

COLOMBIA'S SOCIAL CAPITAL THE NATIONAL MEASUREMENT WITH THE BARCAS

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The Barometer of Social Capital (BARCAS) was designed to measure Social Capital and citizen's participation in Colombia. After building up the conceptual space that should be measured, the questionnaire was pretested to externally validate its diagnostic capacities in a *Gemeinschaft* to *Amoral familist* to *Gesellschaft* variety of social formations. . The conceptual space was composed by ten dimensions: Institutional Trust, Civic Participation, Mutuality and Reciprocity, Horizontal Relationship, Hierarchy, Social Control, Civic Republicanism Political Participation, Information and Media. Two main factors were isolated: *Ksocial* and Faith in Unvalidated Sources of Information (Fusi). These two factors were studied and their result analyzed in international comparison with those in the 1995-97 World Value Survey run. Social Control over the State had the largest impact in *Ksocial*. The remaining dimensions were also studied in groups that contributed positively to *Ksocial* and negatively to Fusi, those that had a positive relationship with both and the Information and Transparency dimension positively related to Fusi. The two factors were also studied in regards to different "reservoirs" that could contain them, both in transversal institutions or the territorial disaggregates. Here civil society, although weak and traditional, had the highest content in social capital. Politics and the State were also analyzed as well as the territorial cleavages that inhibits the accumulation of social capital. The conclusion draw on the results to discuss the need to redesign some fundamental institutions to create legislative linkage and these are seen in the perspective of the continuity of the Jacobin Hispanic Catholic Tradition.

I. INTRODUCTION

Colombia was declared a Participatory Democracy by the 1991 constitutional change. To develop such premise and by recommendation of the National Planning Council- a new mechanism where Civil Society was represented- the National Planning Office decided to measure social capital (DNP, 1995). This was necessary to establish a baseline and to clarify the policies directed to its development. For that purpose the Barometer of Social Capital (BARCAS) was developed and applied. This article will explain the main methodological procedures used for its development, specially the calculation of an individual score of social capital and its components, and the implications that the results of the national survey have for the development of Social capital in Colombia and in general.

Theoretical Background

For the development of the BARCAS the available literature was reviewed (Sudarsky, 1997) to establish the "conceptual space" to be measured empirically. We started from the most abstract definition of Social Capital (Coleman, 1988, s100) but several other theoretical elements were used. Among them the literature on citizen's participation, the development of civil society, Clark's (1994) discussion of political cultures, the "NeoTocquevillian" literature and Eisenstadt and Roniger's (1981) discussion of the different models of combining regular and generalized exchange and how this determines the unit of solidarity and trust in society. Eisenstadt's discussion on the impact of different traditions on the process of modernization highlighted the importance of identifying the specific traditions from which Colombia emerges, that is the Jacobin Spanish Catholicism (Merchior, 1991, Sudarsky, 1991, 1993, Eisenstadt, 1998) and citizens as carriers of trust in universalistic societies. The use of empirical studies was also covered, especially Putnam (1993,1995), Coleman & Hoffer (1987). In the empirical sense Inglehart's work (1997) and the World Value Survey (WVS) was to be the backbone on which the BARCAS was to be built as it presented a set of questions that had been applied to societies in very different stages of development and different historical traditions. For example, the WVS had some remarkable questions, specially the "trusting others" used by Putnam (1995) as his dependent variable. This question has been applied in Italy since 1959 with only 9% of the sample responding affirmatively.

By 1990 this has risen to 35%. This allowed computing a growth rate of 5% a year, an initial benchmark to compare the growth of social capital. Additionally, Inglehart's work and the two factors classification of values in the Survival-Well being, and Traditional- Rational Secular source of authority, provided a broad canvas in which the results could be interpreted.

In the process of unpacking the concept, the following problems were detected: 1) empirical studies detected a particular instance or "reservoir" of social capital i.e.: Coleman and Hoffer educational institutions, Putnam regions in Italy. 2) In a broader sense, they suffered from a **restricted range** of social formations to arrive at conclusions i.e.: Putnam in Italy a range from Amoral Familist in the south to Civic Communities in the North that allowed him to state that no "Gemeinschaft" social formations was found there. 3) The studies implied, especially Inglehart (1995), a form of "benign" transition or, at least, did not made explicit that some of the trajectories or routes towards modern or post modern societies could imply the destruction of social capital. Thus, it was necessary to include in the BARCAS a new set of items that allowed detecting creation or destruction of social capital in very different social formations and routes and in different reservoirs.

To clarify the nature of social formations and routes that had to be registered by the BARCAS the following model was used (Sudarsky, 1988). This model combines two axes, one of "Community" and the other of "Individualism". Here the trajectory from the 3 to 1 quadrants, characterized by the intermittent modernization that leaves individuals atomized and deculturalized or as Amoral familist, is usually thought to be followed by the surge of n Achievement and economic development in the 1 to 2 quadrant route. From there, the usual trajectory (2 to 4) indicates that societies more modern, with active civil society emerges, and from there, not in the model, post material, post modern societies. Many of the more utopian but ideologically valid routes imply a transition to from the 3 to 4 quadrants. Clientelism as an example is said to socially and politically integrate individuals from the Negative Negative quadrant into 2 or 4. This model was used too externally validate the range in which the BARCAS is capable of measuring different types of Ksocial and the trajectories happening in a social formation.

| | | Visions of Individualism | |
|-----------|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | Negative | Positive |
| Community | Negative | 1. Amoral Familist (Banfield, 1958). Communal deterioration, intermittent individuation | 2. High achievement motivation, economic development, "Modernization". |
| | Positive | 3. Communal or Gemeinschaft. | 4. "Modern Civic Society" Gesellschaft |

The Community Classification Model

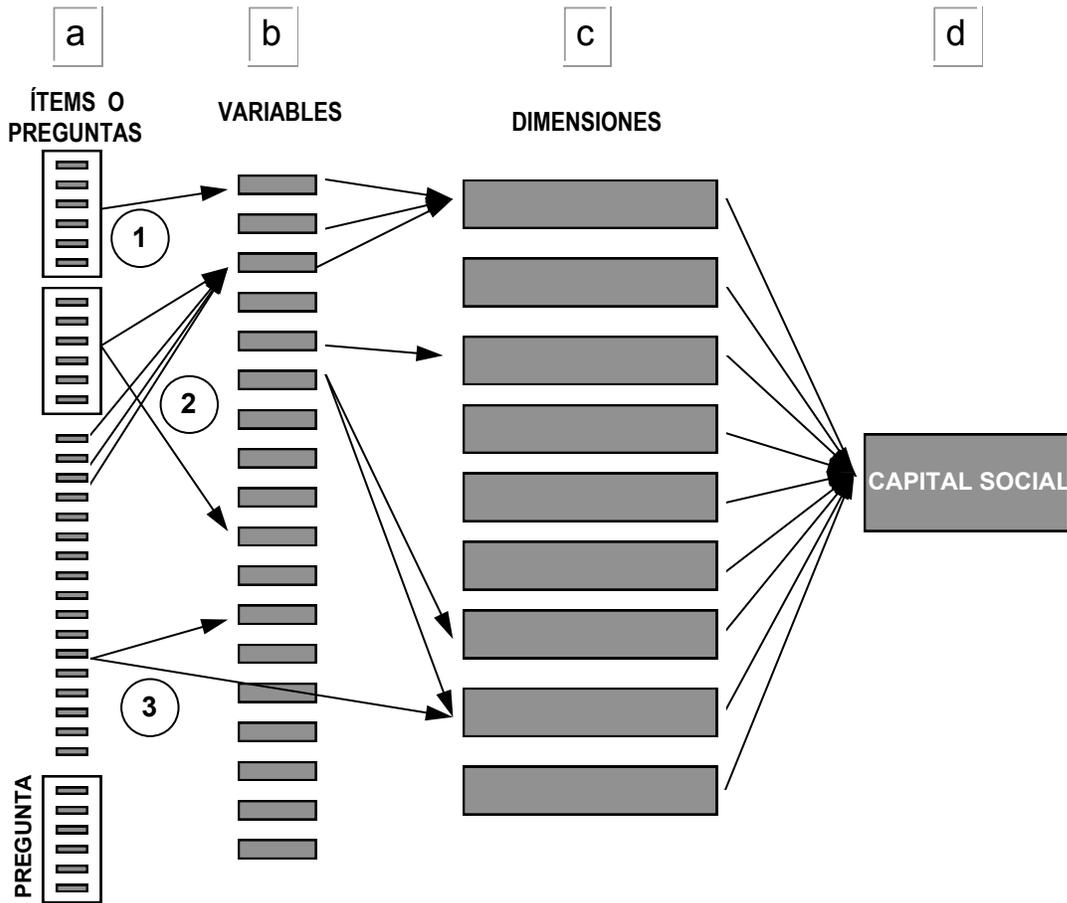
The questionnaire was designed to detect social capital in different reservoirs. These range from interpersonal relationships, to primary organizations as family, school, work, neighborhood, secondary ones as municipality and all the voluntary organizations that have been covered in the literature. It should also detect such capital in tertiary organization such as structures of interest articulation, their federations, political parties, and, more in the directions of situses (Bell, 1973), politics, economics, and information and media. Finally, it should include the different territorial aggregates from the neighborhood to the nation and society at large.

Finally, the BARCAS should balance parsimony and optimal fit, help to think about policy recommendations and become the baseline for change and evaluation of public policy in this regard.

The Model

The basic structure used to conceptualize and measure Social Capital (Figure 2) is a multilevel path model. At level (a) items and questions from the questionnaire were constructed into variables (b). These variables were aggregated into dimensions (c) and these themselves factor analyzed to determine which one of them and how they were a part of Social Capital (d).

The general procedure constructed the variables by adding items (for example, specific answers to a multiple-choice question) and checking how these items explain variables. For this, standardized regression weights (betas) of items into variable as well as the marginal explained variance of each item into a variable were checked. Some times a variable was a single question in which a scale had been theoretically as well as empirically constructed. The general **inclusion criteria** of an item was that it should add 1% of explained variance to the variable and have a beta larger than 0.05.



The General model for the Measurement of Ksocial

A similar process was used to arrive to the dimensions. Theoretical considerations lead to compose a dimension of several variables. Initially there were some dimensions that were residuals in the sense that many concepts, which did not have a clear location, were left there. Once we had data from the Pretest the variables could be shifted and new dimensions differentiated. As in the variables, one of these could be a part of several dimensions. Here again, the dimensions were calculated from the arithmetic addition of variables (some came with a negative polarity) and regressions made to check betas and marginal explained variance of each variable into a dimension. In this process it was important to let the data determine the direction and polarity of some controversial issues. For example, does Mass going inhibits Civic Participation (Putnam,

1993)? Does Clientelism increases the contribution of vertical articulation to social capital? Does Law and Order diminishes Honesty and Respect of Law (Putnam, 1993)?

As the main purpose of the initial procedure was to **compute the dependent variable Social Capital (Ksocial)** and to break the tautology implied in the calculation of dependent variables (or dimensions) by the addition of their components, exploratory Factor Analysis was performed with all the ten dimensions. The main Factor found was called **Ksocial**. The scores of each respondent on this factor were computed by the regression method available in the statistical package used to perform factor analysis. Once you had an individual score of Ksocial or other factors that could appear, in order to explain those scores with greater parsimony, regression on the dimensions was made and betas and marginal variance calculated. With this, it would be possible to explore backwards in the model the influence of each dimension and research the possibility of direct paths from the variables into Ksocial. Once the impact of specific dimension on the factors had been established, it was also possible to disaggregate the dimension and study the impact of variables. This could be repeated up to the item level. For example and hypothetically, once the impact of dimension Institutional Trust had been established with Ksocial, it was possible to disaggregate the dimension into Trust in Congress, Trust in Government and among others, Trust in Church. Once the impact of the Variable, lets say, Trust in Government had been established as a variable, it could in conjunction with other variables that had been found with an impact could also be simultaneously disaggregated into items. In our example, this was done to prove that Trust in Departmental Government is the item that has the most significant effect on Ksocial.

It was possible to study how the different reservoirs contained Ksocial, through the regression of the latter scores with appropriate scales for each of the reservoirs.

Once Ksocial would be in a **stable state** after several calculations with the Pretest data and several with the national survey, it was possible to study how the factors were related to some variables that were thought to be "produced" by abundance or absences of Ksocial (legitimacy, governability, etc.). In the same way, it would be possible to study how the different demographic and other control variables have an impact on Ksocial and to measure how this Ksocial is "contained" in the different reservoirs. With subsequent applications of the questionnaire, it will be possible to measure change and detect in which variables such change is produced. Comparisons of regions and the applicability of the general model to their social capital could then be tested.

II. PROCEDURES AND INITIAL RESULTS

To give a general overview of the procedures used and the main purpose of each research stage the following summary is presented:

| Stages | Goals |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| First: | Inclusion of questions and first version of questionnaire, redundancy and overlap. Get all the conceptual space. Operationally define variables and dimensions. Check for inclusion of enough items per reservoir. Test for applicability to illiterate respondents, affirmativity, response set and social desirability. |
| Second: | Pretest's first run: test external validity, computation of variables , dimensions, and Ksocial; explorations of reservoirs. Benchmark explained variance. Redesign of questionnaire to exclude/include items-questions and check measures of reservoirs. |
| Third: | Pretest's Second Run: Redesign of variables and dimension. Item Homogenization (a ten range for all items), differentiation of dimensions through factor analysis of subset of variables, scaling, inclusion of changes in Ksocial, recalculation, Exploration of effects of items and variables |

directly in Ksocial. Definition of some Polarities. Ksocial and reservoirs. National version of questionnaire.

- Fourth:** First National Sample Processing: correction of excesses in some scales, recalculation of variables, trimming of redundant use of items and variables in several dimensions, heightened differentiation of dimensions.
- Fifth:** Calculation of Ksocial and additional factors. Tentative theoretical implications
- Sixth:** Second calculation of Ksocial, trimming of redundancies to more precise differentiation of factors, dimensions and variables. Relationships with demographic, control and resulting variables. Display of comparative (international) results. (This study).
- Seventh:** Regional aggregate comparisons (To be completed latter).

THE PRETEST

The PRETEST was designed to externally validate the instrument and check its capacity to measure social capital in the whole range of the community classification model explained above. This was done with the following groups, chosen from the extremes of the models.

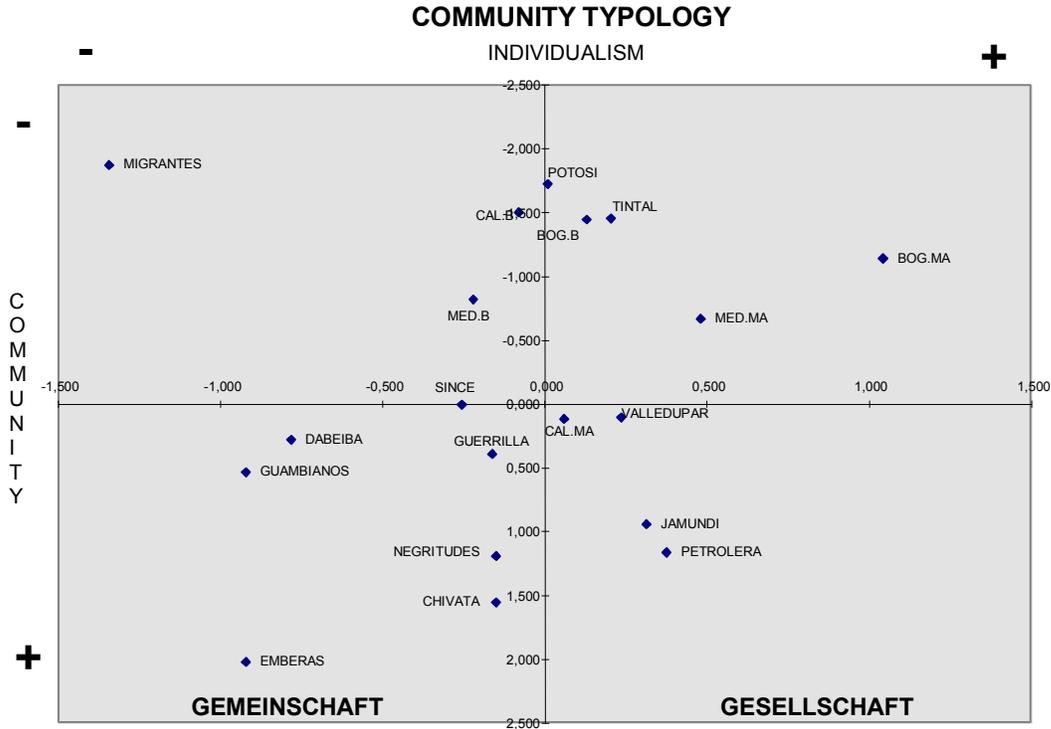
| |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Indigenous tribes (To check Gesellschaft Gemeinschaft items): two tribes, one more isolated (Emberas) and one more integrated to the market (Guambianos). |
| 2. With exploratory criteria, a contrast was made between two traditional communities, Emberas and a riverside ethnically black community in Choco (negritudes). |
| 3. Samples of 15 people in Municipalities with different degrees of participation in Acción Comunal as reported in the National Census of Communal Action (1993). |
| 4. Using a World Bank study (Fishbein et. al. 1995) on decentralization, two municipalities where popular participation had been rated high (Valledupar) and low (Jamundí) were studied. |
| 5. People in high and medium high socioeconomic status in Bogota, Medellín and Cali. |
| 6. People in Barrios of low socioeconomic status in the same cities. |
| 7. To validate the perceptions of experts about civic participation in Bogotá, two marginal "barrios" were chosen: Potosí (high) and Tintal (low). Both were already Gesellschaft. |
| 8. Unsuccessful sample of migrant workers (coffee or cotton pickers). |
| 9. Areas of influence of Oil exploitation: Petrolera (Yopal). |
| 10. Regions with active guerrilla activity. |
| 11. A contrast between Gemeinschaft populations (Emberas and traditional negritudes) and Gesellschaft (Potosí and Tintal in Bogotá) was made. Total sample: 337 persons. |

Table 1: Pretest sample to maximize variance in Community Classification Model

External Validity

For each of the contrasts, t test were performed between questions that should had helped to understand which discriminated best for each contrast. To locate the different populations in the Community Classification model, a scale for each axis was computed for **Individualism** (mostly Inglehart coding of Values to Teach Children for Achievement motivation) and **Community** ((Positive Community + Positive Gemeinschaft Community + Positive Gesellschaft Community)-(Negative Community)). It is assumed that some social formations, especially those that are "post modern," are absent in Colombian society. This comparison then would have to wait till a measurement similar to the Barcas is applied into those societies, or extrapolations are made from the WVS results.

