profitability and feasibility of engaging in economic activity. (D. North 1991: 1)

In his views, informal constraints and formal rules structuring human interactions are the enabling conditions to engage in economic activity. Consequently, institutions help reduce uncertainty and transaction cost. These ideas are central to social capital's role in poverty alleviation, and more broadly, in development.

Both Olson and North contribute significantly to an economics-sociology interdisciplinary dialog, of which social capital discourse is a beneficiary.

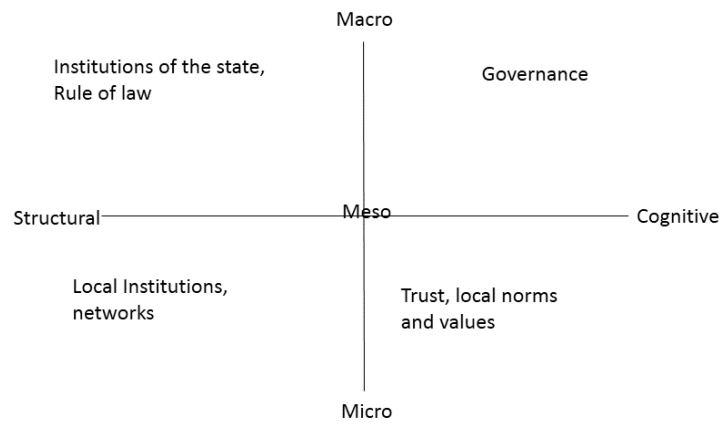
According to Portes (1998),

There is a strong degree of complementarity between horizontal and hierarchical associations and macro institutions, and their coexistence maximizes the impact of social capital on economic and social outcomes.

A certain degree of substitution is also inherent to the interlocking aspect of the three levels of social capital. For example, a strengthening of the rule of law that results in better-enforced contracts may render local interactions and reliance on reputations and informal ways of resolving conflict less critical to enterprise development.

Grootaert and Van Bastelaer (2002) synthesize these interwoven theoretical issues in a graphic way.

Figure 2.3
Dimensions in social capital



Source: Grootaert and Van Bastelaer (2002)

The form of social capital: Structural-cognitive

Structural social capital facilitates information sharing, collective action, and decisionmaking through established roles, social networks, and other social structures supplemented by rules, procedures, and precedents. As such, it is a relatively objective and externally observable construct (Grootaert 2001: 5). Cognitive social capital refers to shared norms, values, trust, attitudes, and beliefs. It is therefore a more subjective and intangible concept (Uphoff 2000).

Bonding, bridging and linking: Channels of social capital⁴

Bonding social capital – describes closer connections between people and is characterised by strong bonds, for example, among family members or among members of the same ethnic group; it is good for ‘getting by’ in life.

Bridging social capital – describes more distant connections among people and is characterised by weaker but more cross-cutting ties, for example, with business associates, acquaintances, friends from different ethnic groups, friends of friends, etc.; it is good for ‘getting ahead’ in life.

Linking social capital – describes connections with people in positions of power and is characterised by relations among those within a hierarchy where there are differing levels of power; it is good for accessing support from formal institutions. It is different from bonding and bridging in that it is concerned with relations among people who are not on an equal footing. An example would be a social services agency dealing with an individual, for example, job searching at the Benefits Agency. In convergence with these approaches are the theories of social networks (Cf. Granovetter 1973, 1983, Burt, 2001).

Norms and values

These relate to shared attitudes toward behaviour that are accepted by most individuals/groups as a ‘good thing’. These norms of behaviour are understood by most members of society. Sanctions underpin norms: fear of disapproval might compel individuals to comply with the shared values or norms and behave in an accepted way. In changing contexts as is the characteristic of this century, however old, these ideas are worthy to be re-examined. Globalization and the triumph and/or failure of traditional ideologies have brought about new social and economic circumstances in

need for understanding, interpretation, and action. This is the fertile soil in which social capital has sown its seeds.

In the sociological literature, social capital finds its applications in examining its role in social control and the benefits obtained by means of belonging to social networks. The positive aspect of the concept has gained much more attention than the negative one.

Source of social capital

A broad body of the literature agrees upon the fact that social capital, understood as social relationships in particular settings, quantity, and quality, and is a resource able to yield social and economic benefits. As Portes put it:

‘Whereas economic capital is in people’s bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships. To possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage’ (1998: 7)

This author identifies consummatory and instrumental motivations as sources of social capital. The former refers to internalized social norms and sanctions (Coleman 1988a, Portes 2008). In Portes’ words, it led to the oversocialized conception of human action in sociology. In this line, social capital is primarily the accumulation of obligations from others according to the norm of **reciprocity**. Donors provide access to resources in the expectation that they will be repaid in the future. The accumulation of social chits are not pure economic exchange. The currency with which obligations are repaid may be different from that with which they were incurred and may be as intangible as the granting of approval or allegiance. Second, the timing of the repayment is unspecified.⁵

Complementary to the consummatory/instrumental dichotomy, Portes identifies two other sources of social capital. The first revolves around the social circumstances bringing about solidarity. People thrown together in a common situation identify with each other and support each other’s initiatives. In his words,

This solidarity is not the result of norm introjection during childhood, but is an emergent product of a common fate... the altruistic dispositions of actors in these situations are not universal but are bounded by the limits of their community. Other members of the same community can then appropriate such dispositions and the actions that follow

as their source of social capital. Identification with one's own group, sect, or community can be a powerful motivational force. (Portes 1998:49)⁶

The second source of social capital finds its roots in the theory of social integration and the sanctioning capacity of group rituals.

'the motivation of donors of socially mediated gifts is instrumental, but in this case, the expectation of repayment is not based on knowledge of the recipient, but on the insertion of both actors in a common social structure. The embedding of a transaction into such structure has two consequences. [...] directly from the recipient but from the collectivity as a whole in the form of status, honor, or approval. Second, the collectivity itself acts as guarantor that whatever debts are incurred will be repaid. (Portes 1998:49)⁷

In these circumstances, trust exists because it is the power of the community that make obligations enforceable, not the law or violence. Reciprocity, solidarity, and trust are therefore the sources of social capital. These sources are the result of social capital existence. In this statement resides one of the main critiques of the conceptual approach, its circularity (A. Portes and P. Landolt 1994). This and other criticisms to social capital are discussed below.

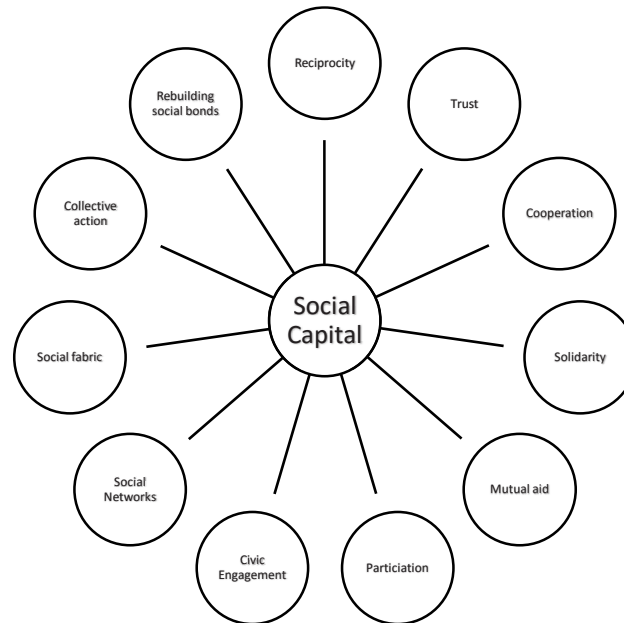
[...] I distinguish between whether the social interaction is reciprocal or unidirectional; and whether it is organized or informal [...] The implications of social capital for the poor can be expected to vary according to this typology (Collier 1998: 1)

It is the reason why this section delves into sociological rather than economic theoretical issues of social capital. Although it refers to issues related to economics, this section refers to them to a lesser extent.

Conceptual network

From the examination of theoretical issues and definitional dimensions emerges a set of specific norms, values, and actions which shape a social capital conceptual network. It has two relevant uses. First, in the framework of a discursive strategy, social capital and its associated terms in some cases are used in an interchangeable way. Second, the conceptual network helps to operationalize social capital when it comes to its measurement or assessment in particular environments. Figure 2.4 shows the main terms making up the social capital conceptual network.

Figure 2.4
The social capital conceptual network



Source: Author's elaboration

2.4.3 Measurements and assessment

The plethora of efforts discussing social capital conceptually and theoretically, and the attempts to integrate it in policy-oriented programs and projects, whether private or public, have had a counterpart regarding measurements and assessments. In fact, social capital appraisal entails epistemological problems and operationalization issues. They are related to the definitional problem. The solutions to the question of social capital measurement have brought about assessment tools, both qualitative and quantitative. The most influential initiatives in social capital measurements have been The World Value Survey (WVS), The Social Capital Assessment Tool (SOCAT) and the social capital integrated questionnaire from the WB, and the Latin Barometer. WB's initiative was specifically and explicitly designed for social capital assessment. The other two referred to norms, values, attitudes, and beliefs have been used as proxies for social

capital studies. They draw from ethnographic and econometric methodologies and technics for data collection and analysis. Also, they allowed to build indicators and indexes used in longitudinal and cross-sectional studies. This section first presents these measurement initiatives, then examines their convergences, and finally shows their role in making visible and popularizing the social capital conceptual network.

The World Value Survey (WVS)

European in its origin, the WVS was initiated in 1981. It builds on the European Values Study (EVS) based at Tilburg University⁸. WVS is aimed at the study of changing human beliefs, values, and motivations. It analyzes their impact on social and political life. The WVS seeks to test the hypothesis according to which ‘economic and technological changes are transforming the basic values and motivations of the publics of industrialized societies’ (‘History of WVS Association, nd). Thus, its goal is to analyze social change in a wide-ranging way. The collected data allows to study topics, such as economic development, democratization, religion, gender equality, social capital, and subjective well-being.

The 1981 study focused solely on developed societies. To collect accurate information leading to test the hypothesis, the second wave of WVS carried out in 1990–91 included more than twenty countries located on the six continents. From low income to rich countries, they covered the whole spectrum of stages in development and a wide variety of cultural zones. Successive waves have covered a larger number of countries than the previous ones. Ronald Inglehart with whom the WVS were closely associated played a leading role in expanding the study all over the world. With special attention to cultural conditions for democracy, the third wave in 1995–1997 included 55 countries. The fourth wave carried out in 1999–2001 included 65 countries. The fifth wave in 2005–2007 and the sixth in 2011–2012 pursued a better coverage of African and Islamic societies, until then under-represented in previous surveys. Currently, using a common questionnaire, the WVS includes interviews with almost 400,000 respondents in more than 100 countries. The official archive of the World Values Survey is located in [ASEP/JDS] Madrid, Spain⁹.

Colombia was included in the WVS (1995–1997) third wave and has continued to participate until now. It is to be noted that the first Colombian studies on social capital built on the data collected at the national level for the WVS. María Mercedes Cuellar’s book *Colombia, un proyecto inconcluso*.

Valores, instituciones y capital social. (Colombia, an inconclusive project. Values, institutions and social capital) is ground-breaking (M. M. Cuellar 2000). Drawing on the WVS waves, John Sudarsky, under the auspices of the National Planning Office, designed the Social Capital Barometer – BARCAS in its Spanish acronym (J. Sudarsky 1999: 2001). His third social capital study for Colombia was carried out under the Restrepo Barco Foundations' sponsorship (J. Sudarsky 2007). The latest study using BARCAS was conducted in 2013 (D. Hurtado et al. 2013).

The World Bank's Social Capital Assessment Tool (SOCAT)

WB and other development agencies' interest in operationalizing and measuring social capital was to demonstrate how, in which ways, and to what extent it affects development outcomes and poverty alleviation. This was the purpose of SOCAT (C. Grootaert and T. Van Bastelaer 2001, 2002). It is composed of a set of instruments for data collection developed within the framework of the SCI's twelve empirical studies. The SOCAT combines quantitative and qualitative methods. The former allows analysis within the economic paradigm. As quantitative studies are based on representative data sources, they can provide relevant information about geographical areas or specific social groups, for which results are valid. The latter, mainly through study cases, uses anthropological and sociological approaches. Their strength lies in the in-depth data collection and analysis process. The SCI's experience in studying social capital highlights the importance of methodological diversity and the complementarity between research methods. In the words of the SOCAT authors, 'If anything is unique about the analysis of social capital, it is perhaps the high degree to which it is essential to draw on both methods and multidisciplinary approaches to reach valid conclusions' (Grootaert and van Bastelaert 2001)

In a comprehensive perspective, the goal of SOCAT instruments is to gather information about the four quadrants, as shown in Figure 2.1. Notwithstanding, results are uneven so far. A wide number of studies using these instruments focus on measuring structural social capital at the micro level: households, villages, and communities.

There are fewer studies about cognitive social capital, particularly at the macro level. There is no balance between quantitative/objective studies and the qualitative/subjective ones. This imbalance can be partially understood by the fact that quantitative studies on social capital can be

carried out using other available databases, for instance, those of the WVS, the WB databases on governance or in a regional scale, the Latinbarometer. There is also a wider consensus among researchers about the objective dimension of social capital, the structural social capital. The highly context-dependent and subjective nature of cognitive social capital entails an inherent difficulty to reach such a consensus.

Drawing on the WB conceptual approach to social capital, namely the structural and cognitive social capital and collective action, SOCAT addresses three types of proxy indicators: associational activity (e.g. membership in local associations and networks), indicators of trust and adherence to norms (e.g. trust in other people and in institutions, and reciprocity and sharing, among other norms), and an indicator of collective action. SOCAT's designers state that 'the exact questions and indicators for each analysis have to be adjusted to each social, economic, and cultural setting' (Grootaert, C., & Van Bastelaer, T. 2008:347). The SOCAT also considers the scope and breadth of diverse units of observations: households, communities, and organizations (from within community local groups to supra-community federations and national level entities).

In Colombia, under the auspices of the WB, Fundación Carvajal, and three Universities in Valle del Cauca, there were two pilot experiences with the SOCAT. The purposes were three-fold: to adapt the data collection instruments to the local context following the pilot experience's outcomes, to assess the instruments' performance in measuring social capital and its dimensions (structural, cognitive, and collective action). Finally, to train practitioners in order for them to create conditions for popularizing and replicating SOCAT research experiences in other areas of Colombia. Underlying these goals was the idea to integrate the social capital approach in socio-economic development strategies, programs, and projects. Furthermore, another goal was to understand and implement social management as a form of social capital building (J.C. Alonso et al. 2003, 2004).

Table 2.3
The SOCAT: Topics and questions

Tool	Topics and Questions
------	----------------------

Community Profile and Asset Mapping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community maps, indicating location of community assets and services • Observational notes of group process and summary of issues discussed • List of positive characteristics of community assets and services • List of negative characteristics of community assets and services • List of all formal and informal community institutions • Case study of community collective action • Institutional diagrams (Venn) of relative impact and accessibility • Institutional diagrams (web) of institutional network relationships
Community Questionnaire	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Community characteristics 2. Principal Services (electricity, public lighting, drinking water, home telephone service, communication services, sewage, garbage collection, public market, transportation, recreation, security) 3. Labor migration 4. Education (preschool, primary school, secondary school, adult education) 5. Health 6. Environmental issues 7. Agriculture (only in rural areas) 8. Community support
Household Questionnaire	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identification of selected household 2. Housing characteristics and household roster 3. Genogram 4. Structural social capital <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organizational density and characteristics - Networks and mutual support organizations - Exclusion - Previous collective action 5. Cognitive social capital <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Solidarity - Trust and cooperation - Conflict resolution
Organizational Profile Interview Guides	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Organizational identity 2. Leadership interview guide <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Origins and development - Membership - Institutional capacity (leadership, participation, culture organization, organizational capacity) - Institutional linkages 3. Members interview guide <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organizational history and structure - Institutional capacity 4. Non-members interview guide <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Group #1: Non-members who want to be members - Group #2: Non-members who do not want to be members

Source: Author's elaboration based on Annex 1 Understanding and measuring social capital: A multidisciplinary tool for practitioners (C. Grootaert and T. Van Bastelaer 2002).

These Colombian SOCAT research experiences were carried out in Valle del Cauca. The first was conducted in Ginebra, a small municipality with a wide rural area. The second was in Cali, the capital city of the department. The aim being to adapt the instruments (Table 2.4) to the rural

and urban Colombian context, each and every one was examined, tested, and implemented in the fieldwork. In both cases, the richness contained in the collected data is undeniable. Certainly, these important resources allow using analysis and interpretation and a better understanding of the current form of social organization, prevailing norms and values, and Colombian social dynamics. Some findings for Cali are presented in Chapter 5.

The complexities associated with the implementation of instruments, combined qualitative and quantitative methods, and financial costs involved in SOCAT, have discouraged its use. Ultimately, it has been replaced little by little by the social capital integrated questionnaire. Thus, the quantitative approach seemingly wins the game.

The social capital integrated questionnaire

The social capital-integrated questionnaire focusses on applications in developing countries. It explores the type of groups and networks that poor people can call upon, and the nature and extent of their contributions to other members of those groups and networks. The survey delve into respondents' subjective perceptions of the trustworthiness of other people and key institutions that shape their lives and the norms of cooperation and reciprocity that surround attempts to work together to solve problems. (C. Grootaert 2004).

Drawing on the social capital's conceptualization of WB, the integrated questionnaire generates data on its various dimensions (structural and cognitive social capital and collective action). The questionnaire collects data at the household level, revolving around six dimensions: groups and networks, trust and solidarity, collective action and cooperation, information and communication, social cohesion and inclusion, and empowerment and political action. Table 2.3 shows the general structure and content of the questionnaire.

In a condensed way, it also adopts the distinctions among the social capital channels: bonding, bridging, and linking. In Grootaert words,

...The survey also adopts the common distinction between “bonding” social capital—ties to people who are similar in terms of their demographic characteristics, such as family members, neighbours, close friends and work colleagues—and “bridging” social capital—ties to people who do not share many of these characteristics (Gittel and Vidal 1998, Narayan 2002, Putnam 2000).

Called “linking” social capital (Woolcock 1999, World Bank 2000), this dimension refers to one’s ties to people in positions of authority, such as representatives of public (police and political parties) and private (banks) institutions (C. Grootaert 2004: 4).

Table 2.4
The Social Capital Integrated Questionnaire

Dimension in Social Capital	Indicators and questions
Groups and Networks	Household member’s participation in - types of social organizations and informal networks, the range of contributions that members give and receive from organizations/networks, the diversity of a given group’s membership ways of leadership changes in member’s involvement over time.
Trust and Solidarity	Trust toward neighbours, key service providers, and strangers, How these perceptions have changed over time.
Collective Action and Cooperation	Household members have worked with others in their community on joint projects and/or in response to a crisis. The consequences of violating community expectations regarding participation.
Information and Communication	Ways and means by which poor households receive information regarding -market conditions, -public services, The extent of access to communications infrastructure
Social Cohesion and Inclusion	The nature and extent of differences in the community The mechanisms by which differences are managed Social groups excluded from key public services Everyday forms of social interaction
Empowerment and Political Action	Household members’ sense of happiness Personal efficacy and capacity to influence both local events and broader political outcomes.

Source: Author’s elaboration based on C. Grootaert (2004). *Measuring Social Capital an Integrated Questionnaire*. Washington, D.C., World Bank.
<http://site.ebrary.com/id/10052013>.

It is to be noted that the Social Capital and Social Inclusion Survey (K. Sánchez 2008) carried out in 2007 as part of the UNDP’s Valle del Cauca Human Development Report (UNDP, 2008) to a great extent is built on the integrated questionnaire. Nevertheless, questions were adapted to the local context, and new questions regarding social, economic, and political

juncture matters were added. Chapters 5 and 6 present and discuss some of the Social Capital and Social Inclusion Survey findings.

WB's approach and its operationalization have played a decisive role, whether in using the SOCAT or the integrated questionnaire or in the measurement and assessment of social capital. In pursuing their research, private organizations and research teams in universities have been largely inspired by WB's social capital conceptualization and tools.

Latinobarometro

In the Latin American and Colombian context, an overview of the main sources of information and strategies for social capital measurements and assessing requires the mention of the Latinobarometro. From 1995 to 2011, it researched the development of democracy, economies, and societies, using indicators of opinion, attitudes, behavior, and values. Based in Chile, Latinobarometro Corporation, a private non-profit organization, is responsible for carrying out the Latinobarometro survey and for distributing the data. They are used mainly in Latin America by social and political actors, international organizations, governments, and the media (Corporación Latinobarómetro 2004).

2.4.4 Flourishing of social capital discourse

The first decade of the 21st century bears witness to the social capital either flourishing in its conceptual or empirical and applied dimensions. The literature review shows the centrality of the concept in a wide array of international development organizations that adopted and integrated it in their strategies, programs, and projects. Since the end of the 90's until late 2000's, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, among other financial organizations, granted a flow of financial resources either for social capital research or implementation. Notwithstanding, in the dissemination of social capital approach more influential than the financial resources was its inclusion in authoritative documents. Because of their sources, namely international development organizations, the ideas contained inspired social policy and projects' design in one way or the other, at least in many Latin American countries. Governments, private organizations, particularly Development Non-Governmental Organizations (DNGOs) and Foundations, and grass root organizations played a strategic role in making social capital a manner of lifestyle and a state of

mind for socio-economic development promotion. It justifies the criticism that ascribes to social capital as a 'cure-all' remedy.

Focused on Latin America and Colombia, the following paragraphs provide an overview of this conceptual dynamism that exerted such a strong influence. At the regional level, in addition to the WB, the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), and Andean Development Corporation (CAF), by its Spanish acronym) are relevant actors. In Colombia, beyond national and subnational governments, foundations and NGOs played their part.

Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and social capital

Under the Presidency of Enrique Iglesias (1988–2005), the IADB addressed social problems now aggravated after the so-called lost decade. Besides financing sectorial programs in education, health, and housing, the banks started working in a new project focused on extreme poverty, violence, and marginalization (IADB 2012). At that time, discussions about Latin American circumstances opened room for integrating the ethical dimension in social and economic development. To overcome poverty, thus, was not only a matter of GDP growth and the trickle-down effect. It was necessary to consider ethical and moral dimensions, which in turn involved the cultural elements.

In this line, The Inter-American Initiative for Social Capital, Ethics and Development (IADB 2015) played a strategic role in spreading social capital ideas across all the Latin American countries. The conceptual triangle composed of social capital, ethics, and development not only provided a theoretical framework to understand regional social realities, but also provided a framework for action. Bernardo Klikgberg who led this initiative became its master of thought.

Quoting the IADB website, ECLAC mentioned in its Social Panorama of Latin America Report 2001–2002 six social capital initiative goals: to analyse and discuss the arising ethical challenges in development, and the assumption of responsibilities in connection to them; to develop the social capital latent in the region strengthening voluntary organizations, expanding the corporate social responsibility, and adopting codes of ethic by social actors; to include social capital and ethical dimensions in designing and implementing development projects by international organizations and governments; to support social capital growth by promoting school

curriculum in which development ethics was integrated; to foster a network of academic and research centres in the field of ethics and development; to promote knowledge and diffusion of ethic and social capital among mass media (ECLAC 2002: 142).

Framed as technical cooperation, the projects associated with the social capital and ethics initiative were aimed at '[...] concrete ethical issues and further institutionalizing the presence of social capital and ethics in societies throughout Latin America'. The argument behind was that the initiative was driven by demand and responded to existing interest in social capital and ethics. The main goal was to promote social capital building synergies 'within the region, in the Bank, and with other international institutions' (IADB 2015).

A review of IADB's initiative would be incomplete without mentioning the main ideas Bernardo Kliksberg promoted across Latin America in front of large audiences, whether governments or private organizations. These ideas and arguments resonated with the experiences and feelings of many and led to standard-bearer fame and renown.

The overarching thought was the need of a new debate for development in Latin America. It was grounded in depicting salient traits of prevalent social realities in the region. Among them, the increase in extreme poverty, inequality in income distribution and access to basic goods and services which granted the region the label of being the most unequal part of the world, and the failure of economic policies was inspired on the trickle-down model. Maintaining the limitations of a purely economic approach to development, Kliksberg argues that a renewed debate should integrate variables not sufficiently considered. Consequently, a re-examination of the relationship between development and culture would include social capital as a key issue.

Kliksberg structured his claims around the following points (B. Kliksberg 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2002a, 2002b; B. Kliksberg and A. Sen 2007). First, the crisis of the traditional/conventional economic thinking – against an epistemological arrogance of economics that considered only economic variables and disregarded those from other fields, Kliksberg argued the need for overcoming reductionist approaches and searching for integrative perspectives involving multiple variables. Thus, a complex and multidimensional reality should be better addressed. Consequences of this crisis were the confusion of means and ends regarding economic growth,

and the subsequent limitation of policies not considering cultural dimensions in development. New attention to social capital and culture is embedded in this crisis.

Second, the relevance for the development of non-economic variables: the social and the political. Political and institutional variables are relevant in development thinking and policy design. They refer to formal and informal rules influencing individual and organizational behaviours in society. Examples of formal rules are constitutions, laws, regulations, and contracts. Among informal rules are ethics, trust, religious beliefs, and other implicit codes. It is in this landscape that social capital and culture contribute to re-derationing of economic thinking. The social fabric functioning is linked to growth and development. Social development strengthens human capital, enhances social capital, and contributes to political stability, which are essential grounds for a healthy and sustainable economic growth.

Third, social capital and culture as keys for development – drawing from Putnam's and WB's approach to social capital, rather than focusing on theoretical discussions, Kliksberg concentrates on the confirmation of the concrete presence of social capital in Latin America. At the core of social capital, there are multiple cultural elements/factors. Consequently, theory and politics of development should involve cooperation, trust, ethnicity, identity, community, friendship. These elements form the social fabric that are the foundations for economics and politics. The economic, social and political are inextricably linked; what happens to one will affect the others. The possibilities of social capital and culture to contribute to social and economic development lie in this synergic relationship.

Fourth, pointing out to already existing social capital experiences, some Latin American experiences provides evidence of social capital in action. Villa El Salvador in Perú, the family consumption's fairs in Venezuela, and the Porto Alegre participatory budgeting were distinguished as relevant examples for other countries. Learnings from these experience involved the mobilization of non-traditional forms of capital and intangible elements, the usefulness of latent forces underlining social groups relevant in problem-solving in a cooperative way and in solution design, the practicality of trust between participating actors, culture as point of departure, civic engagement and solidarity fostering as a key for general well-being.

Lastly, these learned lessons should be integrated into social policy. Moreover, a renewed social policy formulation should overcome what

Kliksberg named the social policy myths. Among them were the marginal contribution of civil society to development, the disqualification of the poor, the scepticism about participation, and inter-organizational cooperation.

An additional outcome of IADB's and Kliksberg's initiative promotion was the inception of what was known in Latin America as the social management school of thought. Reviewing private sector management, it considered the role of communities and grass root actors in organizational synergies as central. This view entailed non-traditional organizational designs and the strengthening of organized community participation.

In 2005, the Inter-American Development Bank initiative ended, coinciding with the end of E. Iglesias's final presidential term and the commencement of Luis Alberto Moreno's. Shortly after, B. Kliksberg left the IADB, continuing his activity promoting social capital and ethics in other UNDP agencies. Clearly, as consultant and advisor, he exerted a powerful influence on spreading these topics in public and private organizations.

Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)

In a significant way, ECLAC contributed to social capital discourse expansion. Empirical research on social capital in a variety of cultural and social settings sought to describe and interpret it as a relevant variable in development (J. Durston 2000, 2002; J. Durston and F. Miranda 2000; J. Durston and D. Duhart 2003)

Understanding social capital as 'the set of norms, institutions, and organizations that promote trust and cooperation among persons in communities and also in wider society' (J. Durston, 1999:104), it is regarded as a paradigm. In Durston's words:

In those formulations of the social capital paradigm (and of the neo-institutional economics on which they are partly based), which focus on its collective manifestations, it is claimed that relationships based on trust and cooperation can reduce transaction costs, produce public goods and facilitate the constitution of social actors and even of sound civil societies. Community social capital is a particular form of social capital which comprises the informal content of institutions that aim to contribute to the common good (2002: XX)

Raised to the level of paradigm, social capital plays a key role in ECLAC approaches for overcoming poverty, addressing specific social group exclusion, and public policy formulation (I. Arriagada 2005, I. Arriagada and F. Miranda 2003, I. Arriagada, F. Miranda and T. Pávez 2004, R. Atria 2004).

The social panorama of Latin America, one of the ECLAC's flagship document, devoted its 2001–2002 edition to social capital as a constitutive element in the social agenda. It considers potential and limitations of social capital in the implementation of social policies and programs (ECLAC 2002, K. Sánchez de Roldán 2012). This report concludes '[...]that taking into consideration the different forms of social capital in a community helps to strengthen weak social actors and improve the accountability of programmes and projects, while also underlining the importance of a participatory, democratic environment [...]' (ECLAC 2002: 145)

One of the latest conceptual developments involving social capital in ECLAC was its links to a social cohesion indicators system (ECLAC 2007). Together with multiculturalism, tolerance and non-discrimination, confidence, trust, informal social support networks, participation, pro-social values, and solidarity, and integration and social affiliation, social capital is viewed this time as a component in the sense of belonging component of the social cohesion indicator systems.

This brief summary illustrates the rise and decline of the concept within the spheres of ECLAC. Almost two decades after its boom, social capital is barely mentioned in ECLAC documents. If mentioned, social capital is associated with entrepreneurial performance. Left behind is the social capital paradigm in poverty alleviation.

Corporación Andina de Foment (CAF)

To a lesser extent, another multilateral organization influential in social capital spreading is Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF), the Andean Development Corporation. Created in 1970, it is a development bank. 17 Latin American countries along with Portugal and Spain, and 14 private banks conform to this organization (CAF 2015). CAF is aimed at the promotion of sustainable development and support in structuring projects in the public and private sector. In early 2000's, it considered social capital as a key factor in an integrated agenda for development in Latin America (CAF 2003). In this line, sponsored research, books, and journal publications examine the social capital potential. Financial and capital markets

and its links to a social agenda from the social capital perspective (Bleakley et al. 2003) and role of knowledge assets management and social capital in productive projects were some of its research topics (D. Figarella and A. Zamora 2006).

This wave of social capital and its conceptual network promoted by multilateral organizations with the tremendous power to influence public and private agendas encouraged a similar movement at the country level. Each one assuming its particularities, Colombia is not exempted.

In Colombia

At the national level, two intertwined strands contribute to building a generalized 'social capital state of mind'. One originates in governmental spheres and the other is created by a strong NGO sector. Each one not only integrated the social capital approach in their plan, programs, and projects, but there was also mutual reinforcing inasmuch as they interact closely in the framework of social development agendas. In some cases, national government outsource programs implementation. In some others, NGOs act as advisors in project designs.

One of the main fields for social capital promotion from the Colombian governmental spheres are its integration in national and sub-national plans. This fact and its relevant features are discussed widely in Chapter 4. Another important area for social capital is the empirical research and its measures. As was mentioned above, Sudarsky's works, sponsored by the national planning committee, brought to the forefront the concept in public administration circles.

Colombia has been characterized by the existence of an influential NGO sector. Important in number and scope of action, these organizations – most of them foundations linked to large private enterprises – made social capital a fundamental component in their programs and projects. They were and still are addressed to vulnerable social groups and poor people. Among the most prominent is Fundación Carvajal, Fundación Corona, and Fundación Antonio Restrepo Barco, just to mention a few.

The literature review suggests that main lines of social capital study and research have been focused on aspects, such as its potential contribution to poverty alleviation; violence, and conflict reduction (J.E. Palacio 2001, C.J. Parales and R. Posada 2012) and life quality enhancement of communities and social groups (youth, ethnic minorities, elders, and other kind of

marginalized population) (A. Eslava and J. Giraldo 2014). To be sure, this body of research is consistent in its approaches and methodologies to the applied nature of social capital as a useful tool to achieve social betterment goals. However, little is known about its role as a discursive device in social policy, particularly the part where it addresses social exclusion.

For many national and sub-national governments, social capital was at the core of designing social and economic development strategies, social policies, and programs. However, social capital was rarely analytically discussed, assessed, or even less problematized or criticized in its theoretical and pragmatic implications. At the time, few voices, if any, controverted its beneficial powers. Some of the dissident voices came from the UK. Nevertheless, academic books and papers were not translated from English; the language barrier prevented this criticism to be heard in the Spanish-speaking environment. Notwithstanding the widespread acceptance, social capital started its decline around 2005. Today, it is seldom mentioned in social development, policy, plans, and program documents, whether governmental or private. Other fashionable terms are employed instead. Nevertheless, social capital and its conceptual network has found new spheres of action and thinking.

2.4.5 Whither social capital?

After two decades of research, promotion, policy-oriented implementation, integration in socio-economic projects, whither is social capital? What may be the future of the concept and its associated ideas? In the previous sections, the extent to which social capital has been explored has been illustrated, examined, and criticised. It is worth asking now whether it was only an intellectual passing fad or if there is in social capital and its conceptual network a useful, comprehensive, interpretative, and explanatory theoretical approach to better understand current social and economic phenomena.

A way to address these questions is, on the one hand, looking at who cares today about social capital. Another way is examining what happened to the issues that the concept applied, and if there is a new field in which social capital seems to be relevant today and in decades to come. A first step to answering these question was to scrutinize trends in the production of social capital literature. The search results show that far from being forgotten, social capital remains an important field in scientific/academic research. Table 2.5 illustrates the point.

Table 2.5
Social capital in the scholarly literature

Type of document	1990-2015	2010-2015	2010-2015 (%)
Scholarly Journals	19826	5381	27.1
Dissertations & Theses	3213	1694	52.7
Conference Papers & Proceedings	1642	218	13.3
Books	646	8	1.2
Reports	150	0	0.0

Source: Author's elaboration based on ProQuest data base. Accessed 10th July, 2015

The attention that social capital deserves in academic circles is not negligible. More than half of the dissertations and theses on the subject have been written in the last five years. However, books and reports are not so numerous. It is likely that current dynamics in academic circles, and the 'publish or perish' approach play in favour of publishing in scholarly journals. All in all, the social capital literature continues its development.

An in-depth scrutiny to the literature also shows that interest toward social capital has been displaced from development and financial multilateral organizations and national governments to research institutes, foundations, and universities. Consequently, policy-makers and plan strategy and program and project designers are seemingly less interested than researchers, the academic community, and to some extent, the general public. Apparently, the role of social capital in development and poverty alleviation has been side-lined (A. Dill 2015).

Regarding the social capital research programs and initiatives driving its flourishing in the first decade of the 21st century, almost nothing remains. The WB social capital initiative ended. Nevertheless, the working papers and books still available on the internet have a readership. When asked about the social capital decline, Paul Collier, in a personal communication answered, 'I think that while the phrase social capital has dropped out of use, the importance of social networks has become more recognized' (2015). From the IADB social capital initiative, traces are almost inexistent. Even the websites and repositories have been deleted or are difficult to access. The promise for the concept to become a paradigm has been forgotten. Notwithstanding, a normative approach to social capital seems to prevail in some spheres of action. Probably, it is instrumental to

the concept's new fields of application and research. Admittedly, the normative-oriented initiatives continue up to today. It is the case for Robert Putnam-led the Saguaro Seminar and the Better Together initiative.

If the social capital approach is no longer subsidiary to poverty alleviation and development, at least in the way it has come to be, the question remaining is what are the new field for social capital attention? The trends found in the literature review are revealing. Now seemingly, the social capital approach is not just for developing countries or poor people. Developed western and eastern countries have an interest in the comprehensive, explanatory, and instrumental power of the concept and its networks. Political, social, and economic changes at the global level are at the origin of new issues for which social capital seems to find an application. In this way, its force persist. Some of these trends or fields of action are migration and social integration, business ethics, corporate social responsibility, health care, social networks in the age of the internet, and sustainability.

Famine, economic crisis, war, conflict, and human rights violation, in all corners of the planet, explain to a great extent the new migration flows of the 21st century. Therefore, social integration is a key challenge in countries where there are migrants and refugees. In this line, social capital and social networks are considered factors to promote or hamper the integration of newcomers into local neighbourhoods and communities. Although the countries of European Union are the protagonists in experiencing this issue, others confront the issue as well. Some question studied in the light of social capital have been the role of ethnic networks in economic and social integration, the inter-ethnic contact in mixed communities, and the way in which they contribute to social capital building. Finally, the policy and legislative context influence in social capital development. (Kindler et al. 2015, Roggeveen and van Meeteren 2013).

The business and entrepreneurial spheres are another space for social capital research and implementation. A growth body of literature points at topics such as the business ethics and its relationship to social capital. Important researches and studies are addressed to examining the existing links in utilitarianism, justice, and ethics of care in the light of social capital and ethics perspective. They also explore the so-called dark side of the social capital. (Ayios et al. n.d.). Near to business ethics, is corporate social responsibility (CSR). A topic that has gained momentum all over the world and that draws on social capital and its conceptual network. (Sacconi 2011; Castro et al. 2014).

Health is another field for social capital research and studies. Integrating socio-economic variables in health inequalities, the concept captures potential negative effects from social inequality and exclusion, and the social environment. Thus, these researches analyse associations and interaction between social capital and socio-economic inequalities in health (Uphoff et al. 2013).

No less interesting are the analysis of social capital around the new connotation to social networks in the age of the internet: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and others. The rise in online social participation poses questions about economically and politically relevant aspects of social capital: trust and sociability (Chengke and Du 2013, Sabatini and Sarracino 2014).

Finally, at the eve of the promulgation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), the continuation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) social capital links to sustainability and well-being are likewise in the research agenda (Scrivens and Smith 2013, SCWF 2015).

After all, social capital continues to draw attention. It gains acceptance at different levels in government, academic circles, communities, and society in general. The fact that main theoretical and applied approaches to social capital revolve around the expression ‘Social relationships matter’ is thought-provoking. Perhaps, it is so because entails a sort of reaction toward an excessive – and in some context deceiving, economic approach. Hence associativity, trust, cooperation, reciprocity, solidarity, civic life, collective action, and participation seem to deserve additional attention. It is, apparently, the promise hidden in the social capital discourse.

2.5 Social Policy

Social policy is an important part of public policy. It is then strongly related to public administration and the role of the state at various levels for designing, implementing and evaluating social policy. More recently, and in neo-liberal framework, social policy has gone beyond the scope of the state as its main actor, involving international and financial multilateral organizations, private sector, and NGOs. Results in social policy, whatever they define, will speak of efficiency, efficacy, and effectiveness of these actors and will also speak of the institutional contexts in which there are embedded.

From the literature review on social policy the next intrinsically related aspects emerge.

Social policy is defined in various ways: As a discipline or field of study, as a course of action aimed at the improvement of quality of life and well-being of population, as a field for analysis giving origin to policy analysis as a tool: on one hand, for designing social policy, via the identification of particular social problems, involved stake holders and prescribing action; on the other hand, as a methodological strategy to better understand the interpretation, meanings and approaches embedded in the formulation of social policy and the implications for the populations and social problems addressed.

It is to note that the current literature on social policy highlights the advances at geographical and regional levels. This research will pay attention in particular to the literature from Latin America and Colombia.

In this study I understand social policy as the course of action aimed at the improvement of quality of life and well-being of population designed by the state, the private sector and NGOs reflected on policy documents. These are the result of intellectual effort that design ways to reach goals, on the basis of analysing problems (Des Gasper and Tankha 2010). This approach leads to identify which subjacent problems are analysed in a particular area and period of time and what kind of question these documents are answering.

A wide range of literature indicates the main focus for social policy in the 80's and 90's was oriented to tackling particularly poverty and the situations derived from it: lack of access to health care systems, education, housing, and social security. (Jordan 2006, Klasen et al. 2009, Spicker 2008) However, the end of the XX century and the first decade of the XXI century bear witness to non 'traditional' problems for social policy, social exclusion being one of them. (Deacon 2010, Arjan De Haan 2007).

The theoretical approaches in social policy are dependent on the way in which the problem they are indented to tackle is defined. One of the main approaches, considers social policy as a tool for correcting the socially adverse effects of economic policy Next to this are those who state that social policy is a part and parcel of economic policy The emphasis is then on the relevant role of labour markets in generating income and subsequently enhancing the possibility for having access to social services and public goods.

Another approach considers social policy not as a residual result of the economic policy but a crucial field of action centred on the social nature of social policy being the main problem to solve the development of capacities (Sen 2000). More recently, globalization and internationalization have given birth to a new perspective which will have strong theoretical implications for social policy: Global social policy (Deacon 2010, Jordan 2006).

It is important to mention the fact that these policies are framed and built upon particular value choices and understandings about what well-being and improvement of quality of life mean (Apthorpe and Gasper 1996, D. Gasper 2004, Des Gasper 2009b)

In the context of Colombia and Latin American, it is not clear how a set of social policy with a particular approach goes on stage promoting particular emphasis and then, in a period of time disappears giving place to another with new approaches and emphasis. It seems to be that major social policy frameworks are defined in the international multilateral agencies that finances them and then set them in motion by different mechanism at national levels. Asymmetrical power relationships are at stake and these are reproduced at national level in reference to local levels. We know very little about the mechanisms involved and the consequences, at least at the perception level of the people who are the main target of all these policies. This research will try to better understand these processes.

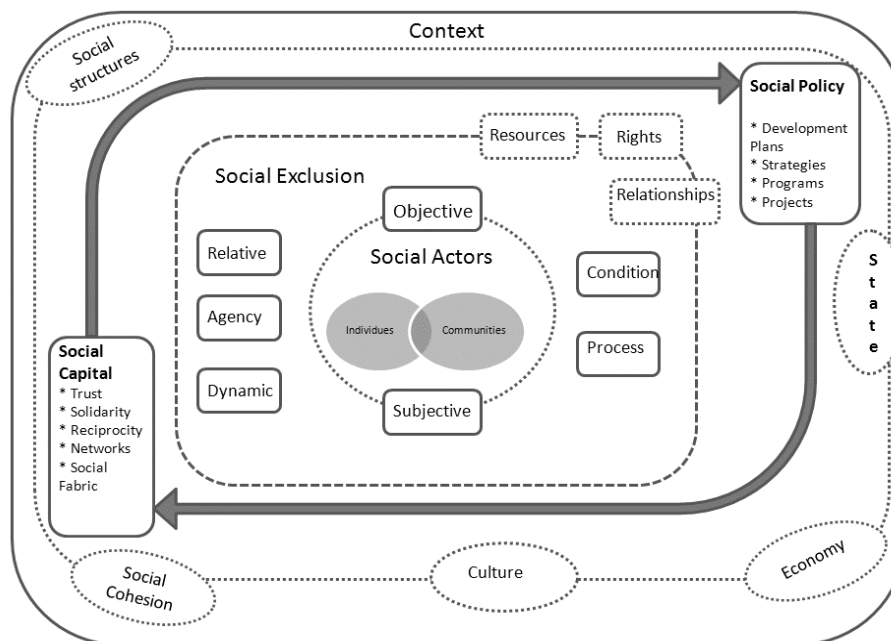
2.6 Social: exclusion, capital, policy: An analytical framework

The theoretical grounds on which this research build upon confronts the next challenges. First, social exclusion, social capital, and social policy, separately, are 'umbrella' concepts, as some authors point out not without reason. The fuzziness of their conceptual and empirical boundaries allows placing under their shade most of the social phenomena, particularly in the field of social development. The literature review shows that most of the matters related to poverty, deprivation, marginalization, and disadvantage can be directly linked to or understood from the social exclusion perspective (Johnston 2009, Kabeer 2000, Rawal 2008, Smith 2007, Yepes 1994). Something similar happens in the case of social capital in which almost every single matter related to the nature and configuration of social

relations – social networks, trust, reciprocity, and cooperation, can be located under this widespread notion (Brunie 2009, Hulse and Stone 2007, Ming Yu Cheng 2008). Secondly, as Clifford Geertz rightly indicated about the concept ‘culture’, some categories explode (blow up) in the intellectual landscape and seem to be the panacea for understanding and explaining almost everything (Geertz, 1973). Social exclusion and social capital are part and parcel of this kind of categories as the abundant literature reveals.

These issues emphasize the intrinsically difficult task to building up working definitions with epistemological and heuristic value. In this respect, however, the three concepts are not homogeneous. A theoretical - instrumental approach to and a definition of social policy seems to be much more straight forward than the theoretical and operational approach to social exclusion and social capital. In this light, the ‘social exclusion – social capital’ dyadic conceptual device is a way to articulate the heterogeneous ensembles each one of the concepts contains. It is a means to decipher the nature and function of their relations strategically instrumental in maintaining or subverting power relationships. The whole supported on knowledge, in the Foucaultian sense of the expression. The context –historic, demographic, economic, social, cultural and political—is the backdrop in which are embedded the elements of these heterogeneous ensembles and their relations compose the analytical framework (Figure 2.5) guiding this research.

Figure 2.5
Analytical Framework



Notes

¹ WordReference Random House Unabridged Dictionary of American English © 2016

ap•pa•rat•us (ap'ə rat'əs, -rā'təs), **n.**, **pl. -tus, -tus•es.**

² WordReference Random House Unabridged Dictionary of American English © 2016

de•vice (di vīs'), **n.**

³ Between 1998 and 2001, 24 working papers were produced covering, in one way or another these subjects. In terms of WB. 'Six studies focus on demonstrating empirically the contribution made by social capital to the livelihood of households, either directly by increasing income, or indirectly through improving access to services. Five studies focus on the process of accumulation and destruction of social capital, and aim to identify the critical factors in this process and whether it can be affected by donor interventions and policy'. Although the SCI initiative do not exist today, the documents can be consulted in the SCI-WB repository in

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/0,,print:Y~isCURL:Y~contentMDK:20502531~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:244363,00.html> (Retrieved June 2015)

⁴ <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/user-guidance/social-capital-guide/the-social-capital-project/guide-to-social-capital.html>

⁵ The instrumental treatment of social capital is quite familiar in sociology. It dates back to the classical analysis of social exchange by Simmel ([1902a] 1964), the more recent ones by Homans (1961) and Blau (1964), and extensive work on the sources and dynamics of reciprocity by authors of the rational action school (Schiff 1992, Coleman 1994, Portes 1998: 79).

⁶ This source of social capital finds its theoretical underpinnings in Marx's analysis of emergent class consciousness in the industrial proletariat. By being thrown together in a common situation, workers learn to identify with each other and support each other's initiatives. This solidarity is not the result of norm introjection during childhood, but is an emergent product of a common fate (Marx [1894] 1967, Marx and Engels [1848] 1947, Portes 1998: 79)

⁷ The classical roots of this social capital's sources is to be found in Durkheim's works ([1893] 1984)

⁸ As is stated in its web site 'The European Values Study is a large-scale, cross-national, and longitudinal survey research program on basic human values. It provides insights into the ideas, beliefs, preferences, attitudes, values, and opinions of citizens all over Europe'. It is a research project on how Europeans think about life, family, work, religion, politics, and society. Some topics studied regarding society are *social networks, confidence in others, solidarity, tolerance, and permissiveness*. http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu/fmShowpage?v_page_id=1340485458098603 Accessed 15 July 2015.

⁹ <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSCcontents.jsp>

3

Land of Contrasts: Valle del Cauca 1998-2008

3.1 Introduction

This research, resorting to the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ dyadic conceptual device in its Foucaultian approach, brings into consideration the historical situation of those elements composing a heterogeneous ensemble. They compose of the contexts in which ‘the said and the unsaid’ and ‘the tangible and the intangible’ relates to fulfilling the dominant strategic function of responding to an urgent need. In Foucault’s words, ‘defining the strategies of relations of forces supporting and supported by types of knowledge’.

In this line, the dimensions conforming to the context of Valle del Cauca and its five selected municipalities in the 1998–2008 period in which this research focuses are not a mere enumeration and description of features building the stage in which societal arrangements evolve. In fact, they set up the stage but at the same time are elements of the heterogeneous ensemble situated within a societal arrangement bringing about strategic connections. They shape the urgent need, ‘social exclusion’ in the dyadic conceptual device and open the space to ‘social capital’ in the dyadic conceptual device, as a response to such an urgent need. Thus, ‘discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, and moral and philanthropic proposition’ assume tangible and intangible forms. They assume the form of social mechanisms, programs, diagrams, political technologies, localizations, distributions, organizations, and dispositions, along with special modes and instruments for the exercise of power (S. Raffnsøe et al. 2016: 280).

It is in this light that this chapter seeks to depict Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities in their socio-demographic, economic, and societal dimensions as a land of contrast, the breeding grounds for a context of exclusion. This chapter follows a comparative perspective that first

allows appreciating the role Valle del Cauca plays in the Colombian context. Moreover, it underscores the actual contrasts among the five selected municipalities revealing their specificities. These are, more often than not, concealed under the shadow of quantitative macroaggregate index and indicators. They, in turn, bring about one possible view of social arrangements – in most of the cases, the dominant, which in itself imply forms of power relationships. Alternative perspectives pointing to other problematic dimensions thus remain hidden or are made invisible.

The ‘social exclusion-social capital dyadic conceptual device, therefore, is intended to uncover internal contradictions within the field and to shed light on its ability to ‘reconcile the irreconcilable and regulate without constraining (Fusulier and Lannoy 1999: 189, Kessler 2007).

3.2 The geographic, historic, and demographic background

3.2.1 Geography

Facing the Pacific Ocean, Valle del Cauca is located in south-western Colombia. This department largely coincides with the geographic valley of the Cauca River, which also includes the Cauca department. The river has been historically a channel of communication and a trade and transit artery of goods and services.

To the north, Valle del Cauca borders on Risaralda and Quindío, to the south on Cauca, to the east on Tolima, and to the west on Chocó and the Pacific Ocean. It is divided into four geographic areas: the Pacific Fringe, which is humid and mostly jungle, the western mountain range, also humid and full of jungle, the Andean valley of the Cauca River, whose surrounding lands are the most fertile of the country, and the western ridge of the central Andean range mountain.

The climate is varied, largely due to factors, such as latitude, altitude, direction of mountainous terrain, and winds. Its lands are located on thermal floors as follows: warm 47%, mild 34%, cold 14% , and moor, 5%. These combined geographic factors make Valle del Cauca one of the most fertile and prosperous regions in the country.

According to the Colombian territorial administrative law, Valle del Cauca contains 42 municipalities, and its capital city is Santiago de Cali. The governor rules at the department level and mayors at the municipal level.

3.2.2 Historical Background

Valle del Cauca department, as it is known today, was founded on 16th April, 1910 joining together three former departments: Cali, Cartago, and Buga. The Act 340 of 1910 established Cali as the capital city of this new department.

It is relatively recently that historical, anthropological, sociological, and economic research have begun to be conducted in and on Valle del Cauca in order to better understand the processes leading to what this department is today. In this task, universities in the area¹ have played a crucial role in the advancement of regional studies.

This section recalls the pioneering and rigorous work led by historian German Colmenares and his colleagues who conducted a broad research, which resulted in five volumes, each authored by historians, sociologists, and economists who explored economic dimensions of the social and political life of Valle del Cauca since the seventeenth century until the last decades of the 20th century (Colmenares 1983). Some of the most important features of that past which could be relevant for the better to understand the present, in particular, the new acknowledgements of social exclusion, are the following (Legrand et al. 1986).

Valle del Cauca was settled by Spaniards in the sixteenth century. They divided the land into *latifundios*, and landlords became a central figure in the economic, social, and political life. In the eighteenth century, slaves were brought from Africa to work on gold mining, cattle, and sugarcane culture, which yielded prosperous times. The independence from the Spaniard rule in 1810 brought about a decline in economic activity. A major boost took off with the rapid growth of the sugarcane industry in 1920. Historical research has examined how the dominant groups in Valle del Cauca – the landlords, merchants, mine owners, and later, industrialists – coped with an often insecure economic and political environment, and in doing so, became agents of change.

The origin of political parties is analysed by Escorcia (1983). He studies the socioeconomic roots of political conflict and distinguishes two groups within the creole upper class: the more powerful landlords, merchants, and mine owners, and an ambitious lower stratum of lawyers, government employees, and politicians, the first forming the nucleus of Conservative and the second of Liberal party leadership. By the affinity of interest, black workers grouped together with Liberals on grounds of land and labour

issues. Conflicts between political parties in Valle del Cauca were of a particularly virulent social content in the early nineteenth century.

The growth of the modern sugar industry through changes in entrepreneurship, productive organization, and technology is discussed by sociologist Jose Maria Rojas (Rojas 1983, J. Rojas and L.C. Castillo 1991). His research sheds light on the social and political origins of the men who founded the sugar mills (most were the sons of elite families or were immigrants), the simultaneous development of sugar culture and cattle ranching, and the relation between production for national markets and for exportation, which began after 1960.

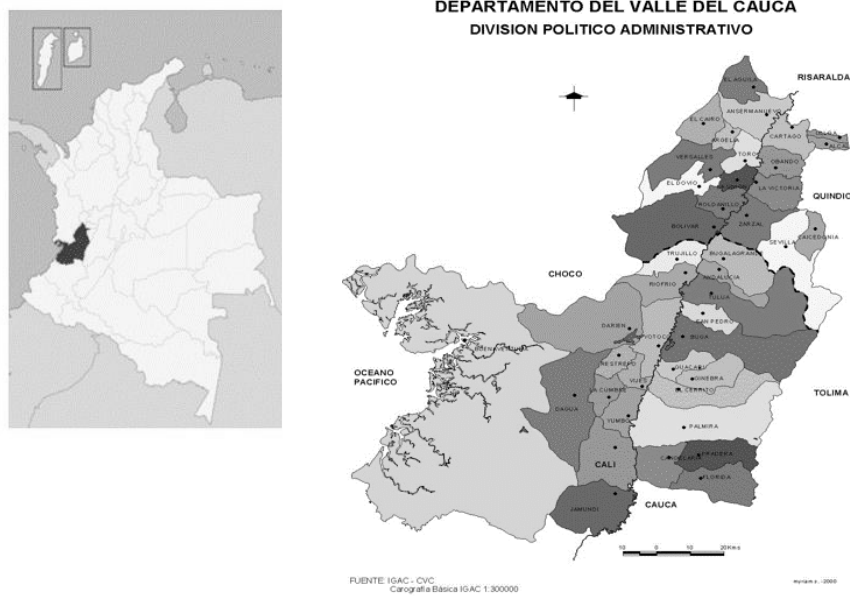
Because of the centrality of the *hacienda* to regional social formation, Valle del Cauca provided a striking contrast to Antioquia – the only other Colombian region to have received detailed attention – where the small coffee farm predominated. Studies on Valle del Cauca also address several issues of broader concerns: the interpenetration of rural and urban society within a regional subsystem, shifts in land tenure with economic boom-and-bust cycles, and change processes in regions that existed beyond the direct influence of the export economy.

A review to regional economic history in Valle del Cauca in the 20th century reveals some features that shed light on the current modernization process and in the way society was shaped and structured (Arroyo Reina 2006, Ordóñez Burbano 1995, Vásquez Benítez 1996, 2001).

Land tenure by landlords gave place to *latifundio* and *hacienda* economy based mainly in sugar production. The geographical isolation with the rest of the country and an underdeveloped system of transportation until the first half of the 20th century made the commerce develop through Buenaventura. It was easier to import goods from United States and Europe than buy it in Bogota. Small commerce of goods and services started to support incipient industries.

The closed family elite's owners of land became the economic elites in modern industries. Alliances and marriages among families consolidated the economic and political power in a few hands. For reasons that still remain to be explored and studied, economic forces were also driven by entrepreneurs coming from the United States.

Map 2.1
Colombia and Valle del Cauca



Source:

<http://www.virtualamericas.net/colombia/departments/valle-del-cauca-map.png>
<http://www.tulua.gov.co/mapas.shtml?apc=m1m1--&x=1481902>

3.2.3 Demography

Since the second half of the 20th century until now, trends on demographic indicators for Colombia and Valle de Cauca have been reflecting improvements in general development conditions. Nevertheless, national data aggregation may hide the unevenness in advancement and progress at department and municipal levels. A comparative look at the demographic dynamic and structure in Colombia and Valle the Cauca allows to locate the department in the national context. Valle del Cauca's demographic profile provides the general background against which to contrast the selected municipalities in this research. The main data sources in this section have been the national census from 1985, 1993, and 2005, carried out by the Administrative National Statistics Department (DANE after its name in Spanish) and its projections.

Halfway through the first decade of the 21st century, Colombia had about 43 million inhabitants. Valle del Cauca accounted for 10% of the total national population (Table 3.1). It is the third most populated department after Bogotá D.C. and Antioquia.

Table 3.1
Population (1985-2005)

Year	Population	
	Colombia	Valle del Cauca
1985	30.802221	3.038.361
1990	34.130.022	3.38.,819
1995	37.472.184	3.729.727
2000	39.730.798	3.949.420
2005	42.888.592	4.161.425

Source: Author's elaboration based on Dane, 2005

Table 3.2
Demographic indicators (1985-2005)

Colombia				
Indicator	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	2000-2005
Exponential growth rate	20.54	18.82	14.36	12.45
Crude birth rate (*1.000)	28.80	26.86	24.20	21.66
Crude mortality rate (*1.000)	6.77	6.57	6.22	5.95
Migration rate (*1.000)	-1.51	-1.50	-3.62	-3.18
Life expectancy	67.99	69.25	70.90	72.56
Infant mortality rate (*1.000)	43.20	32.50	28.40	24.40
Valle del Cauca				
	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000	2000-2005
Exponential growth rate	2.15	1.95	1.14	1.05
Crude birth rate (*1.000)	26.41	23.85	21.02	18.5
Crude mortality rate (*1.000)	7.46	7.10	6.79	6.46
Migration rate (*1.000)	2.57	2.7	-2.79	-1.58
Life expectancy	66.54	67.34	69.44	71.72
Infant mortality rate (*1.000)	37.7	27.6	23.7	19.4

Source: Author's elaboration based on DANE, 2005

From the demographic dynamic perspective, Colombia and Valle del Cauca have already accomplished the demographic transitions. Table 3.2

shows trends for the most relevant indicators. Decreases on exponential growth in birth and mortality rates were significant in the period 1985–2005. Improvements in life expectancy and infant mortality indicators for the period 1985–2005 reflected advances in development conditions. While Colombia increased its life expectancy in 4.57 years, Valle del Cauca did so in 5.18. Both the country and the department had a reduction of around 18.3 point in infant mortality rates in two decades. Better access to sanitary systems, health, and education originated these changes.

From the point of view of migration, Colombia has had a negative migration balance. Emigrant flows have had varied destinations. At the end of the 20th century, for most migrants, Venezuela and USA were partially replaced as arrival points for Spain and other European countries. From 1995 onwards, foreign emigration waves have affected Valle del Cauca. It has been one of the departments with the highest rate of emigration to the United States and Spain (DANE 2010b, Urrea et al. 2000). The prevalent violent conflict and economic crisis are explanatory factors. Nevertheless, due to its geographical location and the comparatively better economic development conditions, the department has been a magnet for immigrants coming from less developed neighbouring departments afflicted by unemployment, poverty, violence, drug trafficking, forced displacement, or natural disasters.

Unlike other Latin American countries, a Colombian feature is the existence of a considerable urban population. Rural–urban migration has been a constant until now (Table 3.3). A net of large, medium, and smaller cities gathers urban population which represented 74.4% of the total in 2005. This very characteristic also exists in Valle del Cauca where, by that year, 86.3% of its population were urban inhabitants.

Table 3.3
Urban-Rural population (1985-2005)

Colombia			
Year	Total	Urban	Rural
1985	30.802.221	66.5	33.5
1990	34.130.022	68.1	31.9
1995	37.441.444	70.3	29.7
2000	40.295.563	72.8	27.2
2005	42.888.592	74.4	25.6
Valle del Cauca			
Year	Total	Urban	Rural
1985	30.802.221	82.6	17.4
1990	34.130.022	83.0	17.0
1995	37.441.444	84.1	15.9
2000	40.295.563	85.5	14.5
2005	42.888.592	86.3	13.7

Source: Author's elaboration based on DANE, 2005.

Finally, the ethnic dimension; it was only with the 1993 census that information in this regard started to be collected. The question framing – asking about belonging to an ethnic group – was problematic and prevented accuracy. However, in 2005, the question was introduced again in the census, this time asking for self-recognition as member of an ethnic group. Data showed that the ethnic characterization for the Colombian population was 3.43% indigenous and 10.52% black, *mulato*, or African descendants; 85.94% did not express the feeling of belonging to an ethnic group. In Valle del Cauca, 27.2% of the population self-recognized as black, *mulato*, or African descendants, and 6% identified themselves as indigenous people (DANE 2005, 2007b, 2007c, 2007f; Urrea Giraldo and Barbary 2004, Urrea Giraldo and Quintín 2000).

This overview allows to locate Colombia and Valle del Cauca in a demographic and development context. The indicators' progress implies a country's modernization process in which Valle del Cauca seems to be a model. In fact, in some respects, the department presents better development conditions than those in the national context, for instance, life expectancy. This will be explored in depth in the next section considering

macroeconomic variables. However, this view does not allow to appreciate the heterogeneity within the department. Not all municipalities in Valle del Cauca present such a modernization or development process. On the contrary, wide differences exist among them.

Valle del Cauca's urban character entails a consideration about the circumstances and conditions of this acute urbanization process. Rural-urban migration is linked to scarce opportunities, poverty, and lack of health and education. It is precisely in search of these social services and goods provision that people arrive in cities. Not familiarized with new urban environments and most of the time in poverty conditions, the migrants increase the poverty rings and shanty towns. Literally, at the margins of the cities, this population becomes the protagonists of exclusion.

Lastly, the invisibility of ethnic groups, until very recently, posed a set of sensitive issues. One of them is linked to admitting/accepting an ethnic self-recognition when it might entail being confronted with some sort of stigma or to an enrooted although not acknowledged racial prejudice. The fact that in a highly mixed racial society as Colombia, almost 86% of the population do not express that belonging to an ethnic group could be meaningful in order to understand some hidden exclusion process due to race or racial prejudice.

3.3 Economy

3.3.1 Macro-economic variables

Analysis of current Valle del Cauca economic conditions in 2008 highlighted the following features (Dane 2010d): The economy of Valle del Cauca presented a moderation in sales, production, and consumption, at the least household debt; the economic slowdown in the department during the second quarter generated a small spike in the unemployment rate for Cali-Yumbo, given the inability of real economy to absorb the growing labour supply; regarding the movement of companies, the slowdown in the economy had a negative influence on investment, especially in sectors, such as financial intermediation, agriculture, livestock, real estate business, industry, hotels, and restaurants.