The results of how the different populations came out in these standardized axis are presented in the following figure.



External Validity: the results of location of populations in the Community Classification Model

The combination of the specific differences for each contrast and the location of each population in the above space, allows to proceed with the application of the national survey with a clear trust in the Barcas capacity to measure Ksocial in different types of communities, and to study great social complexity with it. Several communities where there was not a minimal of understanding (i.e.: Negritudes) could now be properly classified.

The first factor analysis of dimensions and of variables and the calculation of Ksocial scores allowed to research those and redesign the questionnaire for the national survey. It also allowed to study the composition of variables and check with the general inclusion criteria (1% added explained variance and standardized regression coefficient greater than 0.05) how specific items performed.

The Pretest's Second Computation of Ksocial

Once a first calculation of Ksocial had been made, it was possible to go back towards dimensions and variables to restructure them, especially those that had shown little relationship with the Ksocial scores. Subsets of variables were factor analyzed to establish how these better fitted. Thus it was possible to differentiate Civic Participation and Institutional Trust from a dimension initially called Social Connection. The Civic Republicanism dimension was constructed as a polarity between, in the one hand, Particularism and, in the other, some variables that were in Political Participation. Clark et. al. (1994) had made the hypothesis about this polarity, which now appeared empirically in the factor analysis, separate from Political Participation. Thus Citizen's Politicization, Political Education and a variable latter dismissed -"Political Consciousness"- came into Civic

Republicanism. Responsibility for the Public Sphere was created and added to the same dimension. Clientelism, which had acquired a negative polarity in Hierarchy, came to be better located in this dimension.

To be able to latter test if some dimension were a part of social capital some of these were changed so they would have a positive bias towards Ksocial. For example, in the dimension Mutuality and Reciprocity, the variables Solidarity, Responsibility for the Poor and Responsibility for Peace were recoded towards a public or "generalized" solidarity. The Hierarchy or Vertical Articulation dimension and their variables were also directed towards social capital checking all the time if this bias was replicated by the polarities that the variables (or items) took in the factor analysis of those in the dimension.

Once these changes were made, the factor analysis was performed again and new scores of Ksocial computed. These scores were then studied with dimensions and variables to check how they were now related to Ksocial. The first regressions showed a strong impact of the Social Control dimensions and when variables alone were used, those from that dimension showed also a strong effect. Ksocial scores were also regressed with reservoirs to see how this new measure performed. An under representation of items about family was corrected for the national survey by adding a new question.

III. THE NATIONAL SURVEY'S RESULTS

The national survey (July to October 1997) added up to 3000 people with those included in the Pretest. The sample of people over 18 was proportional to the country's regions, size of municipality, age, sex and followed the sampling procedure recommended by the WVS. There was an effort to interview a number of illiterate people proportional to their share of the country's population.

Before the factor analysis of the national data was performed the following steps were taken to correct some problems detected in the Pretest. For the national survey, given that variables (and dimensions) were the result of addition of items, it was decided to **homogenize** their scale to give each item a ten range, that could come from [-10, 0]; [-5, 5]; or [0, -10] depending on the nature of the answer. The variables were located as it was empirically possible in only one dimension to eliminate overlap. The same criteria of eliminating excessive overlap was also extended to items, leaving only those that were a necessary link between some variables. Some of the explicit scalings towards Ksocial made for the Pretest were too large as to distort some variables. This was corrected. For the calculation of the **variables** so they would not be unduly punished for missing values in one of their items, these were replaced by the mean of the item in the survey. This was done with care as to avoid generalizing this procedure to some items were the missing could actually have a zero value.

Results of the First Run of the National sample

The first processing of the national sample (Sudarsky, 1998) allowed to calculate again Ksocial and a second factor that was labeled Virtual Non-Citizenship. However, there were some problems. First, Civic Participation showed a preponderance of membership in voluntary religious organizations. To test if these made a separate contribution to the dimension, the variable "Ovreligious" was differentiated. Its marginal contribution to the dimension's variance was below the inclusion criteria and so excluded from the dimension and the computation of the variable, an issue that will be given more attention ahead. Second, when the factor analysis was rotated a group of

dimensions - Mutuality and Solidarity, Horizontal Relationships and Hierarchy- became differentiated as a separate factor labeled "Social Fabric". This problem aroused because two questions –"How do you solve collective problems?" and "When you have problems, who helps?", used to differentiate vertical and horizontal collective problem solving and vertical, horizontal and general solidarity had a lot of item overlap. This overlap had to be studied in detail to define in which variable should go and eliminate redundancy.

Several other problems were corrected and the variables and dimensions that so required were reconstructed using the usual factor analysis of sets of items and variables. The dimensions and variables that came from this recomposition are presented ahead.

The Second run of the National Survey

The results of the national survey are presented in the following order: first, the composition of the dimensions. Second, the result of the principal components factors analysis. Third, the regressions of the scores of the two factors Ksocial and Fusi by dimensions and variables. Fourth, the meaning of the second factor: Faith in Unvalidated Sources of Information (FUSI) as it became apparent at the end of the exploration of the data; and, fifth, the display of comparative results of the more significant dimensions, variables and items for the explanation of the two factors.

A. THE DIMENSIONS ON THE FINAL RUN OF THE NATIONAL SURVEY

The following are the results of standardized regressions of each dimension with their variables. The beta is useful for understanding the dimensions but it should not be taken too strictly as can reveal only just the size of each variable in their addition into the dimension.

| Variable | | Beta of Variable on Dimension |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | CIVIC PARTICIPATION | |
| OVOTRAS | Membership in Non religious Voluntary Organizations | .625626 |
| ACTVLOC | Local Activities | .249639 |
| ACTVCIV | Civic Activities | .213677 |
| TRAVOLU | Makes voluntary work | .168901 |
| ACTVMED | Media activities | .145591 |

| | INSTITUTIONAL TRUST | |
|---------|----------------------------------------------|----------|
| CFVGOB | Trust in Government | .299179 |
| CFVMOVI | Trust in Movements | .189436 |
| HONELEY | Honesty and Respect for the Law | .198793 |
| CFVMEDI | Trust in Media | .126304 |
| CFFARMA | Trust in the Armed Forces | .077505 |
| CFVGRUP | Trust in Groups | .127672 |
| POLICIA | Law and Order: Police, Putnam's sub Index | .134579 |
| CFVLEGA | Trust Legal | .136183 |
| AUTORID | Law and Order: Authority, Putnam's sub Index | .134283 |
| CFVPOLT | Trust Politics | .123013 |
| CFIGLES | Trust Church | .071802 |
| MORDIDA | How frequent is Corruption | -.067493 |
| CFEDUCA | Trust in Education | .069309 |
| CFPLCIA | Trust in Police | .076656 |
| CFGRCIA | Trust in Big Companies | .074571 |

| Variable | SOLIDARITY AND MUTUALITY | Beta |
|----------|--------------------------------------|----------|
| ATOMIZA | Atomization | -.364389 |
| RECIPRO | Generalized Reciprocity | .294176 |
| RESDEBIL | Responsibility for the weak and Poor | .303210 |
| SOLIDARI | General Solidarity | .277539 |
| ALIENAC | Alienation | -.312105 |
| RESPPAZ | Responsibility of Peace | .179098 |
| CONFLIC | Conflict management | .190988 |
| OPORTUN | Opportunism | -.167026 |
| SOL_ECON | Economic Solidarity | .138745 |
| INCO_GEN | Generalized Unconditionally | .110096 |

| Variable | HORIZONTAL RELATIONSHIPS | Beta |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------|---------|
| AYHORZT | Horizontal Solidarity | .674197 |
| AAGEXTE | Third party enforcement | .428371 |
| CLHORZT | Horizontal Solution of Collective Problems | .295672 |
| ACTTRAB | Social activities with people at work | .196037 |
| ACTVECI | Social activities with people from the neighborhood | .185708 |

| Variable | HIERARCHY OR VERTICAL ARTICULATION | Beta |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| ORIPERT | Belongs to Organization that Represent Interest | .465814 |
| AYJQUIA | Vertical Solidarity | .386529 |
| CLJQUIA | Vertical Solution of Collective Problems | .329805 |
| HMESIND | Intermediary Organizations: Labor Unions | .163642 |
| HMEIGLE | Intermediary Organizations: Church | .251632 |
| HMEPTID | Intermediary Organizations: Political Parties | .179635 |
| HMEGREM | Intermediary Organizations: Guilds, Professional Associations and Chambers | .158858 |

| Variable | SOCIAL CONTROL | Beta |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| CFVCTRE | Trust in Institutions that exert Control of Society over the State | .610403 |
| MECCTRE | Control Mechanism of Society Over State | .409574 |
| ACCOUNT | Accountability | .407130 |

| Variable | CIVIC REPUBLICANISM | Beta |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------|----------|
| PARTICUL | Particularism | -.415313 |
| EDUPOLT | Political Education | .447314 |
| POLITCZI | Citizen's Politicization | .347692 |
| RESP_PUB | Responsibility for success of the Public Sphere | .280948 |
| CLIENTEL | Clientelism | -.237715 |
| SIGUPOL | Putnam index of Political Equality | .218294 |

| Variable | POLITICAL PARTICIPATION | Beta |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| VUTOTAL | Electoral Activity: Voting | .322638 |
| HABPOL | Political Skill | .235847 |
| ESLABON | Legislative Linkage | .293723 |
| MECATOT | Participation Mechanisms (knowledge and use of new rights) | .188875 |
| ACTVPOL | Political Activities | .125887 |
| EJESLAB | Executive Linkage | .129403 |
| PARTY | Political Party | .072226 |

| Variable | INFORMATION AND TRANSPARENCY | Beta |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| GEXPLPU | People have who explains to them public problems | .331877 |
| CIUINFO | Citizens inform themselves appropriately to participate effectively | .332595 |
| ESTINFO | The State makes efforts to keep citizens informed | .322691 |
| MEDPROF | The communications media do explain in depth problems | .328823 |
| NOSNINF | Colombians do not know where the country is headed because no one tell us | -.290797 |
| NPANINF | Reason not to participate more: I do not get the necessary information | -.250471 |
| SARECUR | Do you know how the resources of your locality are going to | .250309 |

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| | be invested? | |
| Variable | MEDIA | Beta |
| CFVMEDI | VAR Media Trust | .565507 |
| ACTVMED | VAR. Media Activities | .456829 |
| MEDPROF | The communications media do explain problems in depth | .440872 |
| ACTLEER | How often do you read newspapers? | .336365 |

Table 2: Final Dimensions and their Variable Composition

The specific explanation of each dimension will become apparent in the display of results.

B. THE FINAL COMPUTATION OF KSOCIAL

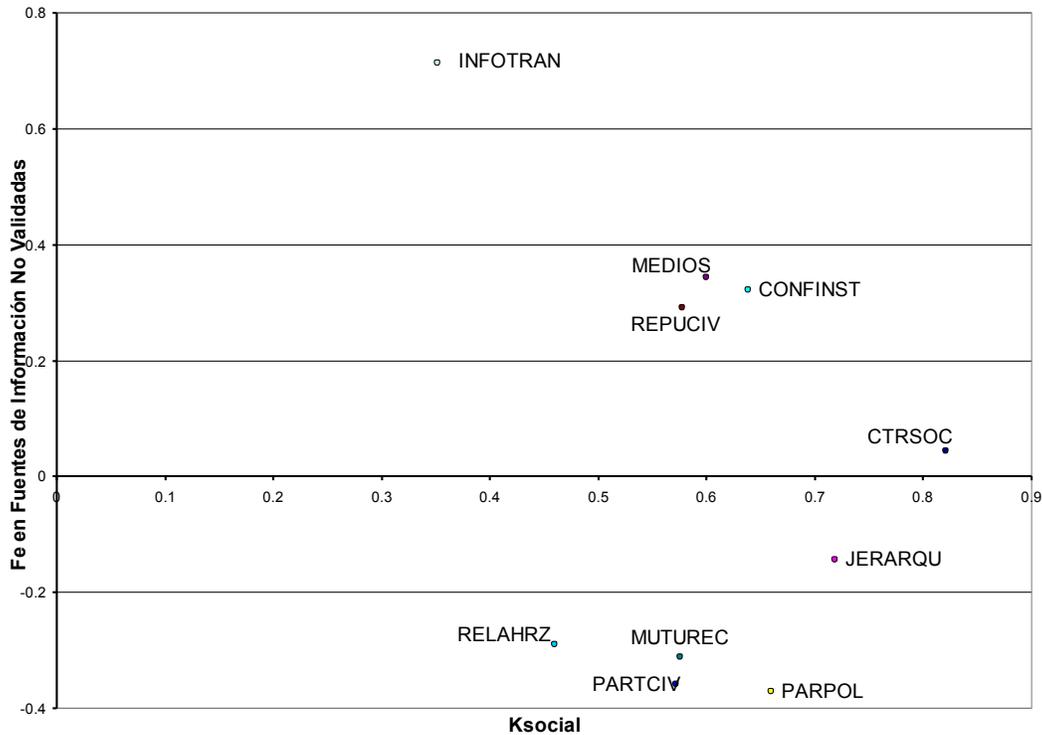
Once the corrections in items, variables and dimension from the first run were made, the empirical and conceptual space measured with the Barcas was factor analyzed by principal components. Two factors were isolated, which explained 38% and 12% of variance each. Once these had been identified, it was possible to calculate (regression method) individual scores for each of these factors: **the dependent variables** to be studied.

For this second run, the two factors were an improvement over the three found in previous runs. The first Factor is **Social Capital (Ksocial)**. The second factor, which had been labeled Virtual Non-Citizenship (Sudarsky, 1998), lost in this run the aloof attitude towards collective good (i.e. low in political equality, low in responsibility over the poor and over peace, etc.) that had appeared in the national survey's first run. After a complex process of understanding its meaning, this second factor was identified as **Faith in Unvalidated Sources of Information (Fusi)** to be discussed below.

| Dimension | | Factor Loading | F. L. |
|-----------|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | | Factor Ksocial | Factor Fusi |
| CTRSOC | Social Control | 0.82086 | 0.04332 |
| JERARQU | Hierarchy (Vertical Connection) | 0.7189 | -0.14424 |
| PARPOL | Political Participation | 0.65941 | -0.37056 |
| CINFINST | Institutional Trust | 0.63835 | 0.32109 |
| MEDIO | Media | 0.59927 | 0.34309 |
| REPUCIVS | Civic Republicanism | 0.57713 | 0.29089 |
| MUTUREC | Solidarity and Mutuality | 0.57549 | -0.31074 |
| PARTCIV | Civic Participation | 0.57194 | -0.35927 |
| RELAHRZ | Horizontal Relationships | 0.45972 | -0.28915 |
| INFOTRAN | Information and Transparency | 0.35197 | 0.71387 |

Table 3: Factor Loadings of Dimensions on Two Factors: Principal Components

The following graph illustrates how each dimension is loaded into each factor.