Regarding foreign trade, despite the revaluation of the local currency and the slowdown of the major trading partners (Venezuela and United States), Valle del Cauca exports grew above the national average, despite

external falling sales of sugar due to the increase of domestic consumption, climate problems, and destination of sugarcane for ethanol production. With regard to the dynamics of credit, although the net portfolio increased by 24.1%, this growth was lower than that in 2006–2007, and presented placements when the financial system reached a growth of 31.7%, demonstrating the success of the monetary policy; finally, for the second half of the year, concerns were raised about how it may generate slower growth of the main trading partners in the department due to international financial crisis and commodities price reduction.

Table 3.4
GDP growth rate (1998-2008)

Year	Valle del Cauca Annual Variation %	Colombia Annual Variation %	GDP Valle del Cauca as % of GDP Colombia
1998	0.8	0.57	11.8
1999	-3.6	-4.20	11.9
2000	1.1	2.92	11.7
2001	2.9	1.47	11.9
2002	-0.3	1.93	11.6
2003	1.5	3.86	11.3
2004	4.0	4.87	11.3
2005	4.2	4.72	11.2
2006	8.9	6.84	10.7
2007	8.2	7.52	10.5
2008	2.2	2.43	10.4

Source: Author's elaboration based on:

Proyecciones Dane, Estimaciones para Valle - Planeación Departamental (años 1996 a 1999 base 1994 y años 2000 a 2006 base 2000)
http://www.banrep.gov.co/docum/Lectura_finanzas/pdf/2007_julio.pdf
<https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/cuentas-economicas/cuentas-departamentales>

3.3.2 Employment and labour force

The main source of information for a complete characterization of national and sub-national trends with regard to employment, labour market, and other social indicators is the DANE household survey. Changes in DANE's methodology to measure and collect data of relevant economic and social phenomena for Colombia, its departments, and cities have brought about difficulties in building the time series for relevant indicators in the time frame of 1998–2008. In fact, these changes in methodology have represented a major challenge and the need for the national government to appoint a committee, known as the Mission to Link Series of Employment, Poverty and Inequality Series (Misión para el empalme de Series de Empleo, Pobreza y Desigualdad – MESEP) to make what has been called *el empalme*. It means the link between the data collected by the National Households Survey (Encuesta Nacional de Hogares – ENH) used from 1970 until 2001, followed then by the Continuous Households Survey (Encuesta Continua de Hogares – ECH), used from 2002 until 2005, and then the Great Integrated Household Survey (Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares) used from 2006 onwards (Dane 2007e, 2009). These household surveys collect data in major relevant variables from 13 metropolitan areas in Colombia, the Cali-Yumbo area being one of them.

However incomplete and problematic they may be in terms of comparability, the information these surveys provide for the time frame of this research can provide insights to a better understanding of circumstances and meaning of social exclusion in Valle del Cauca within the Colombian context. From 1998 to 2008, there was an increase in the working-age population that reflects progress in the demographic transition (Table 3.1). The labour force participation rates are higher in Valle del Cauca and Cali by about 5.7% in average compared to those of Colombia. Intensive urbanization, industrialization, and modernization in economy processes, as well as the migration attractor character of Valle del Cauca and its cities may explain this fact.

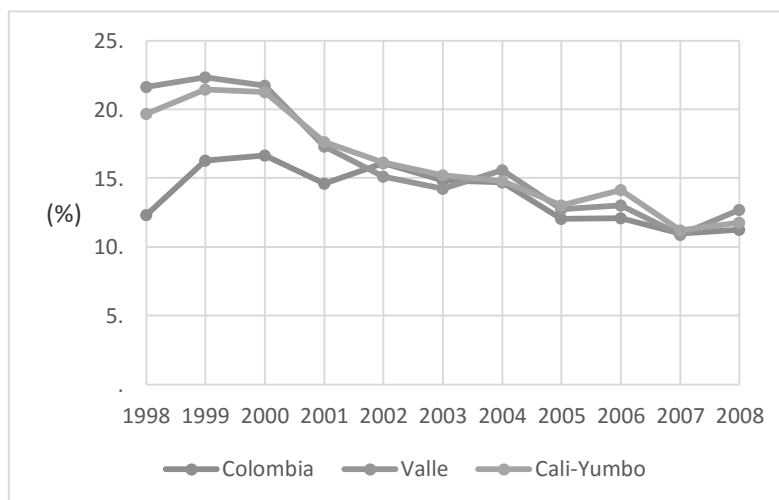
Table 3.5
Employment indicators (1998-2008)

	Working-age population (%)	Labor Force Participation rate	Employment rate	Unemployment rate
Colombia				
1998	75.9	58.5	51.3	12.3
1999	76.6	59.4	49.8	16.3
2000	77.0	61.8	51.5	16.7
2001	75.1	59.6	50.9	14.6
2002	75.5	61.9	52.0	16.1
2003	75.9	61.6	52.5	14.8
2004	76.2	61.2	52.2	14.7
2005	76.6	59.2	52.1	12.0
2006	76.9	58.5	51.4	12.1
2007	77.3	58.0	51.6	11.0
2008	77.8	58.6	52.0	11.2
Valle				
1998	77.0	63.6	49.8	21.6
1999	77.1	65.6	51.0	22.3
2000	77.6	77.6	51.1	21.7
2001	76.4	65.7	54.4	17.3
2002	76.9	64.4	54.7	15.1
2003	77.4	64.8	55.6	14.2
2004	77.9	64.8	54.7	15.6
2005	78.4	65.2	56.9	12.7
2006	78.9	64.3	55.9	13.0
2007	79.3	62.7	55.9	10.9
2008	79.7	62.0	54.2	12.7
Cali-Yumbo				
1998	78.2	64.5	51.8	19.7
1999	76.8	68.8	54.0	21.5
2000	77.7	67.4	53.0	21.3
2001	77.0	66.7	55.0	17.6
2002	77.3	66.9	56.1	16.2
2003	77.6	66.3	56.2	15.2
2004	77.8	64.3	54.8	14.8
2005	78.1	67.4	58.6	13.0
2006	78.3	64.7	55.6	14.1
2007	78.8	63.4	56.3	11.2
2008	79.2	64.1	56.5	11.8

Source: DANE - 1998-2000 Encuesta Nacional de Hogares (ENH); 2001-2005 Encuesta Continua de Hogares (ECH); 2006-2008 Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares (GEIH)
<http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/ocupacion-y-empleo/mercado-laboral/91-sociales/mercado-laboral/3975-encuesta-nacional-de-hogares>

As Figure 3.1 indicates, unemployment rates have been significantly higher in Valle del Cauca and Cali than for Colombia. While the general trend in the time frame is decreasing, for Valle del Cauca and Cali, the rates are above the national average by 3%. The following factors explain the unemployment dynamic. The international financial and economic crisis of the late 1990s affected Colombia due to a singular combination of external and internal factors (M. Cardenas and A. Badel 2003, S. Kalmanovitz 2004, M. Urrutia and J. Llano 2011). The war on drugs led to dismantling the cartel drugs operating in this geographic areas, which has an effect on a good number of legal, economic activities boosted by the enormous demand and cash flow existing at the time. (N. Tellez 1995, R. Steiner and A. Corchuelo 1999). Unemployment rates also reflected the impact of migration to Valle del Cauca from people coming from neighbor departments in search for better labour opportunities and quality of life. Violence was also a factor for migration.

Figure 3.1
Unemployment (1998-2008)



Source: DANE - 1998-2000 Encuesta Nacional de Hogares (ENH); 2001-2005 Encuesta Continua de Hogares (ECH); 2006-2008 Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares (GEIH)
<http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/ocupacion-y-empleo/mercado-laboral/91-sociales/mercado-laboral/3975-encuesta-nacional-de-hogares>
<http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/mercado-laboral/empleo-y-desempleo>

Table 3.6
Employment by economy sectors (2001-2008)

Colombia	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
No information	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting, stockbreeding	22.2	21.1	21.8	19.5	21.4	21.2	19.7	19.7
Mining and quarrying	1.2	0.7	0.6	0.8	1.5	1.3	0.8	1.0
Manufacturing	12.8	12.9	13.0	14.0	13.9	13.8	13.1	13.2
Electricity, gas and steam production and distribution	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4
Construction	3.9	4.6	4.2	4.3	4.5	4.8	4.9	4.8
Commerce, hotel, restaurant, and catering services	25.7	25.5	25.6	25.9	23.9	23.7	24.5	24.8
Communication, transport, and storage	6.5	6.2	6.3	6.8	7.0	7.2	7.9	8.3
Financial & insurance sector	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.1	1.4	1.2
Real estate, renting and leasing	3.9	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.7	4.6	5.5	6.3
Community, social and personal services	22.1	23.2	22.6	22.4	21.6	21.8	21.8	20.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Cali - Yumbo								
No information	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting, stockbreeding	1.3	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.8	1.2	0.4	1.1
Mining and quarrying	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
Manufacturing	20.1	20.3	22.1	21.9	19.9	19.8	18.4	17.5
Electricity, gas and steam production and distribution	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2
Construction	4.5	4.9	5.3	5.7	5.1	5.8	6.5	5.9
Commerce, Hotel, restaurant, and catering services	30.8	31.8	30.0	29.1	29.7	28.1	29.8	31.1
Communication, Transport, and storage	8.2	7.8	7.0	7.1	7.3	8.2	8.0	8.4
Financial and insurance sector	1.7	2.0	2.1	1.8	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.6
Real estate, renting and leasing	6.6	7.1	6.6	6.3	7.5	8.3	8.7	9.8
Community, social and personal services	26.2	24.7	25.1	26.2	26.1	26.5	26.0	24.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: DANE, ECH - GEIH Note: From July 2006 onwards begins la Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares

Employment trends deserve special consideration, not only because employment rates speak of the possibility for people to have access to income, which in turn affect the general quality of life allowing access to services and goods, but because its quality sheds light on the real condi-

tions under which it is realized. An examination of the employment distribution by economic sector activities and by status in employment provides insights that suggest some implications for social exclusion. Here again, government statistics is tricky. Comparable data set allows to build the series for the time frame 2001–2008. Table 3.6 shows employment distribution by an economic sector in Colombia and Cali-Yumbo metropolitan area.

In these years, Colombia's primary sector activities, except for mining and quarrying, gather less workforce. From 2001 to 2008, there was a diminishing of 2.7% of people working in agriculture and related activities. Labour force in the manufacturing/industry sector slightly increase by 0.4% in this period. This sector gathered 13.3% of the labour force in average. Two economic sectors gather most of the workers. Commerce, hotels, restaurants, and catering services amount nearly to 25%, and services (community, social, and personal) amount nearly to 22%. When these services are considered together with real estate activities, this figure is about 26.6 % consistent with the rates for the same category in 1998–2000, 26% in average.

What these figures reveal is that national labor force is gathered in economic sectors where low education level, non-technical and non-professional training, and low-skilled labor force is predominant. Population uprooted from rural areas, because of economic factors – land grabbing, capital-intense industrialized ways to carry on primary activities or social and political factors – lack of access to education, guerrilla, and paramilitary violence, all played against the labor force to get access to skilled and highly productive employment. Important rural-urban migration processes, together with forced displacement, resulted in a population that was in need for income generation, placed in urban environments. They were not prepared for or familiarized with the challenges of the modern economy.

Figures for the Cali-Yumbo metropolitan area, in one of the sites included in the sample for household surveys, reflect the same national dynamic with more intensity. Of course, given the urban nature of this geographical area, the population working on primary sector activities amounted nearly to 1.2% in the time frame. Labour force in the manufacturing/industry sectors amounted to nearly 20% in average, indicating the strategic economic role Cali-Yumbo and Valle del Cauca play in the national context. The tendency shows that while Colombia is improving

slightly in generating employment in the manufacturing/industry sector, the Cali-Yumbo area had decreased from 2001 to 2008 by nearly 2.6%. At the time, some factories closed doors in search for more competitive scenarios. The impact on employment was not minor. In contrast, commerce, hotels, restaurants, and catering services amounted to nearly 30.1%, and services (community, social and personal) amounted to nearly 25.6% in average. When these services are considered together with real estate activities, this figure amounts to about 33.2 % in average. These figures are 5% and 6.6% above the national average respectively.

According to the economic activity census 2005 (Dane 2007a), in Valle del Cauca, 9.4% of business were industries, 55.7% commerce, 31.1% services, and 3.9% are in other activities. The figures for Cali are respectively 9.3% industry: 54% commerce and 29.6% services.

An examination of employment by status in employment provides a complementary perspective to labour force conditions. Table 3.7 shows figures for Colombia and the Cali-Yumbo metropolitan area.

At the national level, in the 2001–2008 time frame, the average rate of employees in the labour force was 34.9% in average. This category does not refer to whether the employment is formal or informal. The extent to which the state plays a role as an employer is reflected in the category of government employees, which amounts in average to 6.2%. Both of these statuses in employment decreased by 4.1% from 2001 to 2008. Economic crisis and shrinking of the state explains this trend. Significantly, own-account workers have the most important status, amounting to 39.3% in average. There was an increase in this category of 4% from 2001 to 2008. Although others' statuses in employment have lesser weight in the general distribution, it is to highlight that these categories suggest job instability and insecurity. It is the case for domestic and family workers and day laborers/workmen representing 14.2% of the total in the average.

In the Cali-Yumbo metropolitan area, while the trends are similar to the national ones, there are some differences in intensity. Figures for employees are relatively higher in the Cali-Yumbo area by 12.8% than the national average. Nevertheless, there was a decrease of 1.4% from 2001 to 2008. Own-account workers amounted to 32.5% in average, less than the national average by 6.8%. However, there was an increase of 4% domestic and family workers, and day laborers/workmen represent 9.6% of the total in average.

Table 3.7
Employment by status in employment (2001-2008)

Colombia	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Employees	38.4	32.5	33.8	34.0	34.1	34.2	38.1	34.3
Government employees	9.3	6.1	5.9	5.8	6.1	5.3	5.9	5.2
Domestic workers	5.4	5.5	5.4	4.8	4.4	4.5	3.7	4.0
Own-account workers	38.0	40.3	39.2	39.9	39.9	38.2	37.1	42.0
Employers	5.5	5.2	5.0	5.4	5.3	5.5	4.5	4.9
Contributing family workers	3.3	6.1	5.5	5.7	5.5	5.1	3.8	3.9
Non-paid workers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4
Day laborer/workman	0.0	4.0	4.9	4.1	4.4	6.9	6.4	5.3
Workers not classifiable by status	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Employees	45.4	46.8	50.2	48.8	47.6	49.8	48.6	44.2
Government employees	5.3	4.1	3.9	3.4	3.9	4.3	3.9	3.8
Domestic worker	5.7	6.5	5.8	7.1	7.1	6.6	6.3	5.2
Own-account workers	34.7	32.7	30.5	30.0	30.2	30.3	32.8	38.7
Employer	5.3	6.5	5.6	6.2	7.3	5.8	5.1	5.1
Contributing family workers	3.7	3.2	3.6	3.3	3.6	2.9	2.6	2.4
Non-paid worker	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.3
Day laborer/workman	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2
Workers not classifiable by status	0.0	0.2	0.4	1.3	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: DANE, ECH - GEIH

Note: From July 2006 onwards begins la Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares

The fact that figures and statistics come from household surveys focused in cities does not allow to have the same detailed picture for departments. However fragmentary, C. Ortiz et al. (2006) provide a general idea for the Valle del Cauca department. Although not using the same categories than those used in the national survey, the authors provide distinctions and new categories that are enlightening. Own-account workers are divided in technicians and professionals and non-technicians and professionals. Also are included the size of the enterprise in which the labour

force is employees. Table 3.8 shows figures for Valle del Cauca in the time frame 2001–2006.

Table 3.8
Employment by status in employment (2001-2006)

Valle del Cauca	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Own-account workers Professional and technicians	2.3	1.9	1.5	1.6	2.3	2.1
Own-account workers Non-professional or technician.	35.0	30.2	28.8	28.8	27.7	28.1
Government employees	3.8	6.0	4.7	3.4	5.2	4.3
Medium and big size enterprises	27.1	28.7	29.4	30.9	31.6	31.8
Micro enterprises	21.8	22.6	24.9	25.1	22.4	23.1
Domestic workers	5.9	6.2	6.1	6.1	6.3	6.1
Contributing family workers	4.1	3.7	4.1	2.9	4.4	4.0
Other	0.00	0.7	0.5	1.2	0.1	0.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: C. Ortiz and J.I. Uribe (2007), Exclusión social en el mercado laboral del Valle del Cauca Desempleo y Calida del Empleo 2001-2006, Background paper for UNDP Report Valle del Cauca. CIDSE - Universidad del Valle

Own-account employees account for 31.7% in average of the total labour force. Non-skilled own account workers are about 29.8%. However, there is a decrease of nearly 7% in this category.

Interestingly enough, authors considered labour force distribution by enterprise size.² The Annual Manufacturing Survey allows to measure the impact of MSMBs in the Colombian business landscape. They represent 96.4% of enterprises, about 63% employment, 45% manufacturing output, 40% salaries, and 37% added value.

In Valle del Cauca, nearly an average of 29.9% workers were in medium and big size enterprises. There was a 4% increase from 2001 to 2006. It may suggest improvements in job generation and quality if it is assumed that this kind of enterprises provides formal jobs. Nevertheless, outsourcing enterprises eventually absorbing labour force from own-account workers do not necessarily guarantee formal jobs, but everything on the contrary. Microenterprises, with five employees or less, are an important job

generator and accounted for 23.3% in average of the labour force. Domestic and family workers amounted for 10% in average of the total.

The 2005 economic census (Dane 2007a) shows that according to firm size, 96.1% Valle del Cauca's business had 1–10 employees, and for Cali, 95.5%. These figures speak of the kind of labour market that exist behind the numbers. Economic activity is mainly informal (family business) with low productivity entailing low incomes. These considerations lead to looking at the trends of informality in employment.

3.3.3 Formal and informal labour markets

A distinctive trait in Colombian labour markets is the high level of informality. Although there is no consensus about its definition, economic and labour informality is generally understood as the set of enterprises functioning at the margins of productive and economic activities under legal regulations, such as taxation and labor rules and norms. Consequently, the informal sector is composed of domestic workers, family workers without remunerations, non-professional or non-technical independent workers, labourers or blue collar workers, and employees in enterprises with ten or fewer workers. Most of these workers are linked to commerce or to the provision of goods or non-qualified services. The informal employment is precarious and of low productivity. In most cases, the wages are less than half the legal minimum. The informal workers' socio-demographic profile correspond to people between 30 and 39 years old, incomplete and complete secondary education, head of households, spouses or single children, gathered in low socio-economic strata, and working more than 48 hours per week (Guevara & Ramirez, 2006:109). Depending on geographical locations or social circumstances, women and young people are the majority in informal labor market.

An alternative way to define and measure informality is related to the lack of affiliation to social security schemes (healthcare and pensions). DANE's studies in the twenty-three major Colombian cities show that when defining informality as the lack of affiliation to social security, nearly six out of ten employees belong to the informal sector (L. Galvis 2012). It is clear that higher rates of informality are associated to fewer households' incomes that in turn affect the society's general well-being.

The literature on informality in Colombia highlights the need for effective policy design to search for a comprehensive way to define and measure it. In fact, the lack of consensus on informality definitions brings about differences on measurements resulting, in some cases, in underestimation. This is the case when official statistics is compared to the informality calculation based on lack of social security (L. Galvis 2012, C. Ortiz et al. 2007).

Table 3.9
Informal and formal employment (2001-2007)

Year	Total Colombia 13 áreas		Cali-Yumbo	
	Informal	Formal	Informal	Formal
2001	60.5	39.5	64.2	35.8
2002	61.3	38.7	62.6	37.4
2003	60.6	39.4	61.4	38.6
2004	58.6	41.4	61.8	38.2
2005	58.7	41.3	61.5	38.5
2006	58.5	41.5	60.1	39.9
2007	56.6	43.4	60.0	40.0

Source: Author's elaboration based on DANE: GEIH. Distribución porcentual de la población ocupada formal e informal según sexo. Total 13 areas studied in 2001-2007 (April - June)

In 2001, informal labor in Valle del Cauca amounted to 66.8%. In the next seven years, the trend was for the rate to decrease although, in 2007, it amounted to 61.3% (C. Ortiz et al. 2007: 108). Table 3.9 shows the evolution in formal and informal labor market according to DANE statistics for the time frame 2001–2007.

Formal and informal employment statistics takes into account urban areas. The heading 13 areas in Table 3.9 refers to the main Colombian cities/metropolitan areas concentrating on economic activities and labor market. Cali-Yumbo, the metropolitan area, which is capital city of the Valle del Cauca department, is one of them. Decrease in informal employment figures is the trend, whether for Colombia or Cali-Yumbo. However, the latter scores higher against the national figures, on an average 2.4% and some years more than 3%. It is argued that informality in rural areas is even more intense. (J. Leibovich et al. 2006).

There is a gender bias in informal employment. Table 3.10 indicates differences in male and female participation in the informal labor market. In the time frame 2001–2007, the trend in Colombia has been to decrease while this bias in the Cali-Yumbo area trend has increased significantly. Social and political phenomena are behind these figures. In circumstances of poverty, more than one household member is forced to become the bread-winner and participate in the labor market. Low education levels and non-skilled or non-professional qualifications points to informal economic activities as the main alternative. Women who lead migration processes from rural to urban areas search employment as domestic workers. Similar situations affect young people (Ortiz et al. 2007: 112).

Table 3.10
Informal labor market by sex (2001-2007)

Year	Colombia			Cali - Yumbo		
	Male	Female	F-M %	Male	Female	F-M %
2001	60.0	61.1	1.0	61.4	67.4	6.0
2002	59.6	63.2	3.5	59.6	66.0	6.4
2003	59.5	61.9	2.3	59.2	63.9	4.7
2004	57.4	60.0	2.6	59.3	64.7	5.4
2005	57.5	60.1	2.6	58.7	64.5	5.7
2006	56.8	60.4	3.6	56.1	64.5	8.4
2007	54.8	58.7	3.9	55.5	64.8	9.3

Source: Author's elaboration based on DANE: GEIH. Distribución porcentual de la población ocupada formal e informal según sexo. Total 13 areas in 2001-2007 (April - June)

3.4 Society

Complementary to the economic approach, a review of social variables provides the full context allowing to understand the extent and meanings of exclusion in Valle del Cauca. This section presents figures for the most common social indicators used in Colombia. It begins by discussing the Human Development Index (HDI) and then it looks at poverty, education, health, social security coverage, violence, and conflict. The aim is to situate Valle del Cauca within the national context.

3.4.1 Poverty and income inequality

The Colombian government has used different approaches to measure poverty. In the chronological order of use, they are the Basic Needs (BN) approach, the monetary approach linked to poverty lines, and the multidimensional poverty approaches. If changes in methodologies have been problematic for employment measurement, they have been even more problematic for poverty analysis. Despite the efforts to make the data set comparable and to link the time series, official statistics show difficulties in comparability and present unfilled gaps for years 2006 and 2007 (DANE 2011, 2012, 2013). An overview of poverty for Colombia and Valle del Cauca is incomplete but provide an idea about the general situation from 2002 onwards. In order to gather these puzzle pieces, the following paragraphs present figures and trends provided by the use of these different approaches.

The Unmet Basic Needs (UBN) approach is a methodology seeking to establish, by means of a set of indicators (absolute poverty/misery under US\$ 1-dollar poverty line, housing deprivation, utilities deprivation, critical overcrowding, no-school attendance, and economic dependency), whether the population meet their basic needs or not. The groups not achieving a determined minimum threshold are considered in poverty.

In 1993, the national census data indicated that 35.8% of the Colombian population had UBN; for Valle del Cauca, the figure was 24.6%. Twelve years later, the 2005 census figures were 27.7% and 15.6% respectively. The indicator diminished by nearly nine percentage points, suggesting that a larger proportion of the population could satisfy their basic needs (DANE 1993, 2005). Here again, Valle del Cauca had a better performance than Colombia as the figures in Table 3.11 show.

Table 3.11
Unmet Basic Needs (2005)

2005	Valle	Colombia
% Population with UBN	15.68	27.78
% Population in absolute poverty	3.49	10.64
Housing deprivation	2.26	10.41
House utility deprivation	2.26	7.36
Critical overcrowding	6.61	11.11
No school attendance	2.08	3.56

Economic dependency	6.90	11.33
---------------------	------	-------

Source: Author's elaboration based on National Census 2005 (DANE)

The monetary approach measuring poverty focused on income defines poverty and extreme poverty lines. Despite the gaps for 2006 and 2007, figures in Table 3.12 suggest that poverty decreased in Colombia and Valle del Cauca from 2002 to 2008 by 7.4 and 5.5 percentage points respectively. Although indicators are lower for Valle del Cauca, improvements in poverty alleviation are lesser than that for Colombia. In regard to extreme poverty, while figures for Colombia decreased by 1.2 percentage points, those for Valle del Cauca increased by 1.5.

Table 3.12
Poverty, extreme poverty, and income inequality (2002-2008)

Year	Colombia			Valle del Cauca		
	Poverty	Extreme poverty	Income Gini	Poverty	Extreme poverty	Income Gini
2002	49.4	17.6	0.573	38.9	8.9	0.525
2003	47.7	15.6	0.554	41	9.8	0.515
2004	47.4	14.8	0.558	38	8.2	0.515
2005	45.0	13.8	0.557	36.6	8.4	0.537
2006	...	...	...	...	...	...
2007	...	...	...	...	...	...
2008	42.0	16.4	0.556	33.4	10.4	0.519

Source: Author's elaboration based on DANE-DNP (2012) for Colombia and DANE (2013) for Valle del Cauca

Since 2010, the Colombian government, by means of the National Planning Department (NPD), has adopted the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) together with the monetary approach (DNP 2011, B. Diaz et al. 2013). Based on data from the 2005 national census, poverty rose to 49% in Colombia and to 38.8% in Valle del Cauca. Differences in urban and rural poverty are striking. In Colombia, rural poverty was near to 80%, while in Valle del Cauca, it amounted to 58.9%. Figures for poverty in urban areas were 39.1% and 35.7% respectively. Table 3.13 shows the figures for indicators composing the MPI for Colombia and Valle del Cauca

in 2005. Invariably, Valle del Cauca has a better performance than Colombia. Nevertheless, indicators related to education, health, and labor are worrisome in both cases.

Table 3.13
Multidimensional Poverty Index by indicators (2005)

Indicators	Colombia	Valle
Low Educational achievement	62.2	58.6
Illiteracy	18.5	12.1
No school attendance	8.9	6.1
School lag	27.8	21.2
Access barriers to child care services	15.8	12.7
Child labor	3.9	3.3
High economic dependency	42.4	37.7
Informal employment	86.8	84.1
No health insurance	29.6	30.0
Access barriers to health services	6.3	5.4
No access to improved drinking water	17.2	6.7
No adequate elimination of sewer waste	17.0	5.4
No adequate floors	10.0	2.0
No adequate exterior walls	4.8	4.1
Critical overcrowding	19.5	13.6

Source: Author's elaboration based on DNP-SPSCV data from 2005 census

The study of inequality, which reflects a sharp income concentration, deserves special attention. In fact, this has been one of the Latin America features in the international context (I. Ortiz and M. Cummings 2011). Colombia has ranked in first places of income concentration in the region and the world (CEPAL 2010). However, the still high indicators, the decade of 2000, has seen improvements in income distribution (N. Lustig et al. 2013). In their study, Ferreira and Melendez (2012)³ found that '[...] even though there has been progress over time, inequality is still large, both in absolute terms and when compared to that of other Latin American countries. When population is ranked by per capita household consumption, huge differences emerge between those at the upper and lower extremes of the distribution. [...] a significant share of inequality in outcomes is determined by circumstances at birth. Parental schooling is the

individual circumstance with the largest correlation with individual outcomes in their adult lives. People born in small municipalities, in rural areas, and in the Atlantic or Pacific regions are also at a disadvantage'. (Ferreira and Melendez 2012: 35-36).

While it is true that the Gini coefficient assessing income inequality for Colombia and Valle del Cauca decreased from 2002 to 2008 by 0.017 and 0.006 respectively, figures remain high. According to this indicator, changes in Valle del Cauca are near to null.

3.4.2 Education

In the time frame 2002–2008, rates in higher education coverage increased both in Colombia and in Valle del Cauca by 9.4 and 4 percentage points respectively. Public higher education, in the hands of the state, gained ground of private. Public universities broadened their coverage when compared to private universities. In the period of study, Colombia increased public higher education coverage by 12.7 percentage points, while Valle del Cauca did so only by 7.1.

The public/private divide in higher education is significant. Although private education has an important share in Colombia and Valle del Cauca, it is bigger by nearly 18 percentage points in Valle del Cauca in 2002, while in Colombia, it is 17. Ten year later at the national level, the imbalance is reverted, and the differential public/private coverage is positive in eight percentage points. In Valle del Cauca, this differential was negative by 3.5 percentage points.

Factors related to public/private divide in higher education are that fees in public higher education institutions are lower than those in private ones. Fees are sensitive to socio-economic stratification. Student's family (head of household) income statements define the fee. Poor and very poor students can in theory have access to higher education. Economic and financial crisis had made students of private education institutions enrol in public higher education institutions. Therefore, the competition for places in public higher education institution is high. The conditions of this competence is not that fair in the sense that students coming from private institutions (basic and mid-school) are likely to be better prepared than those in public institutions.

Coming with better educational assets, students coming from private education institutions have better performance. Performance in higher education influences the opportunities to formal and/or good quality of employment. This is particularly true in a context of job scarcity in the formal sector.

Table 3.14
Education (2002-2008)⁴

Colombia	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Illiteracy	7.6	7.5	7.0	6.9	7.1	6.9	6.6
Basic and mid-education⁵							
Coverage crude rate ⁶	90.6	94.3	95.5	97.9	100.5	100.9	102.4
Public	78.12	80.38	81.6	82.6	83.07	83.03	83.24
Private	21.88	19.62	18.4	17.4	16.93	16.97	16.76
Secondary Education coverage rate	57.4	60.5	61.7	64.9	68.9	70.7	71.3
Higher Education							
Coverage rate	24.5	25.6	27.0	28.4	30.1	31.6	34.1
Public	41.7	44.8	48.6	49.1	51.5	54.3	55.4
Private	58.3	55.2	51.4	50.9	48.5	45.7	44.6
Graduation rate	17.8	18.5	17.8	20.6	20.4	18.4	18.1
Valle del Cauca							
Illiteracy	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5
Basic and mid-education							
Coverage crude rate	83.5	88.5	94.4	100.0	102.5	100.6	102.4
Public	62.42	67.2	68.97	72.81	72.59	72.6	73.3
Private	37.58	32.8	31.03	27.19	27.41	27.4	26.7
Secondary Education coverage rate	78.6	8.0	86.1	90.4	91.4	89.3	90.6
Higher Education							
Coverage rate	23.8	22.9	23.2	24.3	24.7	26.5	27.8
Public	41.0	41.4	43.3	45.3	46.5	48.1	47.2
Private	59.0	58.7	56.7	54.7	53.5	51.9	52.8
Graduation rate	21.0	18.9	16.8	21.9	23.0	20.7	19.7

Source: Author's elaboration based on Ministerio de Educación Nacional (MEN) Education sector Statistics

The previous points imply that investment in time and money in higher educations does not necessarily mean access to formal employment.

The public/private divide in education reproduces an exclusionary process that begins in early childhood.

3.4.3 Health Care System's coverage of Colombia and Valle del Cauca

Universality is the aim of the health care system. It means that all Colombians could enjoy health care services whether they can afford it or not. If achieving this goal is extremely challenging, it is even more so to have a clear idea of the extent of this universality and the composition on the contributive and subsidized share in it. The short-term contracts in the formal sector and the massive firing and intense mobility between formal and informal employment makes it extremely difficult to achieve an accuracy in coverage statistics. In addition, there is the persistent changes in methodology that does not allow data comparability. Nevertheless, since 2005, Health and Social Protection Ministry has made huge efforts to provide a more approximate perspective. Tables 3.15 and 3.16 show trends in the coverage of health care contributive and subsidized health care system for Colombia and Valle del Cauca.

From 2005 to 2008, Colombia and Valle del Cauca experienced an increase of 8.1 and 4.2 percentage points respectively in the share of population able to afford the health care system. It also denotes improvements in the formal employment dynamic to which this is associated. Yet, Valle del Cauca has been lagging behind the national trend in the last two years, implying more people exiting the contributive system towards the subsidized or to none. By 2008, 13.9% of the population was without health care protection.

Table 3.15
Health Care Contributive System (2005-2008)

	2005		2006		2007		2008	
	Contributive	Total	Contributive	Total	Contributive	Total	Contributive	Total

Valle del Cauca	47	78.3	52	87.5	52.3	91.1	51.2	86.1
Colombia	333	76.3	41.5	87.8	39.7	88.9	41.4	94.5

Source: Base Unica de Afiliados (BDUA) Régimen Contributivo - Oficina TIC Ministerio de Salud y Protección Social. DANE Estimaciones y Proyecciones de Población Año 2008
http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=75&Itemid=72
<http://www.minsalud.gov.co/salud/Paginas/CoberturasdelR%C3%A9gimenSubsidiado.aspx>

Table 3.16
Health Care subsidized system (1998-2004)

	Valle	Colombia
Cob. 1998/UBN	59.99%	55.80%
Cob. 1999/UBN	60.83%	59.98%
Cob. 2000/UBN	60.53%	60.12%
Cob. 2001/UBN	65.85%	68.76%
Cob. 2002/UBN	68.05%	70.03%
Cob. 2003/UBN	70.36%	71.13%
Cob. 2004/UBN	110.42%	91.59%

Source: Base Unica de Afiliados (BDUA) Régimen Contributivo - Oficina TIC Ministerio de Salud y Protección Social. DANE Estimaciones y Proyecciones de Población Año 2008
http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=75&Itemid=72

Table 3.17
Health Care subsidized system (2005-2008)

		Valle	Colombia
% Coverage 2005	(2005 affiliated /Pob. Sisben 1, 2, and 3 - Pob. SISBEN affiliated to contributive system)	76.18%	68.43%
% Coverage 2006	(2006 affiliated /Pob. Sisben 1, 2 and 3 + indigenous pop. - Pob. SISBEN affiliated to contributive system- displaced population affiliated to subsidized system)	75.42%	71.51%
% Coverage 2007	(2007 affiliated/Pob. Sisben 1, 2, and 3 + indigenous pop. - Pob. SISBEN affiliated to contributive system - displaced population affiliated to subsidized system)	65.45%	84.00%

% Coverage 2008	(2008 affiliated /Pob. Sisben 1, 2 + indigenous Pop. - Pob. SISBEN affiliated to contributive system - displaced population affiliated to subsidized system)	8.97%	90.66%
--------------------	--	-------	--------

Source: Base Unica de Afiliados (BDUA) Régimen Contributivo - Oficina TIC Ministerio de Salud y Protección Social. DANE Estimaciones y Proyecciones de Población Año 2008
http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=75&Itemid=72
<http://www.minsalud.gov.co/salud/Paginas/CoberturasdelR%C3%A9gimenSubsidiado.aspx>

From 1998 to 2004, the grounds for determining coverage in the health care subsidized system was the Colombian population not meeting basic needs (Unmet Basic Needs - UBN). In this time span, Colombia and Valle del Cauca carried out important progresses, almost achieving universality, as shown in Table 3.17. It is to note, however, the fragility of methodology and statistics to determine the qualifying population. These features will become even more critical from 2005 onward, when grounds for determining coverage is the population registered in SISBEN. The headings in Table 3.18 from 2005 to 2008 are an expression of this. They reflect the mobility and overlapping of people, in and between, contributive and subsidized system, inclusion and exclusion of particular social groups, such as indigenous people, forced displaced population, and lastly, the exclusion of those classified in SISBEN 3.

All in all, Valle de Cauca registered better coverage than the national average for 2005 and 2006. From 2007 onward, it fell behind in regard to the national trend. In 2008, both Colombia and Valle del Cauca were far from universality in health care subsidized services.

3.4.4 Social security

Act 100 of 1993 (Congreso de la Republica de Colombia, 1993) defines the before and after in the social security system in Colombia. Before this Act, social security was addressed specifically to formal workers in the public and private sectors. Coverage and services in health, pensions, and professional risk for civil servants (public sector) were spread in a wide variety of organizations, each one operating under their own designed schemes. As a result, rules, norms, services, contributions, and benefits were not the same for all the affiliated members. As contribution was less than benefits, workers in some state organizations did not contribute to the system; it was the national government in all the cases that covered

financial deficits. Workers in the private sector were insured under the Colombian Institute of Social Security (ICSS) founded in 1946.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the need to enforce a general reform on the social security system became obvious. It represented an unsustainable financial burden for the state, exhibited strong imbalances between contributions and benefits, reflected inequity, and in terms of coverage, it reached only workers in the formal sector which, as seen above, were a little share of the total population.

The Colombian Political Constitution of 1991, arts. 47-50 (CPC 1991) and the wave of neo-liberal policies shaped the new social security system as it is nowadays. It has four components: pensions, health care, professional risk, and complementary social services. Features in these components allow to understand their relevance in the context of a research on social exclusion.

The General Pensions System (GPS)

The General Pensions System (GPS) is aimed at insuring population in regard to risks linked to old age, disability, and death by means of pensions. Act 100 established the age of 60 for men and 57 for women, and working and contributing to the system for 1,300 weeks as the conditions for having access to a pension when the conditions were fulfilled. Contributions to the pension system were 12.5% of the contractual monthly wage. It has increased gradually to 16%. The prevailing informal employment, as palliative to unemployment, aptly explains the low coverage in pensions. Precisely, one of the features of informal sector employment is that contracts, if any, hiring workers do not guarantee the membership to basic social security. It represents a cost both to employers and employees (low wages). Nevertheless, the new Act had an impact on membership of the pension system. In 1998, working people had memberships to the system. It amounted to in 2008. It does not mean, however, that all workers having a membership to the pension system would actually have the pension because it also depends on the number of weeks he or she has worked (Ayala 2002).

General Social Security System in Health (GSSSH)

Act 100 designed the General Social Security System in Health (GSSSH). The nature of the scheme was aimed at achieving a broader health services coverage, particularly for the population unable to afford it: the poor and

vulnerable in line with Art. 49 of the CPC, prioritizing health services provision. The novelty in the new health system consisted of having two components, the contributive and the subsidized. The contributive component is mandatory to people having formal employment. The contribution is fixed in 12.5% of the monthly wage, 8.5% paid by the employer and 4% by the employee. It also obliges to own-account workers able to pay for it.

The subsidized component of the GSSSH is addressed to the poor and vulnerable people and their families (Act 100, Art. 212)⁷. This system has less benefits than the contributive component. Financially, it depends, on the one hand, on the national government budget (social expenditure) by means of financial transfers to health public and private organizations, on the other, on the subnational government's budgets, departments, and municipalities.

Two critical circumstances arise in the implementation of this health security system. First, the precarious financial situation of departments and municipalities not allowing to meet their responsibility to provide health to the poor and vulnerable population and second, to identify the population in need of the subsidized health system. From 1998 to 2004, the selection criteria was people with unmet basic needs. Since 2005, each municipality has been identifying the potential candidate population for subsidies by means of the SISBEN poll – System of Identification and Classification of Potential Beneficiaries.

The SISBEN poll classifies persons according to their life standard and allows 'the technical, objective, uniform, and equitable selection of beneficiaries to the government social programs' (SISBEN 2015, Torrenegra 2011)⁸. The system sets levels from 1 to 3, according to specific scores. Each category grants access to the various government's social programs, following their own rules and regulations. Some of these programs are health services and subsidies to unemployment, old age, housing, conditional cash transfers, and education loans, among others.

From the early years of 1990s until now, the health system has been confronting two main challenges: the widening of coverage whether in the contributive or in the subsidized system and the population target for the subsidies. Coverage in health care has increased from being 23.7% of the population in 1993 to 93.4% in 2009. However, the increase in the contributive system has been only of 15.4 percentage points from 22.4% in 1993 to 37.8% in 2009. As for the subsidized system, the increase has been

of 32.9 percentage points from 18.2% in 1997, when the records started, to 51.1% in 2009 (J. Bolaños et al. 2011). The imbalance between contributing and subsidized systems, legal actions, and complaints to obtain health services not included in the Mandatory Health Plan, and corruption have endangered the financial sustainability of the whole system.

Problems associated with targeting in social programs, such as the subsidized health care system, are not minor. SISBEN's design has been prone to outdated data, difficulties in application, and manipulation due to geographical constraints, inclusion, and exclusion errors (about 19% of the people who should be beneficiaries are not included, and about 25% are included as not having the right), lack of clear entry and exit criteria, and manipulation in electoral times (Universidad de los Andes 2010). Opponents to the program consider the subsidized health system as creating dependencies, leading people to hide incomes and remain in the informal sectors (A. Camacho et al. 2013).

Professional risk and complementary social services

The professional risk component addresses events derived independently from occupational hazard in the financial aspect of health care system attention in case of general illness. Complementary social services aim at providing financial support to poor and indigent elderly people.

3.4.5 The Human Development Index (HDI)

It seems reasonable to begin by examining HDI. Besides the fact that it situates the country within the international context, it addresses social dimensions considered relevant in the exclusion/inclusion debate, such as poverty, education, and health. It is so because of its composite statistic nature – including income, education, and life expectancy index.

Table 3.17
Human Development Index (2000-2008)

Year	Colombia	Valle del Cauca
2000	0.780	0.801
2001	0.780	0.800
2002	0.784	0.803
2003	0.791	0.806
2004	0.798	0.813

2005	0.804	0.819
2006	0.803	0.820
2007	0.814	0.832
2008	0.814	0.845

Source: Author's elaboration base on UNPD Colombia 2011: 403

As figures in Table 3.17 illustrate, according to the HDI ranking, in the time frame 2000–2008, Colombia and Valle del Cauca could be considered within the high development category. The trend shows constant improvements for both, although Valle del Cauca has a better performance.

The desegregated HDI for 2005 shows the same tendency (Table 3.18)

Table 3.18
Human Development Index by indicators (2005)

2005	HDI	Income Index	Education Index	Life Expectancy Index
Valle del Cauca	0.7930	0.8000	0.9000	0.8000
Colombia*	0.7910	0.7160	0.8690	0.7880

Source: UNPD, 2008

3.5 Land of contrast: Contexts of exclusion?

Homogeneity and heterogeneity appear and disappear in a given setting depending on the selected perspective for a study or research. So far, the methodological perspective in this chapter pointing to some sort of homogeneity has consisted of examining indicators at the macro level, Colombia and Valle del Cauca. The contrast of the latter against the former allowed to gain a perspective of the department's performance within the national context. In order to explore social exclusion in Valle del Cauca, however, an in-depth approach at the micro level is necessary. It is focused on five selected municipalities: Cali, Buenaventura, Cartago, Florida, and Tuluá. This procedure reveals existing heterogeneities and particular circumstances and conditions of and for social exclusion. The land of contrast becomes the context of exclusion.

3.5.1 Five municipalities, diversity, and heterogeneity

Very few departments⁹, if any, condense Colombia's characteristics as Valle del Cauca does. From the topographic and geographic perspective cost, there are mountains and plains. Its economic and social history since the Spaniard conquest in XVI c. until our times has been, to a certain extent, a good reflection of the whole country. The *hacienda* economy and mining activity, based on indigenous and African descendant-slave labour, transformed in agro-industrial and modern economy processes nowadays are witnesses of the challenges of economic development and insertion in internationalization and globalization. Moreover, its economic, social, and political processes during the last two decades echo the struggles Colombia confronts as a whole. This richness and complexity make of Valle del Cauca a good selection for deciphering the intricate forms of social exclusion and how it is addressed.

According to the administrative criteria, Valle del Cauca groups the existing 42 municipalities in five zones. These respond to geographic parameters and refer to types of economic activities and social, cultural, and historical tradition. Fiscal criteria refer to categorization defined by Colombian law¹⁰ which allocates national financial transfers to municipalities in the lower categories. Population size and municipal free destination income are the organizing principles. The population criterion making the most of Valle del Cauca municipalities are in categories 4, 5, and 6. In as far as they have less free destination income, they are much more dependent on national government transfers, particularly for financing social policy. Table 3.19 indicates the categories.

Table 3.19
Municipality's categories, Act 617 of 2000

Category	Population Size	Free Destination Income
Special	500.001<	400000<
1	100.001-500.000	100000-400000
2	50.001-100.000	50000-100000
3	30.001-50.000	30000-50000
4	20.001-30.000	25000-30000
5	10.001-20.000	15000-25000
6	10.000 >	15000 >

Source: Congreso De La Republica De Colombia 2000

In a combination of geographic, administrative, and fiscal criteria, the five municipalities selected for this research were Cali – the capital city of the Valle del Cauca department – Buenaventura, Cartago, Florida, and Tuluá. The following paragraphs introduce a brief profile of each one of the municipalities. They will be analyzed from the social exclusion and social policy perspective.

Cali

In the southern zone of Valle del Cauca is Cali. Founded in 1536, it is the department's capital city, and the most important one in western Colombia. Cali consists of half of Valle del Cauca's total population. It is a permanent receiver of migrants and forced displaced population coming from either other department's municipalities or other departments. This city gathers the best of the developed world and the worst of the developing world. Modern buildings and houses, high technology industries and commercial services (sugarcane industry, paper, plastics, textiles, industrial and agriculture machinery, pharmaceuticals industry, among many others) coexist with ever growing slums in its outskirts in which poverty and unmet basic needs are persistent in what are called misery belts. Cali is the main African-descendant population city centre. Traditionally, the economic, social, and political power have been in the hands of white Spaniard descendants, owners of lands, and industries. Nevertheless, the advent of early drug traffic cartels in the 1970's and 80's challenged these power structures with its subsequent developments. These and emergent social movements brought about social and institutional crisis signed by conflict and violence.

Buenaventura

Located in the western zone of Valle del Cauca, Buenaventura was founded in 1539. Its inhabitants are mostly African descendants, and the indigenous, white population is minority. It is the main Colombian seaport in the Pacific Coast. Economic activities relate to harbor functioning, in which the male population finds non-qualified employment opportunities. Natural resources exploitation (wood, fishery, and gold mining) is another informal employment source. Although not having a well-developed tour-

ism infrastructure, this is also an important economic activity. The strategic geographic location makes of this municipality a corridor for illegal commerce (drugs and arms). Other Colombian departments in the Pacific seaside (Chocó, Cauca, and Nariño) consider Buenaventura as the main and most important urban core¹¹.

Cartago

Founded in 1540, Cartago is another ancient city in the department. Its population consists of descendants from the Antioquia department in what is called the Antioquia colonization (*la colonización antioqueña*). Traditionally, its main economic activities have been agriculture, in which the coffee crop plays a central role within the national production. Commerce and handmade embroidery in family production unities are other important economic activities. Cartago's location as the department's northern city, 200 kilometers away from Cali, makes it easier for its inhabitants to go to the neighboring city of Pereira, capital of Risaralda, in search of goods and services. During the last two decades, Cartago has been the epicenter of violent conflict and had become famous for the new generations of drug trafficking lords known as *Cartel del Norte del Valle*.

Florida

In the south-eastern zone of Valle del Cauca is Florida. Founded in 1825, it is located in the slopes of the Central Andes cordillera. Although Colombian indigenous ethnic groups are a minority, some of the most populated indigenous reservations are located in this municipality area. Indigenous groups maintain their cultural traditions and own government and authority structures. Main economic activities and the labor market are linked to sugar mono-crop (in which sugarcane is still cut manually, *machete* being the main working tool) and the sugar mill agro-industry. In it, the African descendant population is the main labor force. Agricultural activities, such as fruits and vegetable crops (coffee, plantain, soy, cacao, and maize), are the main source of income for indigenous people who sell products in the neighboring Cali and Palmira markets. Together with the Pradera municipality, which is located nearby, Florida was requested by the (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) guerrilla as a clearance zone for peace dialogues. This request has been consistently denied by the national government.

Tuluá

In the central zone of Valle del Cauca is Tuluá. Founded in 1639, it is a crossroad and distribution centre for neighboring municipalities and villages located in the western and central Andean cordilleras' fringes. Main economic activities are cattle farming, agricultural and livestock industries, and sugarcane crop and industrial sugar mill. More intensive in capital than in labour, these activities are sources of employment for its inhabitants. Small and medium entrepreneurs are in charge of commerce and private service provision. During *La Violencia*, this city was renowned in Colombia for the cruelty and ferocity of the carnage between members of the Liberal and Conservative parties. The fears and memories of those times are still present in the collective memory.

3.5.2 Demography

The selected municipalities are a good sample of the large, medium, and small urban conglomerates characterizing Valle del Cauca. Cali covers half of the department's population.

Table 3.20
Population in the Selected Municipalities

		Cali	Buenven- tura	Cartago	Florida	Tuluá	Valle
Population	1985	1.429.026	212.771	106.345	45.045	123.246	3.027.247
	1993	1.847.176	248.424	123.286	55.181	116.274	3.736.090
	2005	2.119.908	328.794	124.831	56.008	187.275	4.161.425
% of Total Valle del Cauca Po- pulation	1985	47.2	7.0	3.5	1.5	4.1	100
	1993	49.4	6.6	3.3	1.5	3.1	100
	2005	50.9	7.9	3.0	1.3	4.5	100
Inter-cen- sus growth rate	1985 - 1993	3.2	1.9	1.8	2.5	3.7	.26
	1993- 2005	1.1	2.3	0.1	0.1	1	0.9

Source: Author's elaboration based on DANE Census 1985, 1993, 2005

Municipalities' demographic weight within the department's total population is shown in Table 3.20. Historically, Cali concentrated about half

of Valle del Cauca inhabitants, a consistent trend consolidated by 2005. After controlling birth rates, variations in percentage points of the share in the total population are mainly explained by mortality and migration rates. This is reflected in changes in the inter-census growth rate. Between the two inter-census time spans, Tuluá, Florida, and Cali diminished their population growth rate by 2.7, 2.4 and 2.1 percentage points respectively. Economic, employment, and violence factors boosted the emigration dynamic both abroad – United States of America and Spain being the main destinations – or within the department, particularly to the capital city. Cartago, while relatively steady in its population growth rate, since 2005 onwards, became one of the cities in Colombia with a large number of its population living abroad. In 2007, the Human Development report for Valle del Cauca (PNUD 2008) reported 10.1% of Cartago's households with people living abroad, Tuluá 7.5%, Cali 6.7%, Buenaventura 4.6%, and Florida 4.1%. The average for Valle del Cauca was 6.3%.

Together with Cali, Buenaventura plays an important role as migrant receivers. In this case, counting on ethnic affinity, the population arriving to this city come from departments bordering the Pacific Ocean, whose inhabitants are mostly African descendants.

On a methodological note, it can be said that data census does not speak of the difference between migrants and forced displaced population. The former refers to people opting voluntarily to move to another city or residence in search for a better quality of life and opportunities, whether in terms of education, employment, housing, or others. The latter refer exclusively to people who are subjected to or are victims of violence and conflict. Here is no room for choice.

Socio-demographic indicators in Table 3.21 provide an insight into the heterogeneous circumstances these municipalities confront. An examination of life expectancy and infant mortality rate, which are two major indicators of human and social development, highlights the existing strong contrasts. Compared to Valle del Cauca, Cali exhibits the best performance, while Buenaventura the worst. There is a difference of 8.2 years in life expectancy between the two. The other three municipalities, although below Valle del Cauca's average, are more homogenous in spite of slight differences. Yet, there is a difference of about 2.7 years compared to Cali.

An examination of the infant mortality rates indicate heterogeneity in the condition for development. Once again, Cali has the lowest rate for 2005, while Buenaventura has the highest, the difference being of 32. Even

though the indicator's figures for three other municipalities are similar, they are above average for Valle del Cauca. Florida stands out in this group.

Table 3.21
Socio-demographic Indicators (2005)

	Cali	Buen-ventura	Cartago	Florida	Tuluá	Valle
Life expectancy (years)	72.1	63.9	69.7	69.4	69.0	70.7
Infant mortality rate (*1.000)	15.5	48.1	19.0	20.7	18.3	17.1
African-descendant population	26.2	83.6	4.7	31.1	9.0	27.0
Indigenous population	0.5	0.8	0.2	4.7	0.2	0.6

Source: DANE, Estadísticas vitales. Estimaciones de las tasas de mortalidad infantil nacionales, departamentales y municipales periodo 2005

http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=73&Itemid=119
Retrieved 8th March 2012

Fuente: HDR Valle del Cauca-DANE Censos 2005

All in all, as Table 3.22 shows, from 2005 to 2008, the department and the five municipalities' infant mortality rate diminished the following particular patterns. In order of good performance are Florida 2.18, Tuluá 1.99, Cali 1.85, Cartago 1.26, and Buenaventura 0.15. Except for the latter, the other municipalities performed better in this regard than Valle del Cauca did as a whole, which was 1.65 percentage points.

Table 3.22
Infant mortality rate (2005-2008)

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008
Colombia	22.25	21.9	21.3	20.6
Valle	17.08	16.9	16.7	16.5
Buenaventura	48.08	48.08	47.93	47.93
Cali	15.54	15.2	14.61	13.69
Cartago	19.03	18.49	17.77	17.77
Florida	20.69	20.25	19.46	18.51

Tuluá	18.29	17.71	16.88	16.3
-------	-------	-------	-------	------

Source: DANE, Estadísticas vitales. Estimaciones de las tasas de mortalidad infantil nacionales, departamentales y municipales periodo 2005-2008 (Vital statistics. Estimates of national, departmental and municipal infant mortality rates 2005-2008)

If migration is a crucial factor in the demographic dynamic, mortality and its causes are not any less important. Both reflect in one way or the other the economic, social, and political environment. In this view, an examination of the first mortality cause in Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities deserve special attention. Since 1990, homicide by firearm has been the most prevalent cause of mortality in Colombia with a rate per 100.000 inhabitants of 68.73. In 2005, due to significant improvements, it ranked second with a rate of 41.0 (MSPS-INS-ONS 2013).

According to existing records from 2001 to 2007, homicide by firearm has invariably been the first mortality cause in Valle del Cauca. The rate of mortality due to homicide by firearm per 100,000 inhabitants was 88 in 2001, peaked at 90 in 2002, and started a significant descent in 2005, at 67. It finally stabilized at 65 from 2006 onward. However, in the five selected municipalities, the phenomenon is even more intense. Four of the five municipalities' rates are above the Valle de Cauca score. In Cartago, Tuluá, and Buenaventura, the highest rates in average were respectively 50, 34, and 12 percentage points above the Valle del Cauca rates. Florida was an exception, where violent death rates steadily increased during 2001–2005, while in the other four municipalities, there were alternative waves. Notwithstanding, 2004 seemed to be a turning point when rates fell drastically. (Table 3.23)

Table 3.23
Deaths by firearm (2001-2007)

Rates by 100.000 inhabitants	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Cali	83	84	87	81	62	-	-
Buenaventura	121	91	69	94	81	-	-
Cartago	137	155	99	130	92	-	-
Florida	11	13	23	17	98	-	-
Tuluá	104	136	97	120	87	-	-

Valle	88	90	75	84	67	65	65
-------	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

Source: Valle del Cauca Public Health Office. Death certificates.
<http://www.valledelcauca.gov.co/salud/publicaciones.php?id=2447>

The 23,346 cases which placed death by firearms as the first cause of mortality in Valle del Cauca from 2001 to 2007 speak of complex circumstances in the municipalities. Table 3.24 shows appalling figures for a region and cities which are not formally at war. The percentages are referred to the total number of deaths per year. In 2001, 15.1% of total deaths in Valle del Cauca were due to firearms, 21.2% in Buenaventura; 18.8% in Cartago, and 15% in Tuluá. The case of Buenaventura in 2006 where 37% of deaths were by firearm or Tuluá in 2007 with 49% deaths due to this cause is striking. On an average, from 2001 to 2007, 17% of total deaths in the group of five municipalities corresponded to homicides, a figure that amounted to 19.5% in 2006 and 23% in 2007.

Table 3.24
Deaths by firearm (2001-2007)

% of total mortality causes		Cali	Buen-ventura	Cartago	Florida	Tuluá	Valle
2001	Cases	1725	371	190	7	195	3736
	%	14.4	21.2	18.5	2.5	15.4	15.4
2002	Cases	1764	287	217	9	259	3874
	%	15.8	19.9	23.3	3.1	20.9	17.6
2003	Cases	1852	220	140	8	186	3249
	%	16.0	18.2	16.6	6.5	15.6	14.8
2004	Cases	1925	261	179	11	227	3767
	%	17.0	18.0	20.7	4.8	17.9	16.7
2005	Cases	1361	272	134	71	171	3000
	%	11.8	19.9	15.7	20.1	15.7	13.3
2006	Cases	1322	344	116	56	207	2953
	%	11.4	36.5	14.2	18.4	17.1	22.2
2007	Cases	1215	327	99	36	130	2767
	%	10.5	21.7	20.9	12.3	49.1	20.3
2001-2007 Total cases		11164	2082	1075	198	1375	23346

Source: Source: Valle del Cauca Public Health Office. Death certificates.
<http://www.valledelcauca.gov.co/salud/publicaciones.php?id=2447>

3.5.3 Economy

Information and data on economy performance at the municipality level is uneven in quantity and quality. Cali has complete records and accurate follow ups, while Buenaventura, Cartago, Florida, and Tuluá do not. Strong differences in the availability of technical, administrative, and human resources explain this fact to some extent. However, corruption and political schemes also play an important role. Nevertheless, the 'online government' national policies promoting accountability and transparency by means of the municipalities' official web sites have corrected in some cases, and to some extent, the lack of information and inaccuracies in data.¹²

For the sake of the argument on homogeneities or heterogeneities between municipalities, Table 3.25 shows the GDP per capita in 2005. In the table, Florida stands out as the poorest and Tuluá as the richest. The average for the five municipalities is US \$3318. Notwithstanding, in some cases, there are expected consistencies when these indicators are examined against the demographic indicators. In other cases, paradoxes emerge. It is the case of Buenaventura which combines good economic performance – at least from the GDP per capita indicator – and the worst demographics indicators.

Table 3.25
GDP per capita (2005)

Indicators	GDP per capita (US\$2005)
Valle	3639
Cali	3383
Buenaventura	3557
Cartago	3245
Florida	2413
Tuluá	3990

Source: Author's elaboration. Data from HDR Valle del Cauca (2008) DANE, National accounts

In addition to the high level of informal employment already stated for Valle del Cauca, the total dependency ratio in the municipality provides an insight of the circumstances facing the labor force. From 1993 to 2005, the inter-census time, three of the municipalities had a descent in the dependency ratio. However, there were larger differences between them. Buenaventura and Florida rank in first places, while Tuluá and Cartago had similar figures as Valle del Cauca's average. Cali scored the lowest. There were 0.21 and 0.17 points gap between Buenaventura and Cali, and Valle del Cauca, respectively. In the case of Florida, it is of 0.12 and 0.08 points respectively. Mortality and emigration in the group aged 15–64 explained the contrast (Table 3.26).

Table 3.26
Total Dependency Ratio (1993-2005)

Municipality	1993	2005
Buenaventura	0.74	0.72
Cali	0.5	0.51
Cartago	0.56	0.57
Florida	0.65	0.63
Tuluá	0.57	0.54
Valle del Cauca	0.55	0.55

Source: Author's elaboration. Data from HDR Valle del Cauca (2008) DANE Censos 1993 y 2005.

3.5.4 Society

A summary of HDI, poverty, and quality of life for the five selected municipalities in 2005 is presented in Table 3.27. The contrasts suggested in the previous sections are confirmed here in the examining of social indicators. The emerging pattern shows Buenaventura with the most critical conditions, followed by Florida. Cartago, and Tuluá have a similar performance, and Cali – in all cases – is above the average, showing better HDI, less poverty, and the best performance in each one of the MDP indicators. What is striking is how acute these contrasts are, particularly in the cases of Buenaventura and Florida. Some indicators are particularly revealing. In the case of unmet basic needs, Valle del Cauca and Cali rank better than Buenaventura by 20 and 24.5 percentage points respectively. Figures for

Florida are respectively 5.9 and 10.5 percentage points better than Valle del Cauca and Cali. In the case of MPI, Valle del Cauca and Cali score better than Buenaventura by 27.8 and 34.6 percentage points, Florida and Cartago perform similarly with higher scores than those of Tuluá and Cali. A detailed view of each one of the MPI indicators reveals and accentuates the contrasts.

Table 3.27
Other social indicators (2009)

	Valle	Cali	Buen- ventura	Cartago	Florida	Tuluá
HDI	0.793	0.802	0.746	0.764	0.759	0.787
Basic Needs	15.6	11	35.5	15.2	21.5	15.5
Multi-dimensional Poverty Index(MPI)	38.78	31.97	66.53	45.74	46.19	36.26
- Low educational achievement	58.6	49.1	69.4	70.9	71.6	61.8
- Illiteracy	12.1	7.1	25.2	22.6	17.4	13.8
- No school attendance	6.1	4.8	11.2	7.1	6.2	6.2
- School lag	21.2	18.6	35.2	20.9	24.8	21.0
- Access barriers to child care services	12.7	12.0	25.4	10.7	13.5	11.0
- Child labor	3.3	3.1	4.1	2.9	3.2	3.8
- High economic dependency	37.7	32.2	55.4	45.2	45.2	40.3
- Informal employment	84.1	81.3	94.4	91.5	80.2	84.6
- No health insurance	30.0	33.2	49.1	35.8	26.5	18.7
- Access barriers to health services	5.4	4.9	11.6	4.1	4.6	5.0
- No access to improved drinking water	6.7	2.0	24.3	2.0	8.7	2.6
- No adequate elimination of sewer waste	5.4	2.1	36.0	1.1	5.4	1.7
- No adequate floors	2.0	1.3	2.9	0.6	4.1	1.8
- No adequate exterior walls	4.1	2.0	27.8	1.2	0.7	1.2
- Critical overcrowding	13.6	13.0	25.3	12.4	16.7	10.6
Disability (rate per 1000 inhabitants)	66.9	66.7	71.1	100.8	65.4	52.1

	Valle	Cali	Buen-ventura	Cartago	Florida	Tuluá
Hunger (Female)	5.9	4.5	19.3	6.4	7.3	5.1

Source: Author's elaboration based on Anuario estadístico del Valle 2009, Capítulo 4

Table 3.28
Enrollment per education level (% of total enrollment)

	LEVEL	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Valle Del Cauca	Upper secondary	29.5	30.7	30.5	31.4	31.9	27.9	33.3	33.5
	Lower Secondary	10.0	10.1	10.5	10.8	10.3	15.6	12.0	12.7
	Primary	50.0	49.0	48.5	47.5	47.8	41.2	44.6	43.6
	Pre-Primary	10.5	10.1	10.5	10.3	10.0	15.3	10.1	10.1
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Buena-ventura	Upper secondary	24.4	25.9	25.5	26.0	26.8	27.0	27.2	27.6
	Lower Secondary	8.1	8.2	8.1	8.5	9.5	8.6	8.9	9.2
	Primary	56.3	55.1	57.0	54.9	54.2	53.7	53.6	52.4
	Pre-Primary	11.2	10.9	9.4	10.6	9.5	10.7	10.4	10.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Cali	Upper secondary	31.2	32.2	31.5	32.6	33.3	33.3	33.7	34.0
	Lower Secondary	10.8	10.9	11.4	11.3	11.6	12.5	12.7	13.4
	Primary	46.5	46.0	45.1	44.8	4.48	43.8	43.0	42.1
	Pre-Primary	11.5	11.0	12.0	11.3	10.3	10.3	10.6	10.4
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Cartago	Upper secondary	31.4	33.4	33.4	33.9	35.1	35.9	36.0	35.9
	Lower Secondary	11.2	11.9	11.5	11.7	12.8	13.6	14.0	14.2
	Primary	48.2	46.2	46.8	44.9	42.5	41.5	41.0	40.4
	Pre-Primary	9.2	8.5	8.3	9.5	9.6	9.0	9.1	9.5
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Florida	Upper secondary	25.1	30.5	30.2	31.5	34.6	30.6	31.4	31.1
	Lower Secondary	7.6	8.3	8.4	8.5	9.9	11.0	12.0	12.8
	Primary	56.8	52.5	52.4	50.0	47.4	46.4	46.3	43.9
	Pre-Primary	10.5	8.7	9.1	10.0	8.1	12.0	10.3	12.1
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

	Upper secondary	30.1	31.0	31.4	31.2	32.2	34.1	33.6	34.9
	Lower Secondary	9.8	11.0	11.2	11.1	11.3	12.4	13.5	13.4
Tuluá	Primary	50.4	49.0	48.6	48.4	47.7	44.7	44.0	42.6
	Pre-Primary	9.7	9.1	8.8	9.3	8.8	8.7	8.8	9.1
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Author's elaboration based on Secretaría de Educación Departamental and MEN-SINEB.

No less striking are the figures for hunger – defined as the percentage of people who did not eat in the week before the census was conducted because of lack of money – and the way it affects women. In the case of Buenaventura, when looking at this indicator desegregated by social groups (men, women, disabled, children, youth, afro-descendant, and indigenous), food insecurity amounts to 21.8% on an average against the 9.6% of the so-called non-ethnic population..

An examination of education coverage provides a complementary approach to the social dynamic in this particular matter in Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities. Table 3.28 shows detailed trends on enrollment in the different levels of education from 2002 to 2009. In each geographic unit, this time span along the total enrollment in the primary education level was with slight variations, between 40–50%. This reflects the goal's achievement of universal coverage at this particular level. Higher secondary education enrollment was between 30%–35%. Some salient features illustrating the heterogeneity between municipalities from the perspective of the distribution enrollment are the following: Cali and Cartago had the lower rates in primary education and the highest in upper secondary, implying the continuity in the education process.

Inversely, Buenaventura and Florida had the highest rates in primary education and the lowest in upper secondary. It is in these municipalities where the rate of school dropouts is the highest. The need to earn money to supply basic individual and family needs or the opportunity to earn 'easy money' in illegal activities, or violence, or the temptation to try luck abroad (USA), traveling as stowaways in cargo ships, as it is the well-known case in Buenaventura, are intervening factors in school dropouts.

The precariousness in social security coverage, whether in the contributive or the subsidized systems shows its face at the municipal level. Figures in Table 3.29 shows trends and differences in this regard. Cali, followed by Cartago, has the highest rates in the contributing system. This is

a consequence of higher formal employment in these municipalities. Consistently, Buenaventura had the lower rates in the contributive system, a fact that speaks of the drama of informal unemployment and the paradox of having one of the biggest GDPs in the Department.

An examination of the subsidized system's rates shows heterogeneity in the prevalent social and political dynamic. For the latter, there was some evidence and complaints of subsidies' political use. This is particularly acute in election times when in the vote's purchase, the subsidies are the money of exchange. Tuluá had the higher coverage in the subsidized system. In 2007, the year following the elections, there was an increase of 10 percentage points, and the total coverage was 110%. This last figure might be due to overlaps implying that people were registered in both systems. Buenaventura and Florida had high rates of coverage in the subsidized systems, although in total, they had a lower coverage. All in all, coverage in health care increased from 2005 to 2008 in Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities.

Table 3.29
Health Care Contributive and Subsidized System (2005-2008)

	Municipality	Buena-ventura	Cali	Cartago	Florida	Tuluá	Valle del Cauca
2005	Contributive	22.7	58.9	51.5	43.5	48.5	47.0
	Subsidized	30.7	27.4	21.6	31.2	47.3	31.3
	Total	53.4	86.3	73.0	74.7	95.8	78.3
2006	Contributive	27.5	64.5	60.6	48.1	51.6	52.0
	Subsidized	33.0	32.6	31.0	35.2	47.7	35.4
	Total	60.5	97.1	91.6	83.2	99.3	87.5
2007	Contributive	24.3	65.0	57.2	48.5	53.0	52.3
	Subsidized	42.9	33.0	33.2	41.5	57.0	38.8
	Total	67.2	98.0	90.3	90.0	110.0	91.1
2008	Contributive	24.3	62.4	54.4	49.5	53.5	51.2
	Subsidized	33.3	28.4	29.5	34.0	57.9	34.8
	Total	57.5	90.8	83.9	83.5	111,4	86.1

Source: Base Unica de Afiliados (BDUA) Régimen Contributivo - Oficina TIC Ministerio de Salud y Protección Social. DANE Estimaciones y Proyecciones de Población Año 2008
http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=75&Itemid=72
<http://www.minsalud.gov.co/salud/Paginas/CoberturasdelR%C3%A9gimenSubsidiado.aspx>

A full picture of the social context between 1998 and 2008 would not be complete without reference to violence and conflict dynamics. They were intense and dramatic in these years, and acted as a persistent background for the general functioning of economy, society, politics, and culture, both in Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities. Besides the homicide rates already examined, there are two other phenomena expressing the violence and conflict: kidnapping and forced displacement.

From 1998 to 2007, kidnapped whether by guerrilla or common delinquency groups and whether motivated by political intentions or extortion for financial purposes were one of the main concerns not only for the Valle del Cauca government and some of the selected municipalities; it became a problem of national reach, and to address it was a priority for the Colombian government. The democratic security policies promoted by Alvaro Uribe, the presidential candidate elected in 2002 for two terms until 2010, addressed this issue paying particular attention to Valle del Cauca. In 2005, the results of those policies' implementation were visible, and a sense of security, totally lost until then, started to prevail, gaining the middle and upper middle classes' support of President Uribe. In fact, according to official statistics, kidnaps reached a peak in 2000 with 115 cases mainly affecting Cali, Buenaventura, and Florida, which were important areas of politics and economic activity (Table 3.30). In 2005, three years after Uribe was in office, the figure descended to 25 and in 2007, it was only 16. Although there is no formal evidence, it was in this time span when paramilitary groups arrived to Valle del Cauca. Buenaventura, Tuluá, Cartago, and Florida are full of stories about the action and massacres perpetrated by these groups under their leaders' commands.

Table 3.30
Kidnaps (1998-2007)

Municipality	Cases	%
Buenaventura	70	9.3
Cali	369	48.8
Cartago	3	0.4
Florida	29	3.8
Tuluá	28	3.7
Sub Total	499	66.0

Valle del Cauca TOTAL	756	100
-----------------------	-----	-----

Source: Policía Nacional Gaula - Secuestro y Extorsion

The fights and struggles involving armed groups – both legal and illegal: guerrilla, drug-trafficking, paramilitary, and the army – in search for territorial control brought about intense forced displacement of a large number of population. Table 3.31 shows that the intensity and heterogeneity of this dynamic is its two dimensions: expulsion and reception. From 1996 to 2011, in Valle del Cauca, 70% of the population expelled from their homes resided in the five selected municipalities, specially affecting Tuluá, Buenaventura – with more than half of the cases – and Cali. The last two are, at the same time, the main forced displaced population receivers. Beyond the magnitude of figures and statistics, what is at stake are the processes of social estrangement and the uprooting of thousands. The label ‘forced displaced person’ became a sort of stigma for the people once in their new locations.

Table 3.31
Forced Displacement (1996-2011)

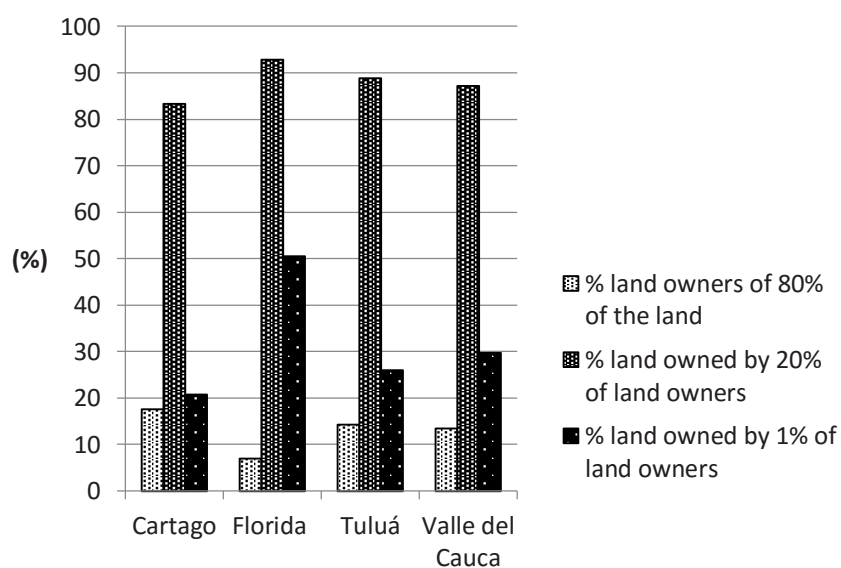
Municipio	Expulsion			
	Cases	% of Total Valle del Cauca	Households	% of Total Valle del Cauca
Buenaventura	89972	54.18	17870	48.91
Cali	7492	4.51	1964	5.38
Cartago	687	0.41	186	0.51
Florida	3528	2.12	864	2.36
Tuluá	14140	8.51	3311	9.06
5 Municipalities	115819	69.74	24195	66.22
Valle	166073		36537	
Colombia	3875980		905114	
	Reception			
	Personas	% del Total del Valle	Hogares	% del Total del Valle
Buenaventura	72786	32.23	13499	26.53
Cali	82896	36.70	20423	40.13
Cartago	2576	1.14	599	1.18
Florida	2752	1.22	614	1.21

Tulua	16351	7.24	3806	7.48
5 Municipalities	177361	78.53	38941	76.52
Valle	225849		50888	

Source: Author's Calculation, Data from Acción Social (2011)

Finally, and perhaps gravitating all over this context of Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities is the prevalent inequality in regard to land tenure.

Figure 3.2
Land tenure (2006)



Source: Author's elaboration. Data from HDR Valle del Cauca (2008)

In 2000, 64.3% of the Valle del Cauca land was in the hands of 5% of owners (Rodriguez 2010). Figure 3.2 depicts the situation for 2006 in Cartago, Florida, and Tuluá. In 2011, the Colombia Human Development Report stated that Valle del Cauca is the department with the greatest concentration of land ownership (PNUD 2011).

3.6 The institutional crisis

Toward the end of the twentieth century, Valle del Cauca along with Antioquia was one of the epicentres of illicit activities, such as drug trafficking, with high social, economic, and political implications. This phenomenon, which was a significant generator of violence and conflicts of varied origins, transformed the social and political structures and generated the largest institutional crisis in the history of the country whose consequences are still felt greatly.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Valle del Cauca pursued its institutional, political, and administrative re-composition in a scene of deep social crisis. The reconstruction of the social fabric, the renewal and re-legitimization of institutions, the rule of law, and the promotion of social capital, all of these were at the heart of public and private discourses whether in government, politicians, or civic actors' speeches, and in some cases, actions. It was not gratuitous.

At the department level, Valle del Cauca faced its own circumstances. The political and institutional crisis at the national level found an even more intense expression in the department (Hernandez Lara 2005, Llano 2006). Elected for a three-year period, the department's governors lived their own drama and consequences as a result of their mostly illegal alliances. In 1998, Gustavo Alvarez Gardeazábal (Liberal Party) was elected governor by the largest popular vote of the entire electoral history of Valle del Cauca, but in July 1999, he was dismissed and deprived of exercising all political positions for life because of charges of alliance with drug trafficking lords. In 1999–2000, to complete the unfinished term, Juan Fernando Bonilla was appointed governor, characterizing a technocratic style and economic emphasis. At the same time, insecurity and public order distress reigned due to the National Liberation Army (Ejército de Liberación Nacional) ELN *guerrilla* massive kidnapping of 285 people in southern outskirts of Cali while attending a mass in La Maria church, which influential and wealthy people used to attend.

The next elected governor German Villegas, who was in position during 2001–2003, faced the spectacular and daring kidnapping of twelve Department Assembly deputies by FARC's *guerrilla* in the Cali city centre. They were withdrawn from their offices in the official building just in front of the *gobernacion* building and not far from the main department police station. This event was particularly striking, given his symbolic value. No

one was safe in the department, and the *guerrilla* had the power to be everywhere.¹³ In 2004–2007, Governor Angelino Garzon's term in office was characterized by an emphasis on social matters inspired in his union leader's trajectory and leftist ideology.

In the same period, Cali's circumstances in the administrative and political sphere were not less precarious. Its mayors, elected for a period of three years, were moving from crisis to crisis. The prevalent power of drug trafficking actors, whose visible presence and influence challenged traditional social, economic, and political structures, opened spaces to fulfil traditionally unsatisfied social demands. The economic power resulting from abundant 'easy money' permeated economic, social, and political interstices. For some, it was a way for certain traditionally social excluded sectors to confront uncontended structures.

The main traits of this period can be summarized as follows: crisis of legality, legitimacy, and credibility of political parties weakening their role in a democratic society, institutional destabilization due to cronyism and corruption, lack of or fragmented leadership by public and private actors, social leaders, and policy-makers, citizen's apathy towards public and civic affairs, growth of illegal armed groups from left (*milicia guerrillera*) and right (paramilitary) inspiration, or just criminal groups that affect public order, security, and peace, and finally, a generalized public affairs' mismanagement at department and municipalities level dramatically affecting finances and possibilities to respond to citizens' social and economic demands.

3.7 Concluding remarks

Exclusion became a major issue in the context of Colombia, Valle del Cauca, and the five selected municipalities. Beyond the institutional crisis depicted above and seemingly opening political spaces and transforming structures, nothing suggests a particular case of social exclusion in Valle del Cauca. Economic and social indicators at the department level are, in general, above the national average. In a developing country like Colombia, although there are ups and downs, prosperity, and well-being appear as emergent trends. Why is then this particular attention to social exclusion in Valle del Cauca? Besides the hypothesis that 'social exclusion' is the fashionable notion at the moment in the international development discourse, another plausible hypothesis is that it actually exists, is part of the

live of peoples and communities, and is concealed beyond the images produced by indicators at the macro level.

Notes

¹ Universidad del Valle, founded in 1945, the most important state university in south-west Colombia, has led these research and studies to a great extent. Its Faculties of Humanities, Social Sciences and Economics and Business Administration as well as CIDSE (Centre for the Social and Economic Research) have been major protagonists. In recent times, private universities, such as Javeriana, Autónoma de Occidente, and ICESI have joined in their efforts.

² The Colombian Law for Promotion of Micro, Small and Medium Business² (MSMBs) is defined as follows: microenterprise: not more than 10 workers and total assets under 501 current legal monthly minimum wage; small business: between 11 and 50 employees and total assets greater than 501 and less than 5001 current legal monthly minimum wage; median business: between 51 and 200 employees and total assets between 5001 and 15,000 current legal monthly minimum wage.

³ Ferreira, F. H. G. and Meléndez, M. (2012). *Desigualdad de resultados y oportunidades en Colombia 1997-2010*. Bogotá (Colombia), Universidad de los Andes.

⁴ http://menweb.mineducacion.gov.co/seguimiento/estadisticas/principal.php?seccion=9&id_categoria=2&consulta=analfabetismo&nivel=9&dpto=&et=&mun=&ins=&sede

⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Education_in_Colombia

<http://www.db.in.tum.de/teaching/ws1112/hsufg/Colombia/HigherEducationSystemsInColombia/Pages/education-structure.html>

⁶ Corresponde a la relación porcentual entre los alumnos matriculados en un nivel de enseñanza específico (independiente de la edad que tengan) y la población escolar que tiene la edad apropiada para cursar dicho nivel.

⁷ Among the poor and vulnerable, Act 100-1993, Art 157 pays particular attention to the following social groups: 'pregnant women, communitarian mothers, women head of households, children under one year old, minors in irregular situation particularly those disassociated from the armed conflict, Hansen patients, people above 65 years old, disabled, peasants, indigenous communities, independent professionals and workers, artists, sport-persons, bullfighters, independent journalists, taxi drivers, construction workers, electricians, unemployed and other people without ability to pay'. http://www.secretariasenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/ley_0100_1993_pr003.html#157

⁸ <https://www.sisben.gov.co/Informaci%C3%B3nSisb%C3%A9n/NormativaSisb%C3%A9n.aspx#.VOSpaSvF-E7>

⁹ Colombia is a Republic formed by 32 departments (*departamentos* in Spanish). These are country subdivisions and are granted a certain degree of autonomy. Each department has a Governor (*gobernador*) and a Department Assembly (*Asamblea De-*

partamental). Departments are formed by a grouping of municipalities. The municipal government is headed by a mayor (*alcalde*) and administered by a Municipal Council. Valle del Cauca is one of the subdivisions formed by 42 municipalities; its capital city is Santiago de Cali.

¹⁰ The Act 617, 2000 defines the categories of municipalities under two criteria: population size and free destination current income; this is measured in annual minimum wages. Each year, the category of the municipality is updated under certification for populating size issued by DANE and the National General Accountant.

¹¹ Ethnic affinity (mainly African descendants), extreme poverty and unmet needs, national state neglect and violent conflict, all of them coinciding in these four departments, have helped bring about the idea of conforming to a 'special autonomous region'.

¹² In this regard, differences between municipalities can be seen in the degree of complexity and the amount of information made available to the public in their websites.

¹³ This episode ended with the murder of all deputies but one in 2007 after five years in the jungle. The survivor deputy was freed in June 2009 after seven years.

4

Grounds for Social Policy Formulation: 1998-2008

4.1 Introduction

In Colombia and some other Latin American countries, social policy has rather been an area of action to address urgent social problems than a field for theoretical reflection on what has been formulated, framed, designed, and implemented. During the twentieth century, social policy as an area of action has unfolded a process going from a more or less informal, unregulated, Church- and private-lead initiatives to a formalized and regulated system that is mainly in the hands of the state. Three concomitant processes intervened: first, the progressive promulgation of general principles about well-being for individuals and society; second, the institutional and organizational arrangements within the structure of the State to implement those principles; third, the changing approaches regarding what should be the role of the State in the social policy domain. Since 1989, these developments have had as a background the state's reform and decentralization which at sub-national levels have entailed the government's new administrative, fiscal, and management responsibilities.

The literature review on social policy suggests that once a specific problem appears on the agenda of the state, thus considered as a deserving attention, it follows a policy formulation in tackling the issue. From a historical perspective, the dominant model has been the sectorial approach. The main topics have been philanthropy and social assistance (C. Castro 2007) and diagnostic studies on current sectors, such as education, health, labor, and housing. However, since the 2000s, and perhaps due to the Development Millennium Goals Declaration to which Colombia was a signatory, the policy landscape started developing a cross-cutting approach, making visible actors and fields that were not considered before – childhood and first infancy, youth, elderly population gender equity, ethnic minorities, and disabled populations are examples of the topics that were not considered. More recently, topics such as social protection and promotion

arrived on the social policy stage (Angulo et al. 2008). Violence and conflict and their associated phenomena forced displacement, reinsertion, and reparation on victims are also relevant subjects. These, together with poverty studies, brought about abundant scholarly research and examination, nurturing national social policy design and implementation.

Thought of, and conceived from the national administrative centers of power, this vast array of topics is indicative of the fragmentation – conceptual and administrative – characterizing the Colombian social policy domain. Consequently, to obtain an integrated overview, the current reflection and research should delve into the myriad of continually changing sectoral perspectives. Most of the existing studies, while emphasizing on social policy design and implementation encompassing actors, institutional arrangements, and budget allocations, hardly address the underlying assumptions and theoretical dimensions. There is not an overarching social policy conceptual framework providing common grounds for sectorial approaches. Furthermore, in the context of State decentralization, there are no studies that are aimed at describing and analyzing what have been the conceptual and theoretical orientations of social policy to respond to the challenges departments and municipalities confront in specific social, economic, cultural, political, and administrative settings. Bridging this gap is central in at least in two ways: first, in a pragmatic way, in order to establish whether the social policy guidelines have permeated the whole structure of the State from national to sub-national levels. This is a condition to assure the coherence and harmonization in the overall national development process. Second, in an ideological and programmatic way, in order to gain awareness regarding what the societal project those policies promote and the power relationships that are at stake.

In this line, this chapter seeks to understand Colombian social policy formulation during the 1998-2008 decade from the analysis of two driving forces in a better way: on the one hand, there are internal processes, such as the proclamation of the 1991 Colombian Constitution, the deepening of the state decentralization process, and the strengthening of the strategic role assigned to Development Plans (DP) at national and subnational level and on the other hand, there are external influences that shape approaches, ideas, and concepts on development contributing to agenda settings. The World Bank (WB), the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), and the United Nations and some of its agencies, particularly the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) have been crucial at the financial,

conceptual, and practical level, exerting powerful influences all over Latin America. Colombia has not been an exemption.

This chapter analyses and discusses the relevant features of these streams which provide conceptual and theoretical underpinnings instrumental to building the grounds for social policy formulation in 1998–2008 in Colombia. It argues the decisive role they play in order to use and apply power to the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ dyadic conceptual device.

4.2 Internal processes

Since 1991 until now, the Colombian inner political and social realities have been under the influence of three factors producing considerable impact on social policy formulation. They are the framing of a new Colombian Political Constitutional chart (CPC), the deepening of decentralization process, and the promotion of planning process at the sub-national level signaling Development Plan (DP) as the context and compass for policy actions. Because of the realities they acknowledged, the priorities they display, and the reorganization of the state’s function they determined, these internal processes brought about significant structural changes. It is within this unprecedented background that social policy formulation can be understood. This section examines each one of these elements in order to provide analytical tools to discuss social policy formulation in Valle del Cauca and the five municipalities selected in this research.

4.2.1 The 1991 Colombian Constitutional Chart

The 1991 Colombian Constitutional Chart (CCC) meant a turning point in the way the Colombian society envisioned their future. It was the result of a complex process leading to regain its social contract and built anew the state. In the framework of this new set of rules, five aspects embodied the core principles relevant to social policy for the following decades:

First, the acknowledgement that Colombia is a social state of laws/rights: human dignity, respect, work, solidarity, and the prevalence of the general interest over the particular are the guiding principles (Colombia. Presidencia de la República. 1991, Art 1).

Second, declaration of the state’s essential goals and ends: to serve the community, to promote the general welfare and ensure the effectiveness

of the principles, rights, and duties enshrined in the Constitution, to facilitate participation of all in the decisions that affect them and in their economic, political, administrative, and cultural lives, and to ensure coexistence and the validity of a just order (Colombia. Presidencia de la Republica. 1991, Art 2).

Third, identification of subjects of rights: women, in particular those who are head of households, children, adolescents, elderly or aged people (mentioned as third-age people), and physically, sensorial, and mentally diminished/disabled. In the same line, and within the Colombian historical context, the recognition of ethnic and cultural diversity in direct reference to Afro-Colombian descendants, indigenous peoples, and other minorities as rom-gipsy people and *raizales* is of paramount importance (Colombia. Presidencia de la Republica. 1991, Art 7).

Fourth, proclamation of economic, social, and cultural rights. In this framework, the Colombian state is accountable for the provision of social security, health, decent housing, leisure, sport and recreation, work/ job labor, education, culture, and artistic expressions to its citizens. The ruling principles in providing and guaranteeing these rights are efficiency, universality, and solidarity (Colombia. Presidencia de la Republica. 1991, Art. 42–77).

Fifth, modernization and structural reorganization of the State. This entailed designing of the respective administrative and managerial mechanisms to fulfill the newly assigned roles, further promoting and deepening fiscal, political, and administrative decentralization already started in the late 80's. This gave new roles to territorial entities at the sub-national level: departments and municipalities.

All these statements, the results of general agreements after the National Constituent Assembly where the entire Colombian society parties were represented provided values, subject, and fields of actions which should be addressed by state actions, framed in what is today called social policy.

4.2.2 Decentralization and social policy

There are strong arguments for decentralization. One of the most relevant is that government and public administration at the sub-national level are nearer to people's needs. Therefore, proximity, a fine and informed knowledge of local context and social conditions, not foreshadowed by

the distance of the national centre of power, could contribute to the best shape of social policies in response to the realities of departments and municipalities. In addition, it has been considered that people's participation enhancement could play a role in gaining policy effectiveness. These assertions should be contextualized and analyzed in themselves to understand their impact on social policy at the sub-national level.

The decentralization processes started in Latin America in the 80s (Ciudades Y Gobiernos Locales Unidos 2008). Colombia has gone through it at its own pace and ways. Since its inception, in the second half of the twentieth century, it broke the historical tradition of centralism, which had been ruling for decades. (J. Silva 1993). Slowly, at the beginning, decentralization gave an autonomy to sub-national entities – departments and municipalities. The constitutional political chart of 1991 boosted and deepened the decentralization processes in three dimensions: fiscal, political, and administrative.

Fiscal decentralization entailed for national government transfers of financial resources to sub-national ones. In consequence, complex systems (*situación fiscal* and general participation system) were designed to allocate resources rewarding the good fiscal performance of departments and municipalities. Thus, national taxes and current incomes were distributed, providing resources to perform new tasks and responsibilities. The more significant among them were and still are social goods and services provision, such as health, education, and social assistance. For sub-national entities, fiscal decentralization required the development of an efficient tax collection system and dealing with the new possibility of borrowing international development financial institutions, private financial system, and to issue debt (A. Alesina 2005). Some analysts argue that fiscal decentralization contributed to an increase in the national fiscal imbalance and led to bankruptcy of a number of sub-national entities. This has been a powerful reason of a set back of the process.

Political decentralization consisted of power reforms in state structures. One of notable importance was the sub-national government's democratic elections. This political innovation can be better understood in the light of its historical background. The National Front, an agreement to overcome stirred up violence between the two traditional political parties – *liberal* and *conservador* – brought about their hegemonic rule. In effect, alternating in power from 1958 to 1974, these two traditional parties did

not let out space for any other political group or movement. The alternating principle in the fight for state power ended after this lapse of time. From then on, the competition for political power has been open and unconstrained to other political groups.

At the sub-national level, an expression of the above-mentioned political hegemony and centralism was reflected in the criteria used for governors' and mayors' appointments in the event, political alliances, and same party membership. The President of the Republic designated governors. In turn, governors designated mayors. Gradually, the implementation of political decentralization broke this tradition. In the first place, democratic elections for selecting a mayor took place in 1988. Terms in office have been progressively enlarged from two years from its inception to three years, and later to four years since 2004. Subsequently, the first governor elections occurred in October 1991. In this case, terms in office have been enlarged as well, three years from its inception to four years, since 2002.

Alongside these processes, the 1991 Colombian Political Chart (CPC) opened political space to new political actors, groups, and parties. Their participation in the fight for state power at the national and sub-national levels changed the established power panorama (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung 2010). Concomitant with political decentralization was the promotion of participatory discourses and practices at all levels.

Administrative decentralization involved the transfer of responsibilities on services' provision, which was until then under the control of the national government. Together with fiscal and political performance, departments and municipalities were now required to provide for public goods and services, urban infrastructure, and public works' execution. Moreover, sub-national entities adapted to their organizational structures to accomplish these new functions even though national/central tutelage remained in some spheres of action.

With this in mind, one can reasonably consider the extent to which these decentralization processes have had some sort of impact on social policy at the sub-national level. Although it is out of the scope of this section to elaborate deeper on this subject, which deserves a research program in itself, some points can be summarized from the incipient studies carried out on this topic. After more than two decades, Colombian decentralization assessments are neither positive nor optimistic. What started as

a promising integral process where fiscal, political, and administrative dimensions were equally important and strategic to realize the constitutional principles of 1991 has suffered the outbreak of many obstacles and difficulties.

In the case of national financial transfers, legal constraints limit the possibilities and the range of action for local governments. The amounts received thus have specific expenditure destinations in pre-established shares. According to current laws, for instance, these incomes must be allocated to education (35%), to health (25%), and to other services (10%). In conclusion, these tight restrictions for expenditure have let sub-national entities lack resources for other social priorities that might exist in their particular social and economic contexts (Perotti, Roberto, and Kontopoulos 2011). Therefore, additional incomes are to be found in the local sources.

Equally important at the sub-national level are the challenges linked to modernizing organizational structures and to strength administrative skills and competences. These are necessary conditions for developing an effective tax collection system. Small and medium-sized municipalities tend to be weaker in this respect than large ones. Finally, fiscal autonomy has allowed running deficits and issuing debt to sub-national entities. As a result, some of them have declared their bankruptcy; hence, the national government have been called for bail out (J.J. Echavarría, C. Renteria and R. Steiner 2010)

In the political sphere, decentralization became the battlefield where national interests confront the local ones and the action of political entrepreneurs. Illegal groups (guerrilla, paramilitary, and drug trafficking groups) co-opted state structures in departments and municipalities strategically located in order to favour their interests. Under these circumstances, economic power derived from illicit activities permeates political action, gaining rule in wide geographical areas. Democratic election processes were therefore corrupted in more than one way. Candidates were appointed and supported by illegal groups; vote buying was/is a current practice; and electoral fraud allegations were/are common. In this framework, assigning priorities for social policy are the least of the worries. (F. Gutierrez and L.J. Garay 2007).

In regard to potential improvements in the social services provision and to offer suitable responses to citizen's needs due to nearness, administrative decentralization has raised questions as well. These can be better

understood in the light of conflicting dynamics where centralization is still acting and decentralization is not yet fulfilled. In effect, centralized national government agencies compete with sub-national territorial entities in functions at sub-national levels. As a result, common features in departments and municipalities are lack of coordination, a highly fragmented social services delivery system, work duplication, and to some extent, waste of the scarcely available resources. Additionally, it is impossible to overlook the overlapping legal and illegal power structures in dispute for positions in the organizational and administrative bureaucracies. These are taken, in some cases, as loot and a sort of feud serving particular interests (J.J. Echavarría, C. Rentería and R. Steiner 2010). All these contributes to a pendulous debate, moving from centralization to decentralization and back to centralization in the Colombian context (F. Gutierrez and L.J. Garay 2007)

4.2.3 Development Plan (DP), context and compass for social policy formulation

The current Colombian legislation makes DP at the national and sub-national level the point of departure and the first step to outline social programs and projects. Moreover, financial resources are allocated to bring the DP to reality. Notwithstanding, to get an idea about how social policy looks like, it would be inadequate just to focus on the ‘social aspect’ of DPs. This planning tool is, in fact, shaped within the framework made up of CPC chapters and articles, laws, and legislative acts. It determines the conditions for departments and municipalities to formulate and implement social policy as well. However, the existing gap between the abstract ideals stated in laws and other regulations, and the actual circumstances departments and municipalities confront to design and manage policies is undeniable.

In order to better understand the complexities emerging in practice at the local level and appreciate their consequences upon the realities that social policies are meant to address, this section identifies the main traits of the framework surrounding and shaping the DP and the social policy within. Accordingly, it first presents the Planning Organic Law, which sets the scope, principles, and tools for the planning process. Second, after introducing the principles regulating the whole, it discusses some of the challenges they have confronted when applied in the Colombian context. Third, it describes DP’s structures and content, identifying the space

where social policy is formulated. Finally, it concludes by discussing critical points that will provide analytic elements to fully appreciate obstacles and struggles that Valle del Cauca and its five selected municipalities deal with in this regard.

The Planning Organic Law

A major innovation that the new political chart of 1991 set forth was the explicit acknowledgement of ‘the territorial’, in relation to ‘the national’. Consequently, the existence of a sub-national planning system was stipulated. In it, the most important tool is the DP. The necessary elements leading to PD’s process, structure content, approval, and implementation are contained in constitutional articles 341 and 342. These are the foundations for the Planning Organic Act (POA) (Act 152 1994) to which territorial entities – country, departments, and municipalities – are bound to for their own planning processes until now.

Principles in the planning system

The Colombian planning system is intended to follow 14 principles. They provide a general guide for the planning process, and equally, establish the rules for the new country territorial organization and articulation. In effect, the CPC not only deepens the decentralization process but also establishes unprecedented relationships between territorial entities – national and sub-national. As a result, emerging challenges in regard to who does what, in which conditions, and with which resources were to be addressed. These questions were and still are particularly relevant to social policy in this new decentralized framework.

For analytical purposes, the planning principles that Table 4.2 shows can be organized in three groups: a) relationships between national and sub-national territorial entities – department and municipalities, and their scope of action: autonomy, competence arrangements, and coordination; b) financial dimension in the planning process; c) The DP structure, content, and characteristics.

One of the most problematic issues to address was to find a balance and clear rules in the centralization-decentralization dynamic aiming to solve still prevailing tensions. CPC and POA grant autonomy to territorial entities in the light of preserving the constitutional unitarian principle. Therefore, to what extent should we grant autonomy to sub-national en-

tities? The document provides an answer: ‘They have autonomy in planning matters for economic and social development, and for environmental management, within the framework of their competences, resources and responsibilities according to CPC and the law’. (POA, Art. 32). DPs in territorial entities will take into account for their own policies’ and strategies’ design those contained in NDP. This approach defines competences as a key aspect.

The competence arrangement refers to the capacity an authority has in order to perform specific functions. Potentially overlapping in their functions and exercise, national and sub-national entities are compelled to follow three principles: concurrency, complementarity, and subsidiarity. Concurrency applies when two or more planning authorities must develop activities together toward a common purpose. Action must be timely and efficient. There must be mutual respect for all the participants’ jurisdictions. It is also an important tool, allowing the articulation of the competences of sub-national levels to the national ones. It is central to strategic alliances expressed in co-financed projects. Complementarity holds when, in planning matters, authorities act in collaboration with others within the same functional sphere aiming at the achievement of development efficacy. This is a horizontal criterion applied by diverse national, department, and municipal dependencies aiming at rationalization of responsibilities, functions, and resources. Subsidiarity refers to the support that wider range planning authorities must provide transitorily to those lacking capacities and technical skills for the DP elaboration. It applies from national to departmental and from those to municipalities under their jurisdiction.

The first to regulate assigned competences to municipalities, departments, and the nation was Act 60, established in 1993. Its twofold emphasis is noteworthy. On the one hand, highlighting the fact that competences were mainly tied to what was mentioned as *services and duties in regard to social matters*: education, health, drinking water and sanitation, housing, and subsidies to demand for the poor and vulnerable social groups (Act 60 1993, Art 1).

Table 4.1
Principles in Colombian planning system

Principles in Colombia Planning System
--

Autonomy	Self-determination for business management Government by own authorities Exercise of assigned competences Resource management and tax collections Share of national income
Competence arrangements	Concurrency Complementarity Subsidiarity
Coordination	Harmony
	Coherence
Consistency	PD's expenditure plans must match financial projections and available incomes
Social expenditure	A priority over any other allocation
Continuity	Plans, programs, and project finalizations within the government term
Participation	Promotion of civic participation to analyze and discuss DP projects Provide recommendations to planning authorities
Environmental sustainability	
Regions' harmonic development	Fair distribution of opportunities and benefits inter- and intra-territories
Planning process	A continued activity
Efficiency	Optimal use of financial, human, and technical resources
Viability	Plans, programs, and projects should be feasible according to goals and targets defined and within the available time
Coherence	Logical Framework Approach
	Problem Tree Analysis
DP Content	Strategy: Goals, targets, economic, social and environmental strategies and policies, means and tools for linkages, and harmonization between territorial levels. Operative investment plan

Source: Author's elaboration according to Planning Organic Act 152 1994

On the other hand, it focuses on the distribution and administration of the available financial resources. The autonomy and competence attributions to departments and municipalities that this law set forth in what was called the territorial-sectorial approach, was reversed in 2001 by Act 715. It redefines competences and cuts back autonomy to a certain extent, thus putting in place a sectorial-territorial approach. In it, the intent is to lessen public expenditure while providing resources for education, health, and other 18 sectors, all of them being in high demand in communities at sub-national territorial levels. This leads to the set of planning principles being linked to financial resources.

A major issue involved in the centralization-decentralization-recentralization processes occurring in Colombia for the past two decades is strongly related to financial matters. What kind of financial resources, whose, for what, and producing what sort of consequences on macroeconomic variables have been dominant and, in some regards, priority concerns for the Colombian government. They have been addressed by setting the principles dealing with planning financial dimension. In effect, consistency, priority to social expenditure, and continuity are related to how to provide, distribute, and allocate resources.

In order to assure macroeconomic and finance stability, the investment and expenditure plans must be consistent with finance, income, and revenue projections within the limitations of the public sector financial programs. The nation (state) having a de-monopoly of macroeconomic variables, then territorial entities are subordinated to the central national government in competences related to responsibilities in the financial sphere.

The planning system principles set up social investment as a new budget item. In pursuit of the general well-being of the progressive population and the improvement in the quality of life, public social expenditure will have priority over any other allocation. Therefore, in the formulation, approval, and implementation of national and sub-national DPs, a special criteria in the territorial distribution of public expenditure are the number of people with unmet basic needs, the total population, and fiscal and administrative efficiency. The principle of continuity aims to ensure the actual execution of plans, programs, and projects included in the DP. The goal is that all of them could be completed within the term they were designed for.

The third set of principles encompasses the planning process, the tools, and general characteristics bringing about DP formulation as a result. This includes participation, environmental sustainability, efficiency, viability, coherence, and regions' harmonic development. The latter deserves special attention. It deals with fair distribution of opportunity and benefits as a basic factor for territorial development. The planning system and DPs are meant to close the gap existing between and among territorial entities. Therefore, Department Development Plan (DDPs) are aimed to reduce imbalances within their jurisdiction, particularly in those municipalities with the highest inequality. Accordingly, municipalities will search for development balance between rural and urban areas.

This planning principles' overview point out to DP as the instrument as a means for their enforcement. Together with the new arrangements for society's well-being, the new CPC made explicit, the decentralization processes reinforce the strategic role of DP in public policy in general, but first and foremost, its prominence in social policy formulation. Therefore, a close examination of the general structure of the DP and content complete the grounds within which social policy has been formulated and evolved.

The Development Plan: structure and content

The last planning principle in Table 4.2 gives a broad idea about the formal dimension of DP. The constitutional principles and OPA clearly state the two parts it must be composed of: the strategy and the investment plan. While being similar in structure, DP at national and sub-national levels differ in content according to their territorial scope: nation, department, or municipalities. Following the strategic planning procedures, DP defines, in the first place the ensemble of policies addressing economic, social, environmental, and institutional issues. In the second place, it presents the financial plan supporting the strategy.

In order to provide a context to better understand the lines of social policy formulation contained in development plans, I present a brief description and discussion of each one of these parts.

The strategy

The strategy results after a diagnostic process. Supported in economic and social statistics, the diagnosis aims to identify baselines and problems that DP at territorial levels will address according to the government program presented by the elected authority: president, governor, or mayor, respectively. Consequently, while strategizing, the DP document contains the following headings: general principles, definitions, vision, mission, general goals, and values. This is followed by specific goals, outcomes, strategies, programs, sub-programs, and targets. Next, DP deals with economic and social matters, environmental protection, territorial management, and public administration. Depending on the available resources and the planning of technical skill at each territorial level, DP's final version is more or less complex, including or excluding fine details.

Table 4.2
National and Sub-national Development Plan (DP): General structure

	National	Sub-national	
Territorial Entity	Country	Department	Municipality
Government Authority	President	Governor	Mayor
DP General Part Strategy	National and sectorial goals after economy, sectorial, and social groups diagnosis	Principles, vision, mission, and general purpose	
	National and sectorial targets	General and specific goals, programs, sub-programs, strategic projects, and targets.	
	Economic, social, and environmental policies and strategies	Social policy	
		Economic policy development and employment	
		Territory management and environmental protection	
	Means and tools to harmonize national planning to sectorial, department, district, and municipality planning.	Governance and institutional development	
DP Investment Plan	Available financial resources projection	Investment plan	
	Program, subprograms: national, regional, and sectorial goals and targets; priority investment projects	DDP and MDP financing	
	Multi-year budgets		
	Implementation mechanism	Harmonization, execution, and evaluation	

Source: Author's Elaboration. For NDP structure, Act (152 1994). For DDP and MDP, author's elaboration.

The investment plan

The investment plan comprises the total budget, the amount allocated to each program and project, and a multi-year investment plan according to territorial government terms. In this way, governments show their financial viability and the actual capacity to implement strategies. As seen in the planning principles section, there must be consistency and coherence between the strategy and the financial resources according to income and revenue projections, and the expenditure structure stated in the organic planning law. A comparative DP perspective at the national and sub-national level is presented in Table 4.2. Section 4.2 and 4.3 of this chapter

analyses DPs designed for the 1998–2008 decade, with special focus on their social policy.

The interplay of force fields in social policy

This section has explored the main features in the Colombian planning system in which social policy is embedded. The principles in the planning process and DP's structure, content, and scope made up the landscape where territorial entities are supposed to formulate and enforce social policies. After almost two decades of government and planning in department and municipalities, there is evidence providing some answers to questions as to what extent planning principles have been applied and their results. In a general way, the balance suggests the following:

An autonomy in planning affairs is today compromised by governance problems occurring in departments and municipalities and by re-centralization of power processes triggered at the national level. On the whole, there are strong constraints for competence exercises, resources management, and mainly, to have their national income share. In regard to competences arrangements, their distribution between the national and sub-national level has not been solved in a clear and precise way.

The national government's justification to apply cuts to the financial resources provision of departments and municipalities is linked to a sensitive macroeconomic variable, fiscal deficit. This has been attributed to departments and municipalities. Consequently, financial adjustments by national government in regard to fiscal responsibilities applied to sub-national entities, while introduced as examples of good economic health and fiscal surplus, result in severe constraint to autonomy and governance¹.

The priority of the social expenditure principle has been jeopardized by the principle of fiscal sustainability. As a result, the 'culture of cement' – physical infrastructure – considered as social investment, prevails over the culture of human talents and capabilities.

The participation principle has suffered limitations in many ways. The corresponding national and sub-national authorities do not provide the means, making possible a broad discussion of DP projects and components. In most of the cases, participation results only in a list of petitions and requests made by some social groups that have no options to include the DP document to be approved by local councils at the municipal level or assemblies at the department level. There is no social control of any sort.

Finally, this section has presented and discussed Colombian internal processes setting out, at least in theory, important grounds for social policy formulation. In effect, the 1991 CPC, decentralization, and the planning principles leading to DP configure the legal framework and define the conceptual, political, and administrative space for social policy actions. Now, it is possible to highlight some critical points relevant to this particular Colombian policy in the general territorial context. These points, derived from almost two decades of implementation, turn to strengths and weaknesses in these internal processes. They are the light and the shadows.

The steps CPC took towards building an inclusive society and the acknowledgement of a wide range of rights to all citizens and to a new distribution and organization in power structures have been under threat. Since its approval in 1991 until 2011, CPC has been going through 29 reforms. They are diverse in goals and fields. Some of them returned privileges to politicians and power groups. Some others set back moves towards decentralization, resources transfer to sub-national entities, and to a new territorial organization. The trend to centralize has continued, entailing fewer financial resource assignments to department and municipalities but maintaining the competences. More than one-third of the constitutional reforms are related to these matters. As a consequence, there has neither been any progress in strengthening local democracy nor has any transparency been established in local public management. Nevertheless, by 2011, one of the most critical reforms was related to the fiscal sustainability criterion. There is the danger of its impact on the social state of right and the legal protection of social and economic rights (A. Novoa 2011).

Forward and backward in planning and decentralization process put autonomy, competence exercise, and territorial level's coordination at stake. Department and municipalities weak in financial capacities and administrative skills are left to their own luck, experiencing the rigor of scarce resources and abundant social demands. In practice, the unsolved tensions in the exercise of competences tie sub-national entities to a high dependency on financial resources from the national level. Under these circumstances, social policy seems to maintain a sectorial approach defined by national centers of power. Consequently, neither did they consult sub-national context realities nor did they answer social needs out of the scope of the sectorial approach, mainly those related to social exclusion. All in all, this suggests challenges and obstacles social policy confronts at sub-

national levels. Strengths and advantages, as well as flaws and shortcomings, assume particular forms in concrete contexts, as this research shows, particularly those faced by Valle del Cauca and its five selected municipalities. This matter will be illustrated and analyzed in the next chapter.

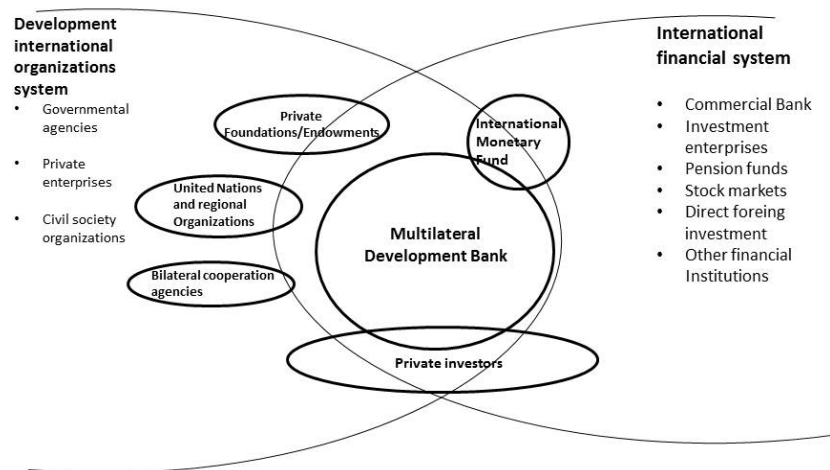
4.3 External influences

A complete comprehensive consideration of the grounds for social policy formulation in Valle del Cauca and Colombia must include an overview of two main external influences: the action of international financial institutions and of the international development organizations. While the former have had a long and well-established tradition going back to the mid-20th century, the latter have had influence in setting and financing social development agendas, particularly at the beginning of the 21st century. In fact, international financial institutions have shaped economic policy and by doing so have brought about unprecedented social circumstances all over Latin America, Colombia being a good example of this influence. As for the international development organizations, beyond the good deal of financing social plans and programs, their influence has been expressed in promoting particular development approaches, ideas, and concepts. All of them have contributed to social policy formulation. This section presents a brief historical review and some of the relevant effects these external influences have had in the Colombian context and its impact on social policy formulation.

4.3.1 International Financial institutions and Development Organizations

The intersection between the international development organization system and the international financial system has been defined as the space of the Multilateral Development Banks (MDB) system (Graphic 4.1). It is composed of the World Bank (WB) Group (International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), International Development Association (IDA), International Finance Corporation (IFC)), regional development banks, sub-regional development banks, and other funds². The role these organizations have played in Latin America and Colombia is undeniable. (Bezanson 2000, Sagasti 2002).

Figure 4.1
International development organization system, International financial system, and Multilateral Development Bank



Source: Development Financing 2000 (Projekt) and University Of Sussex (2001). *A Foresight and policy study of the multilateral development banks: Prepared for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden*. Stockholm, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Regeringskansliet.

Not only do MDBs provide loans to borrower countries, but they also offer a wide range of other services, such as technical assistance, statistical information, and consultancy on economic policies, development studies, public expenditure assessments, capacity building, and donations for international public goods financing (M. Ferroni and A. Mody 2002). Since the outset of MDBs, there has been a tension between their financing functions and their development ones. On the one hand, they must have an excellent performance as banks, and on the other, they are supposed to provide technical assistance, strengthen institutions, promote capacity building, and grant donations and loans to their country members in favorable conditions.

The action of MDBs in Latin America can be traced to the mid-20th century. Some facts are illustrative: in the 1950s, IBRD granted 16 loans to Colombia, the first borrower, followed by Perú with 11, Nicaragua and Brazil 10, and Chile and México, 8 loans each. At that time, these loans were allocated to energy and transportation systems, representing 85% of the total. The rest was assigned to extractive activities and the financial sector. While prioritizing infra-structure, energy, and mining, among other

sectors, it paid less attention to financing agriculture and social sectors programs. In the 1950s, these sectors only received 3% of the total financing loans of WB. In contrast, the IADB – the first multilateral regional bank in the world – created in 1959 in part as a reaction from Latin American countries against the WB loan's policy, allocated during the first decade of existence almost half of its financial operations to those sectors (agriculture and social).

The 1960s decade continued to witness the flow of financial resources from MDBs to Latin American countries, whereas WB loans increased from 19% in 1950s to 28% in this period; yet, IDB granted loans for social infrastructure in the region for double the amount allocated by WB to the same item. Additionally, in 1961, the government of USA launched 'Alliance for progress', a ten-year plan for Latin America intended '[...] to complete the revolution of the Americas, to build a hemisphere where all men can hope for a suitable standard of living, and all can live out their lives in dignity and in freedom' (Kennedy 1961). This allowed IDB to administer \$US 394 million to the Social Progress Fund, which then increased to \$US 525 million.

The import substitution policy was the mark of 1970s in Latin America. The MDB loans increased in order to finance productive sectors. WB allocated 33% of its portfolio and IADB multiplied their loans by four, compared to the previous decade. Moreover, the accessibility to private funds brought as a consequence for countries in the region over indebtedness. Coupled with this, interest rates increased between 1977 and 1981; London Interbank Borrowing Rate (LIBOR) went from negative to 14%, retaining its value at 10% for the next five years until 1986.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) and WB transferred to Latin America from \$US 1 million and \$US 500 million respectively. Nonetheless, these amounts were insufficient to prevent the debt crisis in the second half of the 1980s. The Baker Plan (C.A. Bogdanowicz-Bindert 1986, W. Buitter and T.N. Srinivasan 1987) was launched in 1985 and was addressed to combat international debt crisis with private banks. 10 out of the 15 countries subscribing to the plan were in Latin America. In 1989, the Brady Plan (J.C. Berthelemy and R. Lensink 1992) introduced a mechanism to reduce commercial debt in Latin America.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the Washington consensus gained popularity in Latin America. It consisted of a set of policies favoring liberalization of the commercial and financial sectors, macroeconomic stability,

private sector economic activity, and changes in the role of the state in Economics (J. Williamson 1990, E. Lora 2001). The total investments in Latin America increased from \$US 6750 million in 1990 to \$US 77050 million in 1999. Nonetheless, investments addressed mainly to bigger countries were focused in particular sectors (finance services, telecommunication, and mine and energy extraction).

Meanwhile, the impact of all these economic measures was prominent. Poverty, inequality, and unemployment affected people's possibilities to access social services and goods, such as health, education, and housing, among others. The social drama and its causes acquired different faces according to those who described, analyzed and interpret it. While some of the WB studies do not consider the structural adjustment programs as the main cause for unprecedented poverty and inequality because '[...] the poor may be ill-placed to take advantages of new opportunities created by structural adjustment reforms, just as they suffer less from the loss of old opportunities in sectors that were artificially protected priori to reforms'. While W.R. Easterly (2001) and IADB acknowledges the acute situation affecting millions of people (J. A. Mejia and R. Vos 1997, Inter-American Development Bank 1998), some others strongly blame IMF, WB, Washington consensus, and neo-liberal policies for the distress and suffering of many. At the end, they argue, all this is not about economy but about people, life, and death. (Bello et al. 1994, S. George 1988).

Latin America became the most unequal region on the planet and poverty was rampant. Walden Bello stated it clearly: 'In Latin America, the force of adjustment programs struck with special fury', and quoting IADB president 1988–2005, Enrique Iglesias, he reinforces the point: 'the bulk of the costs of adjustment fell disproportionately on the middle and low-income groups, while the top five per cent of the population retained or, in some cases, even increased its standard of living'. (W. Bello 1994).

Table 4.3
WB loans to Colombia 1998-2008: Total and sectorial distribution

	Loans	TOTAL US\$ Million	Financial/Fiscal Sector %	Social Sectors %	Infrastructure %
1998	5	227.0	0.0	6.6	93.4
1999	4	601.7	84.1	1.8	14.1
2000	5	350.0	0.0	100.0	0.0

	Loans	TOTAL US\$ Million	Financial/Fiscal Sector %	Social Sectors %	Infrastructure %
2001	9	871.4	75.3	20.2	4.6
2002	4	387.0	91.7	0.0	8.3
2003	7	916.0	65.5	23.6	10.9
2004	6	582.0	17.2	39.9	43.0
2005	10	955.8	10.5	52.9	36.6
2006	6	605.5	49.5	49.6	0.8
2007	9	659.3	0.0	49.3	50.7
2008	8	2165.0	25.4	72.8	1.8
Total	73	8320.7	38.1	44.5	17.4

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from:
http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/colombia/projects/all?qterm=&lang_exact=English&os=40

After diagnoses, at the region and the country level (World Bank, 1994), urgent actions were undertaken. Once again, WB and IADB, in combination with international development organizations, such as United Nations (UN) and its agencies, particularly United Nation Development Program (UNDP) played a significant role not only financing economic and social programs but also setting development agendas. In regard to Colombia, for example, from 1998–2008, WB granted 73 loans with a total amount of US\$ 8321 million (WB 1994). Table 4.3 shows the distribution of loan allocations. Yet present in the loan scheme, infrastructure item has lost weight contrary to the trends in previous decades. Regarding the fiscal and the financial sector, during the first half of this decade, loans were aimed at structural adjustment. This trend changed, however, for the second half, when loans were allocated to enhance financial sector and business performance. The goal was and still is to gain competitiveness in the framework of neoliberal policies and a globalized economy. It is worth noting that, all in all, the social sector is the most favored with WB loans, not only because of the amounts these loans represent, but because of their allocation. This is discussed in the next paragraphs as part of a strong influence in setting development agendas.

From its side, and complementary to the WB action, IADB has regularly designed strategies country by country in Latin America, and Colombia has had its share. Two main sources provide evidence to trace IADB influences in Colombia: country strategies documents and country strategies and programs evaluation documents (IADB 2003, 2007, 2012a,

2012b). They state the country's diagnosis and set the role and field of action for WB. In 2003, the country evaluation report, considering the 1990–2002 WB country strategy, claimed: 'the Bank is the largest single creditor of the country, and the Bank's financing is critical during international market closures, thus the Bank is a critical player in the country' (IADB-OVE 2003: 4). In the same report are identified the four main aspects of performance in the Bank's program: financial market liberalization, economic reform, governance and decentralization, and poverty and inequality. Successive country strategies, coinciding with the president government's terms include, besides the fiscal and financial aspect, all possible fields of actions, the same included in DP: transportation, science, technology, and innovation, education and vocational training, social protection, health, water and basic sanitation, urban development and housing, risk management, governance, and modernization of the state (A. Guerrero et al. 2012, IADB 2012b).

In this light, the correlation between MDB financing programs and setting development agendas is straightforward. Strongly interwoven, social dimensions in these development agendas are dependent not only on the financial resources the international financial and development organizations provide, but at the same time on the conceptual approach they promote and support. This is discussed in the next paragraphs.

4.3.2 Approaches, ideas, and concepts for a social development agenda

The early years of the first decade of the 21st century witnessed the confluence of topics for a social development agenda that soon were to be introduced as an international consensus around human and social development. Its core is to be found in the Millennium Declaration and in the Development Goals derived from it. The aim of this section is to appraise how and to what extent approaches, ideas, and concepts inherent to this social international agenda were an important external influence to Colombia's own social programs and policy formulation.

In a comprehensive approach to attain 'a more peaceful, prosperous and just world', the millennium declaration was structured in eight headings: values and principles, peace, security and disarmament, development and poverty eradication, protecting our common environment, human

rights, democracy and good governance, protecting the vulnerable, meeting the special needs of Africa, and strengthening the United Nations. From them, *development and poverty eradication* would be the umbrella topic under which eight millennium development goals and their targets were to set forth constituting the international social development agenda. International and national efforts aligned with it.

The strength of the influence these international organizations, mainly WB, IADB, and UNPD, exerted in the Colombian context, can be illustrated by the expression they use for referring to their double role as financial and technical *partners* to the country. Approaches and examples of ideas and concepts used can be drawn from the text of their own country's strategies documents, loan project files, and country strategy evaluation reports.

There is a consensus among these international organizations in regard to the diagnosis for Colombia during the first decade of the 21st century. On the one hand, there is the good economic performance. In its country strategy evaluation 2007–2010, IADB stated that 'Over the last ten years, Colombia experienced sustained growth, at an average annual rate of 4%. At the same time, the country's macroeconomic conditions evolved positively: private investment grew at an annual rate of 5.5%, net public debt fell to 38% of GDP, international reserves remained high, and inflation was brought down to just over 3% in 2010'. (IADB 2012a). On the other hand, despite progress in poverty reduction and conflict and violence, the report highlighted the number of challenges for the country to confront unemployment, a stagnant export sector, weak and deteriorating infrastructure, poverty, inequality in income and opportunities, and forced displacement. Moreover, WB identifies several risks: the overall political context, namely the internal conflict and violence associated with illegal drug activity, which could negatively affect the fiscal and macroeconomic environment, while aggravating the social situation.

From 2002 until 2007, WB approved five major loans that were mainly addressed to the social sector adjustment, sustainable development, and the social safety net project. The social sector adjustment loan in 2002 was intended for 'the development of a comprehensive Social Risk Management System, improvements in ICBF (Colombian Institute for Family Welfare) child assistance programs, and formulation of a time-bound action plan to eliminate barriers to internally displaced population's access

to social program; the expansion of the subsidized health insurance coverage of the poor; and improvement of the public education regulatory framework'. (WB 2002). It was considered as the Bank's response to the current government's demonstrated commitment to social sector reforms³. In 2006, a Third Labor Reform and Social Development Policy Loan Project (LaRSDPL III) for Colombia was approved, pointing to *(a) strengthen Colombia's social protection system and improve the delivery of social services, (b) raise human capital formation, (c) improve employability, and (d) enhance monitoring and evaluation systems for better transparency, social oversight, and results management in the social sectors* (WB 2006).

The Programmatic Development Policy Loan for Sustainable Development of 2005 aimed at supporting the government of Colombia's efforts to attain the MDGs, in particular, towards ensuring environmental sustainability with a particular emphasis on protecting the most vulnerable groups. In the words of WB's loan file, 'Increased accountability, transparency and improved public participation will provide the most vulnerable groups a voice in environmental decision-making' (WB 2005).

The Social Safety Net Project Loan was approved in 2005 and followed up in 2007 by the Additional Financing for Colombia Social Safety Net Project. These were intended to strengthen the capacity of the Government of Colombia to reduce poverty and inequality and promote human capital investments among the poor. The project consists of two components: (i) consolidation and expansion of the *Familias en Acción* program to 400,000 families and (ii) improving the monitoring and evaluation system of the Ministry of Social Protection (MSP) in order to better track and critically review the country's social safety net portfolio (WB 2005, 2007). It is worth noting that this project is administered directly by the Office of the Presidency of the Republic.

In the case of IADB, despite being an objective for the Bank, 'in each of the past two programming cycles, poverty and inequality remain stubbornly entrenched problems in Colombia'. In its view, social exclusion remains a critical element of the Colombian labor market: even in good times, the excluded find it difficult to secure employment. Moreover, social spending had a procyclical bias, which was addressed through Bank operations seeking to stabilize social spending in adjustment periods, and the country's social safety net continues to experience problems, particularly as it faces an increased volatility in the economy.

The IADB helped finance three social programs with a pro-poor bias (social assistance, education, and health), but one of its largest programs (housing) was initially skewed towards the middle-income deciles. Combining these four programs and weighing them by the size of their disbursements and assuming the same incidence as the country's overall programs, the incidence of the Bank's social program overall is modestly tilted toward lower income groups, largely as a result of the Bank's conditional cash transfer program.

Two areas of work in which the Bank maintained a presence and was relevant during the period were social investment and decentralization: 'In the first, it confirmed itself as a stable partner in the creation and operation of a long-term social safety net whose objective is to end poverty and its transmission from parents to children. In the second, cooperation was crosscutting, since work was done with subnational institutions in diverse sectors, such as transportation, business development, housing, and modernization of the State' (IADB, 2011). To channel its work in the country, the Bank's country strategy defined three areas of action: competitiveness, social development, and governance and strengthening of the State. The strategic areas are sufficiently broad to incorporate any subject that could arise in any of the Bank's areas of work. Competitiveness is the broadest area of all, since it covers environmental management, risk, sustainable economic growth, and even water and sanitation, an area normally grouped with the social development sectors.

Besides illustrating the strong incidence in social development agendas setting by means of financing particular programs, these documents also show a certain competition for which institution is the major source of multilateral financing. The next quotation, from an IADB document, is a good sample of it:

Although the country strategy expected that "the Bank would become Colombia's main source of multilateral financing," the IDB's importance as a source had gradually been waning. Its funds accounted for 60% of the country's multilateral financing in January 2002 but just 40% in October 2010. This trend is due to two complementary factors: (a) the fact that external financing has fallen compared to domestic financing (between 2001 and 2010, the external debt fell from nearly 50% to 29.2% of the total debt); and (b) the World Bank's share of Colombia's external debt has increased.