Factor Analysis (Principal Components) of the Conceptual and Empirical Space Measured by the BARCAS

B. THE REGRESSIONS ON KSOCIAL AND FUSI.

Stepwise regressions of individual scores in Ksocial and Fusi by dimensions were performed to simplify models of each factor using the general inclusion criteria. This procedure was repeated for each factor with variables. Latter, in a simultaneous inclusion of dimension and variables, it was possible to test if there were direct paths of variables into factors, not just indirect paths through dimensions. These direct paths of variables into factors never appeared when dimensions were simultaneously included. Two tables are presented: one with betas of dimensions on factors, another with variables with factors.

| Dimension | Beta Ksocial | Beta Fusi |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Social Control | .214074 | |
| Hierarchy | .191621 | |
| Civic Republicanism | .189207 | .210993 |
| Media | .184649 | .285002 |
| Institutional Trust | .184272 | .223201 |
| Political Participation | .178592 | -. 289304 |
| Civic Participation | .144527 | -. 309420 |
| Mutuality and Reciprocity | .143578 | -. 252512 |
| Horizontal Relationships | .128464 | -. 234249 |
| Information and Transparency | | .556517 |

Table 4: Beta coefficients of Dimensions on Ksocial and Fusi

As it can be seen, Infotrans did not meet the inclusion criteria in Ksocial, and Social Control and Hierarchy in Fusi. There are four groups of dimensions: 1) Those which have direct positive influence in Ksocial, 2) those with positive influence in the two factors, 3) those with positive influence in Ksocial and negative in Fusi and, finally, 4) Infotrans positive with Fusi.

| | | Factor Ksocial | Factor Fusi |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Dimension | Variable | Beta | Beta |
| Social Control | Trust in Institutions that control the State | .438106 | |
| Political Participation | Political Skill | .323342 | -. 219688 |
| Civic Republicanism | Political Education | .206168 | .154606 |
| Horizontal Relationships | Horizontal Solidarity | .181479 | -. 220767 |
| Civic Participation | Membership in Non religious Voluntary Organizations | .150944 | -. 209670 |
| Civic Republicanism | Citizen's Politicization | .145814 | |
| Solidarity and Mutuality | Atomization | -. 144214 | .148021 |
| Media | Media Activities | .129574 | |
| Civic Republicanism | Particularism | | -. 110717 |
| Information and Transparency | Colombians do not know where the country is going because no one tell us | | -. 139218 |
| Institutional Trust | Trust in Government | | .139171 |
| Information and Transp. | Reason not to participate more: I do not get the necessary information | | -. 141450 |
| Information and Transp. | Do you know how the resources of your locality are going to be invested? | | .148623 |
| Information and Transp. | The State makes efforts to keep citizens informed | | .166251 |
| Information and Transp. | Citizens inform themselves appropriately to participate effectively | | .168429 |
| Information and Transp. | People have who explains them public problems | | .170381 |
| Political Participation | Voting Total | | -. 182229 |
| Media and Institutional Trust | Trust in Media | | .229779 |
| Information and Transp. and Civic Republicanism (Political Education) | Communications media explain in depth problems | | .283907 |

Table 5: Beta Coefficients of Variables on Ksocial and Fusi

Social Control is the dimension with the greater effect on Ksocial as well as its variable Trust in Institutions that Control the State (more precisely, Government). **Hierarchy** has an important effect on Ksocial as aggregate dimension and none of its variables have independently such effect. **Civic Republicanism** has a positive influence in both factors although this effect on Ksocial is through Citizen's Politicization and Political Education. The item "Media explain problems in depth", which is part of this last variable has a positive effect on Fusi. **Media** has influence in both factors. As variables Media Activities (Writing to the editor, calling a live program, reading newspaper) is related to Ksocial and Media Trust (on Tv and the Press) to Fusi. **Institutional Trust** has a positive effect on both factors. As variables Trust in Government is associated with Fusi; latter this relationship was isolated to Trust in Departmental Government. Particularism effect was latter specified to the believe that "When the State makes a decision, it applies it to everyone in the same way".

The following dimensions have a positive effect on Ksocial and negative in Fusi. **Political Participation** through its variable Political Skill which has the same effect. Voting Total only diminishes Fusi. Civic Participation has the positive negative pattern only through Participation in Voluntary non-religious organizations. **Horizontal Relationship** had a positive effect in Ksocial and negative in Fusi through the Horizontal Solidarity variable. Finally, the main effect on Fusi was by **Information and Transparency** with most of its items with an effect on this factor.

C. THE MEANING OF FACTOR 2: FAITH IN UNVALIDATED SOURCES OF INFORMATION

After a complex process of analysis, the second factor was identified as Faith in Unvalidated Sources of Information that occurs as a result of isolation and the lack of social connectedness with reference groups. However, there are some activities that get the person in contact with those groups with whom they can validate the information received from a source, thus diminishing Fusi. For example, this happens with dimensions (variables) such as Horizontal Relationships (Horizontal Solidarity), Civic Participation (Participation in non-religious voluntary organizations) and Solidarity and Mutuality (negative Atomization). To identify the specific activities at the item level, each of the variables that have an effect on the second factor were disaggregated into items and a regression was performed independently for each one of them with Fusi. Those that reached the inclusion criteria of more than 1% addition to the explained variance on factor 2 were included in an additional regression with all of thus selected items, with Fusi. This allowed confirming that Factor 2 was Faith in Unvalidated Sources of Information. This final regression allowed not only to detect which were the main statements whose interpretation and external validity were in doubt (i.e.: "I know where the resources in my locality are going to be invested", "The Communications media explain to citizens problems in depth instead of worrying about gossip") but which were the validating activities (i.e. participating in voluntary organizations, having friends, participating in a political party) that reduced Fusi. These activities implied that there was a social relationship that connected the respondent with a reference group, which provided him/her with a collective rationality. In this way the information of different sources could be validated against this collective rationality, thus diminishing Fusi.

| | ITEM | Beta |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| MEDPROF | The communications media do explain in depth problems (Infotrans) | .318772 |
| GEXPLPU | People have who explains to them public problems (Infotrans) | .238597 |
| ESTINFO | The State makes efforts to keep citizens informed (Infotrans) | .214550 |
| VUCAMAR | Did you vote in the past elections for Chamber of Representatives? (Voting) | -. 121655 |
| NOSNINF | Colombians do not know where the country is headed because no one tell us (Infotrans) | -. 210962 |
| CIUINFO | Citizens inform themselves appropriately to participate effectively (Infotrans) | .200368 |
| OVEDUCA | Educational Voluntary Organization | -. 154373 |
| CFTV | Trust in TV (Institutional Trust, Social Control and Media) | .180028 |
| AYAMIGS | You can expect help from your friends (Horizontal Solidarity) | -. 172392 |
| NPANINF | Reason not to participate more: I do not get the necessary information (Infotrans) | -. 138667 |
| OVGPTID | Political Party or Group Voluntary Organization (Civic Participation and Hierarchy) | -. 116789 |
| ESLABONO | Legislative Linkage: Zero (Atomization) | .144532 |
| CFGODEP | Trust in Departmental Government (Institutional Trust) | .121333 |
| ACTTRABU | Never has a social meeting with people from work (Atomization) | .117172 |

Table 6: Regression of Fusi by Selected Items

Faith in Unvalidated Sources of Information implies that there is an unrestricted believe in some sources of information such as the Press, the State or the Citizenry without going through the process of doubting the validity of its information. This interpretation comes straight from the negative relationship found (see below) between Fusi and education (and positive with Ksocial). The person high in Fusi tends to believe more than others that "communications media explain in depth problems instead of worrying about gossip and sensationalist events", that "people have who explain them public problems" or that the "State makes the necessary efforts to provide the citizenry with information necessary to exert their duties in a conscious way". However, they themselves do not have a complex enough cognitive map to state so. Geser (1998, 238), in a context so different as Switzerland refers to this problem:

... The general regularity that politically inactive citizens often lack the cognitive capacities to organize their specific political attitudes and to relate them to a more abstract values and ideologies

This lack of validation takes place because those high in Fusi are socially isolated, that is they lack the minimum external (out of the family?) social nuclei as elemental as friends with whom they can validate the information they receive and trust.

The validation process is essentially social. These groups give a reference, a collective rationality from which they can make sense of reality and form their opinion about what the sources express. Given the isolation of those high in Fusi they maintain an unquestioned believe in such sources of information: they believe in the Press without having to read newspapers. This is what turns believe into Faith. This sufficiency of information allows them to state that the information to participate is sufficient when indeed they seldom participate.

For this reason, when the persons gets engaged with the social processes in which information is validated, such as voting, especially in the departmental electoral district for the Chamber of representatives, and follows after the election this process (legislative linkage), he becomes part of a political party or an educational organization, even meets with friends and fellow workers, this faith turns into a **Reference rationality**. With this rationality available it is possible to validate those sources of information in a more critical way. That is, the standards of validity are raised to higher levels of complexity.

This change about information is what makes some of the “oscillate” from one factor to the other as they are included in some of the models of dimensions presented ahead. For example, the item that “media explain in depth problems” has influence in both factors but a very different meaning in each of them. In Ksocial is a part of Political Education and, together with such critical items as the statement that “the educational system provides with the tools to participate in an effective manner”, acquire a more objective sense. But when a person without education, that does not read newspapers and who has no contact with an “external” social world, the statement is an act of faith on the fact that those sources “do their job well”.

Regarding the **Reservoirs** in which the factors can be contained, the final ones, whose results will be presented at the end of the display of results, are in the following table. These are disaggregated in territorial and transversal ones. Civil Society has three transversal elements. It was necessary to differentiate Belonging to Interest Organizations from Unions and Guilds as these share that element. The analysis of the two factor scores will latter be used to study if these are institutionally structured to contain or at least can be a seeding ground for the development and accumulation of Ksocial.

| Reservoirs | Sub-reservoir |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Interpersonal relationships | |
| Family | Nuclear, Relatives and Symbolic (Compadrazgo). |
| Educational | |
| Work | |
| Media | |
| Recreational | |
| Religion | |
| Civil Society | Interest Organizations, Labor Unions, Guilds and Professional Associations, and territorial disaggregates in Neighborhood, Locality, City, Department, Nation and Societal. |
| Politics | Party and territorial disaggregation expect in neighborhood where there are not elections. |
| State and Government | Territorial disaggregation |

Table 7: Potential Reservoirs and their Disaggregation

D.THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DEMOGRAPHIC AND CONTROL VARIABLES WITH THE TWO FACTORS

The individual scores on Ksocial and Fusi were studied with the usual demographic variables. Education had a positive effect in Ksocial and negative in Fusi, confirming once again the Cognitive Mobilization hypothesis, usually measured (Inglehart, 1995) by percentages of secondary education and percent of labor force in service jobs. Age showed that there is a Ksocial life cycle, with constant increase until 50 and then a slow drop until 65, when Ksocial drops drastically. However, in Colombia, due to the rapid expansion of education the effect of age is diminished. Socioeconomic status effect is mediated by its effect on education.

Several other variables were studied by factors and dimensions with general low correlations found. However, one particular result was very striking: the items of Inglehart's Index (1995,220) of Achievement motivation, measured through the question on "Values to Educate in Children",¹ showed a very strong correlation with Social Control, (Thrift: .54; Determination and Perseverance: .49; Obedience: -. 58; Religious Faith: -. 55), a result surprising enough at the **individual** level. As it was the case, for example, of the "Trust in Others" question, Inglehart found for the nAchievement index a significant correlation with economic growth at the **aggregate national** level. Our result at the individual level indicates a mechanism by which the thought and actions patterns characteristic of nAchievement, usually studied in relation to entrepreneurial behavior, are extended to the public sphere through Social Control. Still, there is a lot to be studied regarding the internal distribution and value change towards nAchievement in society with Inglehart's index². The result in this measure does not allow for optimism as Colombia's predicted economic growth comes out in the 3 to 4% GNP range a year, not the required 5 to 7%.

IV. COLOMBIA'S RESULT IN THE MOST RELEVANT DIMENSIONS AND VARIABLES

Once the scores on the two factors are calculated and the importance of dimension and variables in their explanation have been determined through regressions, the results of Colombia in those can be displayed, and when data from the WVS (1995-1997) permits, these results compared internationally. The results will be presented dimension by dimension, ordered by impact on Ksocial. We will concentrate in the more important variables and their disaggregation when the research questions thus requires. The dimensions will be explained and when necessary a simplified model of variables into the dimension will be shown to determine also which variables are useful for the dimension's explanation. This simplified path models will use the AMOS program (Arbuckle, 1997). However, before proceeding to the display, it is necessary to set Colombia's society in a general context at the time of the national survey (third quarter, 1997).

Colombia's General Context at the Time of the National Sample

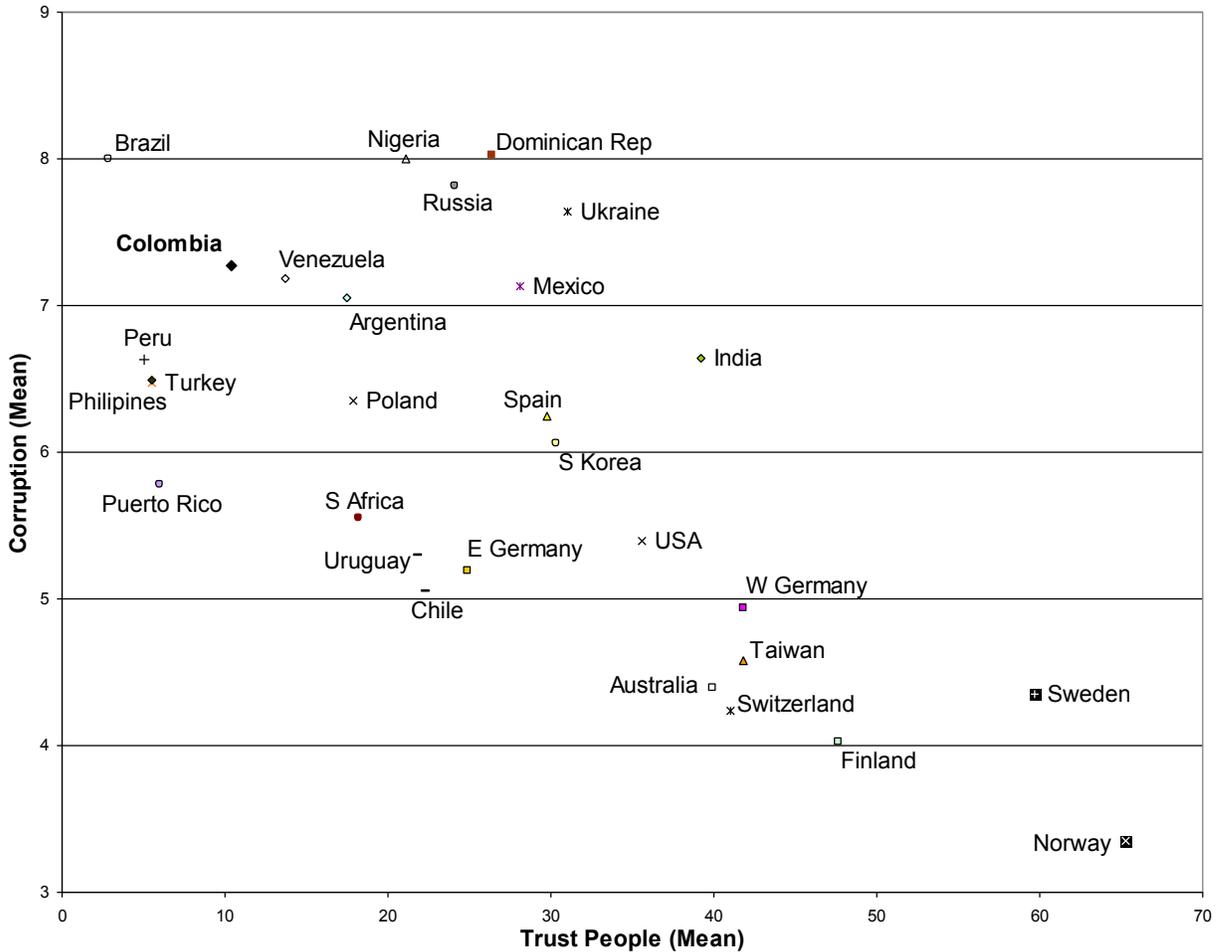
Colombia was going through an acute legitimacy crisis due to accusations that illegal drug money had entered the electoral campaign of President Ernesto Samper. The Chamber of Representatives had absolved him in a trial that increased such crisis. The Attorney General's Office (Fiscalía) was independently proceeding to unveil the depth of involvement of drug money into the political campaigns of parliament members. The perception of corruption was rife, and, given the recent process of decentralization³, it was taking place at all territorial levels. The

¹ (Thrift+ Independence)- (Obedience+ Religious Faith)

² The author had measured systematically the Motivational Profile (Achievement, Power and Affiliation) in Bogota in the last 25 years with an instrument purposely designed for this.