Between 2002 and 2010, the World Bank's contribution to Colombia's multilateral financing rose from under 24% to over 52%. In 2007-2010, it

approved 27 loan operations for a total of almost US\$4.3 billion—about 10% more than the IDB. These figures reflect the fact that the World Bank's program with Colombia is its third largest in Latin America and seventh largest in the world in terms of exposure. Coordinated by the central government, the relationship between the IDB and the World Bank has been good overall. (IADB 2007–2010)

Familias en Acción is one of the most important social programs in which WB, together with IADB have been a financial and technical partner throughout the nearly 10 years of the program's implementation, playing a key role in providing technical assistance for the design and evaluation in the past decade. This program was established in 2001 with the twofold objective of contributing to poverty reduction through direct cash transfers to families and stimulating household investment in child health and education. The program provides financial assistance to households, provided they meet a series of school attendance and medical checkup requirements for their children. It operates in virtually all municipalities, covering more than 2.6 million families, including displaced and indigenous households, or nearly one-quarter of Colombia's population.

Since 2001, *Familias en Acción* has been approved in alternate years by WB and IADB. This is indeed an example of good relationships between these two MDBs. Nonetheless, the IADB report states that '[...] there is some competition in the area of infrastructure, where the World Bank has had a strong presence in water and urban infrastructure projects. Another area where the World Bank has a much stronger presence than the IDB is education' (IADB 2011).

There is also a consensus in regard to pending challenges and the potential contribution these organizations are able to address. For IADB, in its country strategy evaluation 1998–2006, 'The key question is how to increase economic growth and link it to more equitable and sustainable results. As far as the economic expansion is concerned, investment levels are still too low to maintain the sustained growth required to press ahead with the social agenda and create economic opportunities for Colombians' (IADB 2011).

Despite all efforts WB and IADB have made in the country by means of loans and technical assistance, there is a shared concern about persistent poverty and inequality. Nonetheless, according to the reports, the country's human development indicators have improved, suggesting that the

country may achieve most of its millennium goals. This leads to the consideration of the role that UNDP has played in Colombia in regard not only to MDGs, but to national and sub-national Human Development Reports (HDR).

In effect, since 1998, UNDP has had an important role in the preparation of HDR and monitoring the Human Development Index (HDI). In a joint effort with national governmental organizations, such as National Planning Office (NPO) or *Misión Social*, UNDP has conceptually, financially, and technically supported the report processes. Each one of the five Colombia's HDRs has addressed key aspects linked to human development as understood by UNDP (DNP 1998, 1999, 2000; UNPD 2003, 2011). These topics have been diagnosis of poverty (1998), violence (1999), human rights (2000), conflict (2003), and the rural country (2011). Additionally, three sub-national HDRs have been produced for the coffee axe – Manizales, Bogotá, and Valle del Cauca (UNDP 2004, 2008a, 2008b).

Although not as financially strong as WB and IADB, UNDP has exerted perhaps a deeper conceptual/ideological influence on Colombian social development agendas. As a matter of fact, promoting the human development approach and taking action to incorporate it in national and sub-national planning has been considered in the Assessment Development Report for Colombia 1998–2006 (UNDP 2007), one of its main achievements. In their own words,

[...] the evaluation found that overall UNDP has contributed to foster democratic governance and the rule of law, by promoting institutional capacity building of national and sub national institutions, as well as by promoting dialogue among development actors on national needs, including incorporation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) into national planning.

UNDP has provided valuable support for the measurements and analysis of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) at the national, departmental/subnational and municipal levels, [...] played an important role in mainstreaming the MDGs within the Colombian public sector, not only by supporting research and analysis at all three levels of government, but also assisting in the elaboration of a policy document setting out targets and strategies designed to allow the government of Colombia to incorporate MDGs into its national development policies.' (UNDP 2007)

In regard to HDR, the assigned importance of influencing agenda setting is also clear:

‘[...] The production of national and subnational HDR in Colombia since has helped develop the analytical capacities needed to address sensitive aspect of human development and conflict. These reports have also served as advocacy tools and played an important role in the agenda-setting process in Colombia.’ (UNDP 2007)

Strategic themes for UNDP in Colombia have been democratic governance, peace, development, reconciliation, and poverty eradication. Cross-cutting topics are environment and sustainable development, gender equity, and HDR. By 2013, there were six UNDP regional offices and projects in 13 Departments in the country.

As shown above, this review to WB, IADB, and UNDP country strategies, loan files, and country strategies’ evaluation documents are revealing in many ways. A close examination not only allows grasping the magnitude of their portfolio in Colombia, but also brings to light how and to what extent these organizations are strong external influences in setting national development agendas and policy design – both economic and social. Approaches, ideas, and concepts in social policy and the topic of interest here are coupled with financial decision-making processes inspired in particular economic ideologies. In this case, during the period 1998-2008, the boom of the neoliberal policies was rooted in the Washington consensus.

4.4 Power relationships in social policy formulations: Concluding remarks

This chapter has analysed internal processes and external influences constituting the grounds for social policy formulation in Colombia and Valle del Cauca in the period 1998–2008. In this context, the proclamation of the 1991 constitutional chart, the decentralization process it boosted, and the strategic role assigned to development plans were milestones shaping the national and subnational social policy. However, these internal processes were tied to major international and global trends. These were signed by the rise, expansion, and consolidation of neo-liberal policies intended to deal with the debt and financial crisis hitting Latin American countries outrageously.

The radical emphasis on keeping macroeconomic variables under control, assuring debt repayments, and implementing fiscal structural adjustments and reforms had, therefore, consequences in the way to address social development agendas. In this framework, international financial and development organizations found their way to exert powerful influences whether in terms of financing or conceptually shaping plans, programs, and projects at national and subnational levels.

All in all, poverty and inequality have been unavoidable issues to put in the top of the agenda to tackle. Notwithstanding, as part of a vicious circle, poverty reduction and other social issues (vulnerability, social exclusion, and so forth) seem to be subordinated in order to attain economic growth and fiscal discipline. In this line, the complex interactions between the social and the economic assume different faces when it comes to formulating social policies. At national and subnational levels, they are reflected in DP, where social policies are expressed.

The next chapter looks in detail at Colombia's NDPs and Valle del Cauca's DDP and the MDP of five municipalities, seeking to decipher main traits of social policy formulation.

Notes

¹ The fiscal adjustment applied to territorial entities is expressed in a set of laws, such as Acts 617 2000, 550 1999, 715 2001, and 819 2003. The effects and implications of these will be considered in the particular case of Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities.

² Latin America and the Caribbean area is under the scope of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), one of the regional development banks, and of Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF), a sub-regional development banks.

³ In 2002, President Alvaro Uribe decided to merge the Health Ministry, founded in 1938 and the Labor Ministry, founded in 1946, in order to create the Social Protection Ministry (SPM). In 2011, it was split into the Health and Social Protection Ministry and Labor Ministry again.

5

A Decade of Social Policy Formulation (1998-2008)

5.1 Introduction

The strengthening of the Colombian state and its administrative functioning previous to the neo-liberal reforms allowed the formalization of a state-driven social policy formulation and implementation. Consequently, the individual and institutional actors playing important roles in the past, such as the Colombian Catholic Church, other religious organizations, philanthropy-oriented private sector organizations, and NGOs, lost their strategic power. In fact, several social services and goods provision that were on their hands went under the control of the state. At the end of the 1990s, due to neo-liberal policies and the shrinking of the state, these organizations came to the fore again. Now, as contractors, they are answering the state's needs of outsourcing the social policy implementation. In other words, it was the privatization of social services and goods provision.

The internal process and external influences constituting the grounds for social policy formulation in Colombia examined in Chapter 4 set up one of the layers in which power relationships and force fields interact. They defined the boundaries – explicit and clear, in some cases, in others, tacit and blurred – within which the social policy was and still is designed and implemented. It is stated in the Development Plans (DP) that forms of social policy that are more or less flexible emerge as a result of these synergies.

The analytical course this research proposes to take determines whether the 'social exclusion-social capital' dyadic conceptual device is instrumental to the social policy formulation and to examine the ways in which it pervades such a policy scrutinizing its discernible form, the DP documents. Therefore, they are addressed as another layer of the heterogeneous ensemble, in Foucauldian terms. In this category, the DP docu-

ments, in turn, encapsulate power relationships and fields of forces operating within specific economic, social, political, and cultural ranges of action. From these realms, new power relations and fields of forces emerge. On one hand are those connecting the internal processes and external influences with the ‘discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures and philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions’ implied in DPs. On the other hand are those connecting DPs with specific contexts at the national and subnational level, bringing about a new layer or power relationship. This complex entanglement confronts and challenges the citizen’s perceptions and experiences.

In the Colombian and Valle del Cauca context, the social policy as formulated in the national and subnational DP in 1998–2008 suggests, therefore, a response to an identified urgent need – in this case, ‘social exclusion’. The response to such a need revolves around ‘social capital’, both integrating the dyadic conceptual device. In their implementation, DPs define strategies, programs, and projects. All these are designed under the responsibility and supervision of the state at the national and subnational levels. Aiming at improving the individual and collective quality of life, they serve as a guide for action and provide settings for budget allocation in what is called the social expenditure.

Intended to disentangle the elements (discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws and administrative measures, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions) of the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ dyadic conceptual device encased in DPs, this chapter proceeds as follows. First, it analyses the key features of the 1998–2008 social policy in Colombia National Development Plans (NDP). Further, the chapter moves on from examining their strategic structure and content and looks into the slogans and general objectives in order to locate the place that the social policy targets in the DP. Forthwith, it studies the social policy’s general objectives identifying their approaches, concepts, and ideas.

Second, seeking to assess whether or not the main lines of the Colombian social policy approaches from 1998–2008 have conceptually transcended from the national to the subnational level. It scrutinizes the Department Development Plan (DDP) and Municipality Development Plan (MDP) in the same period. Presidents, governors, and majors outline a DP for each

term in office. Consequently, the set of documents examined in this research is composed of three Colombian NDPs, three Valle del Cauca's DDPs, and 18 MDPs – three for every considered municipality: Buenaventura, Cali, Cartago, Florida, and Tuluá, which indicated there were 24 DPs in total (Table 5.1). To it adds up the 'Master Plan for Valle del Cauca' (2005) and the 'Human Development Report for Valle del Cauca' (2008). Where possible, the governor and mayors' management reports were also analysed as complementary to the main set of documents.

Table 5.1
Development Plans (DP) 1998-2008

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	DP	
Colombia	Andres Pastrana															1
					Alvaro Uribe Term I											1
							Alvaro Uribe Term II									1
Valle del Cauca	0		1		1		1		1		1					3
Municipalities																
Buenaventura	0		1		1		1		1		1					3
Cali	1		1		1		1		1		1					4
Cartago	1		1		2		1		1		1					5
Florida	1		1		1		1		1		1					4
Tuluá	0		0		1		1		1		1					2
Total																24

Source: Author's elaboration

The DP documents' examination led to establishing their general structure and content. They give particular attention to the statements framing the vision, mission, values, and principles as well as to the chapters/sections formulating the social policy defining strategies and programs.

The analytic strategy allowed the identification of consistency and inconsistency within and between the documents. In search of continuities and discontinuities, selected relevant paragraphs are compared and contrasted along the length of the period. Particular attention is paid to how social exclusion and the social capital conceptual network are considered,

understood, and addressed in these plans to establish variation in approaches and ideas during the decade under study.

In each of the three administrative levels (national, department, and municipalities), an administration-to-administration perspective using a diachronic analysis allows the search for continuities and discontinuities in social policy formulation. A complementary synchronic analysis allows the search for coherence and harmonization, or the lack of them, between the three administrative levels where social policy is enacted.

5.2 Social policy in National Development Plans: 1998-2010

The text of these DPs is a main source to follow the trace of policy formulation – whether social, economic, or environmental – along with its content and evolution over time. Its centrality dwells in the fact that, as an official document, it displays the lines of governmental programs expressing agreements – achieved and legitimized – between multiple actors who are not always convergent. This common view, now with the force of law, set the direction to which a country, department, or municipality must address its efforts and resources for attaining the envisioned society. With this in mind, it seems appropriate to look into DP text in order to establish the particular approaches to and the location assigned for social policy within the general framework of governmental programs.

The roots to social policy formulation at the subnational level are to be found in NDPs. In effect, not only as a model to follow but as a general guide, these documents provide a conception of the kind of society the national government in office is pursuing. In consequence, under the assumption of coherence and harmony at the three territorial levels (national, department, and municipality) while setting general objectives and approaches to social, economic, and environmental policies, the NDP paved the way to the designs of their equivalents at subnational levels. Focusing on social policy, this section seeks to establish the main traits of the three NDPs ruling in the period 1998–2010. After analysing NDP structure and content, it discusses slogans and general objectives. Then, it turns to identify the treatment social policy has had in NDP documents. This procedure allows, first, to identify the conceptual and theoretical trend during the period that is the scope of this research; second, it allows the determination of whether or not there is consistency between the social

policy formulation at national and subnational level and in which was this consistency exists.

Table 5.2
National Development Plans (1998-2010): General Structure

Presidential Term	1998-2002	2002-2006	2006-2010
President	Andrés Pastrana	Alvaro Uribe	Alvaro Uribe
NDP Title	<i>Change to build peace</i>	<i>Towards a communitarian state</i>	<i>Communitarian state: Development for all</i>
Chapters Titles			
1	The context of change	To provide democratic security	Communitarian state: Development for all
2	Towards a participatory state	To boost sustainable economic growth and jobs generation	Defence policy and democratic security
3	Fundamental commitments of society: Rebuilding of social fabric	To build social equity	Poverty reduction and jobs and equity promotion
4	Development and peace: Tools and priorities for peace building	To increase transparency and state efficiency	High and sustained growth: Conditions for development with equity
5	Exports as growth engine	Macroeconomic environment	Environment and risk management to promote sustainable development
6	Strengthening of social infrastructure		A better state in service of citizens
7	Restructuring the Coffee axe		Special dimensions of development
Law	508 de 1999	812 de 2003	1151 de 2007

Source: Author's elaborations based on NDP documents (Departamento Nacional de Planeación 1999, 2003, 2006).

5.2.1 NDPs: The strategy structure and content

The NDPs considered here correspond to three terms in office of two Colombian presidents, Andrés Pastrana (1998–2002) and Alvaro Uribe (2002–2006 and 2006–2010). The fact of being re-elected consecutively gave the latter the opportunity to assure some sort of continuity in his

government program. The country's social, political, and economic context as well as its seemingly different ideological approach to solve the urgent problems facing Colombia at the time were reflected in the NDP. Pastrana's 'building peace' government strategy was replaced by Uribe's 'security' approach. The meaning and implications of this change can be traced while looking at the slogans each one of them used to promote their government program, which served as NDPs title, and the general objectives stated in those documents. A comparative perspective allows the identification of the decade's trend. Following the pattern stated in the Planning Organic Act, Table 5.2 shows the structure and content corresponding to the strategy. The shadowed boxes highlight chapters devoted to social policy in each NDP.

Slogans and general objectives in NDPs

It has become a tradition in the political and government space to set appealing slogans conveying the message about what is at the core of the government agenda for each new term. In most of the cases, they serve as DP titles and, by this way, a key element around which program and projects turn around. Slogans, in their way, reflect answers to the main concern of the moment. While Andrés Pastrana (1998–2002) called for attention towards 'change for building peace', Alvaro Uribe (2002–2006 and 2006–2010) made the 'communitarian state and democratic security' the main concern to address in his two consecutive terms in office.

In fact, there were two different approaches underlying these two slogans to address drug trafficking and violent conflict, both vices outrageously lashing the country. While Pastrana, in search for conflict solutions, started peace talks with FARC¹ (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia) and ELN² (Ejército de Liberación Nacional) guerrilla, Uribe opted for a militarist solution where democratic security was the key factor. There was a logic behind that.

Aiming at creating conditions for peace dialogues and to bring the prevailing armed conflict to an end, President Pastrana cleared 42,000 kilometres in El Caguán, Department of Caquetá, from the Colombian army's action in what was known as 'the demilitarized zone'. The peace process started in 1998 and ended officially in 2002 after the kidnaping of a commercial airplane where a republic senator was taken hostage by the FARC guerrilla. The president commanded the army to recover the zone from FARC's rule. At the same time, the Colombian government withdrew the

political status granted to FARC, reactivated the arrest warrants against FARC's members, and abolished FARC's civic policy in the demilitarized zone (C. Leguizamo 2002).

As a consequence, the armed conflict worsened. The Colombian army intensified their actions against the FARC guerrilla all over the country. Correspondingly, FARC increased its spectacular armed actions such as the kidnapping of 12 members of Valle del Cauca Department Assembly, which is the legislative department body, the kidnaping and killing of Antioquia's Governor and his peace advisor, and the widely known kidnapping of Ingrid Betancourt. All in all, these facts prepared grounds for the election of Alvaro Uribe as the president. Though critical of the whole peace process, his democratic security proposal advocated the elimination of violent groups, which reached a height and was widely accepted. Subsequently, he won the presidential election in 2002 (A. Vargas 2004; S. Kalmanovitz 2004).

During Pastrana's administration, the two main problems that Colombia confronted were social conflict and an unsatisfactory economic performance. Peace building was a way to address these issues. In this view, the social conflict goes hand in hand with violence. This complex phenomenon can be seen in two dimensions. On one hand were the actions of violent groups such as the guerrilla, paramilitary, drug trafficking groups, and organized crime networks and gangs. On the other hand were the violent actions within families and among civilians in their daily life that were occurring in urban and rural areas. The precarious living conditions of wide segments of the Colombian population were considered a source of social conflict as well. To elaborate, violence and poverty were linked, explaining the low level of social cohesion.³

The signs of unsatisfactory economic performance identified by Pastrana's government were the tendency to increase public expenditure, rise in fiscal deficit, inflation, and fall of economic growth rates that were less than 3% per year. These macroeconomic factors together categorized Colombia at that time as a low/middle-income country. Consequently, the unmet needs, poverty, violence and social conflict suffered by multiple people – in a wide array of expressions – made attaining sustainable economy growth and social cohesion the main objectives of the NDP (DNP 1998).

According to Pastrana's NDP, these main objectives were to be achieved by the following derived specific objectives: to promote wealth

production and reduce unemployment rates significantly; to offer incentives for the social and economic promotion of the population and assure equality in social opportunities; to generate a culture for peace-enhancing skills and capabilities for daily coexistence with solidarity, tolerance, and respect for human rights; and finally, to improve efficiency and equality in public resources allocation. Furthermore, the final goal was intended to achieve national reconciliation. It was in the period 1998–2008 when social capital perspective, matching the social values included in the NDP's specific objectives, was intensively promoted. The NDP's introductory chapter is largely devoted to social capital. It embraces the WB approach (P. Dasgupta and I. Seralgedin 2000; C. Grootaert and Van Bastelaer, 2002). As it is discussed below in this section and more thoroughly in Chapter 5, the social capital discourse pervaded not only government social policy formulation but social programs of the private sector and NGOs. Mass media were also an important means used for spreading opinion ideas, notions, and terms associated to social capital and its claimed benefits to the public.

The strategies Pastrana's government designed to achieve sustainability leading to economic growth and social cohesion are shown in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1
Change for building peace



Source: Author's elaboration

The failure of Pastrana and FARC's peace process, escalation of violence, kidnapping, and crimes of all sorts during Pastrana's term in office prioritized democratic security and the task of building the communitarian state in Alvaro Uribe's administration (2002–2010). The main problem then was state weakness for which the communitarian state was, in his view, the solution.

The definition of the communitarian state is to be found in the NDP 2002–2006. It is a participatory state where the citizens are involved in achieving social aims, and it is also a managerial state that made use of public resources with efficiency and austerity. It is decentralized and gives priority to regional autonomy where transparency, political responsibility, and community participation are central dimensions. It tolerates neither corruption nor violence of any kind, no matter what its discourse or aims are. It makes social investment and promotes solidarity towards public and private decisions. It will boost the creation of owners in the country where everyone has ownership and is responsible for their assets and their own destiny. It hopes public investments would lead to productive employment generation as an outcome. It will work to eliminate bureaucracy and politicking (DNP 2003). In order to build the communitarian state, the NDP set four objectives: to provide democratic security, to boost sustainable economic growth, to build social equity, and to increase state transparency and efficacy.

In an unprecedented circumstance in Colombia, Alvaro Uribe was re-elected consecutively for a second term in office allowing continuity and deepening the policies implemented in his first administration. Gaining achievements on security, trust, economic development, and social equity, the NDP 2006–2010 considers the maintenance of economic growth attained in the previous term and poverty reduction as its main objective. Underlying the whole should be a wider notion of development. This plan acknowledges that economic growth *per se* is not enough to achieve equity. Sound social policies (leading to equity, poverty reduction, environment sustainability, and decentralization) and democratic security are to be considered as the context for economic growth (DNP 2006).

In order to realize the main objective, this NDP defined the following goals and fields for policy implementation: the strengthening of the communitarian state; defence and democratic security; poverty reduction, employment promotion, and equity; heightened and sustained economic growth; sustained development promotion by means of environmental

and risk management; consolidation of democratic models and participation mechanism in such a way that the state is at the service of citizens; and finally, a set of policies taking into account which part of the development the NDP considers as a special dimension. These are policies addressed to women, children, families, youth, ethnic groups, culture, and leisure social economy, among others.

The place of social policy in the NDP

It was explained above the Colombian constitutional mandates in which the social policy is embedded. In this framework, however, each government/administration is prone to provide a particular interpretation for and a set of priorities on how to deal with social issues. They are reflected in a) the nature and content of social policy and b) the space allocated in NDP.

The approaches to social policy are highly dependent on the general economic, political, and social situation the country is going through. Furthermore, whether as a reaction or as a way to make the difference with the previous administration (particularly, when there is a change in the political sign in power), the emphasis may differ. In light of this point, there is a contrast in the three NDPs.

For Pastrana's administration, the priority is on the task of building peace. For this, the plan devotes 'the social' explicitly to three chapters where the central topics are participation, rebuilding of the social fabric, and the strengthening of social infrastructure. The 1998–2002 NDP's opening chapter, apart from pointing at the social conflict and economic performance as the problems to be solved, describes the context for change inequity and scarce social capital as a part of it. In fact, the plan's second strategy is devoted to social capital seen as the society's fundamental commitments together with human capital. This same vein is to be found in Chapter 4, with reference to the tools and priorities of peace building, and in Chapter 6 on social infrastructure.

The place considered 'the social' in this NDP highly contrasts with the 2002–2006 NDP where only one chapter is explicitly dedicated to 'build social equity', whereas the others deal with economic issues. In the 2006–2010 NDP, the emphasis on social issues is higher although always after defence and democratic security issues.

It would be misleading, by just looking at the surface, to assert that one plan involved more social elements than the other. In fact, a careful reading leads to the conclusion that, in all cases, the economic dimension was the central issue. The way it was presented is perhaps the difference. The nature, context, and features of social policy in NDP are discussed in the next section.

5.2.2 Social policy in NDPs

Social policy reflects the context it addresses and responds to it. One of the main assumptions behind any social policy formulation is that it is supposed to respond to the social needs of a population, whether at a global, national, or subnational level. Nonetheless, this response is neither disengaged from the general economic, social, and political context of the geographical area to which they are addressed, nor from the changes and rearrangements occurring in those fields. The literature emphasizes the dependency of the social policy on the context. However, in this regard, the matter that is less discussed is how social policy formulation is exposed to the changes occurring within the context it is supposed to address. This is true even more for the question of how it deals with a specific context characterized in itself by the diversity of contexts within.

With these ideas in mind, this section seeks to identify the conceptual and theoretical linkages or disjunctions existing in national social policy formulation in the general context of the period that is the scope of this research. This leads to look into social policy as formulated in the three NDPs from 1998–2008. After discussing how social policy is understood in these documents, the remainder of the section is aimed to analyse their general objectives, approaches, concepts, and ideas. With the conceptual and theoretical lens at hand, comparisons and contrast of social policy's main features allows, on one hand, tracing and highlighting changes and transformations along the decade. On the other hand, it provides key reference points to assess the linkages and/or disjunctions to Valle del Cauca and the social policy formulation of five different municipalities.

Has there been a monolithic conception of social policy in Colombian NDPs during the period 1998–2008? An examination of the introductory sections of NDP documents and of the specific social policy chapters therein shows some convergences and divergences characterizing the decade in this regard. The quotations in Table 5.3 are a good token of both,

somewhat reflecting changes in approaches, concepts, and ideas that are discussed in greater detail below.

Table 5.3
Social policy approaches in NDPs (1998-2002)

NDP 1998-2002	'...social policy is the way in which it is institutionally possible that attaining individual human capital accumulation and collective social capital creation could be articulated and balanced, to individual and collective physical accumulation. All this addressed to strengthen national development and achieving sustainable economic growth with social cohesion. ' 'Social policy is a priority in this government. The emphasis in this policy is to be found, in general, in the search for a broader coverage, equity, efficiency and quality' (Pastrana: 193).
NDP 2002-2006	'A social comprehensive strategy produces equity in different fronts. It closes the gaps between rich and poor; urban and rural areas; men and women; regions; generations; and ethnic groups. Unbalanced development would lead to social instability ' ((DNP, 2002:25).
NDP 2006-2010	'The Plan is a structural social policy, and harmonic set of social action which must bring about positive impacts in well-being.' 'This Plan is aimed to growth with social cohesion.' 'In this framework trust is fundamental to economic reactivation, fiscal health and macroeconomic stability and stability in the rules of the game. These are the only guarantees for economic growth to happen and for to social policies to be implemented. In other words, they are a necessary condition for poverty reduction and for improvement in equity to become true' ((DNP, 2006:25). 'The pillar of social policy during the term 2006-2010 is to overcome extreme poverty. To fight it the strategy consists of bringing all social policy instruments to a broad universe of 1.5 million of families, in order to vindicate them and for them to avoid poverty trap, where they are' (Ref).

Source: Author's elaboration

There are at least three relevant convergences concerning social policy conception. First, social policy is strongly linked to economic growth. However, the degree of this connection is nuanced and varies from one plan to another. While they seem to go hand in hand in Pastrana's NDP, the first is dependent and subordinated to the second in Uribe's NDP. These nuances are going to be emphasized in the general objectives and content and approaches to the social policy. Second, coverage and equity (in social services access) are related to efficiency and quality. Nonetheless, there are different interpretations from plan to plan about how to understand and implement these characteristics. As it will be discussed in the reminder of this section, these differences are going to be reflected in the priorities assigned to social policy and to provide social services and goods

in the way. Third, in the three documents, social policy appears to be an important instrument for achieving social cohesion and stability. These seem to be the main concerns, not only socially but politically. This is understandable within the general economic, social, and political context within which social policy unfolds.

It is not surprising to find marked divergences in social policy's conceptions in NDPs. They are not only explained because of the change in the government's political sign in office, but rather because of the radical turn Uribe's two terms in office took in terms of the social policy and in the general way the country was governed and its pressing issues addressed.

Figure 5.2
Elements in social policy



Source: Author's elaboration

In a framework where democratic security and the recovery of control over the national territory were the main priorities, social policy is somehow subordinate to those goals and was meant to be considered as a tool against social instability. The quotation in Table 5.3 suggests some of the fronts where this instability was taking place and reflects the general state of disturbance that was characteristic of those days. Nevertheless, it is in Uribe's second term when the cleavage in the social policy conception is deepened. Statements such as 'Private investment is the means to solve country's social problems' or 'It is necessary first to build conditions to promote investors' confidence/ trust, for a sustained and vigorous economic growth and at the same time overcome poverty and improve equity conditions' (Uribe II: 25) set the tone. The consideration of the whole NDP as a structural social policy put defence, economic, and social policy in the same basket. Of course, this is related to the long-standing debate about the linkages between social and economic policy and also about which one goes first or whether it is subordinated or not to the other.

Another important trait in Uribe's social policy conception is the tendency to define poverty mainly as a lack of income. Consequently, the whole social strategy is aimed to pull out people from the poverty trap. In this perspective, income generation became a crucial policy node.

There are also different ways of understanding the role of institutional dimensions. They are, in Pastrana's NDP, the instruments to find the right articulation and balance between, on one hand, the individual human capital and the collective social capital and, on the other hand, the physical capital accumulation: the individual, social, and economic dimensions. To elaborate, this defines a proper integration between these mentioned forms of capital in order to achieve development and social cohesion. The recurrent expressions of the forms of capital (physical, natural, human, and social) in all the three NDPs are not unjustified. This is discussed in depth in Chapter 5 on social capital, particularly with regard to social policy.

In contrast, Uribe's NDPs emphasizing the role of institutional arrangements as the key aspect to achieve economic performance and growth set aside the balance suggested in Pastrana's approach. To quote Summers (2003) and Rodrik (2005), the NDP 2006–2010 states that there are basic economic principles or first order/range principles to achieve development. The following were a part of the list: the ability to be integrated to global economy through commerce and investment; sustainable

public finances and healthy money; institutional environment with respect to and protection of contracts and property rights; market-based competence; appropriate incentives; fiscal solvency and debt sustainability.

This basic principles and institutional arrangements can be described in at least three levels. At **microeconomic** level the goal is to attain productive efficiency. The principles are property rights, incentives, and rule of law; at **macroeconomic** level the goal is macroeconomic and financial stability. The principles are healthy money, fiscal sustainability and reasonable regulation; at **social policy level**, the goal is distributive justice and poverty reduction. The principles are: targeting and incentives compatibility.

This Plan interprets that literature as follows: there are basic economic principles that must be respected. However, each country has the right and the duty to develop its own institutional forms to give a correct expression to the basic economic principles. This is, to a great extent, the main task of the Plan. (NDP Uribe II: 28–29)

It is inevitable to perceive the clear subordination of social policy to the fulfilment of economic goals. In fact, the three ideas composing the slogan Uribe persistently used during his eight years as the Colombian president reinforced this idea: ‘democratic security, investor’s confidence/trust, and social cohesion’. The order of these terms is certainly not random. The contrasts, convergences, and divergences are even more visible while examining the general objectives, contents, concepts, and ideas shaping social policy formulation in the 1998–2010 Colombian NDP.

Social policy’s general objectives in NDPs (2002-2010)

The problematic situations aimed to be addressed by social policy can be drawn from the general objectives stated in the social policy’s chapters as presented in NDPs. As actions intended to be responses to these issues, general objects set the general line to the social strategy. A comparative perspective of the general objectives in NDPs’ social policy 1998–2010 is summarized in Table 5.4. Although some common traits are shared in the three documents, there are also some differences. Of course, president Uribe’s continuity in office gives shape to the identification of the problems and to the diagnoses at which social policy is aimed. Yet, some differences in the general approach and the content of the last two NDPs are apparent.

While social policy seems to be a society's fundamental commitment to rebuilding the social fabric according to Pastrana, Uribe focuses his attention first on building social equity and then in reducing poverty. Social cohesion and equity are central concerns for the government's social policy. However, the way to understand and deal with them seems different.

There is a consistency in identifying inequality and poverty as relevant circumstances for social policy to overcome. In spite of this harmony, the first of Uribe's NDP not only emphasises this two aspects but also breaks them down and highlights some others, such as employment informality. But most important of all among them is the inexistence of a social protection network. This issue became the core of his whole social policy. In the second term, the text did not indicate to which issue the social policy is a response. It rather just stated that the social policy will further develop what has *already* been achieved, without stating what these areas of achievement exactly were.

But perhaps the areas where differences in the approaches are sharper are the way to formulate the general objectives in themselves. While Pastrana stresses on the characteristics and circumstances of the society, Uribe focuses on the social policy's formal institutional character. That is to say, his focus is not on the civil society but on the efficiency in the social expenditure, not to re-build and strengthen the social fabric but to improve the target expenditure, not on the search for equality in social opportunities but on increasing social investment with outcomes. Here again, the most important objective was to consolidate the social protection and assistance/welfare system. This approach is somehow moderated in the objectives stated for the second term.

The consequences of this particular approach to social policy (looking above all for efficiency and the design of a social protection system that implied huge changes in social services at national and subnational levels) were somehow concealed or at least minimized by the particular style of governance Uribe implemented. The massive 'consejos comunitarios' (community councils) held weekly all across the country that ministers were obliged to attend created the impression of a nearness to the people. They also produced quick – if not immediate – solutions to their needs and wants.⁴

Table 5.4
Social policy in NDPs (1998-2010)

Social PolicyNDP	Pastrana (1998-2002)	Uribe I (2002-2006)	Uribe II (2006-2010)
Title	Society's fundamental commitments: Rebuilding the social fabric	Building social equity	Poverty reduction and promotion of employment and equity
Diagnosis	Lack of social cohesion	Lack of equity	Widened social and regional gaps
In response to	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inequality - Poverty - Social exclusion denying opportunities to households and persons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deterioration in social indicators - Increase in poverty rates - Growth inequality - Less health coverage due to unemployment - Increase in informality - Increase in drop-outs in school - Inexistence of a social protection network 	
Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To consolidate civil society, providing space for integration of new Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), such as ecologist, feminist, ethnic, and others - To re-build and strengthen the social fabric - To join efforts and resources in order to ensure employment creation and poverty eradication - To search equality in social opportunities, equity in income and wealth distribution, and respect for human rights of the Colombian population - To develop a long-run cultural project - To develop an ethics for coexistence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To increase efficiency in social expenditure - To improve targeting expenditure - To consolidate a social protection and assistance system - To increase social investment with outcomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To provide opportunities and equity for all in their access to and quality of basic social services - To overcome welfareism (asistencialismo) through policies including conditional support, periodically follow-up, and exit schemes - To provide access to education with quality; social security with equity and solidarity; labour market (formal employment and entrepreneurship), and effective social promotion mechanisms - To develop the social protection system (SPS)

Source: Author's elaboration based on NDPs 1998-2010

Table 5.5
Social Policy formulation in NDP

Term	1998-2002	2002-2006	2006-2010	
Title	Society's fundamental commitments: Rebuilding the social fabric	Building social equity	Poverty reduction and promotion of employment and equity	Special dimensions for development
Topics	Education plan for peace	Education revolution		
	Culture			Culture, sports, leisure, and development
	Health	Broadening and improvement of social protection and security	Families' insertion to the social protection system	
	Pensions			
	Family and childhood			
		Boost to social economy		Social economy sector
		Development of micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSME)		
		Social capitalism in domiciliary public utilities	Infrastructure for development	
		Social management of countryside/rural areas	Equity in countryside/rural areas	
		Quality of life in urban areas	Friendly cities	
		Prevention and mitigation of natural risks		
		Ethnic groups' strengthening		Ethnic groups and intercultural relationships
		Sports promotion		Culture, sports, leisure, and development
			Poverty and vulnerable populations	
			Market and labour relationships	
			<i>Banca de oportunidades</i>	
			Gender equity	
			Youth	

Source: Author's elaboration based on Colombian NDPs

Approaches, concepts, and ideas in social policy

The important changes in the social policy's conceptual approaches can be derived from Table 5.5. In Pastrana's NDP, there prevails a classical sectorial approach focussed on basic social services (the same is clearly stated in the 1991 CPC), whereas Uribe's first term states a different approach in which social protection and security systems occupy the core. Though health, pensions, and family and childhood used to have a place of their own in the social policy formulation, now they are subsumed in a couple of overarching ideas under social protection and security. In contrast to Pastrana's emphasis on decentralization for providing social services, making social protection a core in the social policy implied at least an important reversal of *delegation* – if not a re-centralization process. This aimed at ensuring at the subnational level that governmental central organizations are responsible for policy implementation in their departments and, in some cases, municipalities, especially the big ones. A strong driver of this is the centralized management of financial and administrative resources.

An important feature of Uribe's first NDP is the stretching of the conceptual approach to social policy. Beyond its social dimension, this formulation includes three components that are not considered a part of social policy traditionally, according to mainstream theory. They are the following: a) a strong economic component, including promotions of social economy, MSMEs, and social capitalism in domiciliary public utilities; b) urban and rural development emphasizing the divide; c) natural risk prevention and mitigation. In this perspective, ethnic groups as a matter of social policy are somewhat marginal but are at least considered. This was not the case in Pastrana.

It is reasonable to assume that Uribe's re-election for a second term would imply continuity in his policy approaches. This is true in the case of the social protection system, infrastructure development, and treatment of rural and urban areas, emphasizing equality in the former and friendly character in the latter. Notwithstanding, in some other cases, there are astonishing discontinuities and absences as in the case of education, which did not deserve a particular chapter or heading in the 2006–2010 NDP. The bet for MSMEs and natural risk preventions and mitigation disappeared in this broadened social policy approach. Some other topics such

as culture, sports, leisure, social economy, and ethnic groups' policies were relegated to be a part of an even broader and not well-defined category named 'special dimensions of development'.⁵ In this, the last place is for gender equality and youth.

An important emergent field, however, became the flagship social policy program from 2006 on poverty reduction and vulnerable populations. This component that was focussed on conditional monetary cash transfers was administered directly by *Acción Social*, the presidential Agency for Social Action and International Cooperation. Created in 2005, *Acción Social* managed social programs at the national level that addressed problems faced by the forcibly displaced population, victims of violence, food security network, management against illicit crops, the *Juntos* network for overcoming extreme poverty, and *Familias en Acción* (the most important conditional cash transfers program). Always denying the armed conflict in Colombia, this agency, while voicing the official position of Uribe, dealt with the population that was forcibly displaced as the result of the violent actions committed by terrorist and drug trafficking groups. The programs designed for this vulnerable population included subsidies, training, and provisions for basic needs. In some cases, it also included financial and logistic support for helping them return to their homes.⁶

The enormous amount of money available for financing these programs, the centralized management of all the projects under the direct surveillance of the presidential office, the great number of people depending on the subsidies and cash transfers combined with Uribe's particular governance style (which is marked by populism and *asistencialismo*) made *Acción Social* a highly politicized organization. This organization, in the view of many, was established in the service of a failed third presidential re-election and cronyism at the national and subnational levels, which provided poor services in strengthening a sound and effective social policy in Colombia.

5.3 Social policy in Valle del Cauca and five municipality development plans (1998-2008)

The previous section has illustrated the centrality of development plans at the national level as a strategic point of departure to analyse social policy formulation, to examine the main lines of social problematic situations it

tries to confront, and to determine the intended course of actions to address them within a legal and institutional framework allowing resource allocation.

Although these dynamics are better known and documented at the national level, there is little knowledge and research in this regard at the subnational level. Furthermore, this lack of knowledge is amplified while considering the little attention that has been paid to how departments and municipalities, which are highly heterogeneous in their availability of human, financial, administrative, technical, and political resources, have addressed social policy formulation at their local level in order to also confront complex heterogeneous circumstances.

The framework of the decentralization process, which supposedly gives autonomy to these territorial entities, makes it relevant to enquire about the kind of existing harmonization or conflict between national, departmental, and municipality levels with regard to social policy formulation. Questions about the consistency and coherence of the social policy as formulated at the national level and the way in which it is formulated, understood, interpreted, and implemented at the subnational level remain to be explored. Consequently, an informed perspective in this regard will allow the determination of the adequacy of government's responses to the population's specific and context-dependent needs.

This section presents elements addressing some of these questions that identify and establish the centrality of the DP documents at the subnational level and the role played in social policy formulation. Valle del Cauca and five selected municipalities are at the core of this analysis. First, it examines the content and structures of the DPs by departments and municipalities from 1998 to 2008. The general purposes and the location of social policy within these plans are studied. Second, it analyses the way in which social policy is formulated and presented. Explicit vision and mission statements of the development plans regarding social well-being and quality of life; concepts and ideas used; and the specific content of social policy are examined. Third, it presents contrasts and comparisons in their approaches to social policy formulation among and between municipalities and departments.

5.3.1 Development plans: Structure and content

Valle del Cauca had four department development plans (DDP) between 1998 and 2008.⁷ They correspond with the terms in office of governors who were popularly elected all along that time. Table 5.6 shows governors and DDPs.

Table 5.6
Valle del Cauca DDP (2001-2011)

Governor's Term	2001-2003	2004-2007	2008-2011
Governor	Germán Villegas	Angelino Garzón	Juan Carlos Abadía
DDP Title	<i>With faith, united and supportive Valle del Cauca: a Bridge to the future</i>	<i>Let us go together for Valle del Cauca</i>	<i>Good governance, with security we will make it</i>
Legal Act.	<i>By-law 2001</i>	<i>By-law 2004</i>	<i>By-law 2008</i>

Source: Author's elaboration

As for 2004 onwards, the term in office for governors and majors was extended from three to four years. The main argument behind that was that three years were not enough time to achieve the promises and goals proposed by the elected candidates. This argument leads to one of the main discussion points about the nature of policies in general. They are government policies rather than state policies. This statement, frequently mentioned by some analyst in policy design and evaluation in Colombian contexts, refers to the lack of continuity policies have. Once a new government team is in office, a new set of policies, plans, programs, and projects are settled down regardless of the achievements and positive dimensions of the previous ones.

Table 5.7 presents majors and municipality development plans (MDP) of five selected municipalities in this study: Buenaventura, Cali, Cartago, Florida, and Tuluá. Three of the MDPs (one by Buenaventura and two by Tuluá), which are government public documents that were not found in any of the municipality archives, speak of the institutional crisis these cities went through during that time. In the case of Cali (2001–2003), the MDP was not approved by the local legislative body, the municipality council. It was a 'decreto' issued by the major instead an 'acuerdo' from the council

that gave legality to the MDP. This speaks of the tensions and disagreement between the executive and legislative local body at that time.

Table 5.7
MDP 5 selected municipalities in Valle del Cauca (1998-2011)

Buenaventura				
Major's Term	1998-2000	2001-2003	2004-2007	2008-2011
Major		Jaime Mosquera Borja	Saulo Quiñonez	José Felix Ocoró Minota
MDP Title	<i>Not available</i>	<i>No title</i>	<i>Government for all with equity and justice</i>	<i>For a Buenaventura manageable, educated and productive with security</i>
Legal Act.		Acuerdo 4 de 2001	Acuerdo	Acuerdo
Cali				
Major	Ricardo Cobo	Jhon Maro Rodríguez	Apolinar Salcedo	Jorge Iván Ospina
MDP Title	<i>No Title</i>	<i>Project of life for all</i>	<i>For Cali safe, productive, and social. You have much to see</i>	<i>For living with dignity</i>
Legal Act.	Acuerdo 1998	Decreto 2001	Acuerdo 0127 de 2004	Acuerdo 0238 de 2008
Cartago				
Major	Gerardo Toro Duque	Luis Carlos Restrepo Orozco	Libardo Castro	Germán Gonzales Osorio
MDP Title	<i>Cartago for all</i>	<i>Cartago: Educating city</i>	<i>Cartago: Mission for all</i>	<i>Cartago in good hands</i>
Legal Act.	Acuerdo 1998	Acuerdo 16 de 2001	Acuerdo de 2005	By-law 2008
Florida				
Major	Abel Nieves Velásquez	Humberto Lopez Correa	Hugo Venancio Córdoba	Salvador Rodriguez Machado
MDP Title	<i>No Title</i>	<i>No title</i>	<i>With transparency we recover image</i>	<i>More human Florida</i>
Legal Act.	Acuerdo 1998	Acuerdo	Acuerdo	Acuerdo
Tuluá				
Major	Ramiro Devia Criollo	Francisco Javier Galvez	Juan Guillermo Vallejo Angel	Rafael Eduardo Palau
MDP Title			<i>Tuluá: Dynamic, educating, and with solidarity</i>	<i>Tuluá: Territory for all men and women</i>
Legal Act.			Acuerdo	Acuerdo

Source: Author's elaboration

With reference to the two first terms in office considered (1998–2001 and 2001–2003), some of the MDPs did not have a title. As I will analyse in the following sections, the title in the DP became a motto/slogan intended to motivate and mobilize government teams but also to gather citizens around a political project inspiring policies, programs, and projects. This strategic dimension of DDP and MDP developed and strengthened during the decade.

Table 5.8
Development plan's general structure (1998-2011)

Government's/Major's Term in Office
STRATEGY
TITLE I
Principles, vision, mission, general purpose
TITLE II
DDP's/MDP's general objectives, specific objectives, outcomes, programs, sub-programs, strategic projects, and goals
Chapter 1: Democratic Culture and Peace
Chapter 2: Social Well-being
Chapter 3: Economic Development and Employment
Chapter 4: Territory Management and Environment Protection
Chapter 5: Governance and Institutional Development
TITLE III
INVESTMENT PLAN
TITLE IV
DDP Financing
TITLE V
Final Dispositions
Harmonization, Execution, and Evaluation

Source: Author's elaboration

The general structure of subnational DPs presented in Table 5.8 is, according to the development plan organic law (Act 152/1994), the same for departments and municipalities. The DP contains two parts: the first one is the strategy and the second is the financial part. General principles, vision, mission, and general purpose are presented in the strategy. They provide the general approach of the plan as a whole. A close examination to these statements reveals the problematic situations each department and municipality is confronting and to which the DP is meant to be an answer.

This section of the plan document contains five chapters, each one dealing with specific policy themes. They configure the general development strategy. The chapter's headings are democratic culture and peace, social well-being, economic development and employment, territorial management and environment protection, governance and institutional development. DPs may further develop the general objectives, specific objectives, outcomes, programs, sub-programs, strategic projects, and goals for each policy field. There are differences in the sophistication and complexity degree of the formulation in DP between departments and municipalities, between municipalities, and among municipalities throughout the time. This depends, in part, on the leading role of the elected governor or major and on available resources and technical skills of subnational government planning teams.

The DP financial part is regulated by the organic budget Act 136/1994 and 617/2000. It includes the investment plans that are the plan's total cost disaggregated by each of the policy fields presented in the strategic part, the general budget, and a multi-year budget (annual budget during the term in office). The DP approval by legislative bodies at the department and municipal level (this is by department assemblies and municipalities councils) guarantees the legal framework within which the actual available financial resources and the potential ones, via loans to national or international organizations (public or private), are going to be spent.

The DP documents close with a final chapter entitled 'Final Dispositions' where harmonization, execution, and evaluation principles are established. Although the general DP's aim, as expressed in the vision and mission statements, is explicitly to improve the population's quality of life, the document's contents suggest the diversity of sectorial policies leading

to it. However, they do not explain the way in which these policies are woven or how they interact with each other. Moreover, the clear distinction made between social and economic policies – and others separately seen as conceptual, analytical, and practical/pragmatic universes – is present here.

The order in which the chapters are presented implies a scale of priorities. The urgent need to address violence and conflict justifies the first place allocated to the chapter ‘Democratic Culture and Peace’. It calls for and pays attention to strengthening the democratic culture and fostering civic actions and mechanisms. This chapter is then followed by the ‘Social Well-being’ chapter. It is here that social policies are explicitly formulated. In the third place comes the economic chapter. Territory management and environmental protection is next. Finally, governance and institutional development close the strategic part.

In this thesis, Chapter 5 is devoted to examining and analysing the meaning and relevance of the ‘Democratic Culture and Peace’ chapter in DPs. I will show its strong relationship with the social capital discourse and its functionality of responding to violent circumstances.

In order to analyse social policy formulation, the remainder of this chapter is devoted to examining the statements included under the label/title ‘social well-being’ or ‘social policy’ in the strategic part of the DPs. These include principles, vision, mission, general and specific goals, programs, and projects.

5.3.2 Social policy in DDPs and MDPs

The chapters in DPs introduce social policy by a title statement followed by general and specific objectives at the core content labelled as social policy. Programs, projects, goals, and indicators are included depending on the degree of detail each planning team decides to include. This is also dependent on the planning capacities and skills.

This section describes and explores all these dimensions in social policy formulation. Each of the elements mentioned above reflects, to some extent, what is the understanding and interpretation of social policy at the department and municipality level. There are points in common between the DDPs and MDPs, but there are differences between them. They are interpreted as a response to specific contexts and problematic situations.

Table 5.9
Titles in social policy formulation

Term	1998-2000	2001-2003	2004-2007	2008-2011
DP Title	Not available	Social well-being and quality of life	Social well-being	Social well-being
Buenaventura	Not available	Human development	Social policy: The right to quality of life and welfare with equity and justice	Social equity: Guaranteeing the rights to access social goods and services (social policy)
Cali	Integrated social	Strengthening potentials of human beings	Social equity	<i>There is no specific section</i>
Cartago	Social policy	Sectorial policies, strategies, objectives, Goals, and indicators Education sector Health sector Environment Housing Sport and leisure Culture Social sector	Policies Social	Policies Social
Florida	Policies Social	Social development area	Integral social development	Integrated social development
Tuluá	Not available	Not available	Social strategic axis 'Tuluá educator, cultural and sustainable human development'	Social strategic axis 'Tuluá educator, cultural and sustainable human development'

Source: Author's elaboration

Titles

Table 5.9 shows the title assigned to the social policy sections in the DDP. It is created to note the differences in addressing the issue. While in the department level, the most frequently used expression is 'well-being'

(‘quality of life’ is used only once), there is a wide variety of terms in the municipalities level. Further, 16 out of 20 considered titles include the term ‘social’. It is linked to well-being, policy, equity, development area, and strategic axis. In addition, five out of the 20 titles refer plainly to social policy. One includes a kind of definition of social policy as ‘the right to quality of life and welfare with equity and justice’. Some of the titles include moral or ethical values, such as equity and justice. Moreover, some other titles address social policy highlighting development as the core concept. Then, seven out of 20 titles include the term ‘development’. It is linked to the terms acting as noun qualifiers such as social, human, integral, integrated, and sustainable.

Valle del Cauca and some municipalities keep the same expression or terms for referring to social policies during the time period considered. The former is consistent in referring to well-being. Cartago, however, systematically uses social policy. Tuluá maintains the expression ‘social strategic axis’. But some other municipalities, by contrast, change the terms used one after the other. Most such conspicuous cases are Buenaventura and Cali, followed by Florida.

Are these continuities and discontinuities signs of diverse interpretation in the social policy? Do they reflect a search for content that answers to specific circumstances in time? Do they mirror influences of external social development agendas? It would be premature to answer these questions at this point in time, as a deeper insight is necessary. General and specific goals in the social policy as well as its content can shed light on these questions.

General objectives of social policy in DDP and MDP

In Valle del Cauca, the DPs’ general objectives for social policy vary one term-in-office after the other: To diminish social exclusion and poverty; to contribute to the development of a supportive, caring,⁸ and equitable/fair society; to promote integral social well-being for the improvement of quality of life.

In Cartago, the MDPs’ the general objectives are phrased in terms such as the following: to create favourable conditions to meet/satisfy the population’s needs; to strengthen inhabitants’ quality of life; to guarantee the population’s needs and satisfaction with social inclusion. Quality of life and the satisfaction of needs are the main lines of the general objectives.

The ways in which these general objectives are going to be fulfilled are described in the lines of specific social objectives. They also describe what betterment in the quality of life would entail or mean and explain what needs of the inhabitants or the population are to be met. This sequence makes up the contents of the social policy.

5.3.3 Content of social policy

The boundaries to define what are and are not the social policy components are quite blurry. This is partially explained by the differences in the main conceptual approach that is built in terms of a high ambiguity load: social well-being, social development, integrated social development, and so on. As has been shown in the previous sections, this blurriness is present in the DPs studied. In a certain sense, every state field of action, whether social, economic, or other, can contribute to the general well-being and development. The analysis of social policy as framed in the DP helps clarify at least a dominant approach where it is possible to highlight priorities, emphasis, and emergent themes.

An examination of the DDPs and MDPs' content allows the identification of four main topics in social policy. These are the services it is intended to provide; the social groups to which it is addressed; the social infrastructure it counts to foster; and the institutional infrastructure required or that is already in place but is in need of maintenance, in order to fulfil social policy goals.

The purpose of the following is to describe and analyse what the general features of each topic are and what differences and commonalities are possible to be detected between departments and municipalities and among municipalities.

Social services and goods

A close study of the content on the DPs reveals the importance of social services and goods' provision as central to the social policy. This is not surprising and is in line with the main stream of social policy. Among the wide array of services and goods, there are also priorities that are very well established. They are in consonance with the fact to be considered as basic rights in the Colombian Political Constitution. Consequently, these priorities are reflected in the importance allocated to them in the planning organic law and budget organic law. Moreover, they are also in line with the

general framework of global international development agendas, particularly the Millenium Development Goals (MDG).

While following the planning law step by step, all DPs seem to include the following services: health, education, sport and leisure, art and culture, housing, households' utilities, water and sanitation, justice, security and citizen culture, nutrition, and food security. A slight variation, however, occurs in the order in which they are presented in the documents.

Coverage has been the main concern with regard to the provision of these services and goods. It is only recently the delivery of quality services has become a central concern, forcing governments to redirect their actions. This has been the case for sectors such as education and health. With reference to the former, tests have showed that students go to school, but they don't learn. In the latter, failures in the health provision system have resulted in acute crises. In all cases, health and education are the most important sectors in social policy.

Table 5.10
Social services and goods in social policy

Term	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008
	2000	2003	2007	2011	2000	2003	2007	2011	2000	2003	2007	2011	2000	2003	2007	2011	2000	2003	2007	2011	2000	2003	2007	2011
Sector	Valle del Cauca				Buenaventura				Cali				Cartago				Florida				Tulua			
Health																								
Education																								
Sport and Leisure																								
Art and Culture																								
Housing																								
Household utilities																								
Water and Sanitation																								
Justice, Security and Citizens culture																								

Source: Author's elaboration

Table 5.10 shows their continuity in departments and municipalities together with sport and leisure as well as art and culture. The question here is whether this continuity reflects the same degree of priority for these four sectors. One of the indicators allowing a first answer is the budget allocated for each one and the source of this financial resource. Most of the financial resources for health and education programs come from the national government and not from the department and municipality's own

resources. Sports and art and culture are financed with municipality owned local resources. If departments and municipalities are in a financial crisis all the time, these two items in the social policy receive meagre budgets. They are considered by the people and governments as the Cinderella of social policy. Nevertheless, these two sectors are likely to receive financial support from the private sector.

Other sectors such as housing, household utilities, water and sanitation, justice, security, and citizen culture have received differential treatment at the department and municipality level. While housing has been a steady topic in the social policy of Valle del Cauca, the case has not been the same in municipalities. Neither of them have had continuity in the course of the study period, even though it is considered an important topic. For the first three majors' terms in office, Cali and Florida presented continuity in housing, but for the last term, this has not been mentioned in the social policy part of the DP. In Cartago, there was a discontinuity in the term 2004–2007, whereas Buenaventura and Tuluá included housing in the last term but not in the previous one.

Table 5.11
Social groups in social policies

Term	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008
	2000	2005	2007	2011	2000	2005	2007	2011	2000	2005	2007	2011	2000	2005	2007	2011	2000	2005	2007	2011	2000	2005	2007	2011
Social Groups	Valle del Cauca				Buenaventura				Cali				Cartago				Florida				Tuluá			
Vulnerable groups																								
Childhood, Adolescence and Youth																								
GENDER EQUITY □																								
Women and Family																								
Disabled																								
Third age																								
Displaced population																								
Sexual Minorities																								
Rural/peasant sector																								
Afrocolombian population																								
Indigenous Affairs																								

Source: Author's elaboration

Social groups

An important feature in the way social policy is framed in PD documents is the direct references to the social groups for whom these policies are designed. Yet, between departments and municipalities, there are some

differences. Table 5.11 shows the different social group referred to in the DDP and MDP documents.

In Valle del Cauca, the social group is labelled ‘vulnerable groups’. In the terms 2001–2003 and 2008–2011, this category seems to gather specific social groups that are mentioned in an explicit way in the term 2004–2007: childhood, adolescence and youth, women and family, disabled, aged, displaced population, sexual minorities, peasants, Afro-Colombian population, and indigenous people. It is worth noting that whatever the content and definition of this category, it is considered in 14 out of the total DPs under study.

It definitely seems to be more elaborate in Valle del Cauca. In Florida and Tuluá, the highlight is present in all the terms considered. In Cartago, however, three of the terms are highlighted, indicating that references to the said social groups have been found. Further, Cali includes it in the first and last terms considered. In Buenaventura’s case, it is included in the term 2003–2007 where other social groups are also explicitly mentioned.

Cartago, Florida, and Tuluá do not devote explicit attention to social groups at all. Their strategy is to include all of them under the label ‘vulnerable groups’. In 2008–2011, Cali includes aged people and displaced population as specific social groups in its social policy. This can be explained by the fact that social policy laws at the national level were approved, providing the legal framework for their implementation at the subnational level. At DPs of subnational levels, new social groups appear in which social policies are designed and approved by means of national laws.

It is important to note that Florida is the only municipality to mention indigenous groups as the target of its social policy. In fact, from the five selected municipalities, it is the one municipality with most number of indigenous populations. It is clear from the documents’ wording that this particular group seems to be a part of a ‘problematic situation’ for those framing/formulating the policy. Mentioned as ‘they’ and referring to along with the specific financial resources allocated by and coming from the national government according to GPS, indigenous groups do not seem to be integrated with Florida’s society as a whole. The fact that Buenaventura, being the municipality with the majority of Afro-Colombian population, doesn’t mention it as a specific social group to which social policy can be addressed is also interesting. In fact, the Afro-Colombian population,

whose major and other government staffs are a part of this municipality, is in charge of policy framing/formulation.

The examination of social groups in the social policy chapters of DPs shows, on one hand, the centrality of ‘vulnerable groups’ and, on the other hand, the context-dependent feature of social policies.

Table 5.12
Social and institutional infrastructure

Term	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008	1998	2001	2004	2008
	Valle del Cauca				Buenaventura				Cali				Cartago				Florida				Tulua			
Infra-structure																								
Nutrition and Food safety																								
Community Participation																								
Community Development																								
Employment																								
Generación de Ingresos																								
Disaster's prevention and relief																								
Environmental management																								
Peace																								
Public space and urbanism																								
Transporte																								
Science technology and innovation																								
Municipal agricultural program																								
Institutional Development																								
Information and statistical system																								
Economic Management																								
SISBEN																								

Source: Author's elaboration

Social and institutional infrastructure

In most of the DP documents, it is clear that social policy stops in social services and goods provision or in the attention paid or actions taken towards specific social groups. However, in some cases, in some municipalities, and in some terms, new topics appear as being part of the social policy's content. These topics can be grouped in two categories. The first is social infrastructure, which includes actions with regard to the community, employment and income generation, environment management, and disaster prevention and attention. The second is institutional infrastructure, which encompasses dimensions related to the functioning of municipality such as institutional development, statistic and information systems, economic management, science technology and innovation, and SISBEN. In

Buenaventura's 2004–2007 MDP, urbanism, public space, and transportation are included in the social policy chapter.

The occurrence of these topics in the DPs is presented in Table 5.12. Although Buenaventura and Cartago are the municipalities where these topics occur often, they do not occur on a regular basis. By contrast, Valle del Cauca, Cali, and Tuluá barely include them.

The topics included in these categories suggest that at the department level and in some municipalities such as Cali, Florida, and Tuluá, there is a clearer idea about which social policy is or is not in line with a dominant approach. Buenaventura and Cartago enlarge the boundaries of their social policy while including topics that are a part of the economic policy or the institutional development chapters in their DP.

5.4. Concluding remarks

The scrutiny of the set of DP documents at the national and subnational level in 1998–2008 points out to evidence that social policy can be considered as a by-product implanted in the 'social exclusion-social capital' dyadic conceptual device. To elaborate, it is interwoven with and is the result of the multiple interactions between the elements composing the heterogeneous ensemble. Therefore, it shapes another layer of power relations and field of forces. To the internal processes and external influences driving social policy formulations, one of the power and force layers adds up another. This is in reference to the one resulting from the interaction of the former with the subnational context. The department and municipalities, mostly by force and often with little room for manoeuvre, take social policies as they come. It finds obstacles and tensions derived from not being able to answer the people's needs in their actual and specific economic, social, culture, and political circumstances at the local level.

The various dimensions, in which it is possible to decipher the dynamic of the interacting field of forces and the operating power relations, illustrate the next. First, the DPs' analysis suggests trends and changes in the social policy during 1998–2008. They reflect variations on emphasis, understanding of the content, and actions the government should take. The evidence suggests a shift in the social policy approach or, in a broader sense, an overlapping of approaches.

It goes from a narrow social policy conception focused on social services and goods' delivery (health, education, household utilities, water, and

sanitation) to a broader perspective. It, while not abandoning the former, undertakes the task of targeting social groups (women, children, youth, aged people, displaced population, ethnic minorities, and others) for the social policy. This new approach entails changes in how to design and eventually implement the social policy. Services and goods' delivery implies attention to the infrastructure of schools, hospitals, sewing systems, houses building, and budgets. In some way, this emphasis makes it easier for governments at the department and municipality level to be accountable for the results.

Attention to social groups represents a more complex task. How to target them? What to do? How to measure the betterment in their general well-being? Moreover, this also includes (and not less importantly) the question, how to interact and negotiate? In the end, 'social groups' refers to human beings socially, economically, and politically located in a certain way. They shelter expectations, desires, and sometimes concerns. These are challenging questions for public administrations to answer. It is here where coverage, quality, and outcomes resulting in well-being are at stake. In fact, it is in the process to find out answers to these questions that new approaches to development management as the one promoted by IDB-INDES find fertile soil. It suggests an alternative to focusing exclusively on activities such as investments or products delivery (whose indicators build upon 'how many' schools, houses, and hospital beds are delivered or to what extent the budgets have been executed). It considers social policy effectiveness in bringing about effects, impacts, and desirable social transformations. It puts at the core the power to improve a citizen's quality of life. Of course, the questions regarding who defines what is 'desirable' in society (in other words, for whom is it desirable?) and how it is done bring to the fore the correlation of forces and the game of powers.

Second, significant implications of social policy derive from this new emphasis on social groups. Their visibility highlights realities and situations that not long ago were either concealed in the private sphere of life (indoors) (in other words, accepted as normal) or not questioned in Colombian society. However, demographic changes, new lifestyles, women's insertion in labour markets, and strengthened political awareness and empowerment have brought about unprecedented circumstances breaking social and cultural traditions. For instance, ill-treatment and abuse of children, women, the aged, and ethnic and sexual minorities have been made visible and a matter of public debate and attention.

Third, the term ‘vulnerable groups’ seems to be an umbrella concept under which these social groups are categorized and by virtue of which are considered as a target for social policy. This is not a minor detail. As the next chapter discusses, those regarded as vulnerable groups largely coincide with the literature review refers to as ‘the excluded’. Social policy refers to answering the economic, social, political, and economic challenges that these social groups encounter. In turn, for social policy-makers, it entails confronting challenges and demands in the formulation, design, and implementation.

The analysis would not be complete without considering the actual circumstances in which municipalities deal with social policy formulation; the additional elements are interpreted in the light of the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ conceptual device.

Empirical evidence indicated small municipalities and those with strong institutional crisis whose social policy formulation confronts practical issues. The main tool for planning and deciding on social and economic policies is the *Statistical Yearbook*, a document that is supposed to provide grounds for DP formulation and design characterizing departments and municipalities. However, it was hindered by the lack of accurate information, particularly updated demographic, social, and economic data. There was an absence of reliable information about previous social plans, programs, and projects carried out by former government teams as well as their results. It implies the lack of information about the type of social programs intended in previous terms in office, their budgets, and outcomes. In some of the municipalities, once the term in office ended, the outgoing government teams (at least in social secretaries where information was searched for) deleted archives either physically (no document remained on the shelves) or digitally (computer files) in adherence to the norm.

Furthermore, 1998–2008 was a period of highly unstable governors and majors in office. Many of them were dismissed under legal charges for dealing with drug lords, misconduct in the contracting process, and improper participation in politics. Some others were killed. These difficult circumstances lasted even afterwards. In 2010, the Valle del Cauca Governor was dismissed after being accused of improper participation in politics while organizing an activity for supporting one the candidates to the presidency. The elected governor for 2012–2015 was dismissed two months after taking office, and new elections were held. All this had big

consequences on development planning processes and while building the government and implementation teams.

It is necessary to have the full picture of the critical institutional circumstance and bear in mind that governors and mayors are popularly elected. The term in office was three years for governors and majors from 1998 to 2003. From there on, the legislation changed after fixing the terms as four years. Table 5.13 provides an idea of this ‘peculiar’ instability.

Table 5.13
Governors and majors in office (1998-2008)

	Jan 1998 - Dec 2000		Jan 2001 -Dec 2003		Jan 2004 - Dec 2007		Jan 2008 - Dec 2011	
	No.	Actually in office	No.	Actually in office	No.	Actually in office	No.	Actually in office
Valle del Cauca Governor	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	4
Cali Mayor	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
Buenaventura Mayor	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	1
Cartago Mayor	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1
Florida Mayor	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tuluá Mayor	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1

Source: Author’s elaboration

Corruption, clienteles, and the fragility of state – all these issues also emerged in the interviews. Here some examples:

To govern is equivalent to steal. The government is not any more communities’ spokesperson. It is now about to take one’s share. Everyone claims its own share. There aren’t any more political parties but ghettos. It is now about opposition against political clientelism.

In Cali, Commerce Chamber president is the “para-mayor” and the private university founded by the businessmen and sugar cane industrialists are the “para-state”.

There aren’t state policies but government policies (HS).

Department and municipalities’ organizational structure is tied to the ascription of political factions, considering each subnational secretary or agency as a bureaucratic instalment. They are under the rule of the political leaders and not the majors of the governor. The metaphor that is used to describe and deal with this is ‘the pie’, with each political faction having

its share of the pie according to alliances and negotiations. The more powerful or strategic a political faction, the bigger share they have of the municipality pie – which in practice means they have a share on posts and budgets.

Education, health, drinkable water, and basic sanitation are a more or less well-established tradition in promoting programs and projects. However, a fragmented perspective in the functioning of the government at local levels means that effort and resources are wasted by duplicating activities and not having coordination among secretaries. Many new secretaries associated with social policies have been established, but apparently, their share of budget allocation is not adequate to the need of the population. It is the case for ethnic minorities, aged people, and other vulnerable groups.

From a conceptual perspective, poverty, vulnerability, exclusion, violence, and security define the boundaries within which social policy is framed.

Notes

¹ FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) (<http://www.tni.org/briefing/revolutionary-armed-forces-colombia-farc-and-illicit-drug-trade>)

² ELN (National Liberation Army) ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Liberation_Army_\(Colombia\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Liberation_Army_(Colombia)))

³ The violence in Colombia has been the subject of research. These studies that are diverse in origin (from universities, international organizations, and the Colombian government) and in disciplinary approaches have shown the complexity of the phenomenon by not reducing it to the traditional two-party violence or guerrilla, paramilitary, legal armed forces confrontations; or to drug trafficking or cartel wars. They also examine the conflict and violence embedded in social relationships where intolerance, racism, discrimination by gender or age, and exclusion – among other factors – seem to be at the root. Some of the most relevant references in this field of research, which have been known as *violentología* are Campos, Fals-Borda, and Luna's (2005) *La Violencia en Colombia*; Arocha and Sánchez's (1987) *Colombia, Violencia y Democracia: Informe Presentado al Ministerio de Gobierno*; Pécaut's (1987) *Orden y Violencia: Colombia 1930-1954*; and *Basta ya. Colombia: Memorias de Guerra y Dignidad* by CMH (2013).

⁴ <http://lasillavacia.com/historia/16428>; ALVARO URIBE VÉLEZ o cuando comunicar es gobernar. <http://www1.eafit.edu.co/comunicacion-politica/articulos/706>

⁵ In addition to the topics of clear to social adscription, this *special dimension of development* include regional dimensions, science, technology and innovation, demography, foreign and migration policies.

⁶ http://web.presidencia.gov.co/especial/rendicion_2009/index_accion_social.html; <http://web.presidencia.gov.co/especial/juntos/index.html>

⁷ Gustavo Alvarez Gardezabal's (1998–2001) term in office as governor was suspended due to the allegation that he maintained relations with drug lords. This made it impossible to find his administrative documents such as the DDP, which have disappeared from public libraries and archives. Additionally, this is also the case for other MDPs in municipalities such as Tuluá and Cartago.

⁸ The word used in Spanish is *solidarid*, adjective derived from the noun solidarity.

6

A Dyadic Conceptual Device at Work: 'Social Exclusion-Social Capital'

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is structured as follows. First, it discusses exclusion as a key element in the 'social exclusion-social capital' dyadic conceptual device, in Colombia and Valle del Cauca. Second, it examines the social capital conceptual network as it was introduced and included in the subnational development plans (DP) 1998–2008 in Valle del Cauca. It was a crucial component of the methodological strategy in building the Human Development Report of Valle del Cauca, 2008 (HDRCS 2008). Given their 'authoritative nature', Development Plans and the HDRCS 2008 were the two main strategic ways in which social capital became a conceptual framework for understanding and interpreting the social reality in Valle del Cauca. The development plan documents, data from SCSIHS (2007), and a set of 42 interviews of a wide array of social and political actors provide the empirical grounds for this analysis.

The chapter concludes by suggesting that social capital use and abuse diverted attention from Colombia and Valle del Cauca's social, economic, and political structural dimensions. Instead, it emphasized on the juncture's circumstances, calling for the strengthening of trust, reciprocity, and collective actions among citizens and communities – the lack of which were vividly and painfully experienced. Social capital was instrumental in re-balancing responsibilities between the civil society and the state. It contributed to charge and made the former even more accountable, but minimized the role of the latter in regulating and overcoming the prevalent conditions of violence, conflict, and poverty. In summary, this was done to alleviate social exclusion.

6.2 Social exclusion in the 'social exclusion-social capital' dyad

"Master, is not a child. It is a nigger"
El Alferéz Real p. 194 l, Eustaquio Palacios. 1886

6.2.1 Exclusion-inclusion

In 2008, under the auspice of UNDP, the first Human Development Report for Valle del Cauca, Colombia was published and presented to a broad audience that included national and sub-national government authorities, politicians, private sector entrepreneurs, representatives of NGOs, academic figures, mass media personnel, and many others. It was a unique occasion not only because it was the first time a report of this nature was seeing light of day in one of the most conspicuous departments of Colombia, but also because of the value-load its title contained, 'On the path to an inclusive and peaceful Valle del Cauca' (UNDP 2008).

In the first decade of the 21st century, this was perhaps one of the few moments in Valle del Cauca's society where the topic of social inclusion was given the attention and publicity it deserved. The main theme guiding the whole report (at first sight, 'social inclusion') was, in fact, its opposite: social exclusion. All the briefings and reports, which were prepared by academics and researchers from public and private universities and served as grounds for this Human Development Report, addressed the theme of social exclusion in one way or another. It was associated with economic and social issues that were already considered as problems to be studied and analysed in order to respond to critical situations in this geographic area of Colombia: some of these issues were labour market, conflict and violence, political parties, racism, and ethnic minorities, among others (Guzman 2007, Hernandez 2007, Ortiz 2007, Urrea 2005, 2007).

What was new in this report was its focus on the pair social exclusion/inclusion and the intention to make it visible and seem significant in designing the government's plans at the municipality and department level. This is in reference to local development plans and public social policy in general. This broke off the tradition of giving complete attention to alleviating poverty, which usually used to be the main theme of reports and surveys at the national level. It is important to note that studies on poverty in Valle del Cauca and Colombia have been carried out since long.¹ However, this has not been the case for social exclusion.²

6.2.2 Exclusion-poverty

Three factors, at least, are involved in this circumstance: political, theoretical, and methodological. First, poverty and its alleviation has become a priority in international stages where social and economic development is involved. The Millennium Development Goals (MDG)³ at the beginning of the 21st century have played a significant role. A direct consequence of this is reflected in government public agendas at the national level. Poverty alleviation as the first goal attracts particular attention. This is the truth in spite of other MDGs that could be considered as linked to exclusion alleviation, such as gender equality and empowerment of women, improving maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases, or those related to the well-being of children. They are, as a matter of fact, less visible or deserve less attention⁴ (Chambers 2006, DNP 2006) (United Nations and Ban, 2010).

Perhaps since it is mostly related to income improvement, poverty is at the core of political campaigns and politician discourses that give it a strong visibility impact. Moreover, during the time of elections, this is the space for governments and politicians to capitalise the voter's will. And Colombia has not been an exception.

From a theoretical point of view, a longer tradition and much more effort have been devoted to obtaining an encompassing definition of poverty. As a result, there is a better understanding to this multifaceted phenomenon and its dimensions (Chambers 2006). Social exclusion is much more recent as an acknowledged phenomenon, and it still struggles to overcome the blurriness of its definition. The lack of a clear and single definition of exclusion has brought about a certain conceptual confusion between poverty and exclusion, in which the latter is being equated to the former. The predominant economic bias while framing definitions and selecting indicators to measure both has contributed significantly to the interchangeable use of poverty and social exclusion. This has been detrimental to a better understanding of social exclusion.

A possible additional explanation for this invisibility of exclusion in public agendas and discourses is related to the fact that its alleviation challenges traditional, economic, and social structures and focuses on power structures more than poverty alleviation.

However, exclusion began its appearance in public agendas and the academia little by little and in diverse contexts. The first references to exclusion came from Europe, particularly France (Lenoir 1989) and the UK, in which even research and policies were tied to government agendas. It is interesting to note, for instance, that the UK government has adopted an official definition of exclusion that is guiding its social policy – however contested it might be (Agulnik 2002, Hills et al. 2002).

It is not very clear how social exclusion appears in Latin American public discourse and, more particularly, in Colombian public agendas. What is clear, nevertheless, is that the topic gains attention – thanks to multilateral development organizations such as ECLAC and IADB. It is also clear that the topic is rapidly introduced in government, private sector, and NGO discourses and agendas in the first decade of the 21st century. 'An inclusive society' seems to be the answer to an existing exclusion in society that is not understood very well or at least perceived and experienced by many.

6.2.3 Exclusion and vulnerability

The early traits of tackling open exclusion in Colombia can be found in the political charter of 1991, in which it has been acknowledged for the first time in the country's history. The multi-ethnic and pluricultural character of the nation is acknowledged. Afro-Colombian descendants and indigenous groups and religious minorities took the lead while struggling for political representation in government bodies and affirmative action in sectors such as education, as seen in Act. 70 1991 of the Congress of the Republic. Those were the beginnings of grasping the surface of a much more complex phenomenon in Colombian society that today also make visible the social, economic, and cultural challenges confronted by other excluded groups: disabled, youth, women, LGBT population, and so on.

Social policy is a good reflection of the way in which Colombia's national and sub-national governments and society have understood and addressed the grievances of these groups. But to what extent do these policies reflect the way in which people perceive, experience, and deal with exclusion in their daily lives? Does it mean the same for the people to be poor instead of being excluded? In which way, if any, do the answers to these questions inform social policy design and implementation in order to be effective?

There is very little research addressing these questions. One of the reasons has to do with the fact that the few studies on exclusion done in Colombia until now are based on multi-purpose data-sets, such as Encuesta de Hogares, SISBEN, and Alcaldía de Cali, or the World Value Survey. As Miller (Abrams et al. 2007) mentions, it has gone from existing data to analysis and from there on to the conceptualization and theorization of exclusion. The shift has not occurred from theoretical and conceptual discussion to operationalization and data collection.

Although there is not an absolute definition of exclusion, the review of literature coincides in pointing out two dimensions that can be integrated to produce a working definition. On one hand, exclusion is considered as a condition, and on the other hand, it is considered as a process.

Social exclusion as a condition refers to the lack of resources (Haan and Maxwell 1998) including economic, financial, physical, social, and political resources among others. Most of the research on exclusion as a condition focuses on economic resources and integrates it with the labour market, employment, wages, and income – all of which are key for accessing good living standards and emphasize on goods and services.

6.2.4 Exclusion and the lack of social and political resources

Research on exclusion as the lack of social and political resources is almost inexistent. A direct consequence of this approach is defining exclusion by default with economic indicators. With regard to this frequent approach, it is important to note two considerations. First, the description, measurement, and analysis of exclusion are mainly quantitative and could very nearly be considered as poverty research. Second, there is a synchronic approach to exclusion. That is to say exclusion is not a dynamic phenomenon from which people or social groups could go in or out in one or more of its dimensions.

Social exclusion as a process refers to the dynamic character of the phenomenon. The contextual and historical background in which this process occurs has a highly explicative value. More observation of this approach makes visible the way in which people or social groups may or may not experience exclusion in one or more dimensions, either simultaneously or not. One way to ‘measure’ this process is to capture data that allows one to follow the evolution of exclusion in a particular group or society in

a particular context over a period of time with consecutive surveys. However, the other possible strategy for collecting data is qualitative techniques such as those incorporated in ethnographical studies.

A comprehensive approach to exclusion includes both theoretical dimensions (condition and process) and two methodological approaches (quantitative and qualitative). In the analysis the social exclusion-social capital dyad, one of the aims of this chapter is to explore the complexities of exclusion as a multi-dimensional phenomenon that is far beyond the economic and quantitative approach by examining the particular case of Valle del Cauca in Colombia.

This chapter addresses exclusion as experienced by people in Valle del Cauca. Evidence suggests, however, that Valle del Cauca appears wealthy and rich at first sight. Valle del Cauca is a place of contrast in that there is well-being for some and poverty and exclusion for others. The empirical evidence provides a rich picture, showing that exclusion varies according to historical backgrounds, geographical settings, and socio-demographic characteristics. At the same time, it makes it possible to locate where, in the geographical and social sense of the term, this exclusion is experienced. A wide range of evidence suggests manifold ways in which people are excluded while going far beyond 'just being poor'. They configure contexts of exclusion. It is not limited to restriction in their access to social services and goods such as education, health, and employment, but it also involves obstacles and barriers to social participation and political engagement, among others.

In the face of social exclusion, the alternatives seem to be social inclusion, cohesion, and/or participation. Each one of them has social and political implications. Social policy design is meant to be the tool *par excellence* for addressing these concerns. In which way do Colombian and Valle del Cauca social policies address them? What alternatives and solutions do they offer? Indeed, it is in this point that the social capital seemingly played a crucial role.

6.3 Social capital in development plans: The government's approach

The importance of Development Plans (DP) for the social policy formulation at national and subnational levels was discussed in Chapter 4. The

official and legal nature of these documents not only defines budget allocation for social expenditure, but also provides – at least in theory – the financial conditions for their implementation. Moreover, due to their ‘authoritative’ nature, they become a sort of navigation chart guiding government activities at national and subnational levels. Therefore, a careful examination of DP documents will show how and to which extent social capital discourse was pervasive in the social policy formulation. The analytical procedure allows the assessment of the assumption as one of the ways contributing to making the social capital a pervasive discourse while using its inclusions in DP documents.

This section first determines and discusses the social capital’s conceptual network contained in the DPs of Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities. Then, it turns to analyse its underlying theoretical approaches. It concludes by pointing at the discursive role and the power contained in the social capital, in the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ dyad.

6.3.1 Social capital in development plans: The conceptual network

In the DP chapters and sections referring to social policy and addressing traditional social sectors such as education, health, housing, and poverty, predominant social capital and its related terms were not found. Instead, the DP chapters referring to security, justice, and civic culture condensed most of the references to social capital and its conceptual network. These findings suggest an unforeseen use of the functionality and instrumentality of social capital in the circumstances of 1998–2008 characterizing Valle del Cauca and its municipalities. It seems to be more intended for responding to the conflict and violence control and alleviation than overcoming poverty or improving the economic performance of individuals or communities.

The methodological approach in this section consists of the examination and analysis of the structure and content of DP documents of Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities in the light of the social capital’s conceptual perspectives as discussed in Chapter 2. Content analysis was the focus in the DP section entitled ‘Peace, security and coexistence’ including the statements of the general and specific objectives, strategies, and programs. After discussing and analysing their location and relevance within the DP documents, this section examines the approaches and uses

of the social capital's conceptual networks at department and municipality levels.

The relevance granted in DPs to security, pacific coexistence, justice, democratic culture, and related topics finds its origins in two sources. The first source is the complexities of the multidimensional characteristics of Colombian violence and conflict. They were exposed to the light for the first time in the seminal research carried on by the Commission for the study of violence in Colombia in 1986 (J. Arocha and G. Sánchez, G. 1987). One of the main issues this research addressed was the multiplicity in forms and contents of conflict or violence. This was a breakthrough.

In deciphering the various spheres where conflict and violence occurred, the study made visible the terrible scourge affecting Colombian society. Whether political, economic, cultural, urban, rural, intra-familial, or against ethnic minorities, violence seems to permeate all dimensions of life and relationships. Impunity, a weak and ineffective justice system, a generalized lack of trust in institutions together with development imbalances at the subnational level are part of the panorama. The research report concludes with a reflection on violence and human rights and recommendations for pacification. In 1998, almost ten years after the report was published, the country's circumstances were the same or even worse in the better of the cases.

The second source is the Colombian Political Chart of 1991. It was not surprising that the political chart devoted a chapter to review and relocate norms, rules, and lines for a renewed social contract. It was a contract that should be enacted urgently in response to the many faces of violence and conflict as national indicators recorded it, but also by considering their specificities in departments and municipalities.

Title II of CPC numbers the rights to which Colombian citizens are entitled (the fundamental rights; the social, economic, and cultural rights; the collective and environmental rights). It also makes explicit the way in which the Colombian state is obliged to promote and protect these rights. Finally, however, in Chapter 5, it outlines citizens' duties and obligations. Besides the fundamental obligation to comply with the Constitution and the law, there is a set of defined duties regarding how to be a citizen and a member of society and community. They are formulated as follows:

- a) to respect the rights of others and not abuse of your own; b) to act according to the principle of social solidarity, responding with humanitarian

actions in situations that endanger the life or health of persons; c) to respect and support the legitimately constituted democratic authorities to maintain national independence and integrity; d) to defend and spread human rights as the basis of peaceful coexistence; e) to participate in the political, civic and community life in the country; f) to encourage the achievement and maintenance of peace; g) to collaborate for the proper functioning of justice administration. (Art. 95, CPC, 1991)

In a country where conflict and violence have prevailed for decades, these sentences have a particular weight and value. In a pragmatic perspective, the expressions regarding citizens' duties and responsibilities assume formulations of their own in the DP documents. They contribute to shape strategies, programs, and projects entailing concrete action. The scrutiny of these elements, their comparisons, and contrasts at the department and municipality level allow the identification of those dimensions associated with the social capital's conceptual network.

Clear references alluding to the constitutional citizens' duties mentioned in the above quoted CPC, Art. 95 are present in the 20 DPs analysed. In all of them, there is a separate chapter or section addressing basic principles aimed at shaping social relationships in communities and societies. The recurrent terms used to frame them are *coexistence*, *peace*, and *security*. The fact that the opening chapter in the DP's strategic section takes, in all cases, these expressions or similar ones may be interpreted as a sign of the importance allocated to these social and political conditions. They are considered foundations for economic, social, and environmental policies in the promotion of development. Table 6.1 shows textual chapters or sections headings in DP documents that are related to the set of concepts ascribed to social capital.

The emphasis put on these three terms, their combination, and variations with the use of adjectives suggests the importance of 'relationships matters'. In fact, coexistence, peace, and security are relational notions. They refer to ways to be in society or as a part of it.

They speak of ways of social interactions. It might be possible that endless iteration in political discourses has deprived these words of their meanings. However, a brief review of their connotations points at the basic principles of the social contract: the classical tradition of the moral and political philosophy questions the state-individual relationships, the

legitimacy of authority of the former over the later, and the benefits of a political order and its institutions.

Table 6.1
Social capital conceptual network in DPs (1998-2008)

Term	1998-2000	2001-2003	2004-2007	2008-2011
Valle del Cauca	Not available	Security, peace, coexistence, and social fabric	Democratic culture and peace	Peaceful coexistence and security
Buenaventura	Not available	Civil society coexistence, social conflict attention, culture for peace	Security and peace for all, Buenaventura educated, healthy and with solidarity Principles and values Human rights and international human rights	Coexistence and security: To strengthen coexistence, security, peace, and cultural local identity
Cali	No specific chapter It is in the social policy chapter 'Integral social development'	Rebuilding the social fabric strategy	Civic culture, coexistence, security, and peace	Cali is life
Cartago	Coexistence and peace policy	No chapter or section	Peaceful coexistence and civic participation	Governance
Florida	Security and civic coexistence sector	Justice and public security sector	Justice and security	Governability axis
Tuluá	Not available	Not available	Tuluá: An agreement between all	No chapter or section

Source: Author elaboration based on Valle del Cauca and five selected municipalities DPs 1998-2008

The relevance of these conditions in DPs emerge from the contrast between their absence, and the social demands as requirements to exist as a political society and to live as social beings. It also explained a certain political approach calling, at the time, for a Colombian social contract renewal (Garay and Angulo 1999, Garay and Echeverry 2002).

The coincidences to the social capital's conceptual network are not surprising (Figure 6.1). During 1998–2008, the conflict and violence context and its manifestations in the public and private spheres of life had strongly

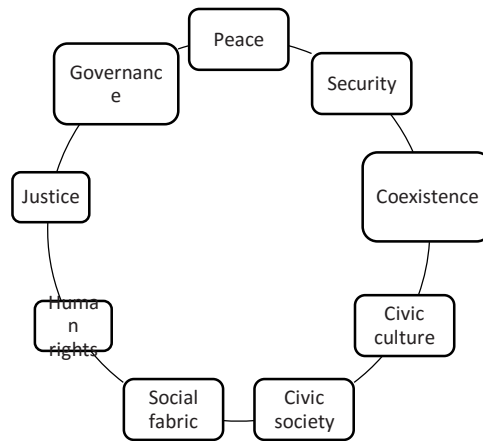
permeated all corners of society. It was not limited to confrontation between the traditional two political parties or to the state (leftist guerrilla armed conflict) or to drug trafficking cartels. It was now clear that the way in which individuals, social groups, and communities related one to the each other in an indecipherable project of society was at stake.

Table 6.2
Coexistence, peace, and security: Some connotations

Coexistence	To exist together at the same time, in the same place To live in peace with each other especially as a matter of policy A policy of living with other nations, religions etc. in spite of fundamental disagreements A condition or policy in which nations, groups, etc. coexist peacefully while remaining economic and political rivals Current Harmony
Security	Safety Stability A guarantee Freedom from danger, risk, doubt, financial cares, harm Something that protects, defends Precautions against crime and sabotage
Peace/Peaceful	Free from war or fighting Not involving violence Not willing or eager to fight At peace: quiet, tranquil Inclined to peace: well-disposed, amicable, nonviolent, pacific, unwarlike

Source: Author's elaboration

Figure 6.1
 Concepts in 'Peace, security, and coexistence' DPs



Source: Author's elaboration

A close review of objective statements and strategies, programs, and project formulation shed additional light on this point.

Security, peace, coexistence, justice, rebuilding the social fabric, democracy, civic society, and other associated terms structure the objective statements, strategies, programs, and projects in this specific DPs chapter (Annex 5.1: DP General Objectives in DP. Valle del Cauca and five selected municipalities). A reasonable assumption is that they were the government's political and pragmatic response to the prevalent multidimensional violence and conflict condition. Furthermore, in search for a new social contract and in order to rebuild the social fabric, these statements provided political grounds regarding excluded and vulnerable social groups. As victims in one way or another, these groups were at the core of a social cohesion project.

Figure 6.2
Frequent terms in 'peace, security, and coexistence' in DP



6.3.2 Convergences and divergences

After discussing and analysing their location and relevance in DP documents, this section examines the approaches and uses of the social capital's conceptual networks at the department and municipality level, pointing out convergences and divergences.

This section has unravelled the government's approach to address all sorts of violence and conflict in Valle del Cauca and the selected municipalities while highlighting specificities that answer local circumstances at municipality levels. Although similar in nature, there are differences in the way the department and municipalities deal with these problematic situations rooted in communities and the society. Citizenship and its necessary conditions in terms of rights and duties and the rule of law are at the core of the classic sociological problem about the relationship between individual and society. The excessive, even repetitive, emphasis in these topics

reflects the acute social and political crisis in which Colombian society (and for this case, Valle del Cauca) is embedded. Not surprisingly, the conceptual network of the social capital discourse enjoyed a great deal of attention and promotion in economic, social, and political spheres by national and sub-national governments and civil society actors and opinion leaders. All in all, the result was a widespread belief that social capital contained promises and remedies to relieve a suffering society. Plenty of resources, whether human or financial, (most of them coming from the private sector and NGOs) were devoted to foster social capital without measured or evaluated results.

The arising question now is to what extent and how do the people and citizens perceive and experience the realities of the social capital in daily life? This is the other side of the coin. Only when this end of the story is considered would it be possible to identify convergences and divergences. Thus, the next section explores citizens' perceptions and experiences.

6.4 Concluding remarks

The analysis of 20 DPs confirms the pervasiveness of the social capital elements and dimensions as a discourse in policy approaches. One can reasonably wonder if these specific DP chapters and sections on security, peace, coexistence, trust, and justice – inspired in the social capital discourse's conceptual network – were a political and pragmatic sort of response from the government to the dominant multidimensional violent and conflict conditions during 1998–2008. Furthermore, it is possible to seek links between the socially excluded vulnerable groups as 'victims' and the forms of violence and conflict. The social fragmentation that the latter produced was a fertile ground to promote, at least at the discourse level (which is the social capital discourse's conceptual network).

Notes

¹ Misión para el Diseño de una Estrategia para la Reducción de la Pobreza y la Desigualdad, MERPD http://www.presidencia.gov.co/prensa_new/decretoslinea/2004/diciembre/30/dec4416301204.pdf

² A notable exception, nevertheless, is the study carried on by Luis Jorge Garay Salamanca and Ossa Escobar in 2002, titled 'Colombia, entre la exclusión y el desarrollo : propuestas para la transición al estado social de derecho'.

³ <http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm>

⁴ Interestingly, however, the Colombian MDG report for 2006 calls attention in its title to equality and inclusión.

7

Social Capital: Experiences and Perceptions

7.1 Introduction

Since the early years of the 1990s until the end of the 2000s, the term ‘social capital’ was present in the social, economic, political, and cultural spheres of Colombian life. Government authorities, state technocrats, politicians, journalists, opinion leaders, NGOs, and social science scholars played a central role in making the notion part and parcel of the public opinion. Specifically, it pervades those sectors, whether public or private, in power positions. The cure for all ills afflicting Colombia society was related in one way or another to the social capital and its associated notions of reciprocity, mutual help, solidarity, and trust. They were ‘used’ in different ways and fields of action. From a discursive and ideological perspective, the tide of social capital flourished in plans, programs, and large- or small-scale projects.

The government’s eagerness to include concepts and ideas related to social capital in the DP’s ‘social’ or ‘political’ chapters has been shown in chapter 6. This chapter seeks to discuss and analyse whether the ‘social capital’ part of the dyadic conceptual device recognizable in the DPs has its analogue in citizens’ experiences and perceptions in their everyday life and the closer environment. What is, from the citizens’ perspective, the counterpart to associative behaviour, participation, and peaceful coexistence promoted in the DP? What are their actual behaviours and attitudes at the individual and collective level?

The Social Capital and Social Inclusion Household Survey SCSIHS (2007), one of the components of the methodological strategy contributing to the Human Development Report of Valle del Cauca, 2008 (HDRCS 2008), provides the empirical grounds for this analysis. The households’ survey covered 41 of 42 Valle del Cauca municipalities. Cali, the capital city, was left out of the sample. The reasons supporting this decision were, first, that Cali had been included in studies carried out by

national researchers on social capital while taking into account large Colombian cities. Second, these studies were a part of, derived from, or inspired in the World Value Survey. Third, Cali was selected for the World Bank's SOCAT pilot test in 2005 (J. Alonso et al. 2005). This sufficient data of Cali contrasted with the lack of data on medium- and small-sized municipalities in Valle del Cauca.

Drawing on the operative approaches (structural and cognitive organization of social capital and structuring of the Integrated Questionnaire), this chapter sheds light on the main trends of what the dominant expressions of social capital dimensions were in 1998–2008: organizations and associativity, networks and mutual help, participation, solidarity, trust, and cooperation. The comparative perspective between the department and selected municipalities highlights important nuances.

This chapter closes by pointing at the existing gap between what the DP stated in strategies, programs, and projects and addressing one or more dimensions of the social capital discourse network and the daily experience of 'living together' among Valle del Cauca's population. This gap seems to get wider and wider. If the social capital part of the 'social exclusion-social capital' dyadic conceptual device worked well in the power spheres, it did not have the same effect either discursively and ideologically, or practically and at the individual and collective level.

7.2 Structural social capital

The structural social capital detects and captures the associative behaviour of individuals and its characteristics within communities. It identifies interactions between individuals through their membership of institutional networks or formal and informal organizations. Structural social capital is a relatively objective and externally observable construct (Grootaert 2001:5). Therefore, in order to detect structural social capital, the relevant questions enquire about an individual's membership in associations and networks and the number and sort of organizations that exist in a particular geographical area or community that is considered as an analytical social setting. Moreover, what reveals the nature of the structural social capital is an assessment of the importance people place on their membership with these organizations; of whether they are viewed as effective in solving prioritized issues for the community; and of the forms of their functioning and operation. In this perspective, structural social capital is

supposed to facilitate information sharing, collective action, and decision making through established roles, social networks, and other social structures supplemented by rules, procedures, and entrenched habits.

In the survey questionnaire, a set of questions enquired about the structural social capital. As points of reference, they included a list of the most common existing formal and informal organizations in Colombian communities (department and municipalities). The questions enquired about membership; the role these organizations played in granting access to social goods and services; membership's dynamics in the past years (whether they declined, remained the same, or increased); and mechanisms for the leader's election. They also searched for information regarding bonding, bridging, and linking social capital.

This section presents the main types of organizations that give rise to associative behaviour in Valle del Cauca and the five municipalities selected. The understanding of patterns and trends regarding people's associative behaviour entails considering a brief historical account, the identification of goals and outcomes, and some facts and figures of each organization type.

7.2.1 Organizations

For analytic purposes, formal and informal organizations were grouped into five categories. The grouping criterion is the primary field of action or activity: economic, social goods and service provision, culture and politics, civics, and socio-demography. In some cases and depending on specific contexts, as is discussed below, organizations can have interwoven goals or converge on social, economic, or political spaces to achieving their aims. In this way, they shape complex games of alliances or rivalries. It is not surprising, considering the blurred boundaries between their areas of action. Although grouped under specific fields within each category, the organizations have heterogeneity. It is identifiable by criteria such as education, occupational position, and relationship to political or governmental power, among others. Table 7.1 shows the existing organizations in Valle del Cauca.

Table 7.1
Organizations in Valle del Cauca

<i>Organization's field of action</i>	<i>Type of organization</i>
Economic activities	Farmers' /fishermen's group Commerce chamber Traders' association Professional association Guild (<i>Gremio</i>) Trade unions
Social goods and/or service provision	Credit/finance group Sport group School committee Health committee Environmental/ecology group
Politics and culture	Religious group Political group Cultural association
Socio-demographic groups	Youth group Women's group Ethnic group
Civic groups	Community Action Board (Junta de Acción Comunal [JAC]) Local Administrative Board (Junta Administradora Local [JAL]) Neighbourhood/village committee NGO or civic group

Source: Author's elaboration

Economic activities and their organizations

This category gathers economic organizations that differ in nature: farmer and fisherman groups, commerce chambers, trade and business associations, and labour unions. Whether informal or formal, designed with more or less intricate organizational structures, with legal status or not, some of them are under the surveillance and control of the Industry and Commerce Superintendence (ICS): first-, second-, or third-level organizations.

The commerce chambers

The origins of commerce chambers date back to 1877. The traders of Bogotá initiated the first Commerce Chamber in Colombia. At that time, there were government advisory organizations. Upon their inception, commerce chambers were voluntary membership organizations bringing together traders to join the effort in the search of regional development

and individual well-being. In the early 1930s, the national government delegated the administration of public commercial registers to commerce chambers. Since then, their legal nature and functions have gone through a profound transformation, going from being just traders' associations to later having the responsibility of administering and managing the public register and other duties of public interest.

As for their legal status, they are not-for-profit organizations, corporative in nature and subject to private law. Their goals are rooted in the Colombian constitutional principles of defending the entrepreneurs' general interest, promoting entrepreneurship's general prosperity, and maintaining business freedom, which considered the foundation of national development. Also, they are in charge of keeping unique registers for commercial, not-for-profit organizations and bidders. By 2016, there were 57 commerce chambers in Colombia. They are incorporated in the Confederación Colombiana de Cámaras de Comercio (CONFECAMARAS), a third-level organization founded in 1969. In its website, one reads:

CONFECAMARAS works to enhance competitiveness and Colombian regional development by means of institutional strengthening of commerce chambers and the proactive representation before the state to promote Colombian regions' competitiveness, formalization of the economy, entrepreneurship, and business innovation.

Its actions aim at linking the public and private sectors, proposing solutions to the problems affecting different Colombian regions, serving as an advisory and representation body to commerce chambers which are development agencies in their areas. (CONFECAMARAS, 2001:271)

There are two ways to be linked to commerce chambers. On one hand, this can be done as registered members. In this case, every businessperson must register his/her business before this organization to conduct entrepreneurial activities on a permanent and professional basis. It entails obtaining the mercantile register and complying with other legal commercial obligations. On the other hand, it can be done as affiliated members. According to Act 1727–2014, in addition of being registered members and exercising the right of self-organization, they voluntarily accept additional duties and rights, being granted privileges that plain registered members do not have. To elaborate, they are eligible for the directive board (Colombia 1971, 2014).¹

In Valle del Cauca, there are seven commerce chambers. They are located in Buenaventura, Buga, Cali, Cartago, Palmira, Sevilla, and Tuluá.

Each one has jurisdiction over the municipalities that are not powerful enough demographically, socially, economically, and politically to have their own organization. The four municipalities this research considers are counted under the commerce chambers. Table 7.2 highlights relevant organizational features.

The commerce chambers, mirroring the economic dynamics of their area of influence, manifest strengths and weaknesses of the municipalities where they operate. It is worth noting that some of the roles and actions of these organizations influence not only the economic sphere but also the political and social one. One prominent example is the so-called Regional Block and of Congressmen of Valle del Cauca (Bloque Regional y de Congresistas del Valle del Cauca). It is composed of Congress senators and representatives from Valle del Cauca, with the support of governors, majors, the Department Assembly, municipal councils, and local and regional business organizations and unions. The Cali Commerce Chamber exerts the technical secretariat. 'Its aims are to creating consensus among parliamentarians and the public and private sector's actors about a collective agenda for building a more prosper and competitive region' (BRV 2016). It is an evidence of the intricate links between the economic, social, and political spheres in which power is at stake. Commerce chambers, in fact, play a crucial role in it.

Trade and business association

There is a long tradition of trade and business associations in Colombia. It dates back to 1871 when the Farmers Society of Colombia (Sociedad de Agricultores de Colombia [SAC]) was founded formally. This association grouped, and still does, farmers dedicated to agriculture, cattle, and livestock breeding. Throughout the twentieth century, new associative organizations (associations, federations, chambers, and societies) emerged. They flourished with the development and consolidation of economic activities in sectors such as industries and services.

Table 7.2
Commerce Chambers in Valle del Cauca, organizational features

<i>Commerce chamber</i>	<i>Cali</i>	<i>Buenaventura</i>	<i>Tuluá</i>	<i>Cartago</i>
-------------------------	-------------	---------------------	--------------	----------------

Foundation	1910	1928	1945	1949
Municipalities under its jurisdiction	5	1	7	15
Mission	To challenge entrepreneurs to grow profitably and sustainably and to compete successfully in a global economy to build a more competitive region. We believe that if companies grow, the region is growing, and this will reflect on prosperity and quality of life for its citizens	To lead fundamental socio-economic development processes To provide registers and other public functions delegated by the State To respond to the regional services' market needs with ethics, quality, and agility	To contribute to regional socio-economic development through business formalization and strengthening and by providing alternative methods for conflict resolution To provide information to the whole community	To promote the city and North of Valle del Cauca's socio-economic development with service delivery to entrepreneurs and the community
Corporate values	Ethic's code and corporate governance rules Transparency Integrity	Ethics Responsibility Solidarity	Loyalty Respect Solidarity	Good faith Loyalty Confidentiality Respect

Source: Author's elaboration

Although not all of them have the same power or influence, their central goals are to uphold and protect the economic, social, and political conditions for business development. These organizations play a strategic role before the national government in lobbying for business interests, voicing their concerns, and influencing sectorial policies. In recent decades, within the context of free-trading agreements, they were relevant partners in bilateral or multilateral negotiations. Table 7.3 summarizes the 21 main existing trade and business associations in Colombia. They gather in the National Trade Union Council (Concejo Gremial Nacional [CGN]), which was founded in 1993.

Table 7.3
Trade and business associations in Colombia

<i>Economic sector</i>	<i>Trade and business associations</i>
Industry	Asociación Colombiana de Fabricantes de Autopartes (ACOLFA) Asociación Colombiana de Micro, Pequeñas y Medianas Empresas (ACOPI) Asociación Colombiana de Industrias Plásticas (ACOPLASTICOS) Asociación Nacional de Comercio Exterior (ANALDEX) Asociación Nacional de Empresarios de Colombia (ANDI)
Services	Asociación Nacional de Empresas de Servicios Públicos y Comunicaciones (ANDESCO) Cámara Colombiana de la Construcción (CAMACOL) Asociación Hotelera y Turística de Colombia (COTELCO) Cámara Colombiana de la Infraestructura (CCI) Federación Colombiana de Transportadores de Carga por Carretera (COLFECAR) Confederación Colombiana de Cámaras de Comercio (CONFECAMARAS)
Agriculture and live-stock	Sociedad de Agricultores de Colombia (SAC) Asociación de Cultivadores de Caña de Azúcar de Colombia (ASOCAÑA) Federación Nacional de Cultivadores de Palma de Aceite (FEDEPALMA) Federación Colombiana de Ganaderos (FEDEGAN) Asociación Colombiana de Exportadores de Flores (ASOCOLFLORES)
Finances	Asociación Bancaria y de Entidades Financieras de Colombia (ASOBANCARIA) Asociación Colombiana de Administradoras de Fondos de Pensiones y Cesantías (ASOFONDOS) Asociación de Fiduciarias (ASOFIDUCIARIAS) Federación de Aseguradores Colombianos (FASECOLDA)

Source: Author's elaboration based on Consejo Gremial Nacional (CGN)

Most of these organizations have branches in Valle del Cauca. Some of them are highly influential economically and politically, not only at the sub-national but at the national level as well. What remains to be seen is whether or not this organizational density reflects a high degree of associativity indicating large numbers of members, easy access to required membership criteria, and wide and open forms of participation. Evidence indicates that this is not the case.²

Labour unions

This traditional form of workers' organizations has been particularly vulnerable to transformation in the labour market and political persecution. In a labour environment where informality prevails and when the formal labour market has not gone beyond 30%, opportunities for developing strong trade unionism are very few. Exposed to burgeoning neoliberal reforms, the recruitment of new kinds of labours is characterized by outsourcing and short-term contracts, preventing workers from developing social and political relationships in factories and organizations leading to a steady and consolidated national unionism. Furthermore, trade union activists have been at the core of human rights violations entailing assassinations and harassments. As a consequence, the figures in existing trade unions and memberships show a drastic reduction in an already adverse economic environment.

Associations of artisans and craftsmen from the early nineteenth century constitute the historical background for labour unions formally recognized by the Colombian government in the twentieth century. Printers, tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, among others artisans, formed the first workers' unions. Economic and industrial development policies boosted the creation of factories and productive organizations. The development of capitalism and, therefore, the transformation of production relationships resulted in the appearance of a new working class, shaping the prosperity of labour unions (J. A. Bejarano 1985, J. A. Ocampo 1987, S. Kalmanovitz 1994). The first labour union census carried out in 1947 indicated the foundation of the first union was in 1906. At the end of the 1930s, there were 99 recognized labour unions. It shows the dynamism and expansion of this organizational form aimed at the defence of workers' rights (Hernández 2004: 69–71). Concomitant with the emergence of new labour unions was the appearance of unions' second-level organizations. The Workers Union of Colombia (Unión Obrera de Colombia) founded in 1913 was the first of these organizations.

The twentieth century also witnessed the growth of first-, second-, and third-level labour union organization and the strengthening of the labour union movement (Hernandez 2014, Vidal 2012). Among the most relevant and influential are the following: The Oil Industry Workers Union (Unión Sindical Obrera de la Industria del Petróleo [USO]) founded in 1922; the Workers Confederation of Colombia (Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia [CTC]) in 1935; the Union de Trabajadores de Colombia in

1946; The Colombian Federation of Teachers (Federación Colombiana de Educadores [FECODE]) in 1959; the General Confederation of Workers (Confederación General de Trabajadores [CGT]) in 1971. They were and still are key interlocutors to the national government. In 2012, three union federations grouped 50% of existing unions. The larger of these is United Workers Federation (Central Unitaria de los Trabajadores [CUT]), concentrating 65% of all unionized workers. CUT gathers workers affiliated with most influential unions. Among them are the FECODE, National Farming Industry Workers Union (Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Industria Agropecuaria [SINTRAINAGRO]), and the USO. The other two are the CGT and the CTC (Vidal 2012).

The peak of labour union activities was in the 1970s when massive national and sectorial strikes took place. These actions defending workers' rights challenged national government policies and the ways of the productive sector. Since the 1980s, however, factors such as the implementation of neo-liberal policies and the decline in the affiliation of workers' unions, the number of organizations, and the actions taken led to a critical condition in the labour union movement. Most of the unionized workers are members of public-employee labour unions. Others include the public and private enterprise-level unions and guilds and industry unions.

Although accurate figures about unions and affiliated members are unreliable due to discrepancies in the sources (the Ministry of Labor, industrial associations, unions, and organizations involved in the research by Escuela Nacional Sindical [ENS] are more relevant in the field), the trend is clear. Either there is stagnation in the numbers of unions and unionized members, or there is little growth. In fact, Colombia has one of the lowest unionization rates in the world. By 2010, it was barely 4.9%.³ This indicator decreased significantly since 1970 when it was about 20%. At the beginning of 1990, unions accounted for 2,575 and unionized workers accounted for 909,504. In 2010, there were 2,936 unions. In 2012, unionized workers were 811,850. In the month of November of 2015, ENS released the most recent figures for 2013 (Table 7.4).

Table 7.4
Active labour unions and unionized workers in 2013

Union	No. of unions	(%)	Unionized workers	(%)
-------	---------------	-----	-------------------	-----

Guild union	2.124	48.45	488.098	50.89
Enterprise-level union	1.571	35.83	223.807	23.33
Industry union	629	14.35	243.259	25.36
Mixed unions	60	1.37	4.050	0.42
	4.384	100	959.214	100

Source: Escuela Nacional Sindical (2014), Sistema de información Sindical y Laboral (Sislab), Subsistema Censo Sindical

Despite the right of association in general and the freedom of labour union associations and activities, in particular, contained in the Colombian Constitution (CPC Art. 38 and 39), there are significant barriers to maintaining labour unions. On one hand, there are administrative and bureaucratic hurdles. On the other hand, new forms of employment contracts in the context of the current labour reforms and flexibilization. In connection with the former, although it is seemingly not that complicated to form unions (under the Colombian legislation among the requirements are the affiliation of at least 25 people with a minimum age of 14 years), 491 workers' initiatives to create labour unions were rejected between 2002 and 2007 (Vidal 2012). With reference to the second, the gradual extinction of open-ended contracts and the increased prevalence of fixed-term contracts, where the terms are time and again shorter (from one year to six, three, or even fewer months), prevent the stabilization of a mass of unionized workers with bargaining power. In this way, from the collective work agreements (*convenciones colectivas*) of the past obtained by strong labour unions, which are declining in numbers these days, the collective pacts and collective contract have raised in detriment of the past labour rights. Particularly, the collective contract has been very much questioned as the promoter of outsourcing and labour force subcontracts. It breaks the direct relationships between the enterprise and the worker by using intermediaries or contractors (*contratistas*). In addition to the obstacles mentioned above, ideological conflicts and power struggles between and among unions have weakened their bargaining power. The internal disputes have also prevented them from reacting and responding to the current political, social, and economic changes.

An outlook on the Colombian union's environment would not be complete without making reference to the forces acting violently against activists and the affiliated union members. In fact, Colombia is a country with the greatest number of murders of union leaders in the world. The first decade of the twenty-first century concentrates 63% of the registered cases. Between 2002 and 2009, about 500 unionized workers were killed. Despite the fact that since 2003 numbers of assassinations have decreased, other violations of human rights, threats, forced displacement, and torture continued to be a scourge to union activists (Amnesty International 2007, CGT 2014, Olaya et al. 2012, Planeta Paz 2016, Vidal 2012).

Social goods and service provision organizations

Formal and mostly informal organizations related to social goods and service provision are found particularly at the grass root level in Valle del Cauca and its municipalities. Their sphere of action involves the people near environments such as streets, blocks, or neighbourhoods. Strong ties, in Grannovetter's (1983) terms, yield and bring about these organizations that are communal in nature. Although informal without a clear defined organizational structure, aims, and activities, these organizations are levered in a common cultural and social tradition built and shared throughout the succession of generations. Social control mechanisms are enacted. They are effective likely due to the deep knowledge of 'who is who' in the community or neighbourhood. Strong commitments and trust among their members are some of their features. The role these organizations play in the social, cultural, and economic lives of individuals and communities are at the grounds of their functioning. Credit and finance groups are a good example of how in absence of other opportunities, these organizations can fulfil a role in allowing people to access a service that wouldn't be available in their absence.

Credit and finance groups

Access to credit and financial services are the core aims for which poor or in some way marginalized individuals and communities organize credit and finance groups mostly in an informal way. At least three contextual dimensions intervene in this form of association: the prevalent low level of bancarization among vulnerable population; the disastrous social and economic consequences of resorting to informal credit in which usury is a mandate; and the trust relationship at the micro level (neighbourhood, block, or village). Credit and finance groups are a good example of how in

the absence of alternatives, these organizations may fulfil a role in allowing people to access a service that wouldn't be accessible otherwise.

The Colombian Central Bank (Banco de la República) refers to 'bancarization' or financial inclusion as the process in which financial services are integrated with people's daily economic activities. It may contribute to economic growth as far as allowing individuals and enterprises to effectively reduce the cost of finance, insurance, and resource management (Banco de la República 2014). Furthermore, bancarization entails the access through the formal banking system to at least one of the following financial services: credit, savings, insurance, remittance and value transfers, and payments. In 2006, ASOBANCARIA's report on bancarization shows that 29% of the Colombian population has at least one bank product. In Cali, 39.8% has savings accounts, 5.6% has current accounts, 8.6% has credit cards, and 0.66% has microcredit (Tafur 2009). World Bank Global Financial Inclusion Database (WB 2016) shows that in 2011, 30% of the Colombian population has accounts in the formal banking system, which is far behind Brasil (whose percentage is 56%) or Chile (whose percentage is 42%) (7.5).

Studies on the low level of bancarization point to access barriers (Murcia 2007, Paredes 2006) such as high interest rates and the formal requirements involving supporting documentation that is out of the reach of potential customers. In a labour market's environment where informality prevails, it is close to impossible for a worker to provide a labour certificate. In the case applicants meet all the formalities, there is still no flexibility of repayment, daily or weekly, according to their actual financial circumstances. Furthermore, the lack of finance education joins the widespread idea – not without reason – that banks make huge profits at the expense of customers. After the financial crisis in 1998, new taxes such as the four Colombian pesos per thousand to all transactions – intended to be temporary – made prices of banking services rise. It discouraged low-income groups to become the customers of banks or other financial institutions.

Although there is a sustained trend towards bancarization in Colombia (Table 7.5), it still has a long way to go. In 2013, the bancarization index was about 67%. At the end of 2015, 75% of Colombians had at least one financial product. It is expected that this figure will rise to 77% by the end of 2016, while the goal for 2018 is to achieve 85%. Within the banking sector, the challenge is to provide financial inclusion (ASOBANCARIA

2016a, 2016b, 2016c, Esguerra et al. 2014). In this framework, the only alternative for many is to resort to informal credit, whose sources are family, friends, and informal lenders. Some of the complexities involved in accessing informal credit are reflected in Table 7.5. In 2011, private informal lenders were the alternative to accessing credit for 6.5% of Colombian population aged above 15 years old. Except for women, in 2014, the portion of the population that borrowed from private lenders – controlled by sex, age, and income – rose in all cases. Even the richest 60% make use of this credit option. There is also an important gender gap of about four points in which males are more likely to go to informal lenders than women. In 2014, the raise in the share of males is striking, with the richer rising to 60% and older adults using informal lenders' services. According to World Bank data (Table 7.5), between 2011 and 2014, the level of individual private debt rose by 9.6 percentage points (from 30.0% to 39.6%). People borrowing informal credit in 2011 were 18.4% of the total population, aged 15 years or more. In 2014, the figure rose to 24%.

Table 7.5

Financial inclusion in Colombia 2011 and 2014 based on selected indicators

Series name	2011 (%)	2014 (%)
Account (% age 15+)	30.4	39.0
Account, female (% age 15+)	25.4	34.0
Account, male (% age 15+)	35.9	44.4
Account at a financial institution (% age 15+)	30.4	38.4
Account at a financial institution, female (% age 15+)	25.4	33.6
Account at a financial institution, male (% age 15+)	35.9	43.5
Account at a financial institution, income, poorest 40% (% ages 15+)	13.3	23.4
Formal and Informal Credit		
Borrowed from a financial institution (% age 15+)	11.9	15.6
Borrowed from a financial institution, female (% age 15+)	10.6	13.7
Borrowed from a financial institution, male (% age 15+)	13.4	17.5
Borrowed from family or friends (% age 15+)	18.3	15.9
Borrowed from family or friends, female (% age 15+)	17.1	12.3
Borrowed from family or friends, male (% age 15+)	19.6	19.7
Borrowed from family or friends, income, poorest 40% (% ages 15+)	13.2	11.2
Borrowed from family or friends, income, richest 60% (% ages 15+)	21.8	19.0
Borrowed from a private informal lender (% age 15+)	6.5	8.1
Borrowed from a private informal lender, female (% age 15+)	6.8	6.3
Borrowed from a private informal lender, male (% age 15+)	6.0	10.0
Borrowed from a private informal lender, income, poorest 40% (% ages 15+)	7.9	7.9
Borrowed from a private informal lender, income, richest 60% (% ages 15+)	5.5	8.2
Borrowed from a private informal lender, older adults (% ages 25+)	8.1	8.6
Borrowed any money in the past year (% age 15+)	..	38.9
Borrowed any money in the past year, female (% age 15+)	..	34.3
Borrowed any money in the past year, male (% age 15+)	..	43.9
Borrowed any money in the past year, income, poorest 40% (% ages 15+)	..	29.4
Borrowed any money in the past year, income, richest 60% (% ages 15+)	..	45.4
Borrowed any money in the past year, older adults (% ages 25+)	..	41.8

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from database: World Bank Global Findex (Global Financial Inclusion Database). Last Updated: 04/15/2015

Complex social and economic circumstances are concealed behind these figures in which highly asymmetric power relationships are involved. Before describing them, it is worthy to note that most of the money lent is not intended for investment (health, housing, or education) but for attending basic daily needs such as food, the payment of rent, or even worse, the payment of debts acquired from other informal lenders. In the latter case, which is highly widespread among poor and vulnerable groups, it has

brought about what is known as ‘drop-to-drop loans’, a tragic form of informal credit.

People who resort to drop-to-drop loans are prone to extortion and personal injuries. Although there is no means of establishing the direct link between the two, figures for extortions have risen dramatically; Valle del Cauca occupies the second position after Antioquia with most of such reported cases in the country.

Despite the abuses and deception to which users of drop-to-drop credits are subjected, these unregulated loans and their ways do not constitute offenses under the law. In Cali’s prosecutors’ office, there are no reports related to this form of credit. However, it is known from hundreds of cases that people owing money to loan sharks have been badly affected by extortion and threats. Many of these informal drop-to-drop lenders have direct relationships with what is named ‘collect agencies’, ‘collect offices’, or ‘credit counsellors’. Experienced killers are at the top of the hierarchy of these illegal armies that take action in case borrowers do not meet the repayment agreement.

After facing the closed doors of formal credit, people consider microcredit as an accessible alternative. However, the same reason leading people to drop-to-drop loans prevents them from obtaining microcredits. In 2014, Colombian Central Bank’s study on microfinances found that the demand for microcredit decreased. The main reasons were over-indebtedness and the lack of repayment capacity. Other barriers to credits were the applicant’s debts with three or more microcredit organizations and poor credit history (Jaramillo et al. 2014).

Although, there are no reliable figures, studies suggest that however scarce the individuals or household incomes are, Colombians save money either in piggy banks or ‘under the mattress’. The remittances, an important source of income for about 40% of households, allow savings as well. Moreover, 70% of Colombians save and access small capitals through family funds or ‘saving chains’ (IFC 2012). These are based on trust and associative behaviour. The idea is simple. A group of friends, sometimes particularly women, agree on a weekly basis to put some amount of money in a common basket. The amount is the same for all the participants. The bigger the number of participants, the bigger the amount of money collected each week. Each participant takes a turn to receive the money collected each week. In a sort of savings mechanism administered by themselves, the participants have access to financial resources that

are otherwise not at hand. It is called 'la cadena del ahorro', the savings chain. The strong social control and certainty to receive the expected amount of money in due time make each participant behave according to agreed rules. Everyone complies with the commitment, and everyone enjoys the benefits. This way of saving money and accessing financial resources is particularly relevant in an environment where the bancarization of some social groups is difficult or almost inexistent.

Education and school committees

The first reference to parents' possibilities to participate in formal education processes in collaboration with primary and secondary public schools appears in 1961. In fact, in what was called a black decree, the Ministry of Education affirmed that "the close cooperation between teachers and parents is essential" and the need 'to give greater thrust to mutual help aimed to provide a harmonious and refinement environment leading to facilitate the performance of difficult task'. Consequently, in every official school, administrators were bound to establish a parents' group named 'Parents Association' (Asociación de Padres de Familia). Its goals were aimed at coordinating efforts between parents and teachers 'to discover children's inclinations and capacities and help them in their struggle for life; to reinforce each other's efforts in family and school education; to advise teachers in matters related to security, morality, hygiene and general pupils' well-being; to attend conferences and lectures on subjects influencing home's life or society' (MEN 1961). The significance of these assertions may be understood in the light of the Catholic church's dominance in the education sphere where there was no place for a collaborative approach. It is also the reason behind the fact that the decree was only applied to public schools when most of the education process was in the hands of the church.

The role that parents' associations played gained renewed emphasis in the Politic Constitution of 1991 in CPC 1991, Art. 38 and 6). The corresponding articles developed in acts and decrees in the first half of the 1990s broadened the scope of the 'education community' to include pupils, students, teachers, school administrators, parents, and alumni. The family and parents, who were primarily responsible for children's education, were bound to participate in these associations (MEN 1994). However, these regulations remained a dead letter in many cases. In others cases, they were subjected to a variety of interpretations, resulting in confusion and abuses.

In 2005, while confronting complaints either from schools or parents, the Ministry of Education issued a decree that clarified and regulated parents' participation in the education process in public and private schools. Parents' councils and associations were set up. The latter was defined as a not-for-profit organization. Under free and voluntary decision, they were constituted by parents of the students enrolled in schools. Their goals included supporting the Educational Institution Project (EIP); promoting trust, tolerance, and respect among all members of the education community; and creating a culture of coexistence, peaceful solution to conflicts, and commitment to legality (MEN 2005).

All these purposes and good intentions have been clouded by mismanagements and wrongdoings, undermining the credibility of parent associations and discouraging participation and collaborative actions. At the core of problems are power struggles, financial mismanagement, and corruption. The Ministry of Education and authorities at the sub-national level receive numerous complaints regarding illegal charges of bonds and fees. As a result, schools have started dismantling parent associations.

Sport groups

A good part of the daily lives of Colombians revolve around sports, as they either practice one of the most popular sports such as football, cycling, or boxing or support one of their greatest exponents transformed into a national idol. Whatever the case, sport has become a factor of social reunion, a channel for upward social mobility, a marker of social differentiation, a commercial enterprise, and an expression of national identity. Therefore, sports groups in all its forms speak of their social role. Recent studies from the perspective of social sciences have highlighted the main features in this process, in a field that is still in the making.

Early traces of the social role of sports go back to ancient pre-Columbian times when the Muisca tribes (inhabitants of the central Colombian Andes) created 'el tejo'. It was a game entailing a challenge played in celebrations, birthdays, offerings, and marriage arrangements too. The girl who won the game would wed some of the community's Indian caciques (G. Abello 2013). In a context where most of the indigenous cultural traces have been erased from the country, el tejo has survived as a tie to the Colombian popular identity. In recent times, declared a national sport by Act 631/2000 (Congreso de la República de Colombia 2000), el tejo is

related to beer drinking and parties while withdrawing what some call its true essence: the ancestral inheritance (N. Vargas 2015).

In the early twentieth century, thanks to foreign influences from the United States of America, England, and France, Colombian elites made social clubs. These meeting places promoted alien sports such as tennis, football, basketball, and athletics, which at the time were considered elitist themselves. Championships and tournaments promoted the creation of sports leagues, associations, federations, and committees in what was the beginning of the sports organization. The first World Football Championship in 1934, the Olympic Games in 1936, and the Tennis World Championship in 1967, gave further momentum to sports coming out of social clubs at open public parks and new sporting arenas (D. Alfonso 2012).

Shortly after this period, certain sporting clubs came into existence aiming either to form teams and associations or encourage sporting practices among factory and plant workers and employees. Furthermore, the first workers' sports association saw the light of day. It was the beginning of a democratization broadened by the emergency of non-elitist sports such as boxing, wrestling, and others. Since the mid-twentieth century, sports started to be seen as a mechanism for upward social mobility. The champions of most of the sports come from modest social and economic backgrounds, marginalized neighbourhoods, and low-income classes. In fact, as described by Quitian (2012), they are poor, black, illiterate, and outcasts from the establishment's system of opportunities.

Again, the CPC of 1991 stated that sports is a social right (CPC 1991, Art. 52). The development of this statement resulted in the establishment of the Sport National System by Act 181 (Congreso de la República de Colombia 2001). It enacted provisions to foster sports, recreation, leisure, and free time. It includes the sponsorship, promotion, extensive education, planning, coordination, and execution of sporting practices aimed at children and youth in all social strata (Art. 1). Thus, sport is considered a social right guided by principles of universality, community participation, civic participation, functional integration, democratization, and ethics (Art. 2). Thus, the system consists of the ensemble of articulated organizations related to sporting activities. They are entities of the Ministry of Education, Colombian Institute of Sports (Coldeportes), departments, and municipalities with functions related to sporting activities. The mixed and public entities also belong to private organizations from social and

economic sectors that are interested in the promotion of sports and all its varieties. Among them are formative, socio-communal, university and college, competitive, high-performance, amateur, and professional sports. Clubs and leagues at the national and subnational level are the formal social organizations where sports take place (K. Finol 2010).

Since late 1980s, the professionalization and commercialization of sports changed the spirit that this activity was supposed to display in society, which is related to the integral development of the people. Large sums of money – whether legal or not and insofar as financial support to teams became a money-laundering device – were at stake and players became a commodity. Paradoxically, while some striving individuals obtained victories on the national and international arena reinforcing a sense of national identity to be proud of, the state sports system was blamed as inefficient.

Public policies related to the sport were not exceptions to the influence of the social capital discourse. Departments and municipalities integrated it in their sports planning, referring to its importance as a trigger for building social capital, networks, and trust between the social divides (C. Vargas 2006). Notwithstanding all the assumed benefits from sports, a social downside has been seen in the emergence of formalized and highly structured forms of football hooliganism (*barras bravas*), another form of association. Clashes between rival hooligan groups have become a problem for law and order, which overlaps youth gang conflicts. Municipal authorities have had to serve as mediators and negotiators to prevent the scaling up of conflict and violence (D. Aponte et al. 2009, G. Castaño 2014).

All in all, sports groups serve as a social mobility mechanism. Whether football, cycling, or boxing (the main sports practiced in the country), an outstanding performance might represent the opportunity for youngsters to be first in the sight of amateur and then professional teams at the local and then the department, national, or international level, in a journey from the lower divisions of football to the national team. In a rigid social structure where education and labour have become debased as social mobility mechanisms, sport is for many the entry to better living conditions.

Environmental and ecological groups

Ecological and environmental issues have made a recent appearance in the Colombian public agenda. Once again, it was the Political Constitution of 1991 that opened the legal doors to formalizing initiatives and institutions that are able ‘to protect the cultural and natural wealth’ (CPC 1991, Art. 8,

I. Tobasura 2007). It is possible to appreciate the importance of this matter in the light of the existing biodiversity; Colombia ranks second in the world and in its abundance of natural resources such as fuel fossils and water. In fact, oil and charcoal exports contribute to the GDP by 5% and 9% respectively (Sánchez and Melo 2016). On the other hand, water resources have been a strategic asset in electricity generation, whether for national consumption or sale to neighbouring countries. The implementation of the constitutional articles led to the creation of the Ministry of Environment in 1993. It designed a system involving national and sub-national authorities as well as the civil society at grass-root level to protect natural resources (Congreso de la República de Colombia 1993, E. Guhl and P. Leyva 2015).