³The 1991 Constitutional change established a resources transfer to the regions, as well as the popular election of governors (Mayors had been elected since 1987). However, the actual responsibilities were not at all clear. By 1999 several of the

country's level of violence, be it "civil" (traffic scuffles that ended in some one death), guerrilla and paramilitary and drug related, is very high. Two variables that have no effect at the individual level, Trust in Others and Perception of Corruption establishes Colombia's international position and the very low level of Ksocial that it has. Only Brazil overcomes Colombia in both items. Subsequent measures will allow to separate which elements are enduring "qualities" of society and culture and which are product of the conjuncture.



International Comparison in Interpersonal Trust and Perception of Corruption (WVS, 1997)

A. SOCIAL CONTROL

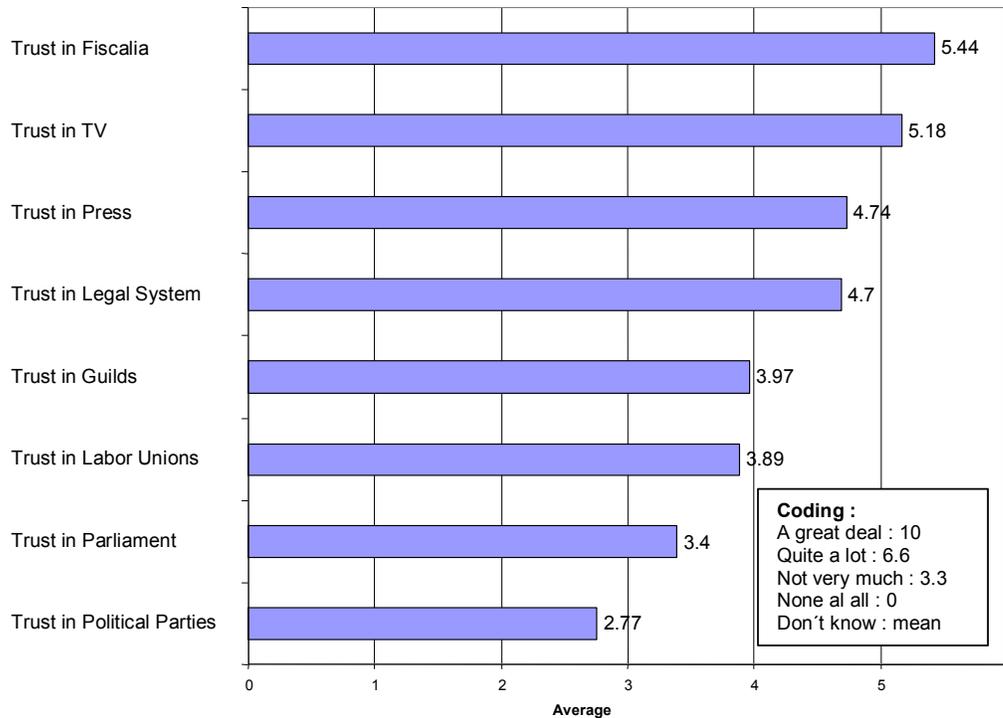
The importance of the Social Control of society over the state reflects a shift from "State-centered" to a "Socio-centered" (Cavarozzi, 1993) analysis of Latin American societies and in Colombia indicates the change from suzerainty in the Nation to the People. The dimension has the greatest impact on Ksocial. It is composed by Trust in Institutions that Control the State, Knowledge and Use of Participatory Mechanism used to Control the State, and Accountability; the first variable had independently the strongest impact on Ksocial as a variable (Table 5).

departments were broke. It is too early to label the process and a reference to many of the problems that are appearing will be made.

Trust in Institutions that Control the State

The variable is composed of the items presented in the following graph. However, to be able to compare the result for each institution, an additional graph with trust on all institutions measured are also presented although this will be used more fully in the Institutional Trust dimension. Trust in Guerrillas and Self-defense groups were asked but they were not included there.

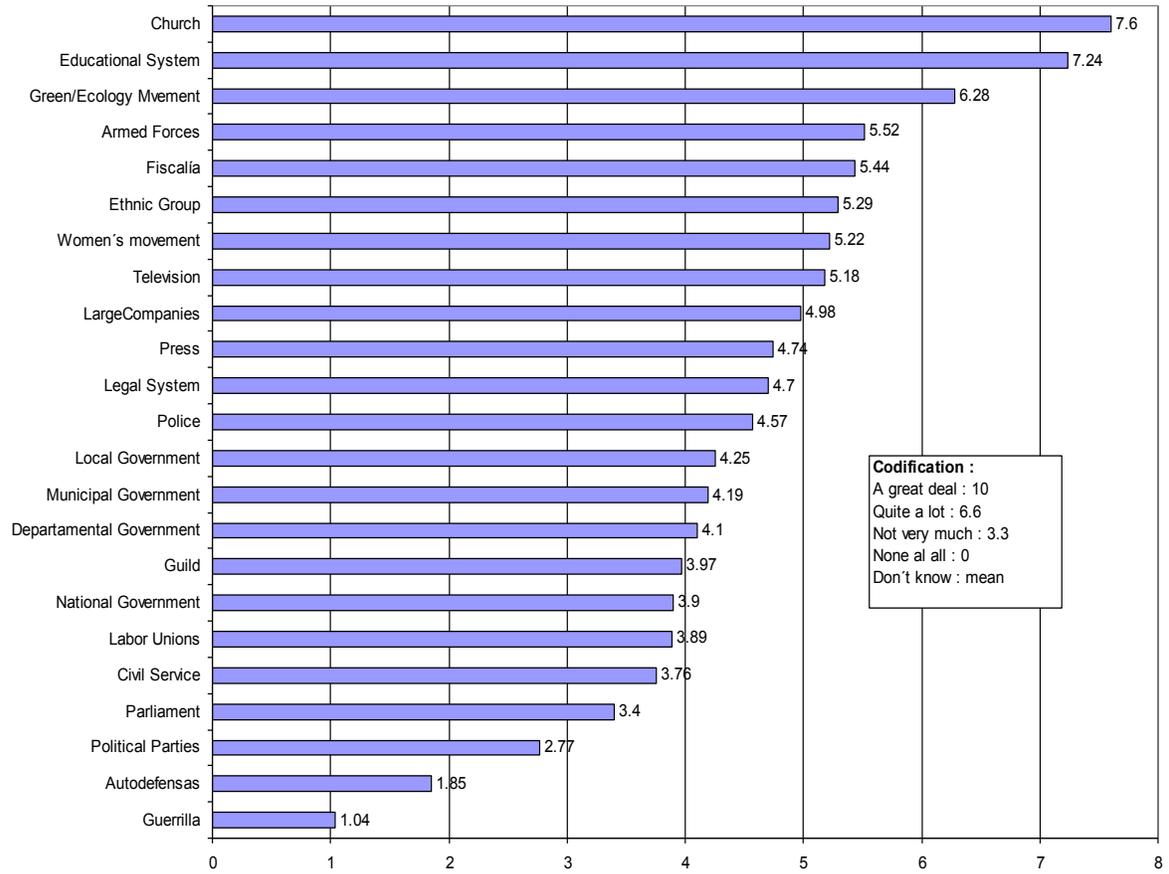
TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS THAT EXERT CONTROL OVER THE STATE AND GOVERNMENT

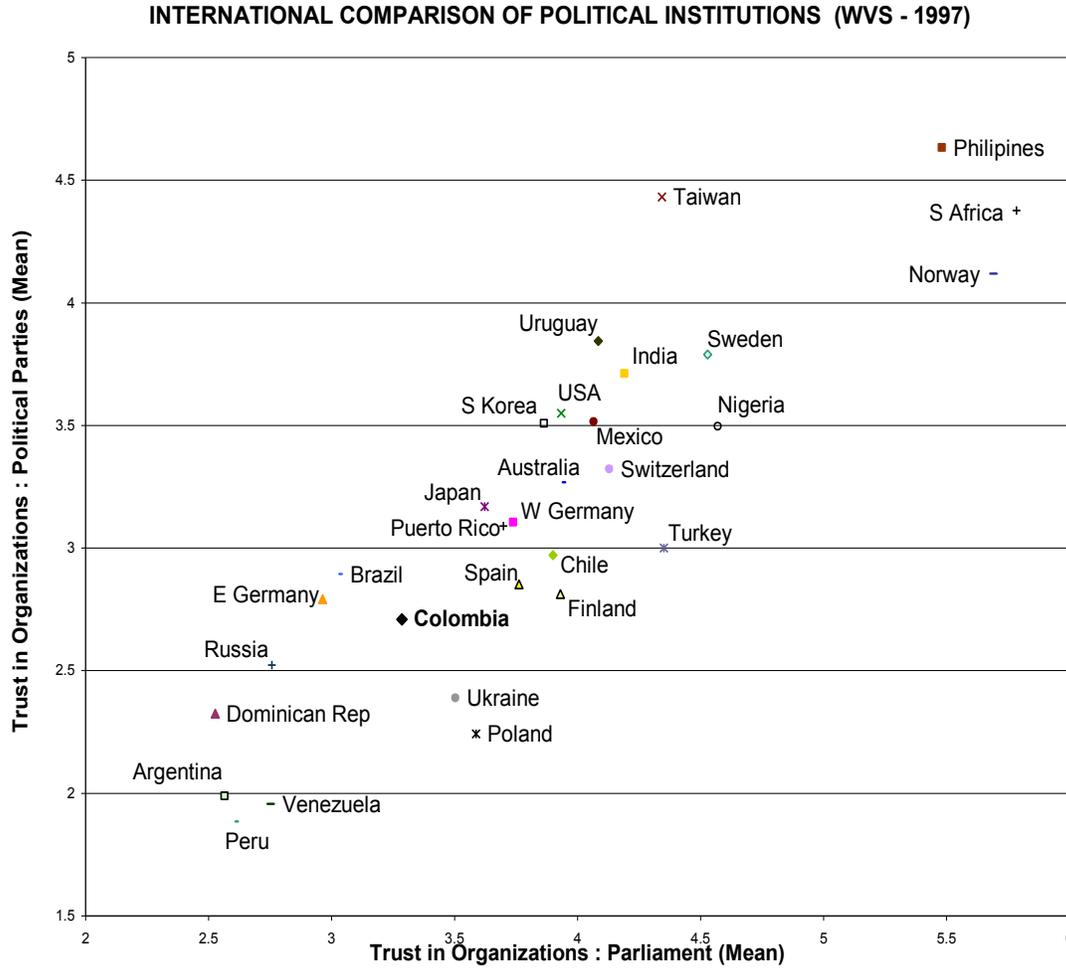


This shows that Congress and Political Parties are the least trusted institutions that are supposed to control the government. A recovery of this trust is one of the most central elements to increase social capital through the hefty .438 beta of the variable with Ksocial. Trust on the Fiscalia, a new institution product of the 1991 Constitution, has to be preserved and enhanced. Is the distrust on parliament and political parties something relatively usual in democracies? The international comparison allows answering this empirically, although the comparative implications will not be discussed here.

Knowledge and Use of Participatory Mechanisms used to Control the State is a subset of Knowledge and use of participatory mechanisms, to be studied in Political Participation. Two questions were made in this regard; in one the respondent were asked to name some participatory mechanism they knew (unaided) and the second asked about if he has herd about specific participatory mechanisms and if he knew someone who had utilized them (aided). Here were included only Open Town Meeting (Cabildo Abierto), Executive Recall (Revocatoria del Mandato), Territorial Planning Councils, Citizen's Overseers (Veedurias Ciudadanas) and Right to Petition (Derecho de Petición). The answers to the unaided questions were so scarce that the question had to be discarded for the time being. The variable studied here, as well as Accountability, were below a threshold necessary to have an effect on Ksocial.

TRUST IN ORGANIZATIONS - Items -



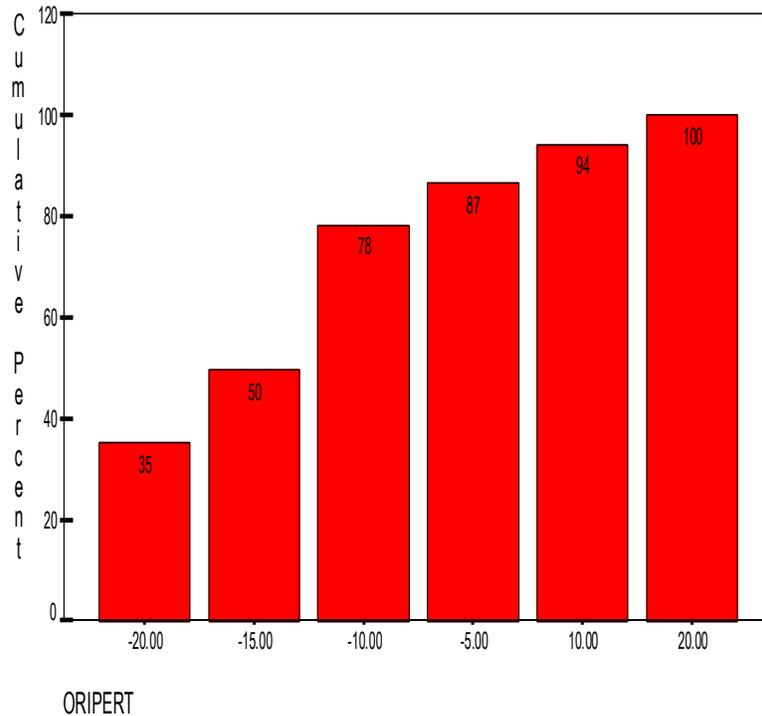


B. HIERARCHY OR VERTICAL ARTICULATION

The Institutions that vertically articulate society have been discussed in the literature (Olson, 1975, Putnam, 1995, Inglehart and Clark, 1998). Generally these are seen as obstacles to social capital, as they block direct access of citizens to the State. In Latin America, with the continuous reference to fascism and its State Corporatism (Schmitter, 1974), they are seen with special fear, a fear that fits just too well with the lack of public representation of interests – no matter how socially originated they are- and the traditional mandate to represent the “common good”. However, if what you have is a fragmented and atomized society, it is possible that this vertical articulation is a powerful source of Ksocial, especially as it generates commitment to decisions collectively achieved and the democratic governability that such process can generate. This is the problem presented to the data Barcas gathered. There, the different forms of vertical articulation were directed towards a positive contribution to social capital and the significance and polarity of such relationships tested piece by piece. The results indicate a positive relationship of the aggregated dimension to Social capital, without any individual variable having a direct effect on it.

The dimension is composed by the variables in Table 2. As can be seen there, Belonging to an Organization that Represents Interest has the largest impact on the dimension. This variable was build by answering questions asking if you belonged to such organization, the reason to belong or

not and if the organization was federated. The negative side implied not belonging and stating ideological reasons (is unnecessary) not to participate (-20); then there were some intermediate negative values related to the difficulty to organize or represent varied interest (-15, -10) and, in the positive side, belonging (+10) and, additionally, to a federated organization (+20). As can be seen from the cumulative distribution of the answers only 13% of the respondents reported belonging and only 6% did it into federalized organizations.



Cumulative distribution of Belonging to Interest Representation Organizations

The general, vertical and horizontal elements of Social Fabric

Between the first and second run of the national survey, a problems with the results of the factor analysis related to the "Social Fabric" factor that emerged, bring us back to how solidarity and collective problem solving had been designed into the Barcas. The two questions "Who helps people when they have a problem" and "When you have a collective problem, How do you solve it?" had vertical and horizontal answers and, in the solidarity case, a "general" (no clear vertical or horizontal, in the Solidarity and Reciprocity dimension) source of help. The different answers were empirically studied and appropriately located in the different variables and dimensions. Two of these, Vertical Solidarity, and Vertical Collective Problem Solving were in Hierarchy. Only Horizontal Solidarity in the Horizontal Relationships dimension has an independent direct effect (and negative with Fusi) with Ksocial.

Vertical Solidarity (Church, Guilds or Unions and a "Palanca"⁴: political connection) -differentiated from General solidarity (Help from Family, Work, Society, Charity and State) and Horizontal (Relatives, Neighbors, Friends and Compadres)- has a positive effect in the dimension.

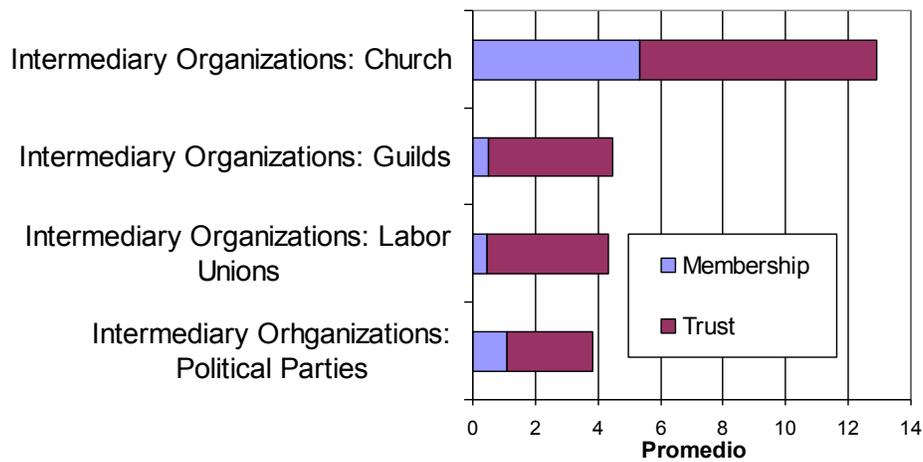
⁴This item's polarity was one of those tested by factor analysis of the dimension's items because its possible positive relation with Clientelism. The other one that had a possibility was in Collective Problem Solving: "You should search someone with palancas to solve the problem" which systematically took a negative value in Vertical Collective Problem Solving.