Mainly devoted to river basins' attention (R. Lombo 2006), the environmental and ecological groups were confronted now to new challenges derived from the boost to extractive economic policies. Devastating environmental effects due to mining, fracking, and private sector's water resources management focused on the sugar cane and palm oil industry; and electricity production became apparent. The whole picture also includes guerrilla attacks (FARC-EP and ELN) to oil infrastructure (Fundación Natura 2015). Emerging social conflicts are concomitant to a prosperous economy based on the extraction of primary natural resources. The endangerment of ethnic groups settled in areas of resource exploitation, particularly indigenous groups and Afro-Colombian inhabitants who are the most relevant. In 2014, the Environmental Justice Organizations reported 72 environmental conflicts in Colombia, ranking second in the world with the greatest number of ecological problems (K. Sanchez de Roldan and J. Melo 2016).

One of the most important civic participation mechanism in support of ethnic groups exposed to the effects of environment disasters is the 'prior consultations' (C. Hernandez and P. Amarillo 2013, Ministerio del Interior 2013, M. Kleber n.d., ONIC 2011). It is established as a sine qua non condition to obtain the government's environmental permits. The interactions between the state, social organizations, and the productive sector are at its core. It is a mechanism allowing environmental projects, programs, and public policies to join designs. Thus, the constitution of 1991 gave room to community participation in the decision-making process for environment-related issues, and prior consultation was the main tool (Congreso de la Republica de Colombia 2012, L. Angarita 2009). After

more than two decades, the outcomes are not encouraging. Foreign investors and the national private sector look at prior consultation as an obstacle to large-scale projects in Colombia. Environmental authorities have not been able to build a communication channel and create strategies to enhance their interactions with communities and the social actors involved. They are limited to providing information without a fair process of socialization (A. Tarazona 2010). The frequent complaints by people in communities refer to the fake participatory process in which the decisions already taken are presented as *fait accompli*. On few occasions, there is a true and genuine dialogue leading to agreements on projects at stake. Other disincentives for participation, whether individual or collective, have been threats and assassinations affecting human rights (E. Guhl and P. Leyva 2015).

Political and religious groups

Political organizations and groups

From a historical perspective, political organizations – namely political parties – emerged in Colombia in the mid-nineteenth century. Liberal and Conservative parties shaped the long tradition of a political culture in which bi-partisanship was the main trait and benchmark. This seemingly solid structure of political action was at the origin and development of the civil wars in early 1900s, the Violence in 1940s, the National Front in 1957, and later, the new configurations of parties, organizations, and groups that the new 1991 Political Constitution brought about. While implementing constitutional principles, Act 130 of 1994 defined political parties as ‘permanent institutions able to reflect the political pluralism, promoting and channeling citizens’ participations and contributing to forming and manifesting people’s will, aimed at accessing power, popularly elected posts and to influencing Nation’s politics and democratic decision-making’. Political movements were defined as ‘citizen’ associations freely constituted to exert influence in shaping political will or to participate in elections. Both political parties and movements, fulfilling constitutional and legal requirements, will have legal personality. This same Act states that all Colombians have the right to constitute political parties and movements, to organize and develop them, to freely join or withdraw, and to diffuse ideas and programs – also to demonstrate and participate in political events (Congreso de la República Act 130/1994 Art. 1 and 2).

The new approach to political action opened doors to new popular voices and feelings in the Colombian landscape. Parties and movements joined efforts and sought alliances in the fierce competitions for popular vote's state posts (E. Ungar and C. Arevalo 2004, Gehring 2014, Perez 2011). In 2007, the Electoral Election Mission (Misión de Observación Electoral [MOE]) reported the next figures regarding the positions at stake: 32 governorates, 1098 municipal mayors, 398 department deputies of department assemblies (ranging between 11 and 31 in each department), 12,243 municipal counsellors of municipal councils (ranging between seven and 21 in each municipality) (MOE 2007, RNEC 2015). In 2007, registered candidates were 70,000 (KAS n.d.). By 2015, the figure amounted to 112,872.

Consequently, the rise in the number of candidates representing parties and movements and running for offices gradually increased, showing a highly fragmented political environment, although not ideologically or programmatically differentiated. The Electoral National Council (Consejo Nacional Electoral [CNE]) registered 16 recognized political parties. These were supported by uncountable grass-root political movements set up by local political leaders who were able to mobilize the votes of large numbers of citizens in exchange for favours and perks. It configures a central trait characterizing the political culture in Colombia: clientelism and patronage.

Clientelism, regarded as a persistent practice, has deserved in-depth research. Some authors consider its study necessary to better understand the Colombian political culture in the last decades (Archer 1990, F. Gutierrez n.d., F. Leal 1989, Ladron De Guevara 1999). Clientelism is a mechanism of political intermediation par excellence in which exchange relationships are always asymmetric. There is a party with power and resources fostering the exchange and other parties without. In this way, a non-institutional mechanism of asymmetric loyalties allows the exchange of goods and services for electoral support. Although established between individuals, it is politically relevant insofar as it entails exchanges between social groups: patrons/politicians offering favours and services and clients providing votes (J. D. Martz 1996, L. Roniger 2004, S. Nichter 2014).

There are at least three main forms of clientelism. First, traditional clientelism in which brokerage and exchange involved patrons and clients without the state playing a central role. Patrons use their private resources to nurture this relationship. Second, modern clientelism was grounded on

the political arrangement of the National Front until 1991. In the absence of competition between parties, because they took turns in office, power disputes found a place inside the party in power. The reason for the fights was to obtain available state posts. Therefore, political parties and politicians searched for a mechanism to gain the support of broad social sectors. In this framework, the state played a central role as the entity offering resources for brokering and exchanging goods and services for votes. The private resources of political leaders gave way to those of a state. Although precarious, they were more modern and in possession of resources to foster the system. Clientelist political leaders became intermediaries between the state and society. Through their actions, the demands from social sectors were channelized to the state, and likewise, the state provided its answers to society. This process brought about social change in the traditional political class. The traditional oligarchies and elites whose leaders enjoyed high social status, prestige, and economic power were replaced by new professionals of the political class with access to state resources and the power to exert a role of intermediation. Regional and local political factions proliferated as many disputes for state power unfolded at sub-national levels (municipalities and departments) as well. The third form is market clientelism. The patron is a broker answering demands of social sectors, but at the same time, the patron obtains richness and wealth both personally, financially, and politically. There is a competition between individuals in which political leaders at the national and sub-national level converge. The market logic prevails. Clientelism and brokerage are viewed as an investment that is supposed to bring high return rates and is subject to risks. Some called it the electoral micro-entrepreneurship.

These forms of clientelism produced a sense of illegitimacy to the extent in which broad sectors of society felt that they were not represented by the political system and questioned the current institutional arrangements. It was less and less possible to satisfactorily answer social demands. As a result, citizens marginalized themselves from political participation that was strongly associated with clientelism. It allowed, according to some analyst (J. Hopkin 2006, R. Rubio et al. 2013), the democratization of the political class. New leaders and social sectors have arrived in power along with decision-making positions in Colombian state's structure. They have involved, in some cases, drug cartels and trafficking and guerrilla groups and paramilitaries. The political game, hence, is played on the thin line

between the legal and illegal. From there, the strong connection with corruption begins. All in all, it is clear that people found in clientelism a way to access state resources and meet their needs (J. A. Barón 2015). Not surprisingly, as will be discussed in the next sections, the scarce associative behaviour in Valle del Cauca and in Colombia in general is tied to membership in political groups and associations.

Religious groups

The relevance of the religious groups in Colombia as one of the main expressions of associative behaviour finds its roots in the history of the country's religious tradition dating back to the colonial times. In fact, the Catholic Church was an actor not to underestimate in the process of independence movements from the Spaniard Crown and the birth of new Hispano-American republics. Enjoying financial and staff resources and greater legitimacy and authority than the still just-born nation-states, the church had an expanded reach and influence among the population. These circumstances brought about conflictive relationships between the Catholic Church, which was politically allied to the Conservative Party, and the Liberal Party throughout the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. The expulsion of the Jesuits and diplomats from the Holy See in 1853 marked the height of existing tensions.

The Political Constitution of 1886, acknowledging in its Art. 38 that the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the state and the public authorities will protect and make it be respected as an essential factor of social order and stating in Art. 41 that public education will be organized and directed by the Catholic religion, consolidated the agreements leading to the re-establishment of diplomatic relations and the return of the Catholic Church on Colombian soil (Colombia 1971). It was the first step towards the Concordat of 1887, later countersigned in 1973 (MRE 1887, 1973), which would deeply mark Colombian citizens' life until 1991 (F. González 1993).

Developing the constitutional articles of 1886, the Concordat (an international treaty that is still valid) states that the national government is bound to prevent ideas contrary to the Catholic dogma from spreading. It also grants bishops the power to dismiss school teachers from teaching religion and morality if these teachings are not in conformity with the orthodox dogma. The matters related to marriage were the exclusive competence of ecclesiastic authorities. In summary, while making concessions over its economics rights, the church assured control on the education

apparatus and marriage, while at the same time recovering internal autonomy.

However, the secularization process in the second half of the twentieth century changed the religious landscape in Colombia. The Liberal Party approached the Catholic Church in the spirit of reconciliation, declaring ended the until then existing conflicts. By its side, the Church, in the light of the Second Vatican Council, made public its intentions to foster a dialogue on modern world values and to acknowledge religious freedom. The ultimate expression of this profound social transformation was laid down in the Colombian Political Constitution of 1991. The main features of these changes are summarized as follows. The state, guaranteeing the fundamental right to freedom of religion and worship, is not atheist, agnostic, or indifferent to Colombia's religious feelings; it acknowledges the diversity of religious beliefs that for any reason will be a motive for inequality or discrimination before the law. Any church or religious confession is or will be the official state religion. Every person has the right to profess his/her religion freely and spread it individually or collectively. All religious confessions and churches are equally free before the law (Congreso de la República 1994, CPC 1991, Art, 19, Ministerio del Interior, 1998).

From that moment on, non-Catholic religious groups, now with recognized legal status, acted publicly and openly. In particular, Protestant and Evangelical churches flourished and attracted adepts disenchanted by dogmatic rigidities of Catholicism. Findings of 2009's survey on religion in Colombia counted the number of congregations and the distribution of believers as follows: Catholics 58.21%; Evangelist and Pentecostal 30.08%; None 6.67%; Protestant, non-Evangelicalism 2.63%; Mormons, Jehovah's Witness, Spiritualist, Adventist of the Seventh Day 1.08%; other non-Christian religions (Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, Taoists, Bahá'ís) 1.01%; and atheist 0.4% (Latin American Public Opinion Project 2004). In 2015, official data showed that the main religions in Colombia are Catholicism, 87.3%; Protestant and Evangelicalism, 11.5% (MRE 2015). Although there is scant information (the census did not ask about religion), it is unavoidable to establish the rise of new non-Catholic religious groups. The figures underlie unprecedented dynamics. The most significant are a decline in the political, economic, and spiritual power of the Catholic Church; the faithful's defection in favour of Protestant and Evangelical churches; and a plethora of Evangelical and Protestant Churches of all kinds and sizes flourishing everywhere. The latter offered religious,

spiritual, and social refuge to a population used to the tradition of Catholicism but moved towards ideas and practices considered obsolete in a modern world that was changing and secular.

In recent decades, the new religious phenomena have assumed a variety of faces calling the attention of analysts and researchers (Beltran 2013, Figueroa 2010, Jiménez 2014, Lopez, 2014). Under the label 'Iglesias Cristianas' (non-Catholic and not differentiating doctrinal nuances or interpretations) emerged relevant new actors having incidence in social, economic, and political fields in the Colombian scene. Combined freedom of association and religion have led to the cult's proliferation. In 2008, the Ministry of Interior registered 850 'religions' with official recognition. Some of them were referred to as 'garage churches', meaning it does not matter where a religious group is established. In some cases, the breach of trust, deception, and illegal activities including sexual harassment and money laundering have taken place under their cover. The economic and financial side of the phenomena is not less significant. In fact, tithes and offerings made in Christian churches constitute what some call a profitable faith-based business. Some Protestant pastors and Evangelical ministers have become successful entrepreneurs and media leaders, owners of schools, publishing houses, and radio and television channels (Beltran 2012, 2013, Zuñiga 2015). However, the most relevant field of action has been the political arena.

In fact, some leaders harnessing their strengths have openly entered electoral politics. Since the 1990s, in municipalities and departments all over the country, religious leaders of some groups started negotiating parishioners' votes for favours and privileges. As a result, the Iglesias Cristianas became strategic political actors. They have founded political parties; their candidates have run for popular election posts and have proselytized from pulpits to obtain votes. Like any other political actor, they have made alliances growing into an undeniable political force with representation in the Congress and other state positions (E. Torregroza and J. Santamaría 2013, M. Beltran 2013, Revista Semana 2014).

In conclusion, religious groups historically sponsored by the Catholic Church have played a significant role as central actors by helping the poor and disadvantaged in society. The monopoly of charity and philanthropy were in their hands. The trend changed with the emergence of religious groups ascribed to non-Catholic religious movements. The freedom of religion as propounded by the Constitution of 1991 contributed to untying

the Colombian State from the Catholic Church while finishing the long tradition of monopoly in the provision of education, health, and other social services and goods. Beyond the new approaches or different elaborations on religious thinking, social services and goods provision were and still are a means to achieve power and influence.

Civic organizations

Communal Action Board (CAB) (Junta de Acción Comunal [JAC])

The backgrounds of communal voluntary action that later turned into Communal Action Boards (CAB) (Juntas de Acción Comunal [JAC]) are to be found in fraternities, mutual-aid societies, maintenance and improvement associations, artisan organizations, and labour unions, among other manifestations of solidarity aiming at general well-being. They are grounded on shared values and principles. Mutual assistance and solidarity are part of the cultural legacy and popular traditions nourishing the communal action in its goal and core tasks. It was Act. 19 of 1958 in the Colombian administrative reform that institutionalized communal action. Community development was its main purpose (Valencia 2010). The CABs, composed of neighbours in each district, were organized according to the rules issued by local authorities. Municipal councils, department assemblies, and the national government could entrust CABs to control and monitor certain public services. Even they could take part in their management. It included increasing and improving schools and public health facilities; promoting hygiene practices and disease prevention; building irrigation and draining systems and water management; improving farming systems; building housing; setting up roads, secondary roads, and bridges; organizing production, distribution, and consumption cooperatives; setting up job boards; and promoting sports, culture, and leisure activities. For its part, the government would provide technical assistance, subsidies, training courses, and administrative support (Act. 19 1958, Art. 22 and 23). Some studies suggest that at the time, about 30% of Colombian infrastructure was built – thanks to communal action (DNP 2010, Valencia 2010, 2014).

Since 1958, abundant legislation has shaped the nature, goals, and organizational structure of CABs. The most relevant have been Acts. 743 and 753/2002 on communal action organization rules and regulations; decree 2350/2003 about the requirements for creating a CAB; and the Planning National Committee document CONPES 3661/2010 that designs

the national policy for the strengthening of communal action organizations. These and the administrative acts developing them remain the guiding principles of this associative form until today. In order to best suit the new economic, social, and political realities of a country that is largely urban, industrialized, and modern, these official documents consider CABs as ‘a civil society’s organized, independent and responsible social expression. They are intended to promote comprehensive and sustainable development grounded on a participatory democracy for community development management’ (Act 743/2002). Conpes’ document adds, ‘the communal action is defined as a civic, social and communitarian organization of social management. Non-for profit, with legal status, formed voluntarily by residents of neighbours and villages. It harnesses efforts and resources to obtaining sustainable development’ (Conpes 3661/2010). Community development is understood as the full range of economic, political, cultural, and social processes bringing together the efforts of the people, their organizations, and those of the state aiming at the improvement of the quality of life in communities (Act 743/2002: Art. 2).

The goals assigned to these civic bodies are quite ambitious. They draw on CABs’ tradition of their early beginnings, on actions answering the challenges of the prevalent discourse on democracy and the current economic, social, political, and cultural circumstances of Colombian society. As stated in laws and decrees, their objectives cover actions ranging from performing public administration duties (planning comprehensive and sustainable community development; establishing clear communication channels for the development of their activities; bringing about an autonomous community process of identification, formulation, implementation, management, and evaluation of plans programs and projects of community development; setting up and developing economic processes collectively and based on solidarity that could be financed by means of loans to national or international organizations) to fostering and strengthening the exercise of participatory democracy inspired in social capital ideas (promoting and strengthening a sense of belonging to the community, neighbourhood, district, or municipality; designing training programs on democracy; developing actions to recover, re-create, and promote cultural, leisure, and sport activities that strengthen the community and national identity; fostering and preserving harmony in interpersonal and collective relationships within community, with recognition and respect for diversity in a tolerance environment; permanently providing information

regarding government's acts, policies, and services that could affect social welfare; promoting the usage of constitutional mechanism to protect the right of all associated members; divulging, promoting, and safeguarding environment and human rights contained in the Constitution and the law; facilitating all social sectors' participation in CAB's governing bodies, particularly women and youth (Act 743/ 2002 Art. 2).

The CABs establishment and organization is conceived of as grass-root process going from the local to the national level. They are composed mainly of communities' social and political leaders. Although there is an important lack of accurate information about their numbers and affiliated members, by 2010, they accounted for 45,000 in rural and urban areas. Thus, CABs are the leading formal community's organization. The minimum number of people to conform to a CAB in a specific territory is 75. Dignitaries are elected national wide every four years on the last Sunday of April. In 1973, the need for CABs to assemble and aim at gaining influence in the sphere of the municipal government became apparent. Hence, the municipality association of CABs was born, a second-level organization. Later, these associations formed the Department and Municipalities Federations of CABs, a third-level organization. In this way, they widened their representativeness and influence and became strategic interlocutors before capital cities and department governments. Finally, in 1991, the Ministry of Internal Affairs acknowledged the Communal National Confederation, which consolidates the organizational structure of CABs of the first, second, third, and fourth level (Ministerio del Interior 2016).

All these complexities in goals, organization, and structure may suggest an extraordinary associative and participatory movement. Nevertheless, the lack of updated information doesn't allow one to view the real picture. The first Communal Action census, carried on in 1993, showed the existence of 791,110 affiliated members, representing 30,362 grass-root CABs out of the 42,581 registered. It also revealed that 27% of the CABs was in urban areas, while 73% in rural areas. A new census has not been carried out since then. The proxy for the number of CABs is the legal incorporation records. In 2009, the figures ran thus: 45,000 CABs accounting for about 4.5 million affiliated members, 800 municipality associations, 28 department federations, and one confederation. Consequently, communitarian action is comparatively the largest formal social movement in Colombia (Valencia 2010). Nevertheless, the lack of accurate data for the last ten years seems to be one critical constraint related to CAB issues. Neither the

government nor the CABs have information about their constitution, growth, compositions, and goal achievements (DNP 2010).

CABs face special difficulties in their organization, management, and functioning. They have inter-sectoral proposals that municipal, department, and national governments have not being able to respond to adequately. They have had neither strong administrative and organizational structure, nor financial sustainability. Furthermore, they confront obstacles arising from misunderstandings about their role and duties, the weakness in the communal structure reflected in the low level of social and political visibility and recognition, lack of cohesion within the organization, and decline in their role before government entities. All in all, the result has been a disincentive for citizens to participate and manage CABs (DNP 2010:27, Valencia 2010).

In more than a half a century of CABs' existence, researchers identify four stages in the evolution of the communal action movement. In them, they highlight strengths and weaknesses that have prevented the realization of CABs full potential. The period from 1958 to 1970 was the golden age of CABs, when they actually were the result of spontaneous citizens' actions. By integrating civil society organizations, people worked together while helping to solve the lack of public utilities, roads, and other social services. *Minga*, a gathering of friends and neighbours who were reunited in the spirit of solidarity for communal work, is the best example. From 1970 to 1991, cronyism and political patronage captured CABs. Politician, in search of followers and supporters, used favours, gifts, positions, and jobs in state organizations at municipal, department, or national levels. The communitarian self-management of the first CAB stage was transformed into paternalism at the hands of political parties. From 1991 to 2002, there was a sort of CAB revival due in part to the new possibilities contained in the new Political Constitutions. Civic inclusion and participation aiming at exercising political scrutiny and citizens' oversight deserved special attention. Despite these fresh perspectives, financial downturn remains a major obstacle to fulfilling their goals. Finally, from 2002 to 2009, a new legislation (Act 743/2002) claimed a CAB reconstruction process. This time, it ensured institutional framework and financial sustainability (Llano 2003).

There is so much hope placed on CABs and the role they can play to rebuild Colombian 'social fabric' and to make of it a factor for economic

development. The Conpes 3166/2010 conceptual framework for communitarian action and CABs point to that direction. Development, grounded in the strengthening of civil society, is conceived as a gear consisting of social fabric, social capital, and economic development. Development, as economic structural growth in reformed capitalism, entails social capital, citizen competencies, and rules of conduct. Finally, by drawing on Stieglitz and Meier (World Bank 2000) and Putnam and Lourie (1995), the document states that to build a social fabric, these kinds of capitals are necessary: bonding social capital (when people socialize with their fellow citizens of the same age, race, religion, among other features) and bridging social capital (to create peaceful societies in the country, what is needed is this type of link connecting communities). In this view, social capital in its civil, social, and political dimensions creates trust, reciprocity, cooperation, and information channels. In this line, the legitimation and invigoration of communal action and CABs are a central component of society, a mechanism to consolidate the organized civil society (DNP 2010:23–26).

In 2011, Valle del Cauca accounted for 2,940 CABs. There were 503 in Cali, a hundred located in rural areas. At the time, 12 CAB associations existed in the municipality rural and urban areas. In the electoral process for the period 2012–2015, some of them were dealing with threats and law and order problems as reported by the municipality secretariat of territorial development and social welfare (Alcaldía de Santiago de Cali n.d.).

Local Administrative Board (Junta Administradora Local [JAL])

In 1986, aiming to enhance state decentralization processes, a new legislation creates Colombian cities in large and medium sizes, which are called communes. These subdivisions are administrative unities in urban areas, grouping neighbourhoods or sectors. It is the city's Municipal Council that creates communes, according to the territory and the need of the inhabitants. The purpose of these communes is the administration of services provided by the municipality to a specific urban population. The Local Administrator Board is the administrative organization in charge of each commune. It is composed of no less than five and no more than nine members, who are popularly elected for a term of four years coinciding with the municipal council's term in office. It is worth noting that the term 'commune' was for many the time associated with marginalized city areas known for their high degree of risk, insecurity, and danger. The reference to 'the peoples of the communes' had a pejorative connotation, particu-

larly in Medellín and Cali. After massive mass media and university campaigns, the term *comune* was accepted and associated specifically with the administrative unit in which it was supposed that citizens could participate in the administration of the territory they were living in.

During its inception, a legislative action created BALs in 1968. They gained visibility only in 1986 when they were regulated by the Act 11/1986 (Congreso de la República de Colombia 1986) during discussions about state decentralization policies, a major theme by that time. Finally, the Political Constitution of 1991 Art. 323 and 324 (CPC 1991) gave legitimacy to the BALs and defined their functions. They are conceived as a part of the municipal administration, a policy's control and enforcement instruments in their territories, and an opportunity for citizens to participate and engage in public matters. Their role in providing support to municipalities' majors and councils is strategic.

Mainly considered as instruments of administrative decentralization, BASs are meant to strengthen the provision and delivery of municipal services. Among their functions are the following: participation in designing plans and programs of economic, social, and public works development for the municipality; monitoring and controlling public service provision and public funds investment in their communes; formulating investments proposals before national, department, and municipality authorities in charge of their respective investment plans; distributing funds assigned by the municipality budget; and performing other functions that the municipal council and other local authorities delegate to them.

In accordance with the current legislation (Congreso de la República de Colombia 1986, 1994, 2012), BALs should meet once a month, adopt their own rules, formalize their decisions by means of administrative acts named 'resolutions', ensure implementation and compliance with their decision, and promote citizen participation preferably in coordination with municipality authorities, CABs, and the police. Additionally, during processes of consultation and concerted efforts, BALs should promote discussion meetings aimed at investment priorities or the decision-making for public works execution. All sorts of associations existing in their respective communes are supposed to participate in these meetings: civic, professional, community, youth, philanthropic, and non-governmental organizations and labour unions. Even in a more ambitious perspective, it is expected that BALs could promote micro-enterprises, family enterprises, and social economy enterprises as well as land and equipment banks. The

core input in all these processes is civic participation that should also be furthered by the BALs.

A detailed examination of the legislation ruling BALs and of the social, economic, and politic context in which they perform their activities reveals the imbalances between what they are supposed to achieve and what they are actually able to do (Orfale 2011). On one hand, the legal foundations fail to ensure basic conditions for the proper functioning of these organizations. BALs do not have a legal identity (*personería jurídica*). Therefore, they cannot make contractual agreements. They are not able to recruit staff and have autonomy in expenditure decision-making. When it comes to BALs' elected members, there is a lack of knowledge about the functioning of the municipality and its authorities, a lack of proper training to perform expected duties, and a lack of clear commitment to their responsibilities, which is partly due to the fact that their duties is completely *ad honorem*. In other words, the nature of BALs functioning is merely propositional and is not in line with a genuine decentralized decision-making effort.

Among citizens and civil servants, on the other hand, there is a generalized lack of knowledge about the role and functions of BALs within the municipality's administration. Consequently, they have not gained the required administrative and political support, allowing human resources and financial allocation for their functioning. As a result of political partisanship, the BALs once elected are subjected to internal political disputes, obstructing the little management field they have to act in for the benefit of those living in their respective communes.

In addition to the aspects mentioned above referring to internal features as the rules and regulations of BALs, other contextual circumstances undermine their possibilities of fulfilling the well-intended role for which they were originally designed. Municipal councils are not willing to relinquish political power and oppose and block action of BALs. Rivalry and jealousy between CABs and BALs, derived from undifferentiated roles, hamper mutual collaboration. The former opposed the development and strengthening of the latter. In a political environment where voting abstention is already high for well-known popularly elected public positions such as presidency, congress, major, or municipal council, the apathy towards BALs election is even higher. The absence of knowledge about the processes of citizen participation and the role of BALs largely explains the low turnout at elections. And if this was not enough, conflict and violence

in communes also discourage citizen participation (Arango 2006, Nader 2009, 2011).

BALs, as part of the state reform and decentralization discourse boosted by the CPC of 1991, were closely linked the citizen's participation discourse. It was a key issue in the consolidation of participatory democracy. Administrative decentralization at the municipality level and participation was supposed to grant greatest closeness between the decision-making centres, the citizens, and their needs. BALs were supposed to bring the municipal administration closer to citizens and promote their participation on the grounds of their role as a member of communities, who is knowledgeable about their own problems and needs. At its best, under this new arrangement, the ideal was to gain an approach of public policy co-formulation and self-governance.

An important and contradictory feature of the citizen's participation consists of making social action and politics achievable to greater numbers of citizens and social sectors – Specifically those usually distant from political power groups. In this way, it provides tools to claim aspirations as well as specific rights. This emphasis on participation pointed to developing traits in Colombian civic and political culture that was either inexistent or weak at the grass-root community level. The creation of socio-political spaces and procedures allows expressions of values, specific needs, and community and social group rights (traditions, culture, equity, social well-being, right to a quality of life, human rights, among others). Despite this promising participation approach, which is well defined and argued in the legislation and discourse, the participatory model remains a traditional one. That is to say, it is a model in which clientelism and traditional political parties' corporatism prevail.

Other social civic organizations: Ethnic groups, youth, women, disabled, civic overseer

Since the 1990s and until now, Colombian society has seen a rise in the number of formal and informal organizations and associations responding to new – or until recently invisible – social identities (DANE n.d.) while demanding their rights and claiming for participation in the political decision-making scenario. It is the case of groups that aligned socio-demographic characteristics (the youth, women, ethnic people, the disabled, and the elderly, among others) or with advocacy needs as is the case with human rights and anti-discrimination issues.

Many such organizations had an old activist tradition, although not legally recognized by national authorities, as was the case for indigenous organizations actively involved in the defence of their lands and social rights or the Afro-Colombian communities. However, it was the bulk of legislation developing the Constitutional articles of 1991 that gave exposure to the already existing organizations and associations or set grounds to the creation of new ones (Congreso de la República de Colombia 1991, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2001, 2003, 2008, 2013). They involve those social groups that gave the right to the nation's multi-ethnic and pluricultural character.

The Office for Democracy, Civic Participation, and Communal Action, under the Ministry of Interior, are in charge of strengthening social organizations and territorial committees at the national and sub-national level to promote the concerned groups' effective participation in the public agenda (Ministerio del Interior n.d.). In each case and according to their needs, programs were designed and replicated at the sub-national level including training activities, networking, and national or regional meetings.

The actions of disable people's organization included roundtable discussions, mass media socialization, and national or regional meetings. Enhanced youth organizations involved fostering youth leadership and networks in all capital cities in the country and obtaining social and institutional recognition. The ultimate goal was 'to enhance their role in public management through knowledge management and supporting initiatives aimed at creation and consolidation of social capital'. Targeted participants were youths between 14 and 28 years of age, members of social organizations – formal or informal – and the Municipal Youth Councils. Tailored workshops aimed at the development of leadership skills in existing youth's organizations and regional and national meetings whose goals were to exchange experiences, interact with institutions, and jointly construct solutions. Women, who were underrepresented in the political sphere, organized groups that aimed at strengthening political participation, encouraging and facilitating their participation in forums of political representation at the local, regional, and national levels. Regional training programs include topics such as leadership, participation, women's representation, life projects, political electoral system's rules and regulations, electoral marketing, legislative techniques, affirmative action to promote the visibility of female candidates, and the reinforcement of female social networks.

It is apparent that socio-demographic characteristics were a driver in configuring the social organization's landscape. Nevertheless, it was not the only one. Actions related to monitoring the public administration, regulating civic coexistence in new housing environments (multi-family apartments and condominiums), and defending human rights brought about another kind of organizations. Social control organizations include civic overseers, horizontal property, and human rights and anti-discrimination agencies.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that short-life civic informal organizations serve situational purposes and the neighbourhood of the community level – for instance, paving the neighbourhood streets, taking care of a park, building a community centre, and the like. Following the *minga* tradition, all for one and one for all, their life goes until the project is finished.

7.2.2 Organizations, a proxy of structural social capital?

Organizations, formal or informal, in all their forms, have been considered with plausible reasons as a primary expression of associative behaviour. In this perspective, it might be argued, as the World Bank approach implies, that a large number of organizations in a particular area (organization density) speaks of intense associative behaviour – therefore, of structural social capital.

However, this assumption must be examined in the light of historical, social, economic, political, and cultural conditions in which these organizations exist. The brief accounts, which explore the origins, goals, outcomes, and future perspectives of real organizations existing in the Colombian context, display the concrete expressions and circumstances of the kind of organizations included in the Social Capital Integrated Questionnaire. This is the same kind about whose membership respondents are questioned. While analysing the collected data about membership in organizations, a natural step is to look at individual behaviour: whether the respondent is a member or not and whether they participate or not. Nevertheless, this analytic process puts all the emphasis, and to some extent the responsibility, on the individual. It is he or she who is to praise or blame. In this way, the role, structure, and functioning of organizations are minimized – whether they are formal or informal associations or groups, in the assessment of structural social capital. The complex interplay between individuals and social entities in particular circumstances is neglected.

Behind a high organizational density, social exclusion's mechanisms and asymmetric power relationships that intervene negatively in the political project of achieving social cohesion may be concealed. In the case of Colombia, all the formally necessary conditions are set in place for the promotion of associative behaviour in all of its forms of organization. There is an abundant legislation that is opening spaces to citizen participation. The state's inefficiency in the provision of social services and goods suggests enormous opportunities for the association. However, as will be discussed in the next sections, these conditions although necessary are not sufficient for the flourishing of social capital. Valle del Cauca is a good example.

7.2.3 Associativity in Valle del Cauca and the four selected municipalities

Reasonably, the number and wide range of current organizations in Colombia and Valle del Cauca would allow the assumption of a prevailing associative behaviour. Organizations require members – people belonging to and associated with the organization. Contrary to this assumption, findings showed an entirely different panorama. The high number of organizations, even with their visibility in their particular field of action, does not reflect a general associative behaviour in the Colombian context. Furthermore, the traces of such a behaviour could barely be described as strong, solid, and committed to organizations' mission and goals.

Membership in organizations

Since Latino-Barometro collected data on membership in organizations, clear signs of a weak associative behaviour in Colombia were apparent. In effect, while taking memberships in organizations as a proxy, the rounds of 1998 and 2008 included a question similar to the one included in the social capital integrated questionnaire and in the SCSIHS: Which groups or organizations, networks, and associations do you or any member of your household belong to? (Sánchez 2008, Woolcock and Grottaert 2004). The results are revealing. Nearly one-quarter of the population does not belong or participate in any organization. Those who do are linked mainly to religious organizations (which is about a half of the population) followed by sports and communal organizations. Their limited participation in political groups is worth noting. Table 7.6 provides the full picture.

Table 7.6
Membership or participation in organizations, Colombia 1998-2008

Type of organization/group	1998 (%)	2008 (%)
Religious	41	29
Sport	22	15
Communal	19	14
Professional	14	11
Youth	11	11
Ecology/environment	7	6
Political groups	6	11
Artistic/cultural	5	8
Trade	5	6
None	25	37
NR	2	
n	1200	1200

Source: Author's elaboration based on Latino-Barometro

A larger group of people does not belong to or participate in any organization. Religion, sports, and community-related organizations attract the most of those who participate. On the whole, political groups seem to not be an option, or if they are, they are so only for a few. These results are consistent with the views that respondents have expressed about whether people can influence the actions of organizations in which they participate or not. Only 34% of them believes that they can exert such an influence. Barely 13% of them thinks participation in political organizations or groups can make a difference (Latin Barometro – Colombia 2008). A vicious circle reinforced by the hopelessness derived from considering the futility of participation and memberships in groups enhances the hindrance against associative behaviour.

If this was the trend for Colombia in the period 1998–2008, the results obtained for Valle del Cauca by SCSIHS in 2007 confirm the trend and show the nuances at the local level (Table 7.7).

Table 7.7
Membership in organizations
Valle del Cauca and four selected municipalities (2007)

Membership in groups or organizations

Q. 7	Buenaven- tura	Cartago	Florida	Tuluá	Valle Del Cauca
Member	32,4	22,2	23	18,5	32,7
Non-member	67,6	77,8	76,5	81,5	67,3
	100	100	99,5	100	100

Source: Author's elaboration based on SCSIHS, 2007 dataset

At the time, significantly fewer people were members of organizations, when compared to Colombia. About one-third of the respondents in Valle del Cauca are members or participate in some form of formal or informal group. What is clear is that non-associative behaviour is the prevailing and relevant trend both for Valle del Cauca and the selected municipalities. However, there are some differences among the latter. On one hand, in well-off municipalities such as Tuluá and Cartago, associative behaviour is found less. On the other hand, Buenaventura, one of the most deprived municipalities not only in Valle del Cauca but Colombia, scores the highest in the number of memberships in organizations. The individualistic approach might be rooted in the idea that each individual works or acts for her or his own benefit and believes that no one is going to help her or him generously or selflessly. They may also believe that in one way or another, any contribution or support she or he receives comes with a cost that must be repaid. Moreover, the fact is that bitter experiences (false expectations and broken or unfulfilled promises), as expressed by many in the interviews, seem to validate and confirm this approach, leading to a generalized atmosphere of distrust. Perhaps the popular saying 'De eso tan bueno no dan tanto' (so good that they do not give that much) reflects the prevailing attitude. The findings regarding the cognitive social capital allow one to better understand and locate this prevailing attitude in the social, cultural, and political contexts. On the other side of the coin, the case of Buenaventura could confirm the assumption according to which joint efforts and collective action have the potential to bring about positive results when collective needs are confronted.

Distrust, however, is not the only way to explain the lack of associative behaviour. In some cases, a certain apathy, a sense of helplessness and social and economic abandonment seem to prevent people from getting together and joining efforts to achieve goals or improve their life conditions. Paradoxically, those in better social and economic circumstances,

who are more knowledgeable and are owners of a broad world view, are better equipped to associate, organize, and obtain benefits. In other words, they seem to have access to a wide range of social resources. The neediest and economically, socially, and politically marginalized people are in a way excluded from social resources derived from associative behaviour. A colloquial expression in the Colombian context is 'no están en la rosca'. It means that they are not a part of the privileged groups that have access to the necessary financial, social, or political resources by belonging to or being associated with the powerful class.

Which organizations?

However, is it useful and helpful to be a member of an organization? Is it a means to get access to social services, goods, and opportunities? From the small share of respondents (about a third in Valle del Cauca) who claim to be a member of organizations, it is possible to draw revealing insights about the motives and expectations, or the lack of them, behind their associative behaviour. An examination of the sort of organizations people are members of or participate in provides a better comprehension of a certain prevalent utilitarian approach to associative behaviours. The Colombian organization's landscape (introduced earlier in this chapter) forms the background in which references and answers hold special meaning. They refer to those organizations listed and presented to respondents. Table 7.8 shows in order of importance the respondents' references to organizations to which they belong or in which they participate.

In Valle del Cauca, and with slight differences in the four municipalities, religious, political, and sports groups are widely preferred. In a framework where the traditional and modern combined and intertwined in what García Canclini (1990) calls hybrid cultures, people in Valle del Cauca live in an even more secular society but do not abandon traditions and habits of a religious one.

Table 7.8
Membership in organizations
Valle del Cauca and four selected municipalities

Buenaventura	Cartago	Florida	Tuluá	Valle Del Cauca
--------------	---------	---------	-------	-----------------

Religious group	Cultural association	BAC	Traders' association	Religious group
Sport group	Religious group	Health committee	Trade union	Political group
Political group	Sport Group	Political group	Religious group	Sport Group
BAC	Political group	Credit/finance group	BAC	Health committee
Neighbourhood/village committee	School/health	NGO or civic group	Political group	Cultural association

Source: Author's elaboration based on SCSHS, 2007 dataset

For many, the Sunday mass and the authoritarian sermon by priests in the Catholic Church signed by the rigidities of ecclesiastic hierarchies were left behind as a matter of the past. However, instead of giving way to complete secularization, the religious feeling is not abandoned but modernized and transformed. New forms of religiosity flourished, as they were carried on by Christian pastors or ministers ('enlightened' people), men and women (single or married), educated professionals, or just individuals gifted with leadership and communication skills. Ordinary citizens who are socially closer to the worshippers than the priest of the old days conduct the cult. An event of spiritual, social, and personal relief also provides the sense of belonging to a community, which becomes an extended family for many. Musical bands, songs, hugs, and applauses build a friendly, sometimes extremely noisy, atmosphere disturbing the neighbourhood and demanding actions from the police or local authorities in order to restrain the excess and effervescence of such events.

In the contest for adepts, the Catholic Church has introduced changes in its rites. Some priests are willing to become media characters by having their own television show broadcasted daily and by adopting common expressions into their discourse and sermons in order to 'connect' and get closer to their parishioners. In the late 1990s, Cali witnessed unprecedented liturgical innovation in the El Template Church under the guidance of the good-humoured and charismatic Father Gonzalo Gallo. The 'participatory Eucharist', as he was quickly renowned, attracted people to mass as never before in decades. It was a hard blow for the Catholic Church and the society when Mr. Gallo decided to leave priesthood, expressing his disagreements with some of the church's rules and regulations. In a

way, it helped to legitimize the worshipers' flow towards other Christian churches that were much more attuned to modern times.

Besides filling the spiritual and religious void, it is undeniable that others attend these groups to obtain some favour in the form of education, health, housing, or employment services. Depending on the size and financial power, Christian churches are owners of schools and health centres. The social network they build provides information and opportunities for earning a livelihood and finding a job. This capacity is potentiated even more when the groups expand their action to the electoral political sphere while being supported by a number of worshipers who then become likely voters. Christian groups have become strategic allies to political groups.

Since nineteenth century, Colombian history has witnessed the close relationship between the Catholic Church and the political configuration. The traditional political parties (the Conservatives related to the Catholic Church, and the Liberals related to free thinking, masonry, and the like) are prime examples of this feature. The phenomenon is still observable these days. Nevertheless, religious actors are not limited to the Catholic Church. It competes now with the myriad of non-Catholic Christian groups. In fact, in a combination of faith-based action and political activism, some of these religious groups became a strategic political actor disputing public offices and positions of traditional political movements. *Movimiento Independiente de Renovación Absoluta (MIRA)* has been an illustrative case, which is a religious and political Christian movement founded in 2000. Since it participated in the electoral processes, it progressively increased its political power. After being the eighteenth political force in 2000, it came to be the ninth in 2006. In 2010, it obtained 324,109 votes and gained four seats in the Senate. It also counted other public offices with governors, mayors, and municipal councillors at the local level. In 2014, MIRA's political capital was at risk and receded due to money laundering and illicit enrichment scandals and investigations (A. Franco and L. M. Barros 2015, *Revista Semana* 2014, R. López 2008).

Religion and politics intertwine to become allies for mutual benefit. With their agendas, each one obtains what they are searching for. They do not only seek power in corporations of the state's financial and administrative resources, but also to promote ideological programs aligned with Christian values with the aspiration of these values ending up in legislation.

Recent attempts to rule and legalize abortion, LGTB rights, same-sex marriages, and euthanasia, among other sensitive issues, have encountered many obstacles due to these religious–political alliances.

Early in this chapter, the way in which politics deploy its action in the Colombian context has been discussed. At the local level, features such as patronage and clientelism signing all sort of political activities are raised to their maximum expression. The popular saying ‘small town, big hell’, referring to social control and sanction derived from the fact that everyone knows everyone, assumes vivid and concrete forms. In the political arena, it entails clear definitions in terms of political alliances or enmities channelled through political groups. Valle del Cauca is infamously renowned for the horrid consequences of political clashes between Liberal and Conservative parties during *La Violencia*. Tuluá and its surrounding municipalities have been the epicentre of virulent conflicts whose traces remain in the collective imagination (Alvarez and G. Gardezabal 1972, D. Caicedo 1954). These are the grounds in which old and new political groups act to gain feud-like power and seize state resources and positions. It is what L. J. Garay (2008) refers to as capturing and co-opting the state.

Being inherent to most of the Colombian political action, cronyism and political patronage makes membership in political groups open an entrance door to financial and social resources that are not available by other means to many, particularly the disadvantaged. It may explain the importance granted to political groups’ membership that is scored in the survey. They are focal points of associative behaviour. As in the general Colombian context, the well-known political groups are widespread in Valle del Cauca and the four selected municipalities on the eve of the elections. Months, even years, previous to national and subnational elections, individuals involve themselves in them either formally or informally. Their task is to carry out the so-called ‘political work’ in neighbourhoods, blocks, villages, and towns. They promote a particular candidate or group or assure a determined number of votes (quota) on the election’s day against which they receive some retribution.

The programmatic and ideological value of political actions aiming at a democratic value-oriented society is replaced by the logic of the immediate and individual retribution on a very personal level. In the late 1990s, criminal groups, particularly drug lords, cartels, and paramilitaries, contributed to distorting the idea and practice of democracy. In disenfranchised urban or rural social sectors, it has become a sort of unspoken rule to ascribe to

a political group as the means to accessing economic, social, or cultural services and goods. In this perspective, buying and selling votes in exchange for money, groceries, lunch, or promises of employment, education, and health subsidies become the rule.

It is a context where financial and political power – even that earned by force or unlawful actions – is a guarantee for reaching an improved quality of life. It is expressed and perceived in the ostentation of all sort of assets: heavy gold jewellery, bizarre architectures for houses, the so-called narco-houses and neighbourhoods, and powerful four-wheeled vehicles (also called narco-camionetas or narco-Toyota after the Japanese brand). Moreover, education and honest work have lost all credibility as a means for upward social mobility. This is a circumstance that specially affects young people in society who are ready to pay the price and take the highest risk to earn easy money as fast as possible.

Another dimension of membership in a social organization is tied to the close relation that could exist in being part of a local committee (education or health, for instance) and the political opportunities this membership represents. In fact, in a social environment where the government's social services and goods have been under high political patronage, becoming visible and active in the neighbour or community's committee level may open doors to the pursuit of a political career. As it has been stated in a previous chapter (Chapter 4), it goes from occupying positions in the local government structure at a very local level to high-profile political positions at national levels.

The rise and decline of social organizations?

Despite the shortcomings or wrong-doing affecting the reputation and trustworthiness of most of the organizations, they remained in the Colombian social landscape. Data suggests a permanent turnover where once some are dissolved due to legal or financial issues, they are soon replaced by others with similar aims, filling the void left by those settled. Consequently, from the point of view of organizational density, social organizations are far from decline. On the contrary, the rise in the number of organizations brings to the fore an appearance of a lively freedom of association and participation. A better understanding of the processes within organizations (which is out of the scope of this research) would lead to examining structures, leadership, culture, behaviour, and general

functioning. Organizational studies of this sort are a pending subject in the Colombian research agenda.

The SCSIHS of 2007, however, provided some hints regarding the perceptions about internal organizations' dynamics, encouraging or discouraging people's participation. The first view is related to membership. In Valle del Cauca, about half of the people in the sample answered that membership in organizations had increased. However, in the selected municipalities, their perceptions differed. Without exception, when asked whether membership in groups have declined, have remained the same, or have increased, all of them coincided with slight variations that membership had declined: Tuluá, 76%; Buenaventura, 46%; Florida, 44%; Cartago, 37%. The perceived decreasing interest in membership may be related to the organizations' internal practices and their effectiveness in achieving their goals or fulfilling their *raison d'être*. For instance, the way people look at the mechanisms used to select the organization's leader is revealing. While the democratic approach (by decision/vote of all members) prevails in Valle del Cauca (48%), it is not the case at the local level. In Tuluá and Buenaventura, such an option scores 14% and 38% respectively. Instead, the prevailing perception in the municipalities is the reigning external and autocratic approach.

In Tuluá, respondents expressed that leaders' selections are made by an outside person or entity or by a small group of members, and the percentages for this section of the sample were 52% and 33% respectively. In Buenaventura, these results were drawn: each leader chooses his/her successor (25%); a small group of members makes the selection (18%); the leader's selection is made by a person or entity outside the organizations (13%).

Whatever the case, the dominant perception seems to be that what happens within the group or organization is out of the control of its members and participants. Rather, it is dependent on external powers that have the final say. A passive participation in the line of obeying decisions and instructions taken elsewhere, instead of acting on sense and practicing agency, is the rule with few exceptions. Consequently, clientelism in the closest surroundings and dictatorial leadership acts strengthen a sense of underrated participation and membership in organizations.

Why these organizations or groups? A membership's pragmatic approach

If self-esteem's reinforcement, personal fulfilment, and accomplishment are not to be developed in groups and organizations, a big question mark enquires about the motivations and expectations of those ascribing to groups and organizations in one way or another. Data from the SCHS of 2007 and interviews suggests a pragmatic approach to membership and participation, however light they could be. As a matter of fact, the main expectation for many is that by participating in such groups would make access to social services and goods possible. Expectations ranging from that of essential needs (food, education, shelter, and jobs) to the more intangible ones (leisure, culture, and sports) are the main motive for participation. Here again, many are disappointed. The expectations of being allowed to access services and goods do not always meet the intentions of organizations and their effectiveness in fulfilling promises.

Informal groups that are spontaneously generated without rigid structures bring services that are based on social and not financial resources to their members. Prayer groups and one-off activities such as dancing parties with specific purposes (for example, fund-raising to improve or build community equipment) are examples of leisure and culture. Those services or social goods entailing more complex processes and financial resources (education, training, health services, and employment) are harder to obtain. Figure 7.1 presents the services and goods provided by specific origination, according to respondent experiences.

Figure 7.1
Organizations and groups: Providers of social services and goods



It is not about what each one might contribute or give to organizations or groups. Instead, it is about what each one could obtain from them.

7.2.4 Bonding, bridging, linking

Central to the social capital literature is the notion of networks and their connective capacity, thus describing the relationships between individuals, communities, and groups. The network descriptors bonding, bridging, and linking refer to the social location and roles of those who are involved in the network. In this line, bonding relates to the relationships a person has with friends and family. The higher the number of relationships, the larger is the bonding social capital. Regarding organizations, bonding refers to the value assigned to social networks between homogeneous groups. That is to say, this applies to organizations with similar origin, structure, goals, and functioning. The social capital at the individual level is bridged by a set of relationships between friends of friends, second-tier relationships. Social networks between socially different groups are referred to as bridging social capital. Lastly, linking social capital is the relationship between a person, group, or organization and a government official or other elected leader.

The SCSIHS of 2007 included questions aiming to capture bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. Findings in this regard, like the pieces of a puzzle, help to build a social and political profile concerning the social capital for Valle del Cauca and the selected municipalities. Keeping the most relevant group or organization to the respondent as the point of reference, the question 'Does this group work or interact with other groups with similar goals in the municipality?' seeks to detect the bonding social capital. In Valle del Cauca, 57% of respondents answered with 'Yes, occasionally' and 11% answered with 'No'. At first sight, this would imply an inclination towards the interaction between similar groups. However, results showed a different reality highlighting differences in municipalities. In Cartago and Buenaventura, the trend was to interact with similar groups, while in Tuluá, it was the opposite. It is here where 25% of respondents answered 'No'.

In the search for trends on bridging social capital, the question 'Does this group work or interact with other groups in the municipality?' was included. In Valle del Cauca, 54% of the respondents answered 'Yes', whereas the percentage was 56% in Buenaventura and 38% in Tuluá (the lowest among the studied municipalities), suggesting that the people are less willing to join efforts with others for common goals. To obtain information on the linking dimension of social capital, the respondents answered to the question, 'Does this group work or interact with the next institutions?' The options were municipality government and department government. Reasonably, the data suggests that local experience at the municipal level is stronger than that at the department level. Nearness to local authorities where there are acquaintances and a relatively easier access are ways to connect and interact. On the contrary, department government seems distant geographically; all department offices are located in Cali, which would imply trips that are costly not only in terms of time and money but also politics. When asked about the most important reasons believed by this organization for not working or interacting with government institutions, the rationales emphasize on the fact that the government does not take the group or organization into account: Valle del Cauca 43% and Florida 100%. In Tuluá, it is striking that 60% of the respondents said that the group is opposed to working with the government.

These findings shed light on the current apathy towards an organized form of associative behaviour. They speak of the actual circumstances and conditions in which social networks are built and unfolded.

7.3 Cognitive social capital

Cognitive social capital refers to shared norms, values, trust, attitudes, and beliefs. It is, therefore, a subjective and intangible concept (Uphoff 2000). Social capital literature coincides in pointing at solidarity, trust, and cooperation as the main components of cognitive social capital. In fact, their absence or presence reflects the dominant values and norms in a particular society or community well. The integrated questionnaire includes some questions aiming at capturing information leading to the establishment of a cognitive social capital panorama. Whether directly addressing personal experiences or perceptions, the respondents in Valle del Cauca provided a rich and paradoxical perspective on this regard. Most of it is in line with the results obtained for Colombia by Latin-Barometro (n.d.) in its yearly rounds. Notwithstanding, the analysis of the dataset gathered in the SCSIS reveals important nuances in the main trends, responding to specific context circumstances.

7.3.1 Solidarity

‘Union or fellowship arising from common responsibilities and interests’; ‘community of feelings, interest, goals and purposes’; ‘feelings of unity’; ‘unity or agreement of feeling or action’; ‘mutual support’ – these are the most common expressions defining solidarity. These refer to groups, classes, people, and individuals, the grammatical form connecting the two prepositions between (connecting to, intermediating to) or among (in the midst of, counted with, member of). Beyond this somehow definitional abstract approach, solidarity is also seen as a value denoting a high degree of integration and stability, adhesion to a cause, a situation of circumstance that implies the assuming and sharing of benefits and risk. This conceptual reminder is necessary to fully appreciate the meanings and implications of respondents’ answers in the SCSIS survey referring to solidarity.

The answers to a projective question enquiring to whom, in the village or neighbourhood, someone would turn for help in an unfortunate situation provides the first insight into solidarity. In Valle del Cauca, family (74%), neighbours (9.8%), and friends (4.4%) are regarded as the primary source of assistance and help in times of difficulties. The same trend, with some differences, is registered in the four municipalities. In all cases, the family is first in such a hypothetical circumstances: Cartago 86.7%, Bue-

naventura 82%, Tuluá 61%, and Florida 60%. Beyond the family, neighbours play a role in Tuluá (17%) and Florida (15%). The mention of friends does not exceed the one-digit figure in any case. The mention scores high in Tuluá (6.7%) and Florida (6%). By contrast, Buenaventura scores lowest (3%). Silences are eloquent. There is no reference to other actors such as political, religious, or community leaders, patrons, employers, or benefactors.

In this light, solidarity bonds do not go beyond the closest social environment in which kinship bonds, clear affinity ties, and emotional attachment are involved. In other words, 'solidarity among ourselves' seems to be the key. It is paradoxical, yet religious or political groups – of which respondents are members with the hope of obtaining benefits of any sort – are not mentioned in the framework of solidarity.

7.3.2 Trust

A key analytical dimension in the cognitive social capital is trust. It involves reliance, responsibility, commitment, confidence, and hope. It entails a condition in which someone's relationship is the interest of another and in which actors are good and honest and will not cause harm. Under this note, findings on trust for Colombia, Valle del Cauca, and the four municipalities are revealing.

In Latin-Barometer's rounds for Colombia in 1998, 2007, and 2008 (the time frame of this research), the respondents questioned whether they would trust people replied in the negative. In fact, in 1998, only 20% answered that they would trust. However, the figure went to its lowest in 2007 (only 9%). It upturned in 2008 when 15% answered in the affirmative. A complementary question searching for distrust, framed as 'you are never careful enough when dealing with others', showed agreement with the statement in high proportions. In 1998, the figure was 77%; in 2007, it was 91%; and in 2008, it was 84%. All in all, trust is far apart from the Colombian social environment.

This same tendency is found in Valle del Cauca and its four municipalities. The contextual conditions allow one to appreciate why people answered by emphasizing the lack of trust everywhere. Some of the included questions seek to discover intervening factors, providing a wider understanding. Race and ethnic groups seem to determine if someone is prone to trust another person. Table 7.9 shows the results of the question that

sought to learn whether ‘people would trust people ‘a lot’ from their own ethnic group or race or from another ethnic group or race.

Table 7.9
Trust, race, and ethnic group
Valle del Cauca and four municipalities, 2007

Mention ‘A Lot’	Buenaven- tura (%)	Cartago (%)	Florida (%)	Tuluá (%)	Valle Del Cauca (%)
People from your ethnic group/race	30,6	33	26,2	18,6	25,6
People from other ethnic group/race	11,6	28,7	19,4	17,6	15,3

Source: SCSIHS 2007

The level of trust on people from ‘your’ ethnic group was not high (only 25.6%) for the whole Valle del Cauca. The people of municipalities with the presence of a specific race or ethnic group trust their people (in Buenaventura, Afro-Colombians; in Cartago, whites; in Florida, Colombian-Indians) more than the race-mixed municipality, as do Tuluá and Valle del Cauca in general. A reinforcement of this attitude is found in the answers to the complementary question about people from other ethnic groups or race. The figures speak of a hidden racial issue that is neither openly acknowledged nor addressed in Colombian and Valle del Cauca’s society.

Another sensitive field in which trust is often tested is the matters related to borrowing or lending money or other belongings (car, house, clothes, jewels, or household appliances). To the question, if people trust each other in matters of borrowing and lending, the data for Valle del Cauca is evenly divided. In the department, 48% of the people trust and 52% do not. In the municipalities, except for Cartago, where 62% trust, the gap of distrust is wide. People in Florida (68%), Tuluá (65%), and Buenaventura (60%) definitely do not trust when it comes to borrowing or lending.

If the lack of trust prevails in interpersonal relationships, the situation will not be better when it comes to institutions at the national or subnational level. In all its rounds, Latin-Barometro included a question on trust

in institutions. Table 7.10 shows results about Colombia derived from years under the scope of this research.

Table 7.10
Trust in institutions, Colombia, 1998, 2007, 2008

Mention 'A Lot'	1998 (%)	2007 (%)	2008 (%)
Church	55	47	45
Congress	4	6	6
Judges	6	6	7
Military	12	26	28
Police	7	12	19

Source: Author's elaboration based on Latino-Barometro

From the listed institutions, a notable trend showed that the church deserved citizens' trust. However, this perception declined in the decade. Financial scandals, pederasty, and other sexual affairs involving the church, whether in Colombia or abroad, came to public light in those years and may explain such a weakening together with the strengthening and deepening of secular and non-Catholic styles of life.

The least trusted institutions are the Congress of the Republic, where laws and regulations for the whole society emanate, and the judicial system that delivers justice. Both are the central pillars of democratic societies. The police and the military have their crisis of trust. In 1998, the former was in a close relationship with illegal groups, including drug lords and the paramilitary. A deep police probe improved the perception in this regard. Although seen as more trustworthy and less susceptible to corruption than the police, the military follows a similar trend.

Similarly, the trends for Colombia regarding trust in institutions are expressed in Valle del Cauca and the four municipalities. At this subnational level, trust in institutions is undermined even more. In Valle del Cauca, there is a generalized lack of trust – a situation that is more intense in the four municipalities as shown in Table 7.11. Not even the religious actors deserve confidence. The case of Tuluá is appealing, as it scores lower than all other cases. Thus, the figures for actors (judges, the police, and the

military) who are supposed to ensure protection against crime and the rule of law are critical.

Table 7.11
Trust in institutions
Valle del Cauca and four selected municipalities, 2007

Mention 'A lot'	Buenaven- tura (%)	Cartago (%)	Florida (%)	Tuluá (%)	Valle (%)
Church/religious leaders	18.8	21.1	29.4	9.2	25.3
Judges	4.3	5.6	4.5	5.9	11.9
Military	23.9	11.4	19.5	3.4	18.9
Police	11.4	6.7	16.2	5.9	13.9

Source: Author's elaboration based on SCSHS, 2007 dataset

It is likely that these perceptions, tied to experiences at the local level, are also influenced by the circumstances perceived at the national level. In fact, these institutions act in both spheres.

Near experiences and widespread knowledge at the local level seem to shape the trust of the people towards civil servants and people in charge of public administration offices. Table 7.12 presents findings with regard to majors, governors, and members of municipal councils. In a climate of generalized lack of trust at the department and municipality levels, the governor is distrusted less. 12% of respondents answered that they can 'trust him a lot'. In the municipalities, the table highlights results for Cartago, where no one trusts the major. In fact, as was described in chapter 3, the institutional crisis reached its peak at the time. Except for Buenaventura, the other three municipalities scored their lowest when members of the municipal council were considered. The social, political, and economic context depicted in the previous chapter and considerations of the current characteristics of political organizations are at the root of this prevalent distrust and scepticism about the fulfilment of these organizations' roles in a supposedly democratic state.

Table 7.12
Trust in institutions
Valle del Cauca and four selected municipalities, 2007

Mention 'Trust a lot'	Buena- ventura (%)	Cartago (%)	Florida (%)	Tuluá (%)	Valle Del Cauca (%)
Mayor	9,2	0	9	5,1	10,9
Governor	10,3	4,5	9	5	12
Municipal council members	9,2	2,2	3	3,4	9,1

Source: Author's elaboration

The remaining question in this perspective of generalized distrust is, therefore, 'Who, if any, is trustworthy?' In all cases and circumstances, it appears that people trust teachers, nurses, and doctors. They are neutral actors in the pernicious environment of clientele and corruption that was prevalent at the time.

7.2.3 Cooperation

If solidarity and trust are intertwined sentiments shaping attitudes, cooperation entails the actions in which such sentiments are manifest. While turning around a mutual benefit or common purpose, cooperation involves individuals or groups working together for the achievement of their individual or collective goals.

The respondents were hypothetically confronted to select one from two options in order to capture information on cooperation. The first, embracing sharing and cooperation, led to greater benefits and profits. The second, involving individual ownership, obtained lower yields. With the rare exception of Buenaventura, where the cooperating/sharing choice scored 75%, the individualistic attitude prevailed by large in the other municipalities and the department as a whole. Buenaventura's geographical location, its rural character, economic activity based on river or sea fishing, and the exploitation of woods in the Pacific forest (which involve challenging harsh conditions in both cases) made cooperation a survival device.

Table 7.13
Cooperation
Valle del Cauca and four municipalities, 2007

	Buena-ventura (%)	Cartago (%)	Florida (%)	Tuluá (%)	Valle Del Cauca (%)
Own a 100 m2 plot entirely for yourself	25,8	70,1	48,5	68,1	58,5
Own a 300 m2 jointly with another family	74,2	29,9	51,5	31,9	41,5
	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Author's elaboration based on SCSIHS, 2007

Which action could fit better for social capital than addressing indigence, poverty, violence, and the generalized perception of living in a fractured society?

Social capital and its related notions (reciprocity, mutual help, and cooperation, among others) supplied a framework for understanding, interpreting, and taking action to the development agenda setting. Without critical reservation, they influenced the formulation process of social policy.

Notes

¹ In 2000, a citizen took legal action before the Constitutional Court against the Commerce Code Art. 81 under the allegation of discrimination and marginalization due to this distinction between registered and affiliated members. The court ruled against the citizen arguing that all registered members were free to become affiliated. However, in practice, fees may be unaffordable and other conditions to gain this status are unreachable for micro-, small-, and sometimes, medium-sized business entrepreneurs (Corte Constitucional (CC) sentencias C-602/00 y C-1147/00).

² Research carried out by Alvaro Camacho in 1977 (A. Camacho 1988) and by Eduardo Saenz R. in 1988 (R. E. Saenz R. E. 1988) already suggested the concentration of organizational power and that the control was in a few hands.

³ In the same year, union rates in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay were above 30% (Hernández 2014, Vidal 2012).

8 Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This chapter organizes the conclusions achieved in this research as follows. First, it discusses the contribution I made in understanding the complex dynamics involved in understanding, interpreting, and addressing social issues recurring in the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ conceptual device and its by-product, social policy. Then, it turns to synthesize the main lines of the answers to the research questions focussing on the Colombian department of Valle del Cauca and five selected municipalities. It highlights the explicit and implicit power of words used in the development and the social policy context, becoming power devices in themselves. Lastly, it reflects on a future research agenda.