The most frequent answer about who helps was Family in General Solidarity. This result is related to the existence or not of the Amoral Familist syndrome, that can be explored when the Family reservoir's capacity to hold Ksocial is explored at the end of the display of results.

The importance of vertical and horizontal collective problem solving is related to the routes of transformation of the different types of communities (Gesellschaft, Gemeinschaft etc.) and will be useful when the regional comparisons are made.

Intermediary Organizations

These variables, each composed of a trust and a membership element, were constructed for religion, guilds (chambers, professional associations) labor unions and political groups and parties, The results are the following:



The Church

From the previous graph it can be seen how preponderant the Church is both in terms of trust and membership in religious voluntary organizations. Colombia is a traditionally catholic country (85% of respondents said they were catholic). Putnam (1993) found in Italy a negative relationship between church attendance and civic participation. So this is an important relationship to test with the Barcas data. As it will be shown in the Civic Participation dimension, membership in religious organizations is a large (36%) percentage of membership in all voluntary organizations. When participation in religious organizations (OVRELIG) was differentiated, it did not meet the inclusion criteria in the dimension (did not add more than 1% of variance). So it was excluded from the dimension. Additionally, when several factor analysis were carried out with items of Hierarchy to test some items' polarity in its variables, some surprising factors with religion included appeared

| | | Factor 2 | Factor 3 |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| ORINTER | I belong to (one or more) organizations that defend my interest. | -0.57726 | 0.17507 |
| ORFEDER | Your organization is federated | -0.55034 | 0.17372 |
| AYIGLES | Church can help | 0.47381 | 0.31544 |
| CFIGLES | Trust in Church | 0.43645 | 0.41204 |
| CLUNOMI | Collective Problem Solving: Each one can solve them by their own way. | 0.00934 | 0.50338 |
| OVRELIG | Membership in Voluntary Religious Organization | 0.1429 | 0.4391 |

Table 8: Factors involving religious items in the Hierarchy dimension

This shows, first, a negative relationship between belonging to interest representation organizations and help from and trust in the church; second a relationship between belonging to a religious organizations and an individual way of solving collective problems: each one would solve them by each ones' way.

To confirm the location of the variable Membership in Religious Organizations the variables from the dimension Civic Participation, Solidarity and Mutuality, Horizontal Relationships and Hierarchy where factor analyzed. Here, Union and Guild memberships were disaggregated to confirm if they should be a part both of Hierarchy and Civic Participation. OVRELIG clustered in a Factor related to Church with the following result:

| | | Factor 4 |
|---------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| HMEIGLE | Mediating Institutions: Church | -0.76627 |
| OVRELIG | Membership in religious Voluntary Organization | -0.72814 |
| ACTVCIV | Civic Activities | 0.46972 |
| ACTVMED | Media Activities | 0.39638 |
| ACTLOCA | Local Activities | 0.3827 |

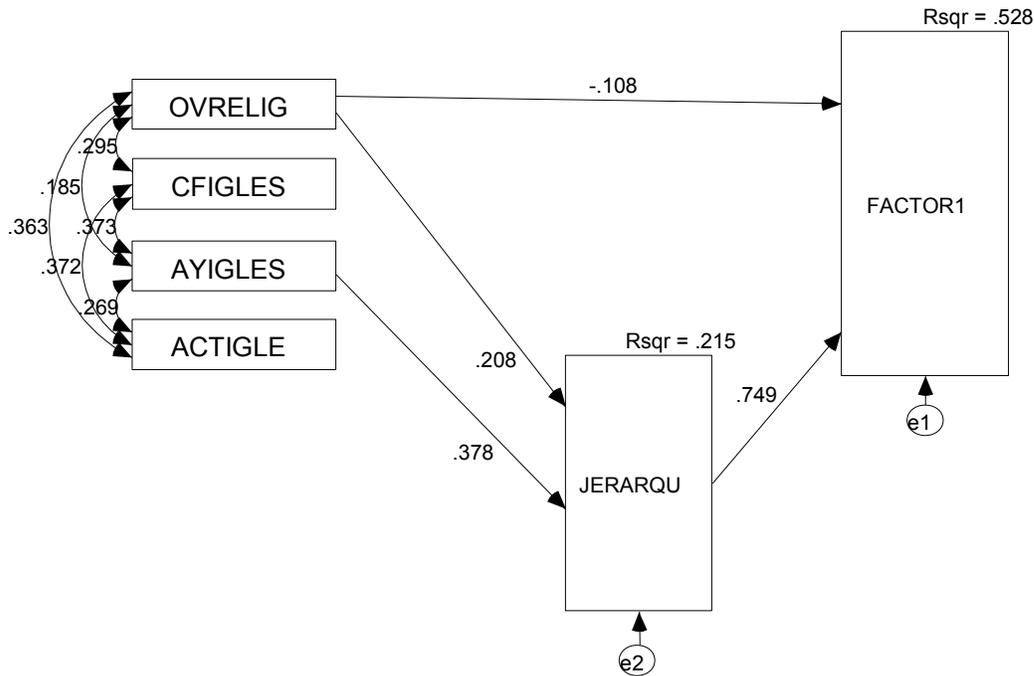
Table 9: Factor including religious items in disaggregated selected dimensions

This confirmed that the Church cluster was one in itself. What was a surprise is that it had a negative relationship with Civic, Media and Local activities, a hint of a negative relationship between religious and secular society.

Factor analysis is a very powerful tool in the sense that goes deep into interactions among variables, deeper than you can usually go through a purposeful design. So it was necessary to additionally test some of these results. The AMOS package was used to test a simplified model, first, to check Putnam's hypothesis of Mass Attendance and Ksocial (no significant relationship). Additionally, the relationship between church related items (Trust, Help, and Voluntary Organizations) to dimensions Hierarchy and Civic Participation (no effect in Civic Participation). Third, a model was build to test the relationship between this religious set of items with both Hierarchy and Church attendance, model which showed that when there was a direct path to church attendance from the religious items, the relationship with Hierarchy disappeared. Finally, a model was bult to test the net effect of the church related items, including attendance, directly into Ksocial and indirectly through Hierarchy with the following result. The contribution of OVRELIG to social capital is negligible $(-.108 + (.208 * .749)) = .053$, that is when the influence of variables not related to the religious sub-set are excluded (see the rsqur = .215) from the explanation of Hierarchy.

The conclusions here is that Putnam's result by which there is a negative relationship between mass going and civic participation is not confirmed. Neither is that membership in religious organization has a negative effect on Ksocial. It simply means that this membership does not have anything to do with Ksocial. It is related with something else. It would be possible to compare countries for the participation on religious organizations. But, it is necessary to understand that different religious traditions establish different paths for each society. The catholic tradition, as Inglehart has demonstrated (1998), establishes a path of low interpersonal trust and low wealth for the societies in which she imprints its symbolic and institutional structure.

PATH ANALYSIS 2 – RELIGIOUS ITEMS WITH HIERARCHY AND KSOCIAL



Df = 5
 Value of the parsimony ratio (PRATIO) = .333
 Min value of the discrepancy (CMIN) = 51.199
 Min discrepancy divided by Degree freedom = 10.240
 Root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .055
 Normed fit index (NFI) = .989
 Comparative fit index (CFI) = .990
 Goodness of fit index (GFI) = .994
 Parsimony normed fit index (PNFI) = .330
 Parsimony comparative fit index (PCFI) = .330
 Parsimony goodness of fit index (PGFI) = .237

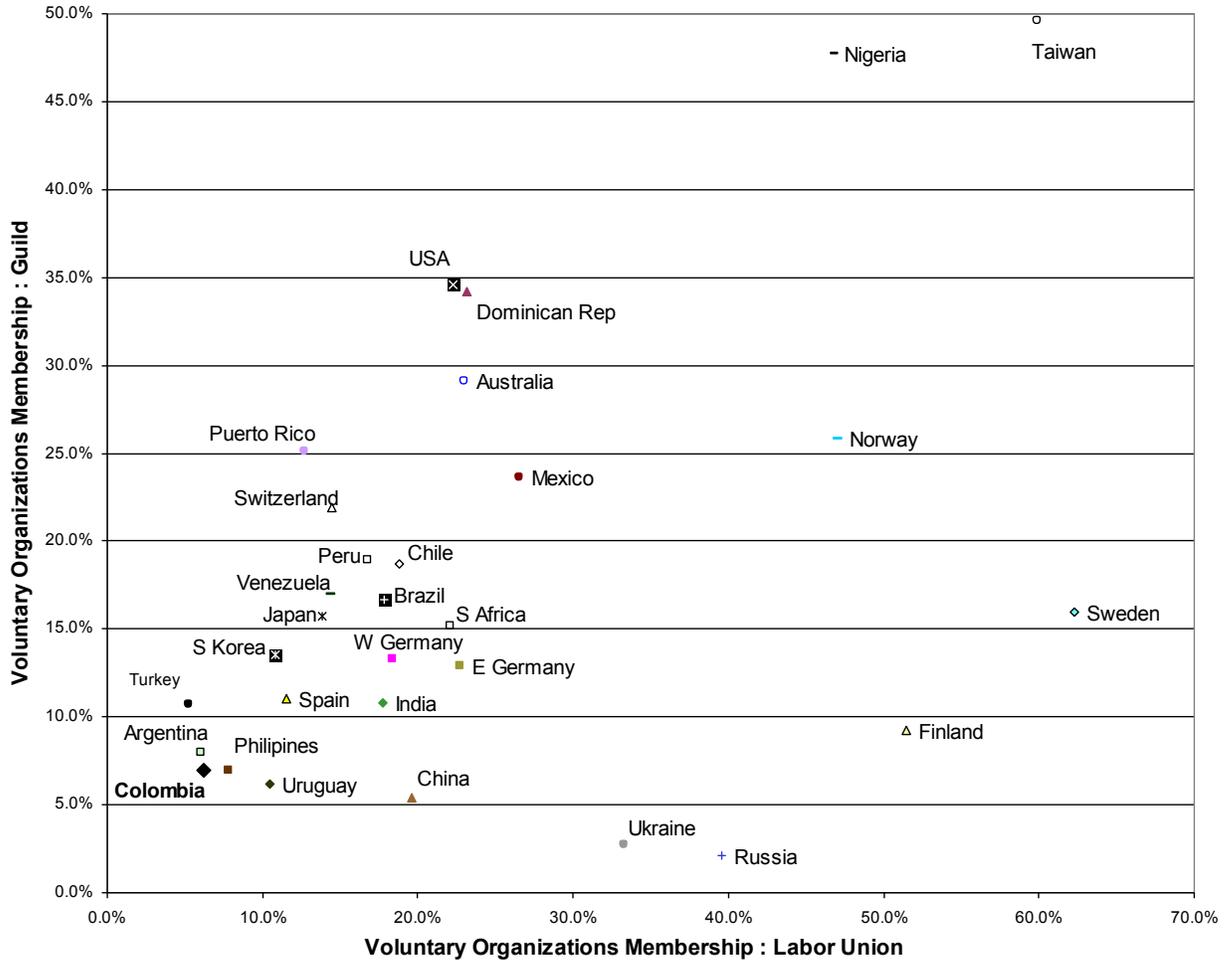
Political Groups and Parties, Unions and Guilds

The alternative secular institutions that can vertically articulate society –parties, labor unions and guilds- presented the following results. As it has been mentioned before Parties receive very little trust although their membership, as will be seen in Civic Participation, is relatively high. However, this membership covers parties as well as groups. Parties can help the problem of governability. In the other hand, groups, if they atomize parties, can hinder it. As for Guilds and Union, the international comparison allows discussing the feasibility of the classic neocorporatist socialdemocratic model (Schmitter, 1974) of interest articulation and social contract. The very low level of membership in both institutions indicates that this model has great difficulties in Colombia. If this model objectively develops when there is an industrial (included construction) labor majority (Therborn, 1991) the viability is more seriously in doubt as Colombia is already going through an early development of a service economy. Additionally, the regional decentralization has been shown to hinder the development of the model (Bradford y Jenson, 1991). This results go also against the crystallization of class parties and the positive effect that these could have in the transformation away from clientelism and particularism (Sudarsky, 1992) and the commitment to political programs.

The poor results for Colombia in each of the mediating institutions in this dimension show a worrying lack of vertical articulation and the absence of mechanism to aggregate rationalities and

create consensus, fundamental for the construction of democratic governability in the midst of the centrifugal process of regional decentralization.

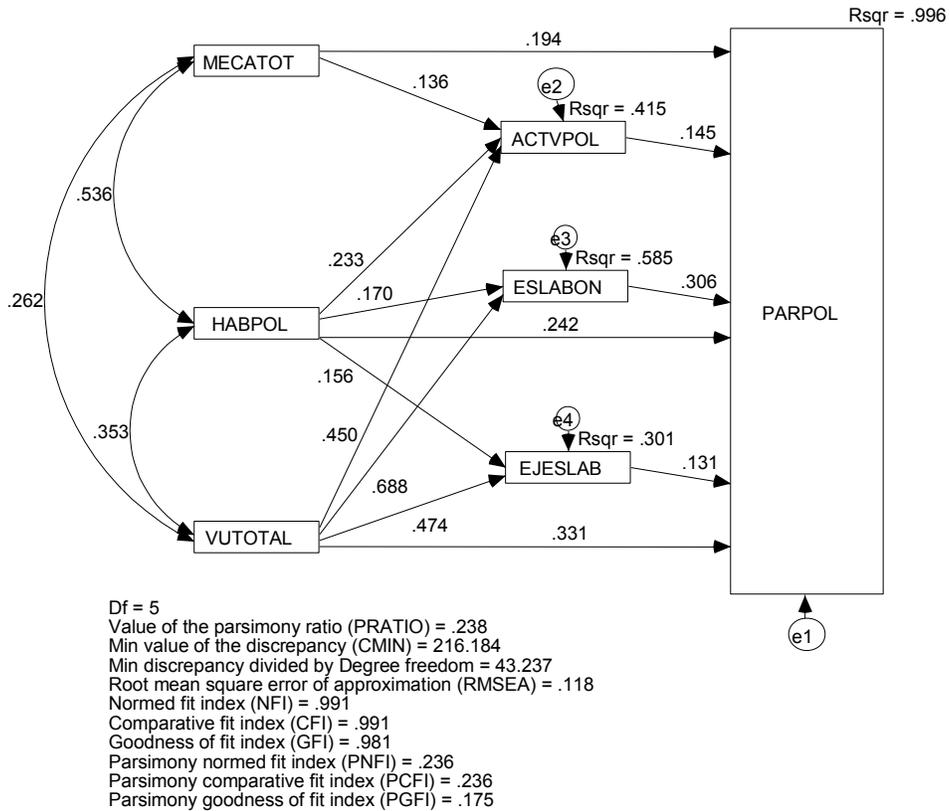
**INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS MEMBERSHIP IN :
GUILDS AND LABOR UNIONS**



C. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

To study the relationship among the variables that make this dimension a path model was built and trimmed. Political Parties had gone out from the dimension for its low beta coefficient (.07), which implies how parties are more an instrument of governability than of political participation. Voting is an element of several variables. The paths trimmed because their low values were MECATOT (Knowledge and Use of Participatory Mechanisms) to ESLABON (Legislative Linkage): .089; MECATOT to EJESLAB (Executive Linkage): .015). The model allows establishing the lack of relationship between Participatory Democracy (MECATOT) and Representative Democracy (ESLABON). The correlation between MECATOT and Political Skill (HABPOL) is very strong (.536). This last variable had a strong and independent effect on Ksocial and negative in Fusi and will be presented first.

PATH ANALYSIS 3 - POLITICAL PARTICIPATION



Political Skills

This variable, in addition to Inglehart's definition of Political Skill (here Capacity to Exert Pressure) included indicators for the complete cycle of political negotiation, from making explicit the problem to supervising the implementation of what was negotiated and rewarding positive leadership. In a country like Colombia the problem is less the use of demonstrations, strikes, signing of petitions, etc. than to, once an agreement has been reach, being able to implement and supervise the agreement.

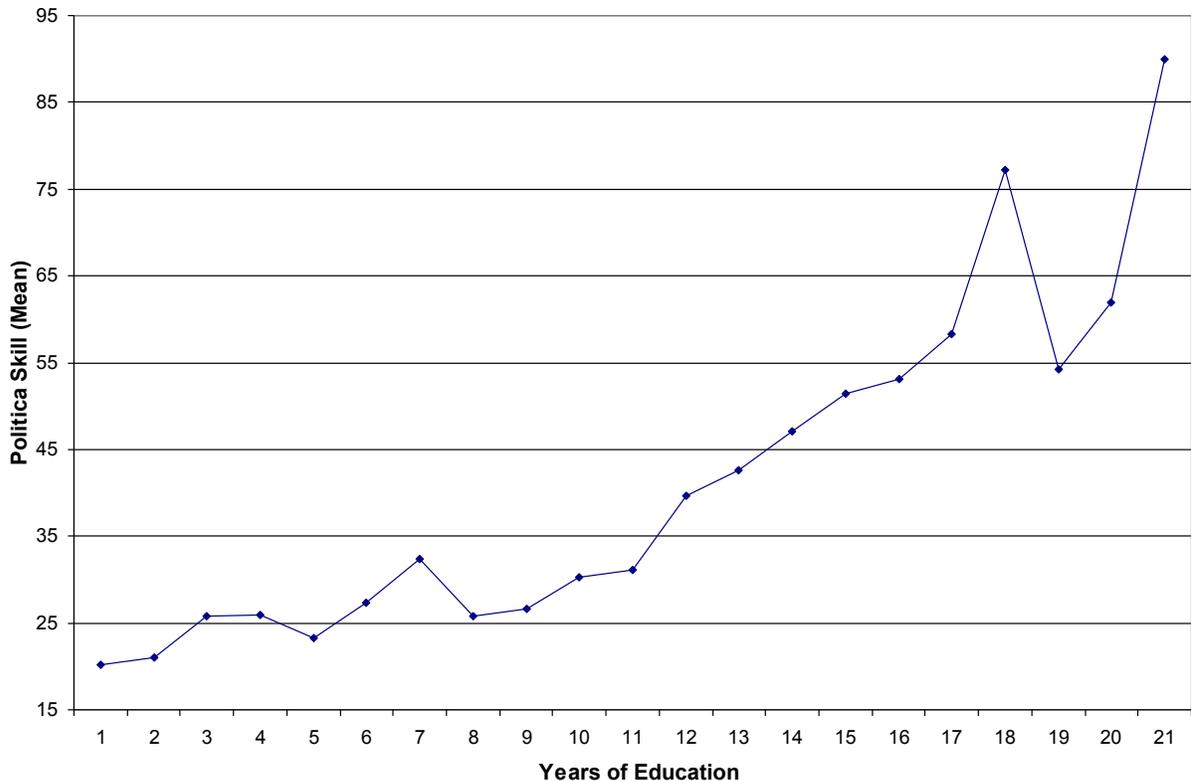
| Variable | Label |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------|
| HBP1ORG | Index Organizational Capacity |
| HBP2EXP | Index Capacity to make Problems Explicit |
| HBP3PRE | Index Capacity to exert Pressure |
| HBP45NG | Index Capacity to Negotiate- reach agreements |
| HBP6CUM | Index Capacity to Make Agreements be fulfilled. |
| HBP7SUP | Index Capacity to Supervise Agreements |
| HBP8LID | Index Capacity to Reward Positive Leadership |

Table 10. Construction of variable Political Skill

The variable remains to be research in greater detail. An initial exploration with demographic variables showed an important effect of Education (beta .392) far up from Age (.190) and Sex (.103, male is positive). To illustrate once more the Cognitive Mobilization effect here, the following graph is presented. However, it seem that Political Skill has more to do with university education

than secondary education and, in terms of the work force in service sector, it would mean professional (see Clark, 1998, 128) instead of more menial white collar jobs.

POLITICAL SKILL Vs. YEARS OF EDUCATION



Voting

This variable had a negative impact in Fusi, which means that the voting process is important to acquire a reference group to validate information. But by itself does not produce Ksocial. Given the way this variable was asked, it was possible to differentiate among those that a) could not vote for reasons different from age, b) those that had never voted, c) those that had voted in at least one election held in the past four years, and d) those that had not been mobilized to vote in these last elections. An additional interesting group was the people that e) were too young to vote (12.2%), especially because it was being proposed to make voting obligatory or lowering the age to do so. It was found that probably it would be better if elections were not held all every four year, but alternate with dates every two years. In that way an 18-year-old would be able to vote when he/she is 20 and not when he is 22. Once this category was excluded, 69% of people had voted sometime in their life, a percentage higher than usually assumed. However, voting was considered for the last four years and then 48% of respondents had a zero value, which diminished their scores not only in voting but also in several other variables. The election with the least voting was the Chamber of Representatives, which happens to be the same that produced the greatest effect on diminishing Fusi.

Representative Democracy

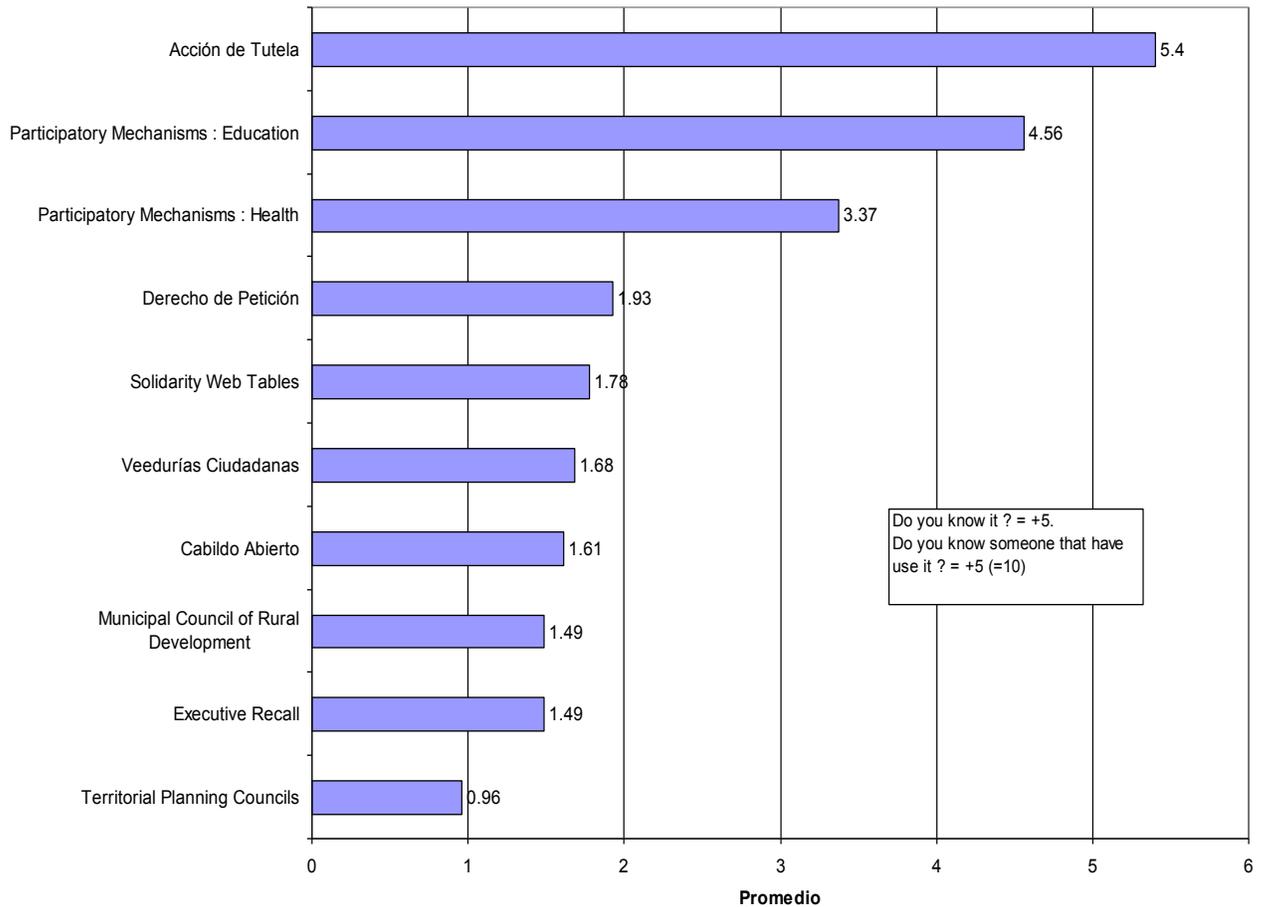
Lawson (1986) has used the concept of Political Linkage to discuss the way in which, in a particular society, this process is achieved. Among her categories Clientelism is one, prevalent and

structurally determined in Colombia before the new constitution. To measure in a more modest way if there was representation, the Legislative Linkage variable was constructed for each of the different bodies (Senate, Chamber of Representatives, Departmental Assembly, Municipal Council and Juntas Administradoras Locales -JALs, a sub municipal unit in large cities). Three questions were asked for each body: Did you vote in those elections (in the last 4 years)? Did he know who was his candidate, not matter if he had been elected or not? Was he elected? Additionally, he had to choose which of them was the closest to him/her. For this closest representative he answered the reasons to vote for him to be used in other analysis. With these answers it was possible to construct a scale for each body and an aggregate of Legislative Linkage. 54% of the population over 18 years old has zero in this variable. This is a very disappointing result if one considers that this variable is critical to establish the quality and intensity of Representative Democracy. With this result it was possible to rank the linkage for each body and to analyze for each of them where the main gaps of representation are, which were found at the departmental level. There, a chasm of Ksocial was detected. People were very aware of who could have been his representative and of the outcome of the election (reduction of Fusi). However linkage diminished drastically after elections as they did not choose these representatives as their closest. The departmental electoral district will be latter discussed in detail as the main territorial cleavage for the accumulation of Ksocial.

Participatory Democracy

As mentioned in Social Control, Participatory Democracy was studied in an unaided and aided form. The answer for the unaided questions were so scarce and revealed how little the theme of the participatory mechanism are in the heads of Colombians, so much that the question had to be discarded. For the aided question the results are as follows.

One of the main purposes of the Barcas was to measure how these mechanisms were know and used. The results are very disappointing. Additionally, once the mechanism were ranked in terms of the ratio (Know a Person who has used mechanism)/ (Know a person who has used+ Know mechanism yourself), it was found that those less known were collective mechanisms (Citizen's Oversight, Open Town Meeting, Executive Recall and Territorial Planning Councils) and, moreover, they were the least used. One interesting result is that when a government is interested in promoting a participatory mechanism (in this case Solidarity Web Tables) this mechanism could become known very fast. However, they are extremely vulnerable as they tend to be rather ad-hoc for each government, and go through the Clientelism-Failure Complex (Sudarsky, 1980,1987). By its dynamic they would be labeled as failures by the new governmental administration to put in their own clientele, and then they would scratch the program as "failures" without accumulating knowledge or experience, to start from zero again. In the positive side, participation in Education was high and, as will be seen latter, contributed additionally to make education one of the most important reservoirs of social capital.

PARTICIPATORY MECHANISMS : AIDDED ANSWERS

As for the two other variables in this dimension: Political Activities and Executive Linkage they will not be presented as they have less significant paths to the dimension and are highly correlated to those already presented.

D. INSTITUTIONAL TRUST

The dimensions that have been studied up to this point have a clear relation with Ksocial and, when they had a relationship with the second factor, it was negative, i.e.: Political Participation. However, the next three dimensions: Institutional Trust, Media and Civic Republicanism have a positive relationship with BOTH factors.

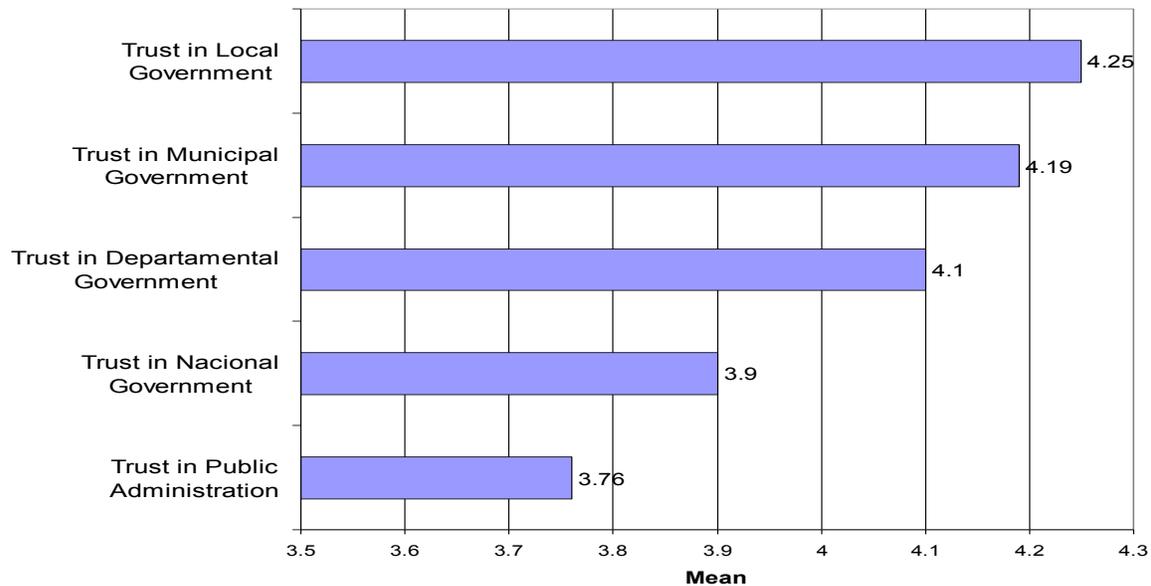
The trust of citizens in their institutions and the ease which these generate for every day life, are reflected in this dimension. It is of the essence of the work of North (1990) and Fukuyama (1995) that the contribution that this trust generates diminishes transaction costs and generates wide social spaces where transactions among strangers take place with ease. The trust in these institutions also help to solve the deeper problems of social order, that is, the precontractual element of social life (Mauss, 1997, Durkheim, 1964, Eisenstadt, 1981) and let people trust that someone is taking care of the long range and collective problems of society. Thus, everyone can "do his or her own thing". However, to harvest the benefits of this trust, they have to be renewed in everyday life. So, it

is a problem that this institutional trust would be a fatalistic believe in the social order as the interpretation of Fusi can suggest. So, whenever a salient result on items or variables that bear in this issue appears, they will be presented.

No single variable has a direct effect on Ksocial. Departmental Government has a direct positive effect on Fusi. The model of the dimension was simplified using Amos to trim those variables that have a smaller influence in the dimension. From this model, which had a total explained variance of .93, Trust in Government (National, Departmental, Municipal and Local, as well as Trust in Civil Service), Honesty and Respect for the Law, Trust in Movements (Ecological and Women's) and Trust in the Legal System turned out as specially relevant and some of their results will be presented. Additionally, to understand the relationships with the factors, a model of items into factors was build and trimmed. Some of the variables are discussed elsewhere (Trust Legal in Social Control, Trust in Groups -Unions and Guilds- in Hierarchy, Trust in Media in the dimension).

Trust in Government

This variable was positively related to Fusi. Is composed by Trust in Local, Municipal, Departmental and National Governments and Trust in Public Service. When disaggregated it was trust in Departmental Government which explained the relationship with Fusi. This means that this government level does not provide ways to validate its trust, an issue that will be explored latter in terms of institutional design. The results for the different items are as follows.



Trust in National Government and Public Service are very low. In the international comparison only Venezuela, Argentina and the Dominican Republic were lower than Colombia in both items.

Trust in Movements

This variable encompasses Trust in Ecological, Feminist and Ethnic groups. As illustrated in the general graph in institutions, these groups have a high level of trust as compared to other institution. This was more so when the ecological and feminist groups were internationally compared, appearing especially high.

Honesty and Respect of the Law

This variable has to be seen with the variable Corruption presented in the initial international comparison graph for Colombia, which did not enter in the dimension because its internal homogeneity throughout society (like interpersonal trust). As a cultural-institutional variable then it is related to the WVS polarity Traditional Authority- Rational Legal Secular Authority. Colombia, as it will be seen when Civic Participation is studied, is very much into the traditional religious end of the polarity. Which means that still is far away from a position where members of society see themselves as upholders of the law. The item that had the greatest effect on the variable was "People respect the Law, even the Traffic rules" but it was related to Fusi. It is a bad omen that the second item in importance "Political Violence is never justified" had an average towards accepting violence as political mean.

E. COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA

Media has two elements: one composed by activities such as Calling a Live Program, Writing a letter to the Editor and Frequency of reading newspaper -a proxy for civic engagement used by Putnam in Italy- and another made of Trust in TV, the Press and a statement that communications media do explain problems in depth instead of worrying about gossip and sensationalistic news. The first element is related to Ksocial, the second to Fusi. The two elements have no correlation among them. This is one of the reasons to label the second factor as Fusi.