8.2 The contribution

In this research, the employment of a conceptual device in the Foucauldian approach (in this case, a dyadic one) composed by ‘social exclusion’ and ‘social capital’ brings to light the complex networks of power relations supported by particular forms of knowledge. In fact, each term in the dyadic conceptual device is a device in itself. Each one configures a system of the heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, and philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said is as much as the unsaid. The two, in their synergic interactions, bring about social policy that in turn becomes a conceptual device rooted in its specific time and space context. The fluidity of the elements composing the heterogeneous ensemble makes itself flexible and changeable under new conditions – or the same of knowledge and power relationship. Thus, the epistemological, heuristic, and methodological value of the conceptual device allows one to understand and respond to

the rising tension between the social, economic, political, and cultural structures and the tendency towards social change in the historical context.

This approach provides a different perspective to examining the way in which social ‘problems’ are framed, what the proposed ‘solutions’ are, and how the whole shapes the policy as a way of answering the defined problem. Furthermore, it suggests analytical venues deciphering the reasons that underlie the success or failure of such policies. It is because of the conceptual device approach, on one hand, that we overcome the definition-related and isolation problems gravitating over the key concepts and practices that build the social policy. In this regard, it does not seek an absolute and unique answer to the ontological question: ‘What is “social exclusion” or “social capital” or any other term describing or ascribed to social settings?’ Rather, the conceptual device draws attention to the prevalent interpretations, contents, knowledge, and power relationships gathered under such labels. On the other hand, it acknowledges and brings to the fore the central relational character of the set of elements that are historically located, in the heterogeneous ensemble under consideration. Consequently, it prompts one to revisit the balance between quantitative and qualitative in research methods, both of which are necessary to obtain a perspective of the social, economic, political, and cultural perspective as accurate and all-encompassing as possible.

8.3 Answers to the research question

In this research, ‘social exclusion’ and ‘social capital’ composed the dyadic conceptual device. As an analytical and methodological tool, it allowed the identification of the elements composing the heterogeneous ensemble that it sought to understand and the strategic function that it played to maintain power relationships in Colombia society. It locates Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities historically on the national context in the period 1998–2008. As the chapters of this dissertation show, discourses, experiences, and perceptions on social exclusion reveals its different facets. On one hand, the regulatory decisions, laws, and administrative measures condensed in official documents – whether at the international, national, or sub-national level – impose a perspective and interpretation on the social, economic, and political circumstances labelled under ‘social exclusion’. They settled the social policy landscape either by reinforcing or

establishing power relationships that are backed up by the force of authority and derived from financial and/or political control. The Development Plans synthesized the fabric on this power network.

On the other hand, citizen's experiences and perceptions shape the views from the other side of the same coin. Devoid of the technical terms and jargon used by experts and policy-makers who describe them as excluded and belonging to vulnerable groups, citizens look at the social, economic, and political environment in the light of their local surroundings where daily life occurs. The abstract references social inclusion, betterment in the quality of life, participation, solidarity, peaceful coexistence, mutual help, and the like contained in DP documents, which clash with the actual circumstances in which highly asymmetric power relationships unfold.

Very often, in the best scenario, at the department and municipal administrative level, managerial disarray, lack of basic administrative and technical skills, and over-bureaucratized procedures negatively effect and interfere with policy implementations. Citizens, barely aware of their rights and state functioning, fall into the hands of those being well aware of the intricacies of the mechanism for accessing social services and goods. This knowledge, which is a valuable asset, allows the owner inside or outside the administrative structure to take advantage for their benefit and captures who are in need in the trap of clientelism and the act of returning favours. In the worst scenario, the state structures (secretaries, offices, and other department and municipal administrative organs) are seen as a loot disputed between political factions. They, while taking care of their feuds, deploy rampant clientelism, patronage, and corruption with total impunity. Most of the times, these two circumstances are combined. Thus, the spirit of the law and good intentions for which social and political institutions, regulatory decisions, laws, and administrative measures are intended and stated in official documents such as DPs deviate from their *raison d'être*.

In the case of Valle del Cauca and the five selected municipalities, the different approaches and gaps between policy-makers, practitioners, social science, and development ideas in addressing social exclusion have been solved with the social capital's conceptual network. As this research suggests, social policy as consigned in DPs at the national, department, and municipality level was the battlefield in which this solution materialized acquiring legitimacy and the force of authority.

It confirms the assumption that new ideas, concepts, and theories that result from social sciences and development studies can be extremely influential in social policy. However, it is so only if they coincide or overlap with the inclinations of those setting and financing the policy agenda. It is indeed a power relationship in which knowledge is at stake. Nonetheless, the influence exerted by those in charge of setting and financing the policy is not the only reason explaining the recurrent presence of social capital and its conceptual network – associative behaviour, participation, mutual help, trust, and cooperation in DPs during 1998–2008.

Other factors could have intervened; among them are the following. The compelling symbolic role of social capital in its appeal to rebuilding the Colombian – and specifically Valle del Cauca’s – fragmented society. The moral tone it provided in the framework of a social, economic, and political context looks at itself in a deep crisis of moral values and at its force as a politically correct discourse promoting participation.

8.4 The power of words, the words of power

The dyadic conceptual device composed of ‘social exclusion’ and ‘social capital’ sheds light on the forms – theoretically and practically. They take on historically determined specific contexts and the current lives of citizens (in this case, Valle del Cauca and the selected municipalities). Thus, it allows one to decipher the network of power relationships and field of forces in which development discourses succeed or fail. It points at the economic, social, and political dimensions that it illuminates or, with the opposite, conceals. Lastly, it recognizes its uses and abuses. All in all, it draws attention to the scientific and intellectual spheres in which the debate on development takes place. It is the place where the power of words is apparent.

8.4.1 The development debate, a heterogeneous ensemble

The development debate can be seen in itself as a heterogeneous ensemble in which power relationships unfold. These are, to some extent, less asymmetrical in as much as they evolve in the upper hierarchy of the current globalized order and structure. The key actor in the world’s broader development community are the development multilateral, international organizations (World Bank [WB], International Monetary Fund [IMF], Inter-American Development Bank [IADB], United Nation [UN], United

Nation Development Program [UNDP], Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean [ECLAC], and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD]), practitioners, and reputed intellectuals in the academia or think tanks.

All along this research, across the length and breadth of the heated development and social capital debate, it became clear that conflicting approaches to concepts, implementation, and political implications clashed. This is so even though some voices strongly supported social capital and its conceptual network as the key solution to development issues and fragmented societies in the absence of financial resources. Others, in contrast, were firmly against arguing they were functional to the neo-liberal ideas promoted by development and international financial institutions such as the WB and the IMF. Of course, in the framework of a debate, it is not surprising to identify conflicting positions such as these. What was striking was to realize the absence of this discussion in the Latin American and Colombian context, where these ideas at the time were not contested at all. Instead, the social capital's conceptual network was 'used' and 'implemented' by whatever means. The main lines of arguments contesting social capital, which were vigorous and influential in Europe, were not so much heard of in Latin America and Colombia.

This corroboration led to another core issue in the broader debate on development and its discourses: the 'social exclusion-social capital' case was one among many other sets of ideas in which the debate and the decision-making were carried out by a set of actors whose voices did not have the same strength. While some were loud, others whose lives were affected by the decisions of these actors were not heard or taken into account.

Lastly, development, as a set of concepts and practices, is produced by and immersed in discourses. They are shaped in the framework of networks of power relationships. In this sense, it is built on terms that are heard, invite for reflection, gain widespread attention, mobilize strategic actors, and define policies. To elaborate, whatever the form development discourses take, they are prone to construct realities (policies, projects, programs) on the positive side or contest social arrangements on the downside. All this is focusses on actors located in particular political, social, economic, cultural, and ideological settings.

8.4.2 Illuminating and concealing dimensions of social arrangements

Related to the capacity of constructing realities, development discourse (in the case of this research, the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ conceptual device) has the power to illumine or conceal the dimensions of social arrangements. Currently, social capital has almost disappeared from the conceptual constellations of the development community – advocates, detractors, and policy-makers. Instead, it has been replaced by new terms. There are new buzzwords such as ‘in-clusion’, ‘(in)equality’, or ‘sustainability’, which are among the most visible nowadays. It is likely so due to the discussions and framing of a new development agenda, post-MDG 2015. It turns around sustainability and its derivatives: inclusiveness, financial inclusion, social inclusion, so on and so forth. The choices of these new terms, however, are not without consequence. Placing emphasis on sustainability, inclusion, or inclusiveness, for instance, diverts attention from the circumstances in which the call for those terms is necessary. In other words, what are the social, economic, financial, cultural, and political circumstances in which sustainability and inclusion become the main issue? Or, to take the gist of this thesis, what are the ‘exclusion’ conditions that made it necessary to argue for inclusion and social capital?

In addressing development issues – conceptually and methodologically – as social inclusion in the Human Development Report for Valle del Cauca 2008, the epistemological consequences highlight that the prevalence of a particular interpretation or approach hid other dimensions of the same social reality that development discourses and policies would be able to address. A study of the juxtaposition and, to some extent, confusions between the notions of poverty and social exclusion in DP shows the excessive emphasis put on poverty alleviation, which is indeed important and necessary. However, at the same time, it issues related to social exclusion less obvious. At the best, an income-economic approach confounds poverty and social exclusion. However, as this thesis demonstrates, social exclusion is better understood in the relational context in which what is at stake is the very idea of social order, its actors, and the role they play in the societal arrangement. Although poverty and social exclusion are related and are part and parcel of development issues, these phenomena deserve a differential analytical treatment allowing one to understand them and address them.

8.4.3 The normative and prescriptive power

The findings and analysis of this research indicate that scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions conflate while bringing about normative prescriptions.

As a matter of fact, normative and prescriptive intimations underlie both terms on the dyadic conceptual device. It turns their use into a sort of imposition on what a society should be and how the 'problems' should be addressed. In the 'problem-solution' dynamic behind the social policy, the 'social exclusion-social capital' dyadic conceptual device exerts a special power. On one hand, those defining the problem make choices regarding the so-called excluded or vulnerable or poor. But, to what extent do these social groups recognize themselves as such? What would be the terms or discourse choices for describing their circumstances? As far as the chances to make their voice heard (or be taken genuinely into account) are few, those labelled as excluded will continue to be the less empowered actors in the complex network of power relationships. The saying 'I participate, You Participate, We Participate... They profit or decide' has become a sarcastic joke not without reason among grass-root organizations trying to find a way out of this pernicious circle. A change in the correlation of forces would entail, in fact, a change in the economic, social, and political power structures.

8.5 A future research agenda

In this research, 'social exclusion' and 'social capital' composed the dyadic conceptual device. Notwithstanding, as the trends in development studies and practices illustrate, they have not been abiding. In fact, they have had a relative ephemeral life, giving way to new fashionable terms instead. Effective 'buzzwords' build new or renewed development approaches that in turn structure social policies.

In a future research agenda, it would be possible to compose other conceptual devices serving to identify the elements in their heterogeneous ensemble, establishing their relationships, and deciphering the way in which they performed their strategic function. One way to identify which concepts might be included in the conceptual device would follow the 'social problem-solution' pattern. While providing analytical, heuristic, and methodological approaches, the conceptual device finds a privileged space of action in the social policy domain, as far as it represents the sphere of

solutions to social problems. In light of this and inspired by the *dispositif* (as originally thought of by Michel Foucault and later by his intellectually close colleagues), which is intended to understand and interpret specific social spaces and behaviours, the conceptual device finds a new field of application. In effect, it has been in philosophy, sociology, anthropology, communication studies, and more recently, technology where *dispositif* has been considered to bring about new insights. This research suggests the broad spectrum of possibilities for the ‘conceptual device’ in a multi and inter-disciplinary field par excellence, development studies.

The chapters in this dissertation show the way in which the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ dyadic conceptual device was instrumental to understanding, interpreting, and to some extent, intervening in the Colombian social reality in the decade 1998-2008.

The ‘social exclusion-social capital’ conceptual device pervaded the DPs at the national and subnational levels. In permeating the social policy formulation, it also pervades public opinion. Different in nature but concomitant with each other, two factors contributed to the hype of this conceptual device. On one hand are the power and strength of international and national institutional actors leading to the framing of development plans and social policy in these key terms. On the other hand is the capacity of these terms and its associated ones to echo the feelings and needs of the many in distress. Both factors built a fertile soil to locate the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ in the public agenda.

It is an undeniable fact that at the time-span of this study, international development institutions played a key role in promoting the ‘social exclusion-social capital’ conceptual device and its associated terms. As it has been discussed, from the international level to the national and subnational, the financial factor was the main power mechanism through loans and budget allocations. It contributed significantly to drive and frame the development agenda and the social policy in this particular direction. This fact raises questions about the role of the economic and political determinants involved in the social development agenda settings. In particular, these include the asymmetries in power and, consequently, the imbalances regarding whose voices count in defining and identifying which social problems should be addressed and how. In other words, the externally imposed development and social policy agenda are in need of revision.

Furthermore, in the context of scarce financial resources and administrative skills, as is the case in some of the Valle del Cauca municipalities, a

valid consideration of the context-dependent character of social policy is near to null. However, the terms used in the 'social exclusion-social capital' conceptual device express popular feelings and needs. Moreover, they are derived from the harsh life experiences of those individuals (women, men, youth, black, elders, and others) who are trying to solve the problem of how to belong to and live in Colombian society. The blurred definitions of social exclusion, social capital, and the constellations of associated terms have rung bells in the ears of many. These terms, being a part of everyday language, recall actions and attitudes that supposedly contribute to reaching a better way to be a part of society. They also sometimes provide the desperately needed social support in critical situations. Who, in circumstances of poverty, violence, conflict, forced displacement, vulnerability, and exclusion because of race, age, gender, and/or geographical origin, will deny the urgency for reciprocity, mutual help, trust, associative organization and collective action, as terms related to social capital?

One may conclude that two different logics and not necessarily shared meanings of the content and use of the 'social exclusion-social capital' conceptual device built a common ground. The prevalent ambiguity allowed different actors, international and governmental, at the national and subnational level, including private, non-governmental, grassroots organizations, and even individuals, to take advantage of a false or fake consensus on the project for a better Colombian society. In doing so, they often pushed forward their interest and agendas without challenging the existing economic and social structures. Far from a revitalized social contract, as some urgently demanded (Garay 2000), the discourse of social capital sustained power asymmetries and inequalities in the broader sense of the term.

Would the considerations above discredit the descriptive, interpretative, and comprehensive promises of these and other emergent terms, having similar reach and potentials? The richness and complexity of their possibilities suggest a negative answer. What should be considered is the way in which the involved actors in the understanding and interpretation of the Colombian social reality used the concepts and ideas of social capital. A minimum common denominator, a minimum space for the intersection of the conceptual and the experiences (in which the social and the economic have similar specific weights) would be necessary to address the problems of social exclusion. Such a political, cultural, and economic project would seem doomed to failure in a country where the pragmatic motto

is ‘save yourself’, or ‘every person for herself’, reflecting the institutional corrosion in all walks of life where the dialogue of the deaf prevails.

Once the post-2015 development agenda is settled, the terms ‘sustainability’, ‘sustainable’, ‘inclusions’, and ‘inclusive’ seem to be part and parcel of the development lexicon for the next decades. These are the terms in which social development and policy are going to be formulated in the near future, as seems to be the case. Assessing their conceptual, comprehensive, and pragmatic power would help to analyse their effectiveness not only in building a global consensus regarding what should be done but also in framing their success or failure in describing, understanding, and interpreting the complex social realities in the best possible way. The life and well-being of many depend on these choices.

*‘...because races condemned to one hundred years of solitude
did not have a second opportunity on earth.’*
– Gabriel García Márquez,
One Hundred Years of Solitude (1967; trans. Gregory Rabassa)

Appendices

Appendix 1.1 Qualitative data documents 1998-2008

	Source	Type of documents
National Govern- ment	National Comptroller Office	Comptroller Office Social Re- ports
		Reports on Social Expenditure Analysis
		Related documents
	Planning National Office	General Participation System
		MDG
		Ethnic Groups
		Territorial Development
		Social CONPES
	Acts.	
	Office of the Ombudsman (De- fensoría del Pueblo)	
Finance Ministry	Reports on Fiscal Viability of Departments	
	Reports on national and depart- ment budget structure and sources	
	How to understand the national budget? Textbook for Civil Servants	
	Observatory of Gender Issues	
Department	Planning Department Office	Development Plans
	Education Secretary	Projects and programs plans
	Health Secretary	Projects and programs plans
	Social Development Secretary	Projects and programs plans
Municipalities	Planning Municipal Office	
	Education Secretary	
	Health Secretary	
	Social Development Secretary	
	SISBEN	

Appendix 1.2
Quantitative data documents 1998-2008

Source		Type of documents
National Government	National Comptroller Of- fice	Social Expenditure Analysis 1997- 2008
	Finance Ministry	Expenditure execution 2000-2007
		Annual Fiscal Closure 200-2009
PROFAMILIA	National survey on sexual and re- productive health (1995, 2000, 2005, 2010)	
Department	Planning Department Of- fice	Statistical Yearbooks
	Department Comptroller Office	Expenditure execution 1998-2008
Municipalities	Planning Municipal Office	Statistical Yearbooks
	SISBEN	Statistic for poor and very poor population

Appendix 1.3
Technical aspects of households survey sample

Target population, population coverage	Individuals 15 years or older residing within private households in urban areas of 41 municipalities of Valle del Cauca (Cali was not included). Homeless and institutional populations were excluded.
Sampling frame	For Stratification: Colombia Census 2005 For selection of households: POT - GIS database that contains all cadastral blocks in each municipality
Sampling design	Stratified multi-stage probability sampling Department stratification: 2 classes of population sizes of municipalities (small and medium: < 299,999; large \geq 300,000) Clusters: 5 geographic zones in Valle del Cauca Stage 1: Primary sampling units: Municipalities within zones (41, Cali excluded) Stage 2: Censal sector Stage 3: Section Stage 4: Block Stage 5: Houses Stage 6: Household Stage 7: Male or Female 15 years and above. At least 2 years steady residence in the municipality
Sample size	A net sample of size $n_{net} = 2,050$ interviews were conducted. Margin of error varied for each municipality. We handled a margin of error of ± 1 to $\pm 3.0\%$. Confidence level 98%
Survey time	Last three weeks in June 2007

Source: The author

Appendix 1.4
Questionnaire distribution per zones

ZONA	MUNICIPALITY		No. of Questionnaires	No. de Enumerators
ZONA 1 OCCIDENTE	1	Buenaventura	218	4
	2	Dagua	24	1
	SUBTOTAL ZONA 1		242	5
ZONA 2 SUR	1	Candelaria	32	1
	2	Florida	68	1
	3	Jamundí	49	1
	4	La Cumbre	15	1
	5	Palmira	168	3
	6	Pradera	70	2
	7	Yumbo	60	1
SUBTOTAL ZONA 2		462	10	
ZONA 3 CENTRO SUR	1	Buga	73	1
	2	Calima - Darién	27	1
	3	El Cerrito	55	1
	4	Ginebra	24	1
	5	Guacarí	55	1
	6	Restrepo	25	1
	7	San Pedro	39	1
	8	Vijes	39	1
	9	Yotoco	50	1
SUBTOTAL ZONA 3		387	9	
ZONA 4 CENTRO NORTE	1	Tuluá	118	2
	2	Andalucía	41	1
	3	Bolívar	24	1
	4	Bugalagrande	34	1
	5	Caicedonia	40	1
	6	Riofrío	35	1
	7	Roldanillo	40	1
	8	Sevilla	52	1
	9	Trujillo	50	1
	10	Zarzal	84	2
SUBTOTAL ZONA 4		518	12	
ZONA 5 NORTE	1	Cartago	90	2
	2	Alcalá	61	1
	3	Ansermanuevo	35	1

ZONA	MUNICIPALITY		No. of Questionnaires	No. de Enumerators
	4	Argelia	20	1
	5	El Aguila	16	1
	6	El Cairo	19	1
	7	El Dovio	35	1
	8	La Unión	40	1
	9	La Victoria	28	1
	10	Obando	29	1
	11	Toro	27	1
	12	Ulloa	15	1
	13	Versalles	26	1
		SUBTOTAL ZONA 5	441	14
TOTAL DEPARTAMENTO			2050	50

Appendix 1.5

Household's survey questionnaire structure

Chapter I. Identification of the Respondent: It aims to identify social and demographic characteristics of the respondent.

Chapter II. Organizations and Associability: It enquires about the groups, associations, or organizations in which the respondent participates regularly, how they do it as perceived in terms of how they come together, and the scope of their community activities.

Chapter III. Networks and Mutual Support: It enquires about the functioning of the community while dealing with a problem and actors that likely would take action to solve it.

Chapter IV. Exclusion: It enquires about the existence of situations, circumstances, or factors that become generators of isolation or lack of integration in the community as a whole and if they prevent the respondent or the individuals of his/her household from accessing community services that in principle every citizen is entitled to.

Chapter V. Collective Actions: It enquires about the involvement of the community and respondent in collective initiatives of mutual benefit.

Chapter VI. Solidarity: It enquires about the possibility that someone will get help of others in an unfortunate circumstance.

Chapter VII. Trust and Cooperation: It enquires about the respondent's perception on the ability of the community to feel safe and trust in others. This chapter seeks establish to what extent, in the daily life of people, there is no confidence in specific cases, possibility of achieving cooperation, and mutual aid. It also seeks to establish certain values and norms that regulate social and moral community life.

Chapter VIII. Participation: This chapter seeks to establish whether the respondent knows opportunities for participation in the municipality and participates effectively in them.

Chapter IX. Conflict Resolution: It enquires about the relations between people and the perception of the respondent on how to resolve conflicts and the actors involved in them.

Chapter X. Connectivity: It enquires about the respondent's access to information.

Appendix 1.6
General objectives in 'Peace, security, and coexistence'

DP	1998-2000	2001-2003	2004-2007	2008-2011
Valle del Cauca	Not available	To promote civic agreements security, peace, coexistence, social fabric re-building	To promote democratic culture, peace, coexistence, reconciliation, forgiveness, human rights Human being first	To guarantee peaceful coexistence, security, civic participation To protect human rights and international human law To bring about peace and economic and social development
Buenaventura	Not available	No mention	No mention	To strength coexistence, security, peace, local cultural identity
Cali	To recover peaceful coexistence, public security To strength peaceful conflict resolution To bring closer citizens and authorities To support the justice system, state security organizations To promote re-socialization programs, human rights, rule of law, international human law To produce peace	To contribute to rebuilding the social fabric, justice, solidarity, fraternity To promote participation, agreements, trust, civic-mindedness	To strength coexistence, security, peace To promote civic culture, inclusion, human rights, respect, equity, institutional legitimacy	To build a social order favouring life respect, social fabric To guarantee human rights, democratic coexistence

DP	1998-2000	2001-2003	2004-2007	2008-2011
	<p>To build civility, harmonic social spaces, coexistent culture</p> <p>To establish sustainable peace and coexistence</p> <p>To spread participation culture community leadership</p>			
Cartago	<p>To develop civic understanding practices, solidarity</p> <p>To diminish intolerance, violence</p> <p>To guarantee free exercise of basic constitutional rights</p> <p>To create tranquil atmosphere</p> <p>To protect citizens' life, honour, and property</p>	No mention	<p>To strength co-existent ties, participation, solidarity promotion, respect, citizens commitment to youth, education communities, and marginalized people</p>	<p>To lead government action to institutional transformation</p> <p>To build interdependency and interaction with citizens</p> <p>To generate trust, transparent efficiency</p>
Florida	<p>To search for public order</p> <p>To promote community prominence, participation, control, supervision</p>	<p>To make efforts for the municipality to become a peaceful city with democratic coexistence</p> <p>To lessen crime</p>	<p>To turn Florida into a peace laboratory</p> <p>To recover peaceful coexistence, citizens' security</p> <p>To strength peaceful conflict solution, nearness between authorities and citizens</p>	<p>To substantially improve citizens' security and protection</p> <p>To strength inter-institutional relationships (national land regional government organizations)</p>

DP	1998-2000	2001-2003	2004-2007	2008-2011
		To consolidate a disaster prevention culture	<p>To promote respect and rule of law</p> <p>To support the justice system</p> <p>To awaken solidarity, community sensibility</p>	<p>To increase credibility on security-related institutions</p> <p>To foster programs leading to peaceful coexistence, tolerance, respect, human rights protection</p> <p>To promote community trust and credibility with regard to municipality authorities</p> <p>To lead process for diminishing social inequity</p> <p>To develop peace, coexistence, security, community and civil society participation</p> <p>To prevent natural disasters</p>
Tuluá	Not available	Not available	<p>To improve security and citizens' peaceful coexistence.</p> <p>To implement security technologies</p> <p>To form citizens' security networks</p> <p>To take care of vulnerable social groups, social and family risks, forced displacement of population</p>	<p>To contribute to city and society respectful of human rights, life right, integrity, coexistence, peaceful conflict solution, integration, inclusion</p>

Source: Author's elaboration

References

- Abello, G. (2013) 'El Juego de Tejo ¿Un Símbolo Nacional o un Proyecto Inconcluso?', *Revista Historia Y Memoria* 7: 169–198. Accessed 11 November 2016 <<http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=325129208006>>.
- Abrams, D., J. Christian and D. Gordon (2007) *Multidisciplinary Handbook of Social Exclusion Research*. Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons.
- Adam, F. and B. Rončević (2003) 'Social Capital: Recent Debates and Research Trends', *Social Science Information* 42: 155–183.
- Agamben, G. (2009) *What is an Apparatus? and Other Essays*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4386925>>.
- Agulnik, P. (2002) *Understanding Social Exclusion*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Alcaldía de Santiago de Cali (n.d.) 'Informe de Participación Ciudadana y Gestión Comunitaria' ('Citizen Participation and Community Management'), Report submitted by Secretaria de Desarrollo Territorial y Bienestar Social. Cali Accessed 16 November 2016 <http://www.cali.gov.co/publicaciones/participacion_ciudadana_y_gestion_comunitaria_pub>.
- Alesina, A. (2005) *Institutional Reforms: The Case of Colombia*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Alfonso, D. (2012) *Deporte y Educación física en Colombia: Inicio de la Popularización del Deporte 1916-1942. (Sport and Physical Education in Colombia: Beginnings of Sport Popularization 1916-1942)* Master's Dissertation, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá.
- Alonso, J. C., B. H. Giraldo and K. Sánchez (2003) 'Prueba Piloto para la Medición del Capital Social en el Municipio de Ginebra, Valle' ('Pilot Test for the Social Capital Assessment in the Municipality of Ginebra, Valle'). Technical Report, Banco Mundial, Fundación Carvajal, Universidad del

- Valle, Universidad ICESI, Universidad Javeriana, Cali, Colombia (May–November).
- Alonso, J. C., B. H. Giraldo and K. Sánchez (2004) 'Prueba Piloto para la Medición del Capital Social en Cali, Valle' ('Pilot Test for the Social Capital Assessment in Cali, Valle'). Technical Report, Banco Mundial, Fundación Carvajal, Universidad del Valle, Universidad ICESI, Universidad Javeriana, Cali, Colombia (May–November)
- Alvarez-Gardeazábal, G. (1972) *Cóndores No Entierran Todos Los Días* (*Condors do not bury every day*). Barcelona: Ediciones Destino.
- Amnesty International (2007). *Sindicalismo en Colombia: Homicidios, Detenciones Arbitrarias y Amenazas de Muerte* (*Syndicalism in Colombia: Homicide, Arbitrary Detention and Death Threats*). Madrid: Editorial Amnistía Internacional.
- Aponte R. (2013) 'Participación Ciudadana en la Gestión Local en la República de Colombia 1991-2012 Acta Científica XXIX' ('Citizen Participation in Local Management in the Republic of Colombia 1991-2012 Acta Científica XXIX'. Conference Paper, Congreso de la Asociación Latino Americana de Sociología Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología (ALAS), Facultad de Ciencias Sociales Universidad de Chile
- Aponte, D., D. Pinzón. D. Rodríguez and A. Vargas (2009) 'Las Barras de Fútbol en Colombia: Balance de la Producción Académica y Algunas Reflexiones Sobre su Cubrimiento Periodístico, Programas y Normatividad (2000-2008)' ('The Soccer Bars in Colombia: Balance of Academic Production and Some Reflections on its Journalistic Coverage, Programs and Normativity (2000-2008)'). Report, CERAC, AFSC (September 2009). <http://www.cerac.org.co/assets/pdf/Other%20publications/Estado_del_Arte_BarrasDeFutbol.pdf>.
- Aponte, G.O. (2006) 'Memorias. Encuentro Nacional de Comuneros, Pereira Agosto 18, 19 y 20' ('Memoirs. National Encounter of Comuneros, Pereira August 18, 19 and 20'). Report Accessed 16 November 2016 http://actacientifica.servicioit.cl/biblioteca/gt/GT10/GT10_AponteR.pdf>.
- Apthorpe, R. J. and D. Gasper (1996) *Arguing Development Policy: Frames and Discourses*. London: Frank Cass in association with the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes, (EADI), Geneva.
- Arboleda, J. A. (2004) *Voices of the Poor in Colombia: Strengthening Livelihoods, Families, and Communities*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

- Arboleda M. C. (2002) *Historia del Pluralismo Religioso en Colombia (History of Religious Pluralism in Colombia)*. Working Paper, Arquidiócesis de Medellín, Medellín. Accessed 16 November 2016 <http://www.prolades.com/cra/regions/sam/col/historia_del_pluralismo.pdf>.
- Archer, R.P. (July 1990) 'The Transition from Traditional to Broker Clientelism in Colombia: Political Stability and Social Unrest'. Working Paper 140. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies. Accessed 29 October 2016 <<https://www3.nd.edu/~kellogg/publications/workingpapers/WPS/140.pdf>>.
- Arocha, J. and G. G. Sánchez (1987) *Colombia, Violencia y Democracia: Informe Presentado al Ministerio de Gobierno (Colombia, Violence and Democracy: Report Presented to the Ministry of Government)*. Bogotá: Centro Editorial, Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- Arriagada, I. (2005) *Aprender de la Experiencia: El Capital Social en la Superación de la Pobreza (Learning from Experience: The Social Capital in Overcoming Poverty)*. Santiago de Chile: Naciones Unidas, Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe.
- Arriagada, I., F. Miranda and T. Pávez (2004) *Lineamientos de Acción para el Diseño de Programas de Superación de la Pobreza desde el Enfoque del Capital Social: Guía Conceptual y Metodológica (Action Guidelines for the Design of Programs to Overcome Poverty from the Social Capital Approach: Conceptual and Methodological Guide)*. Santiago de Chile: CEPAL, División de Desarrollo Social.
- Arroyo, J. H. (2014) *Historia de las Prácticas Empresariales en el Valle del Cauca (History of Business Practices in Valle del Cauca)*. Cali, Colombia: Programa Editorial, Universidad del Valle.
- ASOBANCARIA (2016a) 'Reporte Trimestral de Inclusión Financiera, Cifras a Diciembre de 2013' ('Quarterly Financial Inclusion Report, Figures as of December 2013'). Report ASOBANCARIA, Bogotá, Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://www.asobancaria.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Reporte-trimestral-de-inclusi%C3%B3n-financiera-diciembre-2013.pdf>>.
- ASOBANCARIA (2016b) 'Reporte Trimestral de Inclusión Financiera, Cifras a Diciembre de 2015' ('Quarterly Financial Inclusion Report, Figures as of December 2015'). Report ASOBANCARIA, Bogotá, Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://www.asobancaria.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Reporte-trimestral-de-inclusi%C3%B3n-financiera-diciembre-2013.pdf>>.

- ASOBANCARIA (2016c) 'Aumentan los Niveles de Bancarización en Colombia' ('Increase Bank Levels in Colombia'). (25 April). Report ASOBANCARIA, Bogotá, Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://www.asobancaria.com/2016/04/25/aumentan-los-niveles-de-bancarizacion-en-colombia/>>.
- Atria, R. (2004) *Social Capital and Poverty Reduction in Latin America and the Caribbean: Towards a New Paradigm*. Santiago, Chile: CEPAL.
- Ayala, U.O. and O.L. Acosta (2002) *Políticas para Promover una Ampliación de la Cobertura del Sistema de Pensiones en Colombia (Policies to Promote an Expansion of the Coverage of the Pension System in Colombia)*. Santiago de Chile: CEPAL, Unidad de Financiamiento, División de Comercio Internacional y Financiamiento para el Desarrollo.
- Ayios, A., R. Jeurissen and L. J. Spence (n.d.) 'Social Capital: A Review from an Ethics Perspective'. Working Paper, Brunel University. Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/4432/1/Social%20Capital%20Ethics%20131008.pdf>>.
- Ban, K.-M. (2010) *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2010*. New York: United Nations.
- Banco de la República (2014) 'Informes Especiales de Estabilidad Financiera' ('Special Reports on Financial Stability'). Report, Banco de la Republica Bogotá (March). Accessed 16 November 2016 <<https://www.banrep.gov.co/es/node/35302>>.
- BANCOOMEVA (n.d.) 'Los peligros de los préstamos gota a gota. Consejos Financieros' ('The dangers of dribbling loans. Financial Advice'). <<http://www.bancoomeva.com.co/publicaciones.php?id=40652>>.
- Barbary, O. and F. Urrea (2004). *Gente Negra en Colombia: Dinámicas Sociopolíticas en Cali y el Pacífico (Black People in Colombia: Sociopolitical Dynamics in Cali and the Pacific)*. Cali: Centro de Investigaciones y Documentación Socioeconómicas, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y Económicas de la Universidad del Valle.
- Barón, J. A. (2015) 'El Nuevo Clientelismo Político en el Siglo XXI: Colombia y Venezuela 1998-2010' ('The New Political Clientelism in the 21st Century: Colombia and Venezuela 1998-2010'), *Desafíos* 27(11): 253–289.
- Bebbington, A. (2002) 'Sharp Knives and Blunt Instruments: Social Capital in Development Studies', *Antipode* 34: 800–803.

- Becerra, A. J. (2014) 'El Protestantismo e Iglesias Evangélicas en Colombia: Sistema de Creencia y Práctica Religiosa Popular' ('Protestantism and Evangelical Churches in Colombia: Belief System and Religious Popular Practice'), *Metodos.Revista de Ciencias Sociales* Vol. 2 Issue 1: 105–117.
- Bejarano, J. A. (1985) *Economía y Poder (Economy and Power)*. Bogotá, Colombia: SAC.
- Bello, W. F., S. Cunningham and B. Rau (1994) *Dark Victory: The United States, Structural Adjustment, and Global Poverty*. London: Pluto.
- Beltrán, W. M. (2012) 'Descripción Cuantitativa de la Pluralización Religiosa en Colombia' ('Quantitative Description of Religious Pluralization in Colombia'), *Universitas Humanística*. No. 73, 201–237. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogota
- Beltrán, W. M. (2013) 'Política, Cristianos y Diversidad Religiosa en Colombia' ('Politics, Christians and Religious Diversity in Colombia'), *RazonPublica*. Accessed 20 September 2016 <<http://www.razonpublica.com/index.php/politica-y-gobierno-temas-27/3715-politica-cristianos-y-diversidad-religiosa-en-colombia.html>>.
- Berthélemy, J.-C. and R. Lensink (1992). *An Assessment of the Brady Plan Agreements*. Paris: Working Paper, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. Accessed 16 November 2016 <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/an-assessment-of-the-brady-plan-agreements_615827578321>. [new.sourceoecd.org/vl=1390441/cl=138/nw=1/rpsv/workingpapers/18151949.html](http://www.new.sourceoecd.org/vl=1390441/cl=138/nw=1/rpsv/workingpapers/18151949.html)>.
- Bleakley, H., P. Saavedra, B. F. Jaramillo, F. Aportela and N. Madrid (2003) 'Perspectivas. Análisis de Temas Críticos para el Desarrollo Sostenible' ('Perspectives. Analysis of Critical Issues for Sustainable Development'), *Revista Perspectivas* 1(2): 1-140. CAF, Caracas, Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://scioteca.caf.com/handle/123456789/188>>.
- Bogdanowicz-Bindert, C. A. (1986) 'The Debt Crisis: The Baker Plan Revisited', *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 28(3): 33–45.
- Bolaños, J. O., J. C. Botero, C. A. A. Calderón and R. R. Martínez (2011) 'Sistema de Salud en Colombia: 20 Años de Logros y Problemas' ('Health System in Colombia: 20 Years of Achievements and Problems'), *Ciência & Saúde de Coletiva* 16: 2817–2828.
- Bonnet, R. J., P. A. Peña, B. C. Arbelaez and P. A. Ramirez (2015) *Historia del Consejo Gremial Nacional (History of the National Guild Council (1st edn))*. Colombia: Fundación Empresaria. <<http://www.cgn.org.co/documentos/pdf/publicacion/30-anos-consejo-gremial.html#p=4>>.

- Botero, D. I. R. (2007) *20 Años de la Descentralización en Colombia: Presente y Futuro: Memorias (20 Years of Decentralization in Colombia: Present and Future: Memories)*. Bogotá : Red de Iniciativas para la Gobernabilidad, la Democracia y el Desarrollo Territorial
- Bourdieu, P. (1980) 'Le Capital Social: Notes Provisoires', *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 31: 2–3.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). 'The Forms of Capital' In Richardson, J. G. (Ed.) (1986). *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. New York, Greenwood. 241-58.
- Bourdieu, P. (2012) 'Le Capital Social Notes Provisoires', *Ideas Económicas Et Sociales*: 63–65.
- Brunie, A. (2009) 'Meaningful Distinctions within a Concept: Relational, Collective, and Generalized Social Capital', *Social Science Research* 38: 251–265.
- Buchel, A. (2011) *Three Essays on the Concept, Measurement, and Consequences of Social Capital*. PhD dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg. <<http://hdl.handle.net/1993/4911>>.
- Buiter, W. and T. N. Srinivasan (1987) 'Rewarding the Profligate and Punishing the Prudent and Poor: Some Recent Proposals for Debt Relief', *World Development Journal* 15(3): 411–417.
- Burt, R. S. (1982). *Toward a Structural Theory of Action: Network Models of Social Structure, Perception, and Action*. New York: Academic Press.
- Burt, R. S. (1995). *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bussolini, J. (2010) 'What is a Dispositive?', *Foucault Studies* 10: 85–107.
- Caicedo, D. (1954) *Viento Seco: Novela (Dry Wind: Novel)*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Nuestra América.
- Camacho, A., A. Hoyos, A. Camacho and E. Conover (2013) *Effects of Colombia's Social Protection System on Workers' Choice between Formal and Informal Employment*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank. <<http://proxy.library.carleton.ca/login?url=http://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/book/10.1596/1813-9450-6564>>.
- Camacho, G. A. (1977) *La Organización Social de la Centralización del Capital en Colombia (The Social Organization of the Centralization of Capital in Colombia)*. Cali, Research Report, Universidad del Valle Depto. de Publicaciones.
- Cámara de Comercio de Cali (2010) 'Código de Ética y Buen Gobierno Corporativo de la Cámara de Comercio de Cali. Resolución No. 1 de 2010'

- (‘Code of Ethics and Good Corporate Governance of the Cali Chamber of Commerce. Resolution No. 1 of 2010’). <<http://www.ccc.org.co/file/2011/02/codigo-etica-buen-gobierno1.pdf>>.
- Canclini, N. G. (1990) *Culturas Híbridas: Estrategias para Entrar y Salir de la Modernidad (Hybrid Cultures: Strategies to Enter and Quit Modernity)*. México, D. F.: Grijalbo.
- Cano, C. G., M. P. Esguerra, N. García, J. L. Rueda and A. M. Velasco (2014) ‘Inclusión Financiera en Colombia’ (‘Financial Inclusion in Colombia’). Working Paper, Banco de la República (2 May). <http://www.banrep.gov.co/sites/default/files/eventos/archivos/sem_357.pdf>.
- Cano, M. G., C. Peñaranda and J. J. Romero (2007) ‘Encuesta de Mercado del Crédito Informal en Colombia’. Informe Final (‘Informal Credit Market Survey in Colombia. Final report’). Research Report, Econometría S.A. (1 October). Accessed 16 November 2016 <<https://es.scribd.com/doc/85625172/Estudio-Credito-Informal>>.
- Capera L. and A. Gómez (2011) ‘Un Índice de Bancarización para Colombia’. Reporte De Estabilidad Financiera (‘A Banking Index for Colombia ’. Financial Stability Report’), Report, Banco de la República (September), Bogotá
- Cardenas, M. and A. Badel (2003) ‘La Crisis de Financiamiento Hipotecario en Colombia: Causas y Consecuencias’ (‘The Mortgage Financing Crisis in Colombia: Causes and Consequences’). Working Paper 500, Washington, DC: Research Department, Inter-American Development Bank. <<http://hdl.handle.net/10419/87982>>.
- Castaño, G., N. Uribe, S. Aramburo and M. Restrepo (2014) *Barras Bravas en el Fútbol: Consumo de Drogas y Violencia (Barras Bravas in Football: Drug Use and Violence)*. Medellín, Columbia: Fundación Universitaria Luis Amigó. <http://www.funlam.edu.co/uploads/fondoeditorial/Barras_Bravas.pdf>.
- Castiglione, D., J. W. V. Deth and G. Wolleb (2008) *The Handbook of Social Capital*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Catrillon, C. F. (1995). *El Concordato y la Constitución de 1991: Historia de una Transgresión del Derecho (The Concordat and the Constitution of 1991: History of a Law Transgression)*. Santafé de Bogotá : San Pablo.
- Castro, I., J. L. Galan and S. Bravo (2014) ‘Entrepreneurship and Social Capital: Evidence from a Colombian Business Incubator’, *Innovar* 24: 91–

100. <http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0121>.
- Comisión Nacional de Reparación y Conciliación (2013) '¡Basta Ya! Colombia: Memorias de Guerra y Dignidad' ('Enough Already! Colombia: Memories of War and Dignity'). Report, Centro de Memoria Histórica. Bogotá
- Chambers, R. (2006) 'What is Poverty? Concepts and Measures'. Report, UNDP - International Poverty Centre. Brasília Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://www.ipc-undp.org/pub/IPCPovertyInFocus9.pdf>>.
- Chengke, Y. and J. Du (2013) 'A Literature Review of the Effects of Social Capital From the Personal Network Perspective', *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 4(12):251-259
- Coleman, J. S. (1988) *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Coleman, J. S. (1994) *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Collier, P. (1998) 'Social Capital and Poverty'. Working Paper 4, Washington, D.C.: Social Development Family, Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network.
- Collier, S. J. (2009) 'Topologies of Power: Foucault's Analysis of Political Government beyond "Governmentality"', *Theory, Culture & Society* 26: 78–108.
- Colmenares, G. (1983) *Sociedad y Economía en el Valle del Cauca (Society and Economy in the Valle del Cauca)*. Universidad del Valle Bogotá : Talleres Gráficos Banco Popular.
- Colombia (1991) *Constitución Política de Colombia, 1991 (Political Constitution of Colombia, 1991)*. Bogotá, Colombia: Presidencia de la República.
- Comisión Económica para América Latina (CEPAL) (2010) 'Panorama Social de América Latina 2008' ('Social Panorama of Latin America 2008'). Report, United Nations Pubns. <<http://www.cepal.org/es/publicaciones/panorama-social-nde-america-latina-2008>>.
- Comisión Económica para América Latina (2010) 'Panorama Social de América Latina 2008' ('Social Panorama of Latin America 2008'). Report, United Nations Pubns. <<http://www.cepal.org/es/publicaciones/panorama-social-de-america-latina-2008>>.

- Carrizosa, A. V. (n.d.) 'Concordato entre la Republica de Colombia y la Santa Sede' ('Concordat between the Republic of Colombia and the Holy See'). <<https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/1709870.pdf>>
- CONFECAMARAS (2001) *Régimen Legal de las Cámaras de Comercio (Legal Regime of Chambers of Commerce)*. Legal Rule, CONFECAMARAS. Accessed 9 May 2016 <<http://ccamazonas.org.co/documentos/Regimen.pdf>>.
- Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia (CGT) (2014) 'Informe de Derechos Humanos y Registro de Casos de Sindicalistas Víctimas CGT a Mayo 2014' ('Human Rights Report and Register of Cases of CGT Victims Trade Unionists to May 2014') Report, CGT. Accessed 16 November 2016 <[http://www.cgtdelcolombia.org/proyectounioneuropea/images/1_Imagenes/Informe%20DDHH%20CGT-CGT \(2014\) pdf](http://www.cgtdelcolombia.org/proyectounioneuropea/images/1_Imagenes/Informe%20DDHH%20CGT-CGT%20(2014).pdf)>.
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (1958) 'Ley 19 de 1958 (Noviembre 25) – Diario Oficial No. 29,835 de 9 de Diciembre de 1958: El Congreso de Colombia "Sobre Reforma Administrativa"' ("On Administrative Reform"). Law .Accessed 5 June 2016 <http://www.icbf.gov.co/cargues/avance/docs/ley_0019_1958.htm>.
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (1986) 'Ley 11 de 1986 (Enero 15): Por la cual se dicta el Estatuto Básico de la Administración Municipal y se ordena la participación de la comunidad en el manejo de los asuntos locales' (By which the Basic Statute of the Municipal Administration is dictated and the participation of the community in the handling of local affairs is ordered). Law Accessed 5 June 2016 <<http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=9130>>.
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (1991) 'Ley 21 de 1991 (Marzo 4): Por medio de la cual se aprueba el Convenio número 169 sobre pueblos indígenas y tribales en países independientes, adoptado por la 76a. reunión de la Conferencia General de la O.I.T., Ginebra 1989' ('By means of which Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries was adopted, adopted by the 76th. General Conference of the ILO, Geneva 1989'). Law Accessed 5 June 2016 <<http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=37032>>.
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (1993a) 'Ley 70 de 1993 (Agosto 27): "Por la cual se desarrolla el artículo transitorio 55 de la Constitución Política. El Congreso de Colombia"' ("By which is developed the transitional article 55 of the Political Constitution. The Congress of

- Colombia”). Law Accessed 5 June 2016 <<http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=7388>>.
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (1993b) ‘Ley 99 De 1993 (Diciembre 22): Por la cual se crea el Ministerio del Medio Ambiente, se reordena el Sector Público encargado de la gestión y conservación del medio ambiente y los recursos naturales renovables, se organiza el Sistema Nacional Ambiental, SINA, y se dictan otras disposiciones’ (For which the Ministry of the Environment is created, the Public Sector in charge of the management and conservation of the environment and renewable natural resources is reorganized, the National Environmental System (SINA) is organized’). Law Accessed 10 November 2016 <<http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=297>>.
- Congreso de la Republica de Colombia (1993c) ‘Ley 100 1993: Por la cual se crea el sistema de seguridad social integral y se dictan otras disposiciones’ (‘Law 100 1993: By which the integral social security system is created and other provisions are dictated’). Law Accessed 5 June 2016 <http://www.secretariasenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/ley_0100_1993_pr005.html>.
- Congreso de la Republica de Colombia (1994a) ‘Ley 130 de 1994: Por la cual se dicta el estatuto básico de los partidos y movimientos políticos, se dictan normas sobre su financiación y la de las campañas electorales y se dictan otras disposiciones’ (‘Law 130 of 1994: By which the basic statute of the parties and political movements is dictated, rules are dictated on their financing and that of the electoral campaigns and other dispositions dictate’). Law Accessed 4 November 2016 <<http://senado.gov.co/images/stories/pdfs/LEY1301994CONGRESODELAREPUBLICA.pdf>>.
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (1994b) ‘Ley 133 de 1994: Por la cual se desarrolla el derecho de libertad religiosa y de cultos, reconocido en el artículo 19 de la Constitución Política’ (‘Law 133 of 1994: By which the right of religious freedom and of worship is developed, recognized in article 19 of the Political Constitution’). Accessed 4 November 2016 <<http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=331>>
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (1994c) ‘Ley 136 (2 de Junio): Por la cual se dictan normas tendientes a modernizar la organización y el funcionamiento de los municipios’ (‘Law 136 (June 2): By which rules are laid down to modernize the organization and operation of municipalities’). Accessed 4 November 2016 <http://www.secretariasenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/ley_0136_1994.html>.

- Congreso de la República de Colombia (1997) 'Ley 375 de Julio 4 de 1997: Por la cual se crea la ley de la juventud' ('Law 375 of July 4 of 1997: By which the law of the youth is created'). Accessed 4 November 2016 <http://www.mineducacion.gov.co/1621/articles-85935_archivo_pdf>.
- Congreso de la Republica de Colombia (2000) 'Ley 617 of 2000'. <<http://www.constitucioncolombia.com/titulo-2/capitulo-2/articulo-50>>.
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (2001a) *Legislación Deportiva: Ley 181 de 1995: Decretos Leyes y Sus Decretos Reglamentarios (Sports Legislation: Law 181 of 1995: Decrees Laws and their Regulatory Decrees)*. Colombia: Kinesis. Law Accessed 4 November 2016 <http://www.mineducacion.gov.co/1621/articles-85919_archivo_pdf.pdf>
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (2001b) 'Ley 675 del 2001: Por Medio de la Cual se Expide el Régimen de Propiedad Horizontal' ('Law 675 of 2001: By means of which the Horizontal Property Regime is Issued'). Accessed 4 November 2016 <<http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=4162>>.
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (2002) 'Ley 743 "Por la cual se desarrolla el artículo Constitución Política de Colombia en lo referente a los organismos de acción comunal"' ('Law 743 "By which the article Constitution Political of Colombia is developed in regard to the organisms of communal action"'). Accessed 4 November 2016 <<http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=5301>>
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (2003) 'Ley 850 DE 2003 (Noviembre 18): Por Medio de la Cual se Reglamentan las Veedurías Ciudadanas' ('Law 850 of 2003 (November 18): By means of which the Citizen Veedurías are Regulated'). Accessed 4 November 2016 <<http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=10570>>.
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (2008) 'Ley 1257 de 2008 (Diciembre 04) "Por la cual se dictan normas de sensibilización, prevención y sanción de formas de violencia y discriminación contra las mujeres"' ('Law 1257 of 2008 (December 04) "By which rules of sensitization, prevention and sanction of forms of violence and discrimination against women are dictated"'). Accessed 4 November 2016 <<http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=34054>>.
- Congreso de la Republica de Colombia (2012a) 'Ley 21 de 1991: Declaración de las Naciones Unidas Sobre los Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas' ('Law 21 of 1991: Declaration of the United Nations on the Rights of

- Indigenous Peoples’). Accessed 4 November 2016 <<http://www.opiac.org.co/pueblos-ind%C3%ADgenas/legislacion.html?download=14:ley-21-de-1991>>
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (2012b) ‘Ley 1151 (Julio 6): Por la Cual se Dictan Normas Para Modernizar la Organización y el Funcionamiento de los Municipios’ (‘Law 1151 (July 6): By Which Rules Are Made to Modernize the Organization and Functioning of Municipalities’). Accessed 8 June 2016 <<http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=48267>>.
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (2013) ‘Ley 1618 de 2013: Por Medio de la Cual se Establecen las Disposiciones para Garantizar el Pleno Ejercicio de los Derechos de las Personas con Discapacidad’ (‘Law 1618 of 2013: By means of which provisions are established to guarantee the full exercise of the rights of persons with disabilities’). Accessed 8 June 2016 <<http://wsp.presidencia.gov.co/Normativa/Leyes/Documents/2013/LEY%201618%20DEL%2027%20DE%20FEBRERO%20DE%202013.pdf>>.
- Congreso de la República de Colombia (2014) ‘Fortalecimiento de Gobernabilidad de las Cámaras de Comercio’ (‘Act 1721 11th July 2014 – Commerce Chambers’ Governance Strengthening’). Accessed 8 June 2016 <<http://bibliotecadigital.ccb.org.co/handle/11520/13621>>.
- Cornwall, A. and K. Brock (2005) ‘What do Buzzwords do for Development Policy? A Critical Look at ‘Participation’, ‘Empowerment’, and ‘Poverty Reduction’’, *Third World Quarterly* 26: 1043–1060.
- Cornwall, A. and D. Eade (2010) *Deconstructing Development Discourse: Buzzwords and Fuzzwords*. Rugby, Warwickshire, UK: Practical Action Pub.
- Corporación Andina de Fomento-CAF (2003) *Capital Social Clave para una Agenda Integral del Desarrollo*. Report, CAF. Caracas. <<http://site.ebrary.com/id/10169388>>.
- Corporación Latinobarómetro (2004) ‘Latinobarómetro’. <http://library.princeton.edu/catalogs/restricted/latinobarometro.php>
- Corte Constitucional de Colombia (2000) ‘Sentencias C-602/00’. <http://www.secretariasenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/c-602_2000.html>.
- Corte Constitucional de Colombia (2000) ‘Sentencias y C-1147/00’. <<http://corteconstitucional.gov.co/relatoria/2000/C-1147-00.html>>.
- Cuéllar, M. M. (2000) *Colombia, un Proyecto Inconcluso: Valores, Instituciones y Capital Social (Colombia, an Unfinished Project: Values, Institutions and Social Capital)*. Bogotá, Colombia: Universidad Externado de Colombia.

- Curiel, E. B. M. and J. L. R. Ruiz (2014) 'El Capital Social en los Resguardos Indígenas Wayuu del Municipio de Riohacha (La Guajira - Colombia)' ('The Social Capital in the Wayuu Indigenous Reserves of the Municipality of Riohacha (La Guajira - Colombia)'), *Revista Colombiana de Ciencias Sociales* 5(1): 39–54.
- Dasgupta, P. and I. Serageldin (2000) *Social Capital: A Multifaceted Perspective*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- De Botero, B. L. (1990) *Las Juntas Administradoras Locales (The Local Administrative Boards)*. Medellín: Biblioteca Jurídica Diké.
- Deleuze G. (1992) 'What is a Dispositive?', in T. J. Armstrong *Michel Foucault, Philosopher: Essays Translated from the French and German*, pp.159-168. New York: Routledge. <<http://www.no-w-here.org.uk/what%20is%20dispositif.pdf>>
- Demirguc-Kunt, A., L. Klapper, D. Singer and P. Van Oudheusden (2015) 'The Global Findex Database 2014: Measuring Financial Inclusion around the World'. Policy Research Working Paper 7255. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE) (n.d.) 'La Visibilizarían Estadística de Los Grupos Étnicos Colombianos' ('The Statistical Visibility of Colombian Ethnic Groups') Accessed 16 November 2016 <https://www.dane.gov.co/files/censo2005/etnia/sys/visibilidad_estadistica_etnicos.pdf>.
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE) (2007) 'Encuesta de Cultura Política' ('Political Culture Survey'). Accessed 16 November 2016 <http://www.dane.gov.co/files/investigaciones/ecpolitica/Presen_ECP_07.pdf>
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE) (2008) 'Encuesta de Cultura Política' ('Political Culture Survey'). Accessed 16 November 2016 <http://www.dane.gov.co/files/comunicados/cp_ecp_08.pdf>.
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE) (2009) 'Metodología Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares' ('Great Integrated Household Survey Methodology'). Accessed 4 July 2013 <http://www.dane.gov.co/files/investigaciones/fichas/Gran_encuesta_integrada_hogares.pdf>.
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE) , and Misión para el Empalme de las Series de Pobreza, Desempleo y Desigualdad (MESEP) (2012) 'Pobreza Monetaria en Colombia: Nueva Metodología y

- Cifras 2002-2010' ('Monetary Poverty in Colombia: New Methodology and Figures 2002-2010'). <http://www.dane.gov.co/files/noticias/Pobreza_nuevametodologia.pdf>.
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE) (2013) 'Valle del Cauca: Pobreza Monetaria 2011' ('Valle del Cauca: Monetary Poverty 2011'). <http://www.dane.gov.co/files/investigaciones/condiciones_vida/pobreza/boletin_pobreza_valle_2011.pdf>.
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE) (2013) 'Encuesta de Cultura Política' ('Political Culture Survey').
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE) (2010) 'Encuesta Anual Manufacturera – EAM 2008' ('Annual Manufacturing Survey - EAM 2008'). Report, DANE. Bogotá, D.C. <http://www.dane.gov.co/files/investigaciones/boletines/eam/bolet_eam_2008def.pdf>.
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE) (n.d.) 'Necesidades Básicas Insatisfechas -NBI-' ('Unsatisfied Basic Needs - UBN-'). <<https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/pobreza-y-condiciones-de-vida/necesidades-basicas-insatisfechas-nbi>>.
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE) (n.d.) 'Información Estadística' ('Statistical Information'). Accessed 8 March 2012 <http://www.dane.gov.co/censo/files/resultados/NBI_total_municipios_30_Jun_2011.pdf>.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación (DNP) (1991) 'La Revolución Pacífica: 1991-1994 Plan Nacional De Desarrollo' ('The Peaceful Revolution: 1991-1994 National Development Plan'). Presidencia de la República de Colombia. <<https://www.dnp.gov.co/Plan-Nacional-de-Desarrollo/Paginas/Planes-de-Desarrollo-anteriores.aspx>>
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación (DNP) (1995) 'El Salto Social: Plan Nacional de Desarrollo: Ley de Inversiones, 1994-1998' ('The Social Leap: National Development Plan: Investment Law, 1994-1998'). Presidencia de la República de Colombia. <<https://www.dnp.gov.co/Plan-Nacional-de-Desarrollo/Paginas/Planes-de-Desarrollo-anteriores.aspx>>.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación (DNP) (1998) *Cambio para Construir la Paz: 1998-2002 Bases* (*Change to Build Peace: 1998-2002 Bases*). National Development Plan, Presidencia de la República de Colombia:
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación (DNP) (2003) *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, 2002-2006: Hacia un Estado Comunitario* (*National Development Plan, 2002-2006: Towards a Community State*). Bogotá, D.C., Colombia: Departamento Nacional de Planeación.

- Departamento Nacional de Planeación (DNP) (2006a) *Estado Comunitario: Desarrollo para Todos: Bases del Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, 2006-2010 (Community Status: Development for All: Basis of the National Development Plan, 2006-2010)*. Bogotá, Colombia: Departamento Nacional de Planeación.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación (DNP) (2006b) *Hacia una Colombia Equitativa e Incluyente: Informe de Colombia, Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio. (Towards Equitable and Inclusive Colombia: Report of Colombia, Millennium Development Goals)*. Bogotá: Departamento Nacional de Planeación, Acción Social, Naciones Unidas.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación (DNP) (2010) 'Política Nacional para el Fortalecimiento de Los Organismos de Acción Comunal: Documento Conpes 3661: Consejo Nacional de Política Económica y Social' ('National Policy for the Strengthening of Community Action Agencies: Document Conpes 3661: National Council of Economic and Social Policy'). Government Regulation, DNP. Bogotá. May.
- Díaz, B. Y., R. C. A. Salazar and R. P. Pinzon (2013) 'Multidimensional Poverty in Colombia, 1997 – 2010', ISER Working Paper Series 2013-03. Colchester: Institute for Social and Economic Research. <<http://hdl.handle.net/10419/91688>>.
- Dill, A. (2015) *What is Social Capital 2015 – A Review*. Lausanne: Basel Institute of Commons and Economics.
- Durlauf, S. N. (1999) 'The Case "against" Social Capital', *Focus* 20(3): 1–5.
- Durkheim, E. (1964) *The Division of Labor in Society*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.
- Durstón, J. (2000) *¿Qué es el Capital Social Comunitario? (What is Community Social Capital?)* Santiago: Naciones Unidas, CEPAL.
- Durstón, J. (2002) *El Capital Social Campesino en la Gestión del Desarrollo Rural: Díadas, Equipos, Puentes y Escaleras (The Peasant Social Capital in Rural Development Management: Dates, Teams, Bridges and Stairs)*. Santiago, Chile: CEPAL, Naciones Unidas.
- Durstón, J. W. and F. Miranda (2001) *Capital Social y Políticas Públicas en Chile: Investigaciones Recientes (Social Capital and Public Policies in Chile: Recent Research)*. Santiago de Chile: CEPAL, División de Desarrollo Social.
- Durstón, J. W. and D. Duhart (2003) *Formación y Pérdida de Capital Social Comunitario Mapuche: Cultura, Clientismo y Empoderamiento en dos Comunidades, 1999-2002 (Formation and Loss of Mapuche Community Social Capital: Culture, Clientelism and Empowerment in Two Communities, 1999-2002)*. Santiago de Chile: Naciones Unidas, CEPAL, División de Desarrollo Social.

- Easterly, W. R. (2001) *The Effect of IMF and World Bank Programmes on Poverty*. Helsinki: United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research.
- Echavarría, J. J., C. Rentería and R. Steiner (2010) 'Decentralization and Bailouts in Colombia'. Working Paper Inter-American Development Bank <<http://www.iadb.org/en/publications/publication-detail,7101.html?id=4548>>.
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) (2002) 'Social Panorama of Latin America 2000-2001'. Santiago, Chile: United Nations, CEPAL.
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (2007) 'A System of Indicators for Monitoring Social Cohesion in Latin America'. Santiago, Chile: United Nations, ECLAC.
- Escorcía, J. (1983) *Sociedad y Economía en el Valle del Cauca: Desarrollo Político, Social y Económico, 1800-1854 (Society and Economy in Valle del Cauca: Political, Social and Economic Development, 1800-1854)* (vol 3) . Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular.
- Escuela Nacional Sindical (ENS) (2015) 'Informe No. 8 Nacional del Trabajo Decente' ('Decent Work National Report No. 8'). <<http://www.ens.org.co/index.shtml?apc=Na--;4;-;&x=20171494>>.
- Escuela Nacional Sindical (ENS) (2016) 'Sistema de Información Laboral y Sindical' Reporte a Diciembre de 2014 ('Labor and Trade Union Information System') Report, ENS. Medellín
- El Meridiano* (2011) 'Diferencias entre las Juntas Administradoras Locales y las Juntas de Acción Comunal' ('Differences between Local Governing Boards and Community Action Boards'), 27 November. <<http://www.registraduria.gov.co/descargar/jac-jal.pdf>>
- El País* (2011) 'Préstamos que Exprimen a Los Caleños Gota a Gota' ('Loans that Squeeze Los Caleños Drop to Drop'), 12 June. Accessed 26 September 2016 <<http://www.elpais.com.co/elpais/economia/prestamos-exprimen-calenos-gota-gota>>.
- El País* (2013) 'Colombia, Segundo País en Latinoamérica con Más Créditos Informales' ('Colombia, Second Country in Latin America with More Informal Credit'), 21 June. Accessed 26 September 2016 <<http://www.elpais.com.co/elpais/economia/noticias/colombia-segundo-pais-latinoamerica-con-creditos-informales>>.
- El País* (2015) 'Quedaron Definidas las JAL de las 22 Comunas de Cali' ('The JAL of the 22 Communes of Cali were defined'), 6 November.