The average for the three activities was very low. For the first two 86% of the population had not performed any of these activities. For newspaper reading only 50% of the population read newspapers once a week or more. The potential for improvement here is enormous. Indeed, all of the items here were positively affected by education.

F. CIVIC REPUBLICANISM

The most important result regarding this dimension is its empirical confirmation, proven for the first time (Clark, 1998 personal conversation). Clark (1994) characterizing the political cultures of the world, states as one of its dimension the polarity Civic Republicanism- Particularism, differentiating additionally a non-ideological and ideological particularism. "The 'non ideological particularists' restrict their interest in politics to those aspect related to the private personal life or the family needs, denying the sphere of civil society. This non-ideological particularism has been identified as the Amoral Familist characteristic of the south of Italy." (8) Civic Republicanism is characterized by politicized citizens, learned in the public matters with a sense of responsibility for the public sphere. Putnam (1993,87) shows how this conception of the virtuous citizen was replaced in the XIX century by liberalism and its emphasis on individual rights.

Machiavelli concluded that whether free institutions succeeded or failed depended on the character of the citizens, or their "civic virtue. According with a long- standing interpretation of Anglo-American political thought, this "republican" school of civic humanism was subsequently vanquished by Hobbes, Locke, and their liberal successors. Whereas the republicans had emphasized community and the obligations of citizenship, liberals stressed individualism and individual rights.

Clark, when discussing if Civic Republicans are hierarchical or not indicates that for them what is important is to warranty that all actors involved in a public problem have the possibility to say what they think about it.

The dimension, as the process unfolded became built in the following way:

| | |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------|
| PARTICUL | Particularism (-) |
| EDUPOLT | Political Education |
| POLITCZI | Citizen's Politicization |
| RESP_PUB | Responsibility for success of the Public Sphere |
| CLIENTEL | Clientelism (-) |
| SIGUPOL | Putnam index of Political Equality |

Table 11: Variables of Civic Republicanism

The dimension has a positive impact on both factors: Political Education positive in both, Citizen's Politicization positive in Ksocial. Particularism has a positive relationship with Fusi. When the variable was disaggregated this effect was constrained to the item "When the State makes a decision, it applies in the same way to everyone" a clear element of Universalism but, in the interpretation of Fusi, more a believe than a validated fact.

Political Education

| | Ksocial | Fusi |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|--------|
| The education that I receive(ed) gives (gave) me the necessary instruments to exert my duties as citizen. | -. 119 | |
| Citizens get informed to participate effectively. | .139 | .220 |
| The State makes the necessary efforts to inform citizens. | .144 | .234 |
| Communications media explain problems in depth. | .160 | .356 |
| People have who explain to them public problems. | - | - |
| Political Parties make big efforts to make their programs and ideologies known. | - | - |
| Public activities are so complicated that get you confused. | - | - |
| Although people want to participate they do not have the capacities to do so. | - | - |
| Colombians do not know where the country is heading because nobody tells us. | | -. 216 |
| Reasons for Voting: PROGRAM category. | .380 | -. 133 |

Table 12: Paths of Political Education's Items into Main Factors

To clarify the relationship with Fusi a model of items of Political Education and factors was build. The group of items useful for this clarification is those that have a positive relationship with both factors. The three items "Citizens get informed to participate effectively," "The State makes the necessary efforts to inform citizens" and "Communications media explain problems in depth" have the element of unrestricted faith in some sort of institution (State, citizens, and Media). Whether this items indicate the presence of social capital or unrestricted faith has to do with their interaction with other variables, especially with levels of education and other activities. The main problem that came into consideration here is that the people that make a strong affirmative statement about these matters, are two groups: one with low education which do not have the cognitive complexity that would give them the standards of comparisons to affirm such statements. The other group, high in education and in contact with other social groups, would have a standard of comparison to validly make the statement.

Citizen's Politicization

This variable has a positive effect on Ksocial and some of its results are useful to identify the weakness of this new culture.

| | Average |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Belonging to Interest Representation Organization | -4.59 |
| If one does not get paid for a public role you do not have to play it | .52 |
| People can go directly into the State without organization that represents them. | -. 65 |
| Once a candidate gets elected you do not have to help in his plan implementation | -1.79 |
| People make sacrifices when is time to participate | .79 |
| Citizen's participation is an excuse that the Sate uses for not makes things right | 1.70 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------------|------|
| Participatory Mechanism: Open Town Meeting | 1.61 |
|--------------------------------------------|------|

Table 13: Means in Citizen's Politicization items

From these averages, there are three that are negative, with means below zero. First, not performing a public role if one does not get paid -people expect to be paid. Second, the direct intervention in the state –people feel that they cannot intervene directly. Third, that participation is a State is an excuse for not doing thing well, all which show how little people believe that there is a shared responsibility for the public sphere. One the other hand, the results are better for “supporting a candidate once he has triumphed” and “making sacrifices when you have to participate”. This variable allows comparing in the future the change in Civic Republicanism and the population's changing relationship with the State.

It is important to register the place of Clientelism as a negative element for Ksocial. Some people still state that Clientelism is functional for a political system as a way to integrate the periphery into the center, especially those that are atomized. Clientelism could be a way to link this population – and this should be researched in greater detail- but destroys more than it creates in terms of social capital.

G. SOLIDARITY AND RECIPROCITY

The tree following dimensions, as well as Political Participation have a pattern of positive impact in Ksocial and negative in Fusi. As they reflect active social connection, the particular enactment of specific activities show how people socially isolated and high in Fusi would change to connect themselves with a reference group in which they can validate information from previously unvalidated sources.

In Solidarity and Mutuality the main effect is through the Atomization variable. As mentioned in Hierarchy, this dimension was the axis for the “social fabric” of society. Two variables will be presented: Atomization and Reciprocity, which had the second strongest impact in the dimension and a strong negative relationship (-. 506) with Opportunism.

Atomization reflected the isolation of the person from society through lack of social security (a proxy for informal sector), legislative linkage, friendship, solidarity, lack of social meetings with friends from work and neighborhood, no economic support when in trouble and frequent “repotting” (Putnam, 1995) (Lives there for less than six months). What we see here is a very central problem of Colombian society as the atomization registers people ‘outside” society, isolation in which Clientelism feeds. It would be interesting to further explore the nature of the lower extreme of Atomization and the possibility of generating some sort of social policy towards its alleviation.

Reciprocity⁵ was interesting because it was one of the few variables that had no relationship whatsoever with Education, indicating its “cultural” determination. It is possible that its change can be traced, using the community classification scheme presented above, to the transformation of Gemeinschaft through the different routes to Gesellschaft and to Post material society in a range beyond Colombia's present stage. This will have to be explored when the regional differences are studied.

5

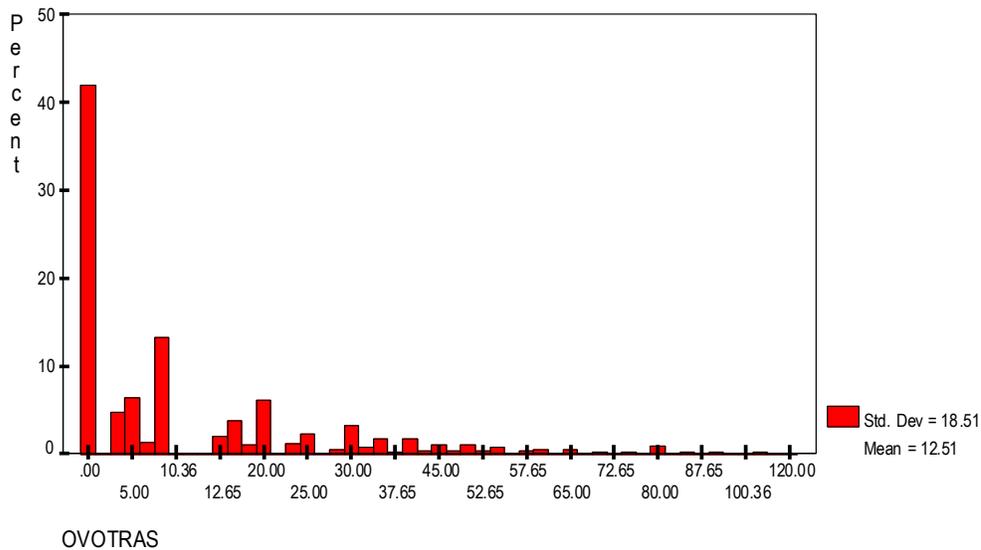
| Generalized Reciprocity | Signo | Escala |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|--------|
| People behave in an opportunistic way and disregard their obligations with others. | - | 1.5 |
| People fulfill their obligations when they can be punished for not doing so. | - | 1 |
| People fulfill their obligations with others because, if they find out, the people around him will know that he is not trust worthy. | + | 0 |
| People in general fulfill their obligations to be sure that other will do so to him. | + | 1 |
| People try to fulfill their obligations with others | + | 1.5 |

H. CIVIC PARTICIPATION

In term of social transformation and the development of civil society, the public non-state sphere⁶ of society, this dimension is of the greatest importance and will be explored mainly through membership in non-religious voluntary organizations, the only significant variable from this dimension directly related to Ksocial and Fusi. The following graph illustrates how preponderant is membership in Church and voluntary religious organizations, with 53% of the population belonging to them. In a country where 85% of the respondents indicated their catholic faith, the analysis should be made as in a society homogeneously catholic. As it was demonstrated above, membership in religious voluntary organizations does not contribute to this variable, dimension and social capital.

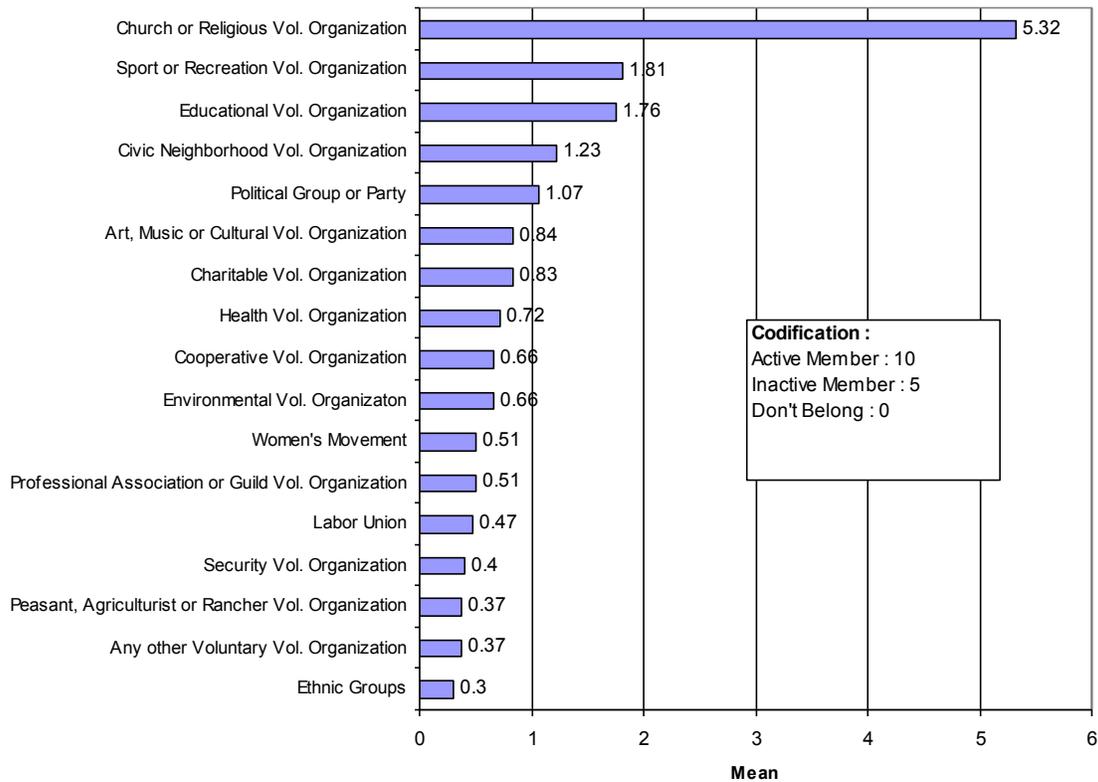
The aggregate membership in non-religious voluntary organization is shown below. The weakness of civil society is evident. 43% of respondents do not belong to any organization. It indeed shows the potential development of civic secular⁷ society. As this is the baseline for its development, it is important to discriminate among the different organizations and, additionally, their active/total membership.

A model of the impact of the different organizations on the dimension was made to see which one of them have an effect over a significant threshold. Once again, educational organizations have a significant contribution as well as sports and neighborhood associations such as Juntas de Acción Comunal, and political groups and parties. Below the threshold are women's, ethnic and security groups. However, is necessary that the segmental nature of these organizations is taken into considerations for some of these, as they do not allow the whole population to belong to them.

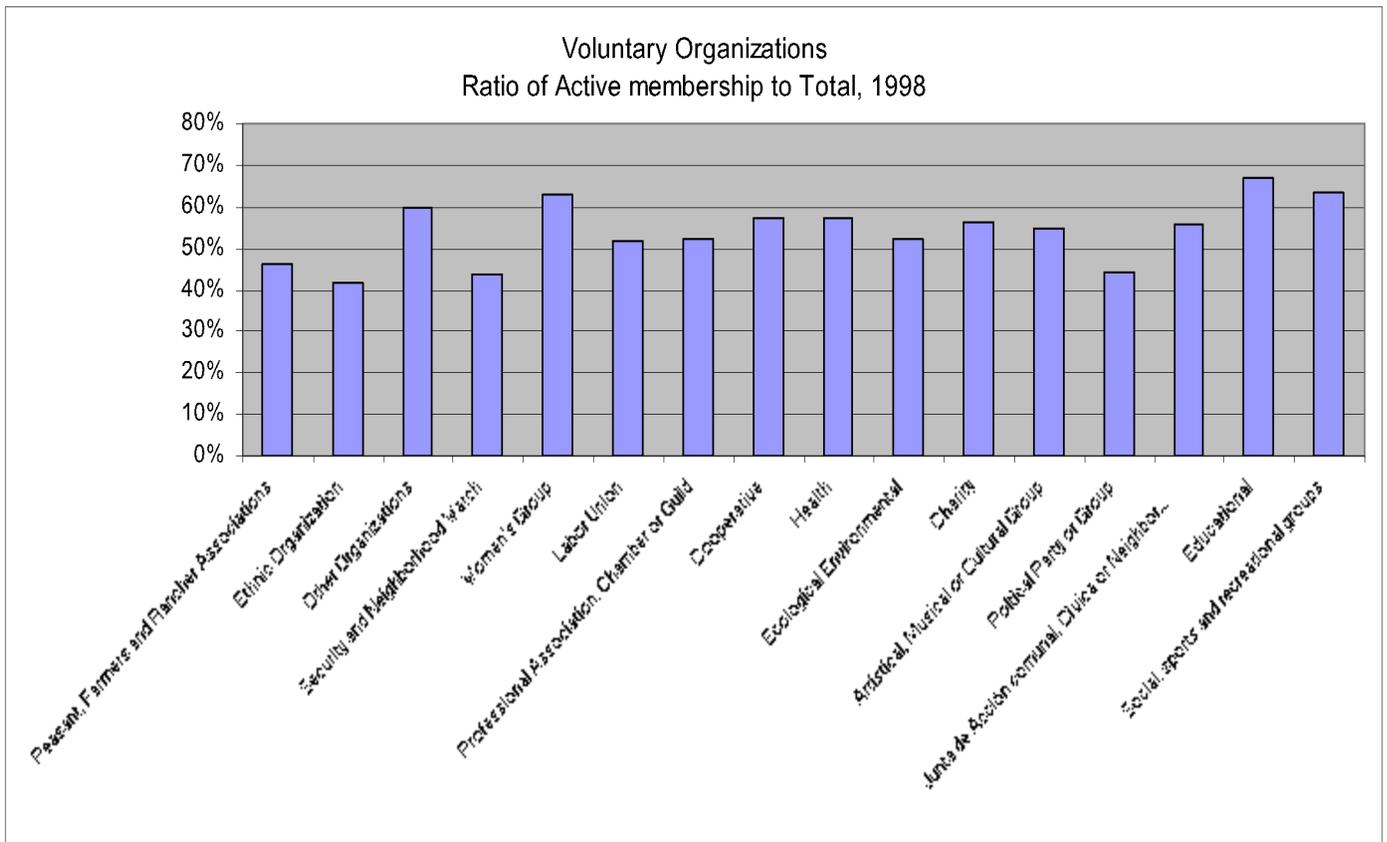


⁶ One of the most salient elements of the Spanish Jacobinist tradition is the symbolic absence of Civic Society: in that tradition the Public sphere was the State and the Non State was private or "Particular". For the impact of this tradition and the new constitution of Colombia in the linkage between the State and Society, see Sudarsky, 1993. See also Gellner, 1991.
⁷ The concept of Civic Society was indeed invented *ex nihilo* by Marsilio di Padua in his treatise *Defensor Pacis* in 1324 precisely to oppose papal influence in government (Laski, 1964).