<<http://www.elpais.com.co/elpais/elecciones-2015/noticias/quedaron-definidas-jal-22-comunas-cali>>.

El País (2016) '16 Preguntas para Entender Cómo Funcionan la Juntas de Acción Comunal' ('16 Questions to Understand How Community Action Boards Work'), 5 April. <<http://www.elpais.com.co/elpais/cali/noticias/16-preguntas-para-entender-como-funcionan-juntas-accion-comunal>>.

El Tiempo (1997) 'JAL, Proceso que se ha Politizado' ('JAL, Process that has been politicized'), 16 October. <<http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-691241>>.

El Tiempo (2010) 'Ministerio de Educación Aclara Cómo Deben Funcionar Ssociaciones de Padres en Colegios' ('Ministry of Education Clarifies How Parent Teacher Associations Should Work'), 19 June. Accessed 7 November 2016 <<http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-7762845>>.

Gómez, A. E. and J. Giraldo (2014) *Oro Como Fortuna: Instituciones, Capital Social y Gobernanza de la Minería Aurífera Colombiana (Gold as a Fortune: Institutions, Social Capital and Governance of the Colombian Aurífero Mining)*. Medellín: Colciencias - Universidad EAFIT

Farr, J. (2004) 'Social Capital: A Conceptual History', *Political Theory* 32: 6–33.

Feldman, T. R. and S. Assaf (1999) *Social Capital: Conceptual Frameworks and Empirical Evidence: An Annotated Bibliography*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank; Social Development Family; Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Network.

Ferragina, E. (2009) 'Social Capital and Equality: Tocqueville's Legacy'. *The Tocqueville Review/La revue Tocqueville*, vol. 31 no. 1, 2010, pp. 73-98 <<http://www.lisproject.org/publications/liswps/515.pdf>>.

Ferreira, F. H. G. and M. Meléndez (2012) *Desigualdad de Resultados y Oportunidades en Colombia 1997-2010 (Inequality of Outcomes and Opportunities in Colombia 1997-2010)*. Bogotá, Colombia: Universidad de los Andes.

Ferro, M. A. S. (2002) *La Política Social: 1998-2002 (Social Policy: 1998-2002)*. Santafé de Bogotá: Consejo Presidencial para la Política Social.

Ferroni, M. A. and A. Mody (2002) *International Public Goods: Incentives, Measurement, and Financing*. Boston, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Figarella, D. and A. Zamora (2006) 'El Poder del Conocimiento. Activos de Conocimiento y Capital Social' ('The Power of Knowledge. Knowledge and Social Capital Assets'). Serie Activos de Conocimiento, Caracas: CAF. <<http://scioteca.caf.com/handle/123456789/449>>.

- Figueredo, L. H. A. (2009) *La Consulta Previa a Grupos Étnicos en Colombia: Compendio de Legislación, Jurisprudencia y Documentos de Estudio (The Prior Consultation on Ethnic Groups in Colombia: Compendium of Legislation, Jurisprudence and Study Documents)*. Government Report, Ministerio del Interior y de Justicia, República de Colombia, Bogotá, D.C.
- Figueroa, H. (2010) 'Historiografía Sobre el Protestantismo en Colombia. Un Estado del Arte, 1940-2009' ('Historiography on Protestantism in Colombia. A State of the Art, 1940-2009'), *Anuario colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 37(1): 191–225. Accessed 4 November 2016 <<http://www.revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/achsc/article/view/18377/39639>>.
- Fine, B. (1999) 'The Developmental State is Dead: Long Live Social Capital?', *Development and Change* Vol 30, Issue 1, pp: 1-19
- Fine, B. (2002) 'They F**k You Up Those Social Capitalists', *Antipode* 34(4): 796–799.
- Finol, K. (2010) *Estado de Desarrollo de las Organizaciones Deportivas en Colombia. (State of Development of Sports Organizations in Colombia)*. Medellín: Universidad de Antioquia. <https://www.worldcat.org/title/estado-de-desarrollo-de-las-organizaciones-deportivas-en-colombia/oclc/777072404&referer=brief_results>.
- Foucault, M. (1977) 'Le Jeu de Michel Foucault', interview with D. Colas, A. Grosrichard, G. Le Gaufey, J. Livi, G. Miller, J. Miller, J.-A. Miller, C. Millot, G. Wajeman, *Bulletin Périodique du Champ Freudien* 10: 62–93. <<http://1libertaire.free.fr/MFoucault158.html>>.
- Foucault, M., D. Defert, F. Ewald and J. Lagrange (2001) *Dits et Écrits, 1954-1988* (vol 2). Paris: Gallimard.
- Foucault, M., F. Ewald, A. Fontana and M. Senellart (2012) *Du Gouvernement des Vivants: Cours au Collège de France, 1979-1980*. Paris, Ecole de Haut Etudes en Science Sociales -EHESS
- Franco, A. and L. M. Barros (2015) 'El Liderazgo Carismático Religioso como Elemento Fundamental en la Permanencia del Movimiento Independiente de Renovación Absoluta (MIRA) en el Panorama Electoral Colombiano (2000-2014) (Charismatic Religious Leadership as a Fundamental Element in the Permanence of the Independent Movement for Absolute Renewal (MIRA) in the Colombian Electoral Panorama (2000-2014)'. Research Report, Facultad de Ciencia Política y Gobierno. <<http://repository.urosario.edu.co/handle/10336/11770>>.

- Fulkerson, G. M. and G. H. Thompson (2008) 'The Evolution of a Contested Concept: A Meta-Analysis of Social Capital Definitions and Trends (1988-2006)', *Sociological Inquiry* Vol 78, Issue 4: 536–557.
- Fundación Natura (2015) 'Comunicado a la Opinión Pública' ('Press Release'), 24 June. Accessed 10 November 2016 <<http://www.natura.org.co/generales/organizaciones-ambientales-condenan-atentados-contra-el-ambiente-en-colombia.html>>.
- Fusulier, B. and P. Lannoy (1999) 'Comment «amé nager par le management»', *Hermès: Cognition, Communication, Politique* Vol 25, Issue 3: 179–198.
- Galvis L. A. (2012) 'Informalidad Laboral en las Áreas Urbanas de Colombia' ('Labor Informality in the Urban Areas of Colombia'). Working Paper, Banco de la República. <<http://www.banrep.gov.co/sites/default/files/publicaciones/archivos/DTSER-164.pdf>>.
- García, G. and L. Daniela (2013) 'Clientelismo Político ¿Desviación de la Política o Forma de Representación? Estado del arte Sobre las Aproximaciones al Clientelismo en Colombia 1972-2012' ('Political Clientelism Deviation from the Policy or Form of Representation? State of the art About the Approaches to Clientelism in Colombia 1972-2012'). Dissertation, Facultad de Ciencia Política y Gobierno. <<http://repository.urosario.edu.co/handle/10336/4863>>.
- Garay, S. L. J. (2008) *La Captura y Reconfiguración Cooptada del Estado en Colombia*. Bogotá: Método. <http://nuevo.moe.org.co/home/doc/moe_mre/CD/Otros%20mapas%20y%20documentos/Captura%20y%20Reconfiguraci%F3n%20Cooptada%20del%20Estado%20Colombiano.pdf>.
- Garay, S. L. J. and C. O. Escobar (2002) *Colombia, Entre la Exclusión y el Desarrollo: Propuestas para la Transición al Estado Social de Derecho (Colombia, Between Exclusion and Development: Proposals for the Transition to the Social State of Law)*. Bogotá: Contraloría General de la República.
- Gehring, H. (ed.) (2014) *Partidos Políticos en Colombia: Evolución y Prospectiva (Political Parties in Colombia: Evolution and Prospective)*. Colombia: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.
- George, S. (1988) *A Fate Worse than Debt*. New York: Grove Press.
- González, F. E. (1993) 'El Concordato de 1887: Los Antecedentes, las Negociaciones y el Contenido del Tratado con la Santa Sede' ('The Concordat of 1887: The Background, Negotiations and Content of the Treaty with the Holy See'), *Revista Credencial Historia* No. 41, pp:1-7.

Accessed 4 November 2016 <<http://www.banrepultural.org/node/32783>>.

- Granovetter, M. (1983) *The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited*. Albany: Department of Sociology, State University of New York.
- Griesshaber, N. (2014) 'Forms of Civic Engagement and Corruption: Disentangling the Roles of Voluntary Associations, Elite challenging Mass Movements and the Type of Trust within Social Networks', *World Values Research* 7(1): 1–23.
- Grootaert, C. (1998) 'Social Capital: The Missing Link?'. Working Paper 3. Washington, D.C.: World Bank; Social Development Family, Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network.
- Grootaert, C. (2004) 'Measuring Social Capital: An Integrated Questionnaire'. Working Paper 18. Washington, D.C.: World Bank. <<http://site.ebrary.com/id/10052013>>.
- Grootaert, C. and T. van Bastelaer (2001) 'Understanding and Measuring Social Capital: A Synthesis of Findings and Recommendations from the Social Capital Initiative'. Working Paper 4. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Grootaert, C. and T. van Bastelaer (2002a) *Understanding and Measuring Social Capital: A Multidisciplinary Tool for Practitioners*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Publications. <<http://site.ebrary.com/id/10023667>>.
- Grootaert, C. and T. van Bastelaer (2002b) *The Role of Social Capital in Development an Empirical Assessment*. New York: Cambridge University Press. <<http://site.ebrary.com/id/10070312>>.
- Guerrero, A., J. F. Chávez, R. F. Iunes, H. Conroy, J. Ramos, A. Cusato, T. Fontes and V. Espinoza (2012) 'Evaluación del Programa de País: Colombia (2007-2010)' ('Evaluation of the Country Program: Colombia (2007-2010)'). Public document published by the Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, D.C. <<http://www.iadb.org/en/publications/publication-detail,7101.html?id=59226>>.
- Guevara, F. D. A. and Gómez, M. R. (2006) 'Mercado de Trabajo, Subempleo, Informalidad y Precarización del Empleo: Los Efectos de la Globalización' ('Labor Market, Underemployment, Informality and Precarization of Employment: The Effects of Globalization'), *Revista Economía Y Desarrollo* Vol 5, Issue1: 95–131.
- Guhl, E. and P. Leyva (2015) *La Gestión Ambiental en Colombia, 1994-2014 ¿un Esfuerzo Insostenible? (Environmental Management in Colombia, 1994-2014 an Unsustainable Effort?* Bogotá: Friedrich-bert-Stiftung en Colombia.

- Gutierrez, S. F. G. (n.d.) 'Gobernabilidad, Cultura Política y Democracia Participativa Anexo D: Clientelismo, Política y Participación' ('Governance, Political Culture and Participatory Democracy Annex D: Clientelism, Policy and Participation'). Working Paper, Instituto de Estudios Urbanos. <http://institutedeestudiosurbanos.info/dmdocuments/cendocieu/coleccion_digital/Cultura_Ciudadana/Clientelismo_Politica_Participacion-Gutierrez_Francisco-.pdf>.
- Guzman, A. (2007) *Violencia, Criminalidad y Exclusion (Violence, Crime and Exclusion)*. Cali: Universidad del Valle, CIDSE.
- Guzmán, C. G., O. Fals-Borda and E. U. Luna (2005) *La Violencia en Colombia (Violence in Colombia)*. Bogotá: Taurus.
- Haan, A. D., O'Brien, D., J. Wilkes, and S. Maxwell (1998) 'Poverty and Social Exclusion in North and South'. IDS Working Paper 55, Sussex: Institute of Development Studies and Poverty Research Unit .
- Hanifan, L. J. (1916) 'The Rural School Community Center', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 67(1): 130–138. <<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/77312019.html>>.
- Harper, R. (2001) 'Social Capital: A Review of the Literature'. Social Analysis and Reporting Division Office for National Statistics, UK (October).
- Haynes, P. (2009) 'Before Going Any Further with Social Capital: Eight Key Criticisms to Address' Working Paper N° 2009/02. Valencia: Institute of Innovation and Knowledge Management. <<http://hdl.handle.net/10261/14203>>.
- Hernández, C. A. and P. C. Amarillo (2013) *Consulta Previa: La explotación de los Recursos Naturales y Su Incidencia en los Grupos Étnicos Nacionales (Previous Consultation: The Exploitation of Natural Resources and Its Impact on National Ethnic Groups)*. Bogotá, Colombia: Universidad Libre.
- Hernández, F. (2004) 'El Sindicalismo en Colombia: Implicaciones Sociales y Políticas' ('Syndicalism in Colombia: Social and Political Implications'), PhD Thesis. Bogotá: Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas Departamento de Derecho Laboral, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. <<http://www.javeriana.edu.co/biblos/tesis/derecho/dere6/DEFINITIVA/TESIS29.pdf>>.
- Hernandez, J. (2007) 'Inclusión y Exclusion Política en el Valle del Cauca, 1986-2007' ('Inclusion and Political Exclusion in the Valle del Cauca, 1986-2007'). Research Report, CIDSE. Cali: Universidad del Valle.
- Herrera, C. (2004) 'La Dinámica del Capital Social en Colombia' ('The Dynamics of Social Capital in Colombia'), *Observatorio de la Economía*

- Latinoamericana* No. 33: 1-38 <<http://www.eumed.net/cursecon/ecolat/co/>>.
- Herrera, S. J. H. (2007) 'Sistematización Diplomado en Estructuras y Funciones de las Juntas Administradoras Locales' ('Systematization Diplomado in Structures and Functions of the Local Administrative Boards'), Master's dissertation. Pereira: Facultad de Educación Universidad Tecnológica de Pereira. <<http://repositorio.utp.edu.co/dspace/bitstream/11059/1022/1/323042H557s.pdf>>
- Hills, J., J. Le Grand and D. Piachaud (2002) *Understanding Social Exclusion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hindess, B. (2005) 'Politics as Government: Michel Foucault's Analysis of Political Reason', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* Vol. 30, Issue 4: 389–413.
- Hopkin, J. (2006) 'Conceptualizing Political Clientelism: Political Exchange and Democratic Theory'. Paper prepared for APSA annual meeting, Philadelphia (31 August–3 September). <<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.503.5516&rep=rep1&type=pdf>>
- Hurtado, D., D. M. García and A. Copete (2013) *Las Vicisitudes Del Capital Social De Colombia (The Vicissitudes Of Colombia's Social Capital)*. Bogotá: Fundación Antonio Restrepo Barco.
- Institute of Development Studies (IDS) (2001) *A Foresight and Policy Study of the Multilateral Development Banks: Prepared for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden*. Stockholm: The Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.
- Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) (2012) 'Colombia: IADB Country Strategy 2012-2014'. Technical Report, IDB. Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://www.iadb.org/en/countries/colombia/country-strategy,1022.html>>.
- Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) (1998) *The Path Out of Poverty: The Inter-American Development Bank's Approach to Reducing Poverty*. Washington, D.C.: IDB, Sustainable Development Department.
- Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) (2003) 'Country Program Evaluation: Colombia (1990-2002)'. RE 280. Washington D.C.: Office of Evaluation and Oversight. Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=320624>>
- Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) (2007) 'Country Program Evaluation: Colombia (1998-2006)'. RE 337. Washington D.C.: Office of

- Evaluation and Oversight. Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://www.iadb.org/en/publications/publication-detail,7101.html?id=67104>>.
- Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) (2011) 'Evaluación del Programa de País: Colombia (2007-2010)' ('Evaluation of the Country Program: Colombia (2007-2010)'). Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Development Bank. Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://www.iadb.org/en/publications/publication-detail,7101.html?id=59226>>.
- International Financial Corporation (IFC) (2015) 'Supporting Financial Inclusion in Colombia'. Accessed 28 October 2016 <http://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/news_ext_content/ifc_external_corporate_site/news+and+events/news/supporting+financial+inclusion+in+colombia>.
- International Financial Corporation (2012) 'Estudio de Demanda de Servicios Financieros Móviles Transformacionales en Colombia' ('Study of Demand for Transformational Mobile Financial Services in Colombia'). Research Report, Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad de España. Accessed 28 October 2016 <<http://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/1f79fb804eef94809389db3eac88a2f8/Estudio+de+demanda+SFM+en+Colombia.pdf?MOD=AJPERES>>.
- Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Random House.
- Jaramillo, B. F. and M. T. Szawer (2003) *Capital Social Clave para una Agenda Integral de Desarrollo (Social Capital: A Key for an Integral Development Agenda)*. Caracas: Unidad de Publicaciones de la CAF.
- Jaramillo, L., A. M. Gil, M. Yaruro and E. Gómez (2014) 'Reporte de la Situación Actual del Microcrédito en Colombia' ('Report on the Current Situation of Microcredit in Colombia'). Technical Report, Banco de la República (June). Accessed 16 November 2016 <http://www.banrep.gov.co/docum/Lectura_finanzas/pdf/rem_jun_2014.pdf>.
- Joseph, J. (2010) 'Poverty Reduction and the New Global Governmentality', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 35(1): 29–51. <<http://www.jstor.org.bd.univalle.edu.co/stable/40645277>>.
- Kalmanovitz, S. (1994). *Economía y Nación: Una Breve Historia de Colombia (Economy and Nation: A Brief History of Colombia)*. Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores.
- Kauter, S. K. (2004) 'Recesión y Recuperación de la Economía Colombiana' ('Recession and Recovery of the Colombian Economy'), *Nueva Sociedad*: 98–116.

- Kessler, F. (2006) 'Notes on Dispositive'. Work presented at the Utrecht Media Research Seminar, Universiteit Utrecht (May). <<http://www.let.uu.nl/~Frank.Kessler/personal/notes%20on%20dispositif.PDF>>.
- Kindler, M., V. Ratcheva and M. Piechowska (2015) 'Social networks, social capital and migrant integration at local level. European literature review'. IRiS Working Paper Series No. 6/2015. Birmingham: Institute for Research into Superdiversity. <<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-social-sciences/social-policy/iris/2015/working-paper-series/IRiS-WP-6-2015.pdf>>.
- Kleber, S. M. A. (n.d.) 'El Derecho de los Pueblos Indígenas a la Consulta Previa' ('The Right of the Indigenous Peoples to the Previous Consultation'). *Actualidad Jurídica* No. 1: 25-33 <<http://www.uninorte.edu.co/documents/4368250/4488390/El+derecho+de+los+pueblos+ind%C3%ADgenas+a+la+consulta+previa>>.
- Klikberg, B. (1999a) 'Capital Social y Cultura, Claves Esenciales del Desarrollo' ('Social Capital and Culture, Essential Keys to Development'), *Revista De La CEPAL*. No. 69:85-102
- Klikberg, B. (1999b) 'Hacia una Gerencia Social Eficiente. Algunas Cuestiones Clave' ('Towards an Efficient Social Management. Some Key Issues'), *Revista Mexicana De Ciencias Políticas Y Sociales* Vol. 44, No.175: 15-29.
- Klikberg, B. (2000) 'Capital Social y Cultura: Claves Olvidadas del Desarrollo' ('Social Capital and Culture: Forgotten Development Keys'). Working Paper, Inter American Development Bank - IDB, Washington, DC. <http://www.iadb.org/intal/aplicaciones/uploads/publicaciones/e_INTAL_DD_07_2000_klikberg.pd>.
- Klikberg, B. (2002a) *Hacia una Economía con Rostro Humano (Towards an Economy with a Human Face)*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Klikberg, B. (2002b) 'Hacia una Nueva Vision de la Política Social en America Latina: Desmontando Mitos' ('Towards a New Vision of Social Policy in Latin America: Dismantling Myths'), *Revista Economía Y Desarrollo* Vol.1, No. 2:13-41
- Klikberg, B. and A. Sen (2007) *Primero la Gente: Una Mirada Desde la Ética del Desarrollo a los Principales Problemas del Mundo Globalizado (First People: A Look from the Ethics of Development to the Main Problems of the Globalized World)*. Bilbao: Ediciones Deusto.

- Koniordos, S. (2008) 'Social Capital Contested', *International Review of Sociology* Vol. 18, No. 2: 317–337.
- Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (n.d.) 'Elecciones Regionales 2007'(Regional Elections 2007). Accessed 4 November 2016 <<http://www.kas.de/kolumbien/es/pages/5057/>>.
- Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (2010) '25 Años de la Descentralización en Colombia' ('25 Years of Decentralization in Colombia').
- Ladrón De Guevara, A. D. (1999) 'Clientelismo, Intermediación y Representación Política en Colombia: Que ha Pasado en los Noventa?' ('Clientelism, Intermediation and Political Representation in Colombia: What Has Happened in the Nineties?'), *Estudios Políticos* No.15: 61–78.
- Landazury, R. C. and M. M. S. Rodríguez (2009) 'Colombia: Capital Social, Movilización Social y Sostenibilidad del Desarrollo en el Cauca' ('Colombia: Social Capital, Social Mobilization and Development Sustainability in the Cauca'), *Revista De La Cepal (Santiago De Chile)*: No. 99: 151–173. Diciembre
- Latin American Public Opinion Project (2010) 'La Cultura Política De La Democracia En Colombia, 2009' ('The Political Culture of Democracy in Colombia, 2009'). Bogotá: United States Agency For International Development -USAID. <<http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/colombia/2009-culturapolitica.pdf>>.
- Laverde, J. (2013) 'El "Pacto Cristiano" que Enreda a Roy Barreras' ('The "Christian Pact" that mixes up Roy Barreras'), *El Espectador* 11 April. <<http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/judicial/el-pacto-cristiano-enreda-roy-barreras-articulo-415240>>.
- Leal, B. F. (1989) 'El Sistema Político del Clientelismo' ('The Political System of Clientelism'), *Análisis Político*. No.8:8-32
- Le Grand, J. (1986) 'Inequalities in Health and Health Care: A Research Agenda', in R. Wilkinson (ed) *Class and Health: Research and Longitudinal Data*, pp. 115–124. Tavistock, London, UK: Routledge.
- Leguizamo, C. (2002) *Reflexiones Sobre el Proceso de paz del Gobierno de Andrés Pastrana y las FARC-Ep, 1998-2002 (Reflections on the peace process of the Government of Andres Pastrana and the FARC-Ep, 1998-2002)*. Santafé de Bogotá: Departamento Nacional de Planeación
- Leibovich, J., O., M. Nigrinis and M. Ramos (2006) 'Caracterización del Mercado Laboral Rural en Colombia' ('Characterization of the Rural Labor Market in Colombia'), *Revista Del Banco De La República* Vol.79, No. 947:16-75

- Lenoir, R. (1989) *Les Exclus: Un Français sur dix*. Paris: Seuil.
- Lewins, A. and C. Silver (2007) *Using Software in Qualitative Research: A Step-by-Step Guide*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Llano, A. H. (2006) *Análisis Impertinentes: Reflexiones Sobre Política y Ética en la Colombia Contemporánea (Impertinent Analysis: Reflections on Politics and Ethics in Contemporary Colombia)*. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.
- Llano, J. J. (2003) 'El Movimiento Comunal en Colombia' ('The Communal Movement in Colombia'). Report, Alcaldía de Medellín.
- Li, T.M. (2007) 'Governmentality', *Anthropologica* 49(2): 275–281. <www.jstor.org/stable/25605363>.
- Lin, N. (2001) *Social Capital: a Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511815447>>.
- Lin, N., K. S. Cook and R. S. Burt (2001) *Social Capital: Theory and Research*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Lombo, T. R. (2006) 'Estabilizar Las Cuencas Hidrográficas, Una Tarea Indispensable' ('Stabilizing Water Basins, An Indispensable Task'). Inaugural Lecture, Sociedad Geográfica de Colombia, Bogota. <http://www.sogeocol.edu.co/documentos/cuen_hidro.pdf>.
- López, J. D. (2014) 'Misiones Protestantes en Colombia 1930-1946. Geografía y Política de la Expansión Evangélico-Pentecostal' ('Protestant Missions in Colombia 1930-1946. Geography and Politics of Evangelical-Pentecostal Expansion'), *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 41: 65–103.
- López, M. M. C. (2000) 'Es Perverso el Capital Social en Colombia' ('The Social Capital in Colombia is Perverse'), *Economía Colombiana Y Coyuntura Política (Santafe De Bogota)*: 25–43.
- López, P. R. A. (2008) *Análisis Sobre el Movimiento Político-Religioso MIRA y su Crecimiento en Bogotá. (Analysis on the Political-Religious Movement MIRA and its Growth in Bogotá)*. PhD dissertation, Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Relaciones Internacionales, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. <<https://repository.javeriana.edu.co/bitstream/handle/10554/865/pol145.pdf?sequence=1>>.
- Lora, E. (2001) 'Structural Reforms in Latin America: What has been Reformed and How to Measure it'. Working paper 445. Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank. <<http://www.iadb.org/res/publications/pubfiles/pubWP-445.pdf>>.

- Loury, G. (1977) 'A Dynamic Theory of Racial Income Differences', in P. A. Wallace and A. M. Lamond (eds) *Women, Minorities, and Employment Discrimination*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.
- Lustig, N., E. Ortiz-Juarez, N. Lustig and L. F. Lopez-Calva (2013) *Deconstructing the Decline in Inequality in Latin America*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank. <<http://proxy.library.carleton.ca/login?url=http://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/book/10.1596/1813-9450-6552>>.
- Martínez, J. E. (2013) 'El Dispositivo: Una Grilla de Análisis en la Visibilización de las Subjetividades' ('The Device: A Grid of Analysis in the Visualization of Subjectivities'), *Tabula Rasa*: 79–99.
- Martz, J. D. (1996) *The Politics of Clientelism: Democracy & the State in Colombia*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers. <https://books.google.com.co/books?id=t6Ut1VRrAiIC&pg=PR7&hl=es&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- Marx, K. (1978) *El Capital* (The Capital). México: Editores Mexicanos Unidos.
- Mayer, M. and K. N. Rankin (2002) 'Social Capital and (Community) Development: A North/South Perspective', *Antipode* 34: 804–808.
- Meadowcroft, J. and M. Pennington (2007) *Rescuing Social Capital from Social Democracy*. London: Institute of Economic Affairs.
- Meier, G. M. and J. E. Stiglitz (2001) *Frontiers of Development Economics: The Future in Perspective*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Mejía, J. A. and R. Vos (1997) *Poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean: An Inventory, 1980-95*. Washington, D.C.: Integration and Regional Programs Dept., Inter-American Institute for Social Development, Inter-American Development Bank.
- Michigan State University and United Nations (2003) *Capital Social y Reducción de la Pobreza en América Latina y el Caribe: En Busca de un Nuevo Paradigma*. Santiago, Chile: CEPAL.
- Ministerio de Educación Nacional (MEN) (1961) 'Decreto Negro 1003 de 1961 (Mayo 8): Por el Cual se Crean las Asociaciones de Padres de Familia' ('Black Decree 1003 of 1961 (May 8): By which the Parent Associations are created'). Accessed 7 November 2016 <http://www.mineducacion.gov.co/normatividad/1753/articles-103678_archivo_pdf.pdf>.
- Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1994) 'Ley General de Educación: Ley 115 de 1994' ('General Education Law: Law 115 of 1994'). Bogotá.

- Ministerio de Educación Nacional (2005) 'Decreto No 1286: Por el Cual se Establecen Normas Sobre la Participación de los Padres de Familia en el Mejoramiento de los Procesos Educativos de los Establecimientos Oficiales y Privados, y se Adoptan Otras Disposiciones (27 de Abril)' ('Decree No. 1286: Establishing Norms Concerning the Participation of Parents in Improving the Educational Processes of Official and Private Establishments, and Adopting Other Provisions (April 27)'). <<http://www.acodesi.org.co/es/images/stories/legislacion/Decreto-1286-de-Abril-25-de-2005.pdf>>.
- Ministerio de Educación Nacional (2007) '¿Cómo Participar en los Procesos Educativos de la Escuela?' ('How to Participate in the School's Educational Processes?') *Cartilla para Oadres de Familia* 25. <http://www.mineducacion.gov.co/1759/articles-120646_archivo_pdf.pdf>.
- Ministerio del Interior (n.d.) 'Organizaciones Participación Ciudadana' ('Citizen Participation Organizations'). <<http://www.mininterior.gov.co/mision/direccion-para-la-democracia-participacion-ciudadana-y-accion-comunal/participacion-ciudadana/organizaciones-participacion-ciudadana>>.
- Ministerio del Interior Republica de Colombia (1998) 'Decreto 1319 de 1998: Por el Cual se Reglamenta Parcialmente la Ley 133 de 1994' ('Decree 1319 of 1998: By which is partially Regulated Law 133 of 1994'). Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://www.mininterior.gov.co/la-institucion/normatividad/decreto-1319-de-1998>>
- Ministerio del Interior (2013) 'Consulta Previa Un Derecho De Los Grupos Étnicos' ('Prior Consultation A Law Of Ethnic Groups'). <http://www.upme.gov.co/Memorias%20Convocatoria%20Redes%20de%20Alto%20Voltaje/MININTERIOR_CONSULTA-PREVIA.pdf>.
- Ministerio del Interior Republica de Colombia (2015) 'Libertad Religiosa y de Cultos Ámbitos de Aplicación Práctica Desde la Constitución, la ley y la Jurisprudencia' ('Religious Freedom and Worship Areas of Practical Application Since the Constitution, Law and Jurisprudence'). Grupo de Asuntos Religiosos, Bogota. <http://www.mininterior.gov.co/sites/default/files/libro_def_2015_25_01_2015_1_mmm.pdf>.
- Ministerio del Interior (2016) 'Organizaciones de Acción Comunal (OAC)' ('Community Action Organizations (CAO)'). Accessed 5 June 2016 <<http://www.mininterior.gov.co/mision/direccion-para-la-democracia-participacion-ciudadana-y-accion-comunal/accion-comunal/organizaciones-de-accion-comunal-oac>>.

- Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (MRE) (1887) *El Concordato Colombiano de 1887 (The Colombian Concordat of 1887)*. Bogotá, Cancillería de la República de Colombia. Accessed 5 November 2016 <<http://apw.cancilleria.gov.co/Tratados/adjuntosTratados/VA-31-12-1887.PDF>>.
- Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (1974) *Concordato Entre la Republica de Colombia y la Santa Sede y Su Protocolo Final 1973 (Concordat Between the Republic of Colombia and the Holy See and its Final Protocol 1973)*. Bogotá, Colombia. Accessed 5 November 2016 <<http://apw.cancilleria.gov.co/Tratados/adjuntosTratados/VA-12-07-1973.PDF>>.
- Ministerio de Salud y Protección Social. Instituto Nacional de Salud. Observatorio Nacional de Salud. (MSPS-INS-ONS) (2013) 'Segundo Informe' ('Second Report'). Accessed 16 November 2016 <<https://www.minsalud.gov.co/sites/rid/Lists/BibliotecaDigital/RIDE/IA/INS/Segundo%20informe%20ONS.pdf>>.
- Misión para el Diseño de una Estrategia para la Reducción de la Pobreza y la Desigualdad (MERPD). 'Incidencia Del Gasto Público Social Sobre La Distribución Del Ingreso Y La Reducción De La Pobreza' ('Incidence of Social Public Expenditure on Income Distribution and Poverty Reduction') Accessed 16 November 2016 <http://www.banrep.gov.co/sites/default/files/eventos/archivos/IncidenciadelGPS_0.pdf>.
- Misión de Observación Electoral (MOE) (2007) 'Elecciones Regionales Colombia, Octubre 28 de 2007' ('Regional Elections Colombia, October 28, 2007'). Accessed 4 November 2016 <http://moe.org.co/home/doc/moe_internacional/Cobertura%20MOE.pdf>.
- Mkandawire, P. T. (2005) *Targeting and Universalism in Poverty Reduction*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Molyneux, M. (2002) 'Gender and the Silences of Social Capital: Lessons from Latin America', *Development and Change* Vol.33, No. 2:167-188
- Montenegro, A. and P. C. E. Posada (2001) *La Violencia en Colombia (Violence in Colombia)*. Bogota D.C., Colombia: Alfaomega.
- Murcia, P. A. (2007) 'Determinantes del Acceso al Crédito de los Hogares Colombianos' ('Determinants of the Access to Credit of Colombian Homes'), *Ensayos Sobre Política Económica* 25: 40–83.
- Narayan-Parker, D. (1999) *Bonds and Bridges: Social Capital and Poverty*. Washington, DC: World Bank, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network, Poverty Division.
- Nichter, S. (2014) 'Conceptualizing Vote Buying', *Electoral Studies* 35: 315–327.

- Nieto, M. L. (2005) '*El Derecho a la Libertad Religiosa y de Cultos en la Legislación Colombiana*' ('*The Right to Religious Freedom and Cults in Colombian Legislation*'). Dissertation, Facultad de Ciencias Políticas Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogota. <<http://www.javeriana.edu.co/biblos/tesis/derecho/dere7/DEFINITIVA/TESIS%2013.pdf>>.
- North, D. C. (1990) *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- North, D. C. (1991) 'Institutions', *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 5(1): 97–112. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/194270>>.
- Novoa, A. (2011) '20 Años de la Constitución Política de Colombia' ('20 Years of the Political Constitution of Colombia'), *El Tiempo* 16 June. <http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/ARTICULO-WEB-NEW_NOTA_INTERIOR-9648565.html>.
- Observatorio del Programa Presidencial de los Derechos Humanos y Derecho Internacional Humanitario (2005) 'Movimiento Sindical en Colombia' ('Trade Union Movement in Colombia'), *Boletín Temático* 6. <<http://www.acnur.org/t3/uploads/media/1005.pdf?view=1>>.
- Observatorio Nacional de Salud. (n.d.) 'Análisis de Mortalidad por Lesión de Causa Externa en Colombia' ('Analysis of Mortality from External Cause Injury in Colombia') in C. A. C. Orjuela *Mortalidad 1998-2011 y Situación de Salud en los Municipios de Frontera Terrestre en Colombia* (pp. 57–88). Bogotá: Observatorio Nacional de Salud.
- Ocampo, J. A. (1987) *Historia Económica de Colombia (Economic History of Colombia)* Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.
- Ocampo, J. A. (2008) 'Tema Central - 3521 Las Concepciones de la Política Social: Universalismo versus Focalización' ('Central Theme - 3521 The Conceptions of Social Policy: Universalism versus Focus'), *Nueva Sociedad* 215(36).
- Olaya, A. (2012). *La violencia contra los movimientos sindicales vista desde el sector educación y salud (Violence against trade union movements seen from the education and health sector)*. Bogota, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung en Colombia. <<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/kolumbien/09151.pdf>>.
- Olaya, A., H. Pedraza and A. T. S. Olaya (2012) *La Violencia Contra los Movimientos Sindicales Vista Desde el Sector Educación y Salud (Violence Against Trade Union Movements View From the Education and Health Sector)*. Bogotá : Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung en Colombia.
- Olson, M. (1965) *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

- Olson, M. (1982) *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Ordoñez, B. L. A. (1995) *Industrias y Empresarios Pioneros, Cali 1910-1945 (Industries and Pioneer Entrepreneurs, Cali 1910-194)*. Santiago de Cali: Editorial Facultad de Humanidades.
- Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia (2011) 'El Derecho Fundamental a la Consulta Previa de los Pueblos Indígenas en Colombia' ('The Fundamental Right to the Prior Consultation of Indigenous Peoples in Colombia'). Report, Bogotá, D.C.
- Orfale, R. F. N. (2009) 'Las Juntas Administradoras Locales en Colombia' ('The Local Administrative Boards in Colombia'). Working Paper, Facultad de Derecho, Universidad Libre, Barranquilla.
- Orfale, R. F. N. (2011) 'Las juntas administradoras locales: balance y perspectivas en Colombia en los 20 años de la Constitución' ('Local management boards: balance and perspectives in Colombia in the 20 years of the Constitution') *Justicia* Vol. 16, No. 20:72- 81
- Ortiz, I. and M. Cummins (2011) 'Global Inequality: Beyond the Bottom Billion'. *UNICEF*, p. 26.
- Ortiz, C. H., J. I. Uribe and G. A. Garcia (2007) 'Informalidad y Subempleo: Un Modelo Probit Bivariado Aplicado al Valle del Cauca' ('Informality and Underemployment: A Bivariate Probit Model Applied to Valle del Cauca'), *Sociedad Y Economía: Revista De La Facultad De Ciencias Sociales Y Económicas*: 103–130.
- Ortiz, C. and J. Uribe (2007) 'Exclusión Social en el Mercado Laboral del Valle del Cauca: Desempleo y Calidad del Empleo 2001 – 2006' ('Social Exclusion in the Labor Market of Valle del Cauca: Unemployment and Quality of Employment 2001 – 2006'). Working Paper, Universidad del Valle, CIDSE, Cali.
- Ostrom, E. and T. K. Ahn (2003) *Foundations of Social Capital*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Pub.
- Ostrom, E. and T. K. Ahn (2003) 'Una Perspectiva del Capital Social Desde las Ciencias Sociales: Capital Social y Acción Colectiva' ('A Perspective of Social Capital From the Social Sciences: Social Capital and Collective Action'), *Revista Mexicana De Sociología* 65: 155–233.
- Paldam, M. and G. T. Svendsen (1999) *Is Social Capital an Effective Smoke Condenser?: An Essay on a Concept Linking the Social Sciences*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, Social Development Family, Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network.

- Parales, Q. C.J. and R. P. Giléde (2012) 'Violencia y Desarrollo Social: Más Allá de una Perspectiva de Trauma' ('Violence and Social Development: Beyond a Trauma Perspective'), *Universitas Psychologica* 11: 255–267.
- Paredes, M. (2006) 'Microfinanzas y Bancarización' ('Microfinance and Bankarization'), *Revista Javeriana* 709: 66–71.
- Pécaut, D. (1973) *Política y Sindicalismo en Colombia (Politics and Trade Unionism in Colombia)*. Bogotá: La Carreta.
- Pécaut, D. (1987) *Orden y Violencia: Colombia 1930-1954 (Order and violence: Colombia 1930-1954)*. Bogotá: CEREC.
- Pérez, G. N. (2011). 'El Sistema de Partidos Colombiano Hoy. Partidos y Representación en el Congreso Después de la Reforma de 2003' ('The Colombian Party System Today. Parties and Representation in Congress After the 2003 Reform'), *Opera* 11: 71–85.
- Peeters, H. and P. Charlier (1999) 'Contributions à une Théorie du Dispositif', *Hermès: Cognition, Communication, Politique* 25: 15–23.
- Pinnock, A. (2007) 'New Development: The Infrastructural Aspect of Social Capital: Suggestions for a Bridge Between Concept and Policy', *Public Money & Management* 27: 345–350.
- Portes, A. (1998) 'Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology', *Annual Review Sociology* 24: 1–24.
- Portes, A. (2000) 'The Two Meanings of Social Capital', *Sociological Forum* 15(1): 1–12.
- Portafolio (2015) 'La Estrategia de los Bancos para Evitar el Gota a Gota' ('The Bank's Strategy to Avoid Drop to Drop'). Accessed 27 September 2016 <<http://www.portafolio.co/mis-finanzas/ahorro/estrategia-bancos-evitar-gota-gota-32>>.
- Portes, A. and P. Landolt (2000) 'Social Capital: Promise and Pitfalls of its Role in Development', *Journal of Latin American Studies* Vol. 32. No. 2: 529–547
- Presidencia de la República de Colombia (2003) 'Decreto 2350 de 2003: Por el Cual se Reglamenta la ley 743 de 2002' ('Decree 2350 of 2003: By which Regulates the law 743 of 2002'). <<http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=9583>>.
- Presidencia de la República de Colombia (2008) 'Decreto 890 de 2008: Por el Cual se Reglamenta la ley 743 de 2002' ('Decree 890 of 2008: By which Regulates the law 743 of 2002'). <<http://www.bucaramanga.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=9583>>.

- gov.co/documents/dependencias/DECRETO%20890%20DE%202008.pdf>.
- Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD) (2008) 'Hacia un Valle del Cauca Incluyente y Pacífico: Informe Regional de Desarrollo Humano, 2008' ('Towards an Inclusive and Pacific Valley of the Cauca: Regional Human Development Report, 2008'). Report, Cali.
- Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (2011) 'Colombia Rural Razones para la Esperanza Informe Nacional de Desarrollo Humano 2011' ('Rural Colombia Reasons for Hope National Human Development Report 2011'). Report, Bogotá (Colombia).
- Putnam, R. D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Putnam, R. D., R. Leonardi and R. Nanetti (1993) *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, R. and G. Loury (1995) 'From "I" to "WE": The Social Capital Deficit' in *The New Democrat* (p. 28–29).
- Putnam, R. D., L. M. Feldstein and D. Cohen (2003) *Better Together: Restoring the American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Quitíán, D. (2012) 'Deporte y Modernidad: Caso Colombia. Del Deporte en Sociedad a la Deportivización de la Sociedad' ('Sport and Modernity: Case of Colombia. From Sport in Society to the Deportivization of Society'), *Revista Colombiana De Sociología* 36(1): 19–42. <<http://www.revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/recs/article/view/39663>>.
- Raffnsøe, S., M. Gudmand-Hoyer and M. S. Thanning (2016) 'Foucault's Dispositive: The Perspicacity of Dispositive Analytics in Organizational Research', *Organization* 23: 272–298.
- Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil (RNEC) (n.d.) 'Diferencias Entre las Juntas Administradoras Locales y las Juntas de Acción Comunal' ('Differences Between Local Management Boards and Community Action Boards').
- Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil (2015) 'Preguntas Frecuentes Sobre Autoridades Locales en Colombia. Comunicado de Prensa 0684 de 2015' ('Frequently Asked Questions About Local Authorities in Colombia. Press Release 0684 of 2015'). Accessed 4 November 2016 <<http://www.registraduria.gov.co/Estas-son-las-preguntas-mas,18586.html>>.
- Revista Semana* (2014) 'La Iglesia y el Partido que Están en la MIRA' ('The Church and the Party that are in the MIRA'). Accessed 20 September 2016

- <<http://www.semana.com/nacion/elecciones-2014/articulo/movimiento-mira-sus-practicas-discriminatorias/371165-3>>.
- Rodriguez, D. J. (2010) 'Modelar la Concentración de la Tierra en Colombia Mediante Modelos Econométricos Espaciales' ('Modeling the Concentration of the Land in Colombia through Spatial Econometric Models'), Master's thesis. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- Rodriguez, M. D. L. A. (2008) 'Variación Estacional de la Mortalidad por Homicidio en Colombia, 1985 a 2001' ('Seasonal Variation of Mortality by Homicide in Colombia, 1985 to 2001'), *Colomb. Med. Colombia Medica* 39: 154–160.
- Roggeveen, S. and M. Van Meeteren (2013) 'Beyond Community: An Analysis of Social Capital and the Social Networks of Brazilian Migrants in Amsterdam', *Current Sociology* 61(7): 1078–1096.
- Rojas, G., J. M. and G. L. C. Castillo (1991) *Poder Local y Recomposición Campesina (Local Power and Peasant Recomposition)*. Cali: Fondo Dri-Cidse Univalle.
- Roniger, L. (2004) 'Political Clientelism, Democracy, and Market Economy', *Comparative Politics* 36: 353–375.
- Sabatini, F. (2008) 'Does Social Capital Mitigate Precariousness?'. Working Paper, Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei. <<http://hdl.handle.net/10419/40669>>.
- Sabatini, F. and F. Sarracino (2014) *Will Facebook Save or Destroy Social Capital? An Empirical Investigation into the Effect of Online Interactions on Trust and Networks*. Mannheim: GESIS.
- Sacconi, L., G. D. Antoni and B. S. Frey (2011) *Social Capital, Corporate Social Responsibility, Economic Behaviour and Performance*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Saenz, R. E. (1998) *Lecturas Críticas de Administración (Critical Management Readings)*. Bogotá, Colombia: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- Sagasti, F. R. (2002) *La Banca Multilateral de Desarrollo en América Latina (Multilateral Development Bank in Latin America)*. Santiago: Naciones Unidas; CEPAL; Unidad de Estudios Especiales; Secretaría Ejecutiva.
- Saiden, C. T. (2009). 'Bancarización: Una Aproximación al Caso Colombiano a la Luz de América Latina' ('Bankarization: An Approach to the Colombian Case in the Light of Latin America'), *Estudios Gerenciales* 25: 13–37. Accessed 26 September 2016 <<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/187761468179367706/pdf/WPS7255.pdf>>.

- Sañudo, J. E. (2001) 'El Capital Social como Apoyo a la Superación de Problemas en la Población Desplazada por la Violencia en Colombia' ('The Social Capital as Support for Overcoming Problems in the Population Displaced by Violence in Colombia'), *Investigación Y Desarrollo* 09: 514–535.
- Sarmiento, G. A. and Ramirez, G. C., (eds) (1999) *Informe de Desarrollo Humano para Colombia 1999 (Human Development Report for Colombia 1999)*. Bogotá: Tercer Mundo.
- Sánchez, I. M. (1973) 'El Nuevo Concordato entre la Santa Sede y la República de Colombia' ('The New Concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Colombia'), *Revista de Estudios Políticos* 192: 165–186. <<http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/oaiart?codigo=1709870>>.
- Sánchez De Roldán, K. (2004) *Construcción de Capital Social: La Experiencia de la Fundación Carvajal (Construction of Social Capital: The Experience of the Carvajal Foundation)*. Cali, Colombia: Universidad del Valle.
- Sánchez De Roldán, K. (2008) 'Encuesta de Capital Social e Inclusión Social para el Informe de Desarrollo Humano del Valle del Cauca' ('Survey of Social Capital and Social Inclusion for the Human Development Report of Valle del Cauca'). Research Report, Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo -PNUD, Cali, Colombia.
- Sánchez De Roldán, K. S. (2012) 'Social Exclusion, Social Cohesion: Defining Narratives for Development in Latin America', *Journal of International Development* 24: 728–744.
- Sánchez De Roldán, K. and J. Melo (2016) 'Estrategias de Responsabilidad Social y Desarrollo Nacional: Tensiones y Complejidades un Modelo Analítico' ('Strategies of Social Responsibility and National Development: Tensions and Complexities an Analytical Model'). Working Paper, Facultad de Ciencias de la Administración Universidad del Valle.
- Sarmiento, G. A. and Ramirez, G. C. (2000) 'Informe de desarrollo humano para Colombia, 2000' ('Human Development Report for Colombia, 2000'). Bogotá, Report, Departamento Nacional de Planeación, Misión Social, Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.
- Scrivens, K. and C. Smith (2013) 'Four Interpretations of Social Capital: An Agenda for Measurement'. OECD Statistics Working Papers No. 55 2013/06. OECD Publishing. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5jzbcx010wmt-en>>.
- Siegmann, K. A. and M. Blin (2006) 'The Best of Two Worlds: Between-Method Triangulation in Feminist Economic Research'. Working Paper

146. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Accessed 16 November 2016 <<http://eprints.mdx.ac.uk/6756/1/Triangulation.pdf>>.
- Silva, C. J. (1993) 'Descentralización y Modernización del Estado: La Búsqueda de la Democracia y la Eficiencia con Gerencia Pública Competitiva' ('Decentralization and Modernization of the State: The Quest for Democracy and Efficiency with Competitive Public Management'). Dissertation, Universidad Autónoma de Colombia, Sistema Universitario de Investigaciones, Bogotá, Colombia.
- Silver, H. (1994). Social exclusion and social solidarity: Three paradigms. *International Labour Review*. 133, No. 5-6:531-578
- Staveren, I. V. (2000) *A Conceptualisation of Social Capital in Economics: Commitment and Spill-over Effects*. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.
- Staveren, I. V. (2002) *Social Capital: What is in it for Feminist Economics?* The Hague, Netherlands: Institute of Social Studies.
- Staveren, I. V. and P. Knorringa (2008) *Beyond Social Capital: A Critical Approach*. New York: Routledge.
- Steiner, R. and A. Corchuelo (1999) 'Repercusiones Económicas e Institucionales del Narcotráfico en Colombia' ('Economic and Institutional Repercussions of Narcotrafficking in Colombia'), *Ensayos Sobre Economía Cafetera* 12: 113–137.
- Sudarsky, J. (1999) *Colombia's Social Capital: The National Measurement with the BARCAS*. Colombia: National Planning Office.
- Sudarsky, J. (2001) *El Capital Social de Colombia (Social capital in Colombia)*. Bogotá, Colombia: Departamento Nacional de Planeación.
- Sudarsky, J. (2007) *La Evolución del Capital Social en Colombia, 1997-2005: Los Cambios en el Capital Social (Ksocial), Confianza y Control Indirecto del Estado (Confianza) y fe en Fuentes de Información no Validadas (Fenoval) (The Evolution of Social Capital in Colombia, 1997-2005: Changes in Social Capital (Ksocial), Confidence and Indirect State Control (Trust) and faith in non-validated sources of information (Fenoval))*. Bogotá, Colombia: Fundación Antonio Restrepo Barco.
- Sudarsky, J. (2013) 'Las Vicisitudes del Capital Social en Colombia' ('The Vicissitudes of Social Capital in Colombia'). Bogotá: Fundación Restrepo Barco.
- Tarazona, A. (2010) 'Lo Cultural y lo Político del Movimiento Ambientalista Colombiano a Partir de 1990' ('Cultural and Political of the Colombian

- Environmental Movement from 1990'). Master's Dissertation, Departamento de Sociología, Universidad Nacional de Colombia. <<http://www.bdigital.unal.edu.co/2616/1/428242.2010.pdf>>.
- Tellez, A. N.(1995) 'Estimaciones Aproximadas Sobre el Impacto del Narcotrafico en la Economía Regional Valle-Caucana' ('Approximate Estimates on the Impact of Narcotrafficking in the Regional Economy of Valle-Caucana'), *Ensayos De Economía* 06: 187–207.
- Tobasura, A. I. (2007) 'Ambientalismos y Ambientalistas: Una Expresión del Ambientalismo en Colombia' ('Environmentalism and Environmentalists: An Expression of Environmentalism in Colombia'), *Ambiente & Sociedade* 10: 45–60. <<http://www.scielo.br/pdf/asoc/v10n2/a04v10n2.pdf>>.
- Tocqueville, A. D. (1951) *De la Démocratie en Amé rrique*. Paris: De Medicis.
- Tonnies, F. and J. Harris (2001) *Community and Civil Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511816260>>.
- Torres, J. O. (1984) *Có digo de Comercio de Colombia: Decreto 410 de 1971*(*Code of Commerce of Colombia: Decree 410 of 1971*). Legal Rule, Editorial Temis Librería, Bogotá, Colombia.
- Torregroza, E. and J. Santamaría (2013) 'Religio n y Polí tica en Colombia: La Transformació n de Líderes Religiosos en Líderes Polí ticos Despué s de la Constitució n de 1991' ('Religion and Politics in Colombia: The Transformation of Religious Leaders in Political Leaders After the 1991 Constitution'). Master's Dissertation, Facultad de Ciencia Polí tica y Gobierno. <<http://repository.urosario.edu.co/handle/10336/5050>>.
- Torrenegra, E. (2011) 'Colombia, the Subsidized Health-care Scheme in the Social Protection System In United Nations Development Programme', *Sharing innovative Experiences: Successful Social Protection Floor Experiences* 18: 209–238.
- Trujillo, M. A. (2009) 'Confecámaras: Cuarenta Años' ('Confecámaras: Forty years'), *El Espectador* 20 February. Accessed 15 April 2016 <<http://www.elspectador.com/columna140904-confecamaras-cuarenta-anos>>.
- Tzanakis, M. (2013) 'Social Capital in Bourdieu's, Coleman's and Putnam's Theory: Empirical Evidence and Emergent Measurement Issues', *Educate* 13. Accessed 14 July 2015 <<http://www.educatejournal.org/index.php/educate/article/view/366>>.

- Ungar E. and C. Arevalo (2004) 'Partidos y Sistemas de Partidos en Colombia hoy ¿Crisis o Reordenación Institucional?' ('Parties and Party Systems in Colombia today Crisis or Institutional Reordering?') In *Partidos Políticos en la Región Andina: Entre la Crisis y el Cambio*. Accessed 29 October 2016 <<http://www.idea.int/publications/upload/Partidos%20y%20sistemas%20de%20partidos%20en%20Colombia%20hoy.pdf>>.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2003). 'El conflicto, callejón con salida: informe nacional de desarrollo humano para Colombia – 2003' ('The conflict, alley with exit: national report of human development for Colombia – 2003'). Bogotá: Report, United Nations Development Programme.
- United Nations Development Programme (2004) *Un Pacto por la Región: Informe Regional de Desarrollo Humano (A Pact for the Region: Regional Human Development Report)*. Manizales: Report, United Nations Development Programme.
- United Nations Development Programme (2007) *Assessment of Development Results: Evaluation of UNDP Contribution*. New York, N.Y.
- United Nations Development Programme (2007) 'Technique Note on the Construction of the Indicator' in *Human Development Report 2007/2008* (p. 356). <http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_20072008_EN_Complete.pdf>.
- United Nations Development Programme (2007) 'Colombia's Ranking 75' in *Human Development Report 2007/2008* (p. 230). <http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_20072008_EN_Complete.pdf>.
- United Nations Development Programme (2007) 'Colombia's Ranking' in *Human Development Report 2007/2008* (p. 230). <http://www.pnudcolombia.org/indh2011/pdf/informe_completo_indh2011.pdf>.
- United Nations Development Programme (2008.) 'Bogotá una Apuesta por Colombia Informe de Desarrollo Humano' ('Bogotá a Bet for Colombia Human Development Report'). Report, Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD), Bogotá, Colombia. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/nationalreports/latinamericathecaribbean/colombia/IDH_2008>
- United Nations Development Programme (2011) 'Informe Nacional de Desarrollo Humano, Colombia Rural Razones para la Esperanza 2011' ('National Report on Human Development, Rural Colombia Reasons for Hope 2011'). Report, UNDP Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia. <http://pnudcolombia.org/indh2011/pdf/informe_completo_indh2011.pdf>.

- Universidad de los Andes (2010) 'El Sisben su Diseño y Evolución' ('The Sisben its Design and Evolution'), *Notas de Política* 4. <<https://egob.uniandes.edu.co/images/books/pdf/Notas%20de%20Politica%204.pdf>>
- Universidad Externado de Colombia (2004) 'Los Sindicatos en Colombia una Aproximación Microeconómica' ('The Trade Unions in Colombia a Microeconomic Approach'), *Boletín del Observatorio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social* No.7:1-39
- Uphoff, E., K. Pickett, B. Cabieses, N. Small and J. Wright (2013) 'A Systematic Review of the Relationships between Social Capital and Socioeconomic Inequalities in Health: A Contribution to Understanding the Psychosocial Pathway of Health Inequalities', *International Journal for Equity in Health* 12: 54. <<http://www.equityhealthj.com/content/12/1/54>>.
- Uribe, G. J. I. and C. H. Ortiz (2006) *Informalidad Laboral en Colombia, 1988-2000: Evolución, Teorías y Modelos (Labor Informality in Colombia, 1988-2000: Evolution, Theories and Models)*. Cali, Colombia: Programa Editorial Universidad del Valle.
- Urrea, F. (2005) 'El Desafío de la Ciudadanía Plena Frente a la Exclusión Social y la Diversidad Cultural en el Valle del Cauca' ('The Challenge of Full Citizenship in the Face of Social Exclusion and Cultural Diversity in the Valle del Cauca'), in *Cuatro Desafíos en el Desarrollo Humano en el Valle del Cauca*. Cali: PNUD.
- Urrea, F. (2007) 'Transformaciones Sociodemográficas del Departamento del Valle del Cauca, Pobreza y Exclusión Étnico-Racial' ('Sociodemographic Transformations of the Department of Valle del Cauca, Poverty and Ethnic-Racial Exclusion'). Working Paper, Universidad del Valle, CIDSE, Cali.
- Urrea, G. F. and P. Q. Quílez (2000) 'Jóvenes Negros de Barriadas Populares en Cali: Entre Masculinidades Hegemónicas y Marginales' ('Black Youth from Popular Neighborhoods in Cali: Between Hegemonic and Marginal Masculinities'). Working paper, Centro de Investigación y Documentación Socioeconómica, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y Económicas, Universidad del Valle, Cali.
- Urrutia, M. and J. N. Llano (2011) 'La Crisis Internacional y Cambiaria de fin de Siglo en Colombia' ('The International and Foreign Exchange Crisis of the End of the Century in Colombia'), *Desarrollo Y Sociedad*: 11-48.

- Valencia, L. E. (2010) 'Hacia la Modernización Orgánica y el Fortalecimiento Democrático de la Acción Comunal en Colombia' ('Towards Organic Modernization and Strengthening Democratic Democratic Strengthening of Action Communal Communal Action in Colombia'), *Administración y Desarrollo. Apuntes Institucionales* 52(38): 201–210. Accessed 5 June 2016 <<http://revistas.esap.edu.co/administracion/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/art14.pdf>>.
- Valencia, L. E. (2014) 'Plan Estratégico de la Acción Comunal en Colombia. Apuntando al Futuro: 2010-2058' ('Strategic Plan for Community Action in Colombia. Aiming at the Future: 2010-2058'), *Desde Abajo* 162. <<https://www.desdeabajo.info/ediciones/item/7971-plan-estrat%C3%A9gico-de-la-acci%C3%B3n-comunal-en-colombia-apuntando-al-futuro-2010-2058.html>>.
- Valencia, L. E. (n.d.) 'Historia, Realidad, Pensamiento y Perspectivas de la Acción Comunal en Colombia' ('History, Reality, Thought and Perspectives of Community Action in Colombia'). Accessed 5 June 2016 <<http://viva.org.co/cajavirtual/svc0168/articulo0006.pdf>>.
- Van Deth, J. W. (2003) 'Measuring Social Capital: Orthodoxies and Continuing Controversies', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 6(1): 79–92.
- Velásquez, A. V. (2004) 'El Gobierno de Alvaro Uribe. Proyecto y Resultados: Políticas, Estrategias y Doctrinas' ('The Government of Alvaro Uribe. Project and Results: Policies, Strategies and Doctrines'), *Nueva Sociedad* 192: 85–97. <<http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/oaiart?codigo=995503>>.
- Vargas, N. (2015) 'El Tejo: Deporte y Espejo de Colombia' ('El Tejo: Sport and Mirror of Colombia'), *Señal Colombia Deportes* 6 November. <<http://www.senaldeportes.tv/juegosnacionales/noticias/tejo-deporte-espejo-colombia>>.
- Vásquez, B. E. (1996) *Panorama Histórico del Desarrollo Económico Vallecaucano (Historical Panorama of the Vallecaucano Economic Development)*. Cali, Colombia: Ediciones Universidad del Valle.
- Vásquez, B. E. (2001) *Historia de Cali en el Siglo 20: Sociedad, Economía, Cultura y Espacio (History of Cali in the 20th Century: Society, Economy, Culture and Space)*. Santiago de Cali: Universidad del Valle.
- Vásquez, C. L. J. and Mantilla, C. C. (2006) *El Capital Social en Colombia: Teorías, Estrategias y Prácticas (The Social Capital in Colombia: Theories, Strategies and Practices)*.

- Strategies and Practices*). Bogotá, D.C.: Contraloría General de la República.
- Vidal, C. J. (2012) *Panorama del Sindicalismo en Colombia (Overview of Syndicalism in Colombia)*. Bogotá: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung en Colombia. <<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/kolumbien/09150.pdf>>.
- Wacquant, L. J. D. (1998) 'Negative Social Capital: State Breakdown and Social Destitution in America's Urban Core', *Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 13: 25–40.
- Welzel, C., R. Inglehart and F. Deutsch (2005) 'Social Capital, Voluntary Associations and Collective Action: Which Aspects of Social Capital have the Greatest Payoff?', *Journal of Civil Society* 1: 121–146.
- Williamson, J. (1990) *Latin American Adjustment: How Much has Happened?* Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics.
- Williamson, J. (2000) 'What Should the World Bank Think about the Washington Consensus?', *World Bank Research Observer* No.15:251-264
- Woolcock, M. (1998) 'Social Capital and Economic Development: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy Framework', *Theory and Society* 27(2): 151–208.
- Woolcock, M. and D. Narayan (2000) 'Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy', *World Bank Research Observer* No. 15:225-249
- World Bank (1994) *Colombia: Poverty Assessment Report*. Washington D.C.: World Bank
- World Bank (2016) 'Global Financial Inclusion Data Base, Colombia 2011 and 2014'. Accessed 26 September 2016 <<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/>>.
- World Values Survey (n.d.) 'Wave 3 1995-1998 Official Aggregate v.20140921'. Report, World Values Survey Association (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). Aggregate File Producer: Asep/JDS, Madrid, Spain.
- Yanow, D. (1996) *How does a Policy Mean? Interpreting Policy and Organizational Actions*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=21694>>.
- Yanow, D. (2000) *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Yanow, D. and P. Schwartz-Shea (2006) *Interpretation and Method Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe. <<http://site.ebrary.com/id/10178122>>.

Zuñiga, R. M. (2012) 'El Declive del Sindicalismo en Colombia y sus Consecuencias Frente al Conflicto Colectivo' ('The Decline of Trade Unionism in Colombia and its Consequences in the Face of Collective Conflict'), *Revista de Derecho Edición Especial*: 189–213. <<http://rcientificas.uninorte.edu.co/index.php/derecho/article/viewFile/3907/2836>>.

Curriculum Vitae

Karem Sánchez de Roldán (1962), is a Full Tenured Professor at Facultad de Ciencias de la Administración, Universidad del Valle in Cali, Colombia where is a member of the research group Humanism and Management (Colciencias A), and chairs the research line on Social Perspectives of Organizations. She pursued her doctoral studies at the International Institute of Social Studies of the Erasmus University of Rotterdam in The Hague where obtained the PhD. She holds an MSc in Sociology, Theories, and Research Methods.

The core of her research and teaching interests lies in the study of the social and cultural relationships of, and the interplay between communities, social groups and society at large, and the dominant economic ideologies shaping public policies in the Colombian and Latin American context. Specifically, her field of expertise lies in the conceptual network composed of social capital, social exclusion, social policy and corporate social responsibility.

She is the author of books, articles and research papers published in national and international peer-reviewed journals and conference proceedings. Since 2003 she has been a consultant to the Inter-American Institute for Economic and Social Development of the Inter-American Development Bank in the program Development Effectiveness, particularly in the virtual course Development and Management.