MEMBERSHIP IN NON RELIGIOUS VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS



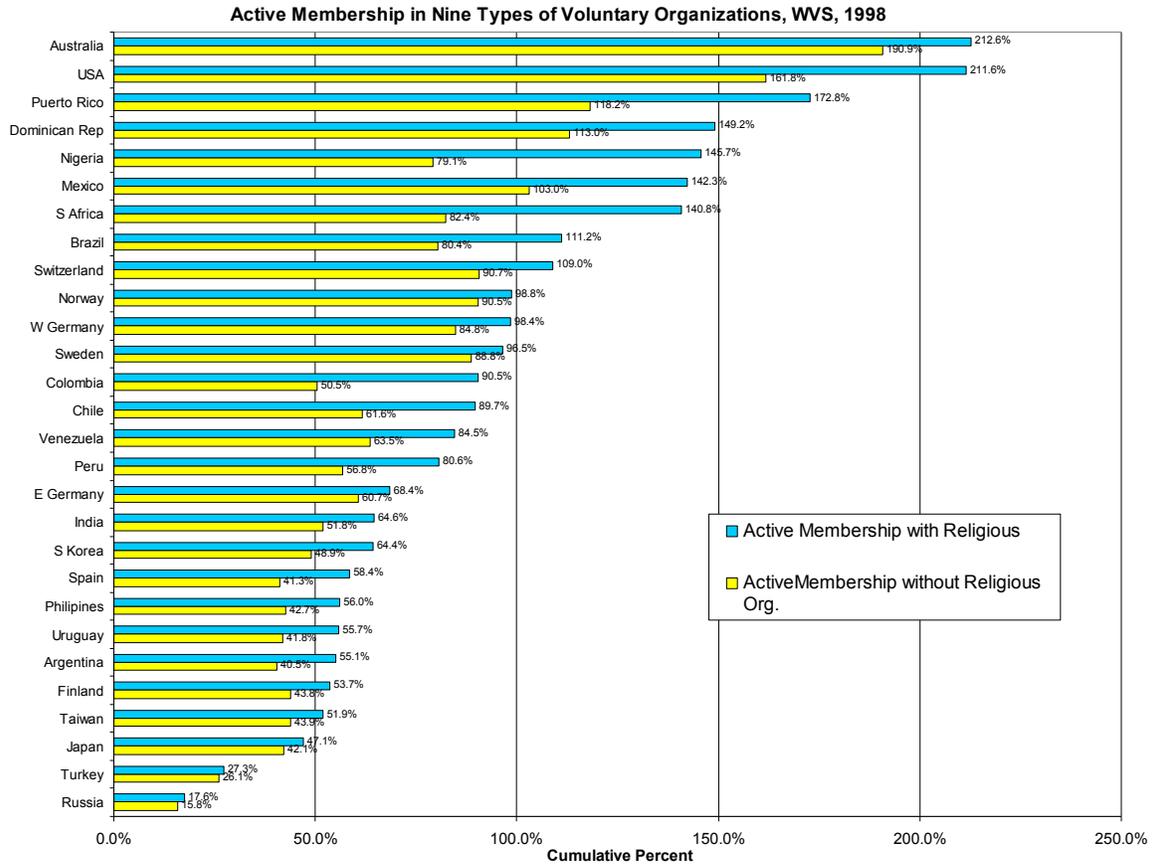
In the following graph the different organizations are presented in term of an active to total membership ratio. . The development of active participation is central to develop a vigorous civil society, not just a formal membership but one active and committed. Here again the educational institutions show a strong (68%) active membership that is important not only because they are active but also because their large membership. It is of no surprise that the educational reservoir is one of the most significant for the accumulation of social capital. The sports and social clubs and women's groups show also high levels of activity. In terms of a smaller ratio rural, ethnic and security groups and most relevant and in last place group and political parties (44%) are important.

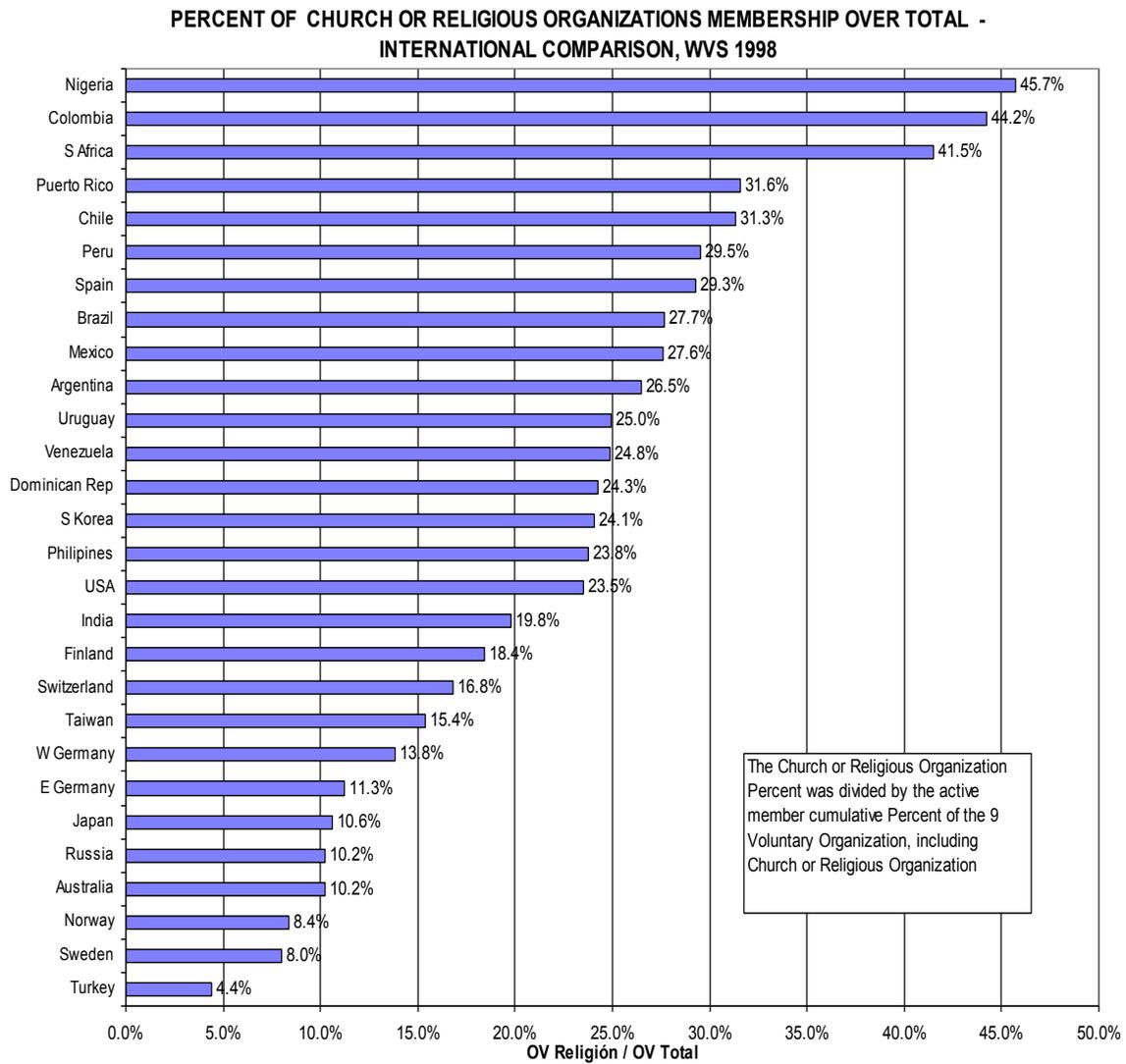


How does Colombia rank with other countries in this active membership? To answer this, the following graph is presented with membership in nine types of organizations (Church, sports club, social, artistic, cultural or educational, labor unions, political parties, ecological, professional associations or chambers, charity and others) available from the WVS. They are presented with and without religious organizations.

The result shows that when religious organizations are excluded, Colombia, from an intermediate position between Sweden and Chile in terms of active membership in voluntary organizations, drops to a level just below India when religious organizations are excluded.

How does Colombia rank with other countries in regards to the preponderance of religious organizations? For this purpose the following graph was set. Here the percentage of active membership in voluntary organizations over the total of active membership in the nine organizations is shown. Colombia ranks as the second among the countries where this was measured, just under Nigeria. However in Nigeria there are two preponderant religions. In Colombia there is only one. How small is Colombia's secular civil society is self-evident. If the participation in religious organizations does not contribute to social capital, the need for the development of a **secular** civil society is central for the development of Social Capital.





I. HORIZONTAL RELATIONSHIPS

Horizontal relationships have been emphasized repeatedly in the literature as a source of social capital. However, Banfield's argument about Amoral Familist indicates that in societies where there is a long history of distrust and the idea of the personal responsibility for the public good has been obliterated, people will find solidarity only in a strict family nuclei. The high level of familiar solidarity in the General Solidarity variable showed this although no international comparison is available for this question⁸. Given Colombia's level of interpersonal distrust, it is here where the extent of the amoral familist mentality should be researched, and its change registered in eventual measurements. This will be done through the discussion of the two variables: Horizontal Solidarity and Third Party Enforcement. This dimension had the least explanation in regards to demographic and control variables, a fact that will have to be further explored. The positive effect of this dimension of Ksocial and negative in Fusi was through the effect of Horizontal Solidarity. It can be

⁸ Maybe "How important is Family" from the WVS.

assumed that the level of these relationships are low, specially "help from friends", as a related item in Alienation (difficulty of finding friends) had the highest rating. Furthermore, the reservoir of interpersonal relationships presented the same pattern that the dimension with both factors.

Horizontal Solidarity

As described in Hierarchy, the only solidarity that had an effect on Ksocial was horizontal. From the items that make it up, getting help from Relatives (when you have problems) was the highest (2.25), followed in its order by Neighbors (1.75) Friends (1.55) and Compadres (1.1)⁹. The eventual development of trust among strangers can be latter compared with the help of the different items of the following variable, **Third Party Enforcement**, as the different clusters of trust expand from the intimate family circle, towards requiring less of a third party's intervention to solve conflicts.

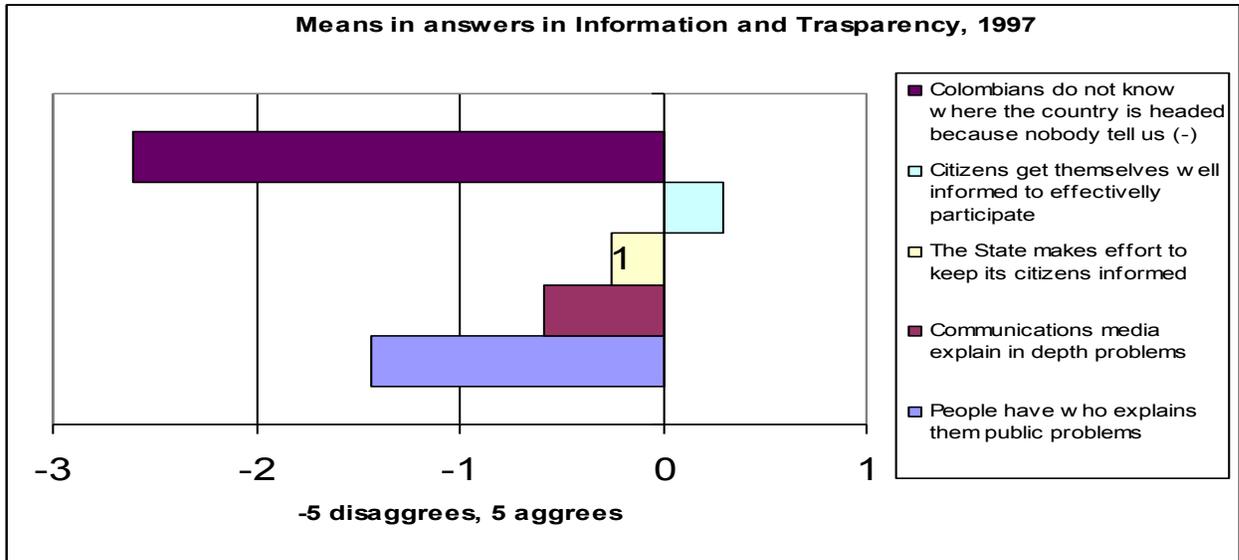
| Third Party Enforcement (polarities have changed to go in correct direction) | Average | Explanation |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| When you have problems with people like yourself you do not require an external agent (some different from yourself) to solve it. | 2.05 | In the inner circle there is no need for external agent. |
| When you have problems with people different from yourself, it is necessary that some external agent intervene to solve differences. | 2.02 | With external circle some one external has to intervene |
| In a conflict it is better to bring someone of trust that helps to mediate than to recur to ordinary justice. | 2.30 | In inner circle no need for external agent. |
| Collective Problem Solving: If someone of higher position do not intervene, One cannot coordinate with others to solve them. | .78 | Communities where external agent is needed. |
| Collective Problem Solving: my collectivity has the people that can solve them as they have always done it. | .72 | Communities which have how to solve collective problems. |

Table 14: Third Party Enforcement Items and their meaning for the development of Internal Community Capacities

J. INFORMATION AND TRANSPARENCY

Besides the relationship with Fusi, the items of Information and Transparency had low averages, specially the item: "Colombians do not know where the country is heading because no one tell us". All these means reflect lack of information, its poor quality and the general disorientation about the future of the country. Here again, the picture is very bleak as those who state that they know something, can be high in Fusi. An example is that the people who stated they knew how the resources of their locality where to be spent (only 11% of the sample) and those that stated that "People inform themselves to participate effectively" are low in education and socially isolated and participate less. The lack of **aggregated collective rationalities** creates a great deal of confusion and fragmentizes visions of the future which people can use to organize their images or where the country should be headed. Parties, who have a great responsibility to do so, have a very poor rating on a related question "The political parties make a great effort to tell people their ideas."

⁹ 10: most important, 5: second most important, 0: not mentioned.



K. RESERVOIRS AS CONTAINERS OF KSOCIAL AND FUSI

The general trend of the results indicate that the neocorporatist model of social contract and the development of class parties are not socially viable future scenarios in Colombia. What is left then as a political ideology and culture, is the development of Civic Republicanism and its concomitant responsibility for the public good to increase Ksocial. Where can this culture be expressed? This leads directly to the study of reservoirs, to check if they are structured to hold and develop social capital, especially their territorial units. Those constructed can be seen in table 7 above. Regressions were made with the aggregate indexes and disaggregated sub indexes, by the two factors. The results, in which what appears is as important as what does not appear, are the following:

| Aggregated Reservoirs | Ksocial | Fusi |
|-----------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| Label | Beta | |
| Total Civic Society | .468503 | -. 296597 |
| Total Politics | .287411 | -. 296097 |
| Total Media | .281561 | .440036 |
| Total State | .183801 | .399636 |
| Total Interpersonal Relationships | .141642 | -. 189755 |

Table 15: Results of Regressions of Reservoirs in two Main Factors

Even with all the limitations that have been identified, Civil Society is still the container with the greatest capacity to hold Ksocial and to validate information. In a second level Politics have the same effect which gets repeated at a lower level with interpersonal relationships. Media and the State are high in both factors but stronger with Fusi. State has a very weak impact on Ksocial.

| Disaggregated Reservoirs | Ksocial | Fusi |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| | Beta | Beta |
| TOTAL MEDIA | .293866 | .424302 |
| Politics –Territorial - National | .229249 | -. 251764 |
| State –Territorial - Societal | .203253 | .290041 |
| Civil Society – Participation in Interest Representation Organizations | .199489 | |
| Civil Society – Guild (Gremios) Sub index | .170712 | |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| TOTAL EDUCATIONAL | .165437 | |
| Politics – Political Party Sub index | .154453 | |
| Civil Society – Territorial – Neighborhood | .151379 | -. 179160 |
| TOTAL INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS | .140303 | -. 148546 |
| State- Territorial – Departmental | | .140090 |
| TOTAL WORK | | -. 138195 |
| Politics – Territorial – Societal | | -. 130224 |
| Civil Society – Territorial – Societal | | -. 117292 |

Table 16: Summary of regressions of two factors by disaggregated reservoirs

The disaggregation of reservoirs allows specifying more precisely the cleavages present in society for the accumulation of Ksocial. Education, besides Media and Interpersonal Relationships, becomes important as it has repeatedly been found. For **Civil Society**, besides the sub indexes of Interest Organizations and Guild (no labor unions or agrarian organizations), only the neighborhood has Ksocial. From there on it does not appear in any territorial unit. Only at the societal level diminishes Fusi. At the national, departmental, city and local level these reservoirs are not significant container of Ksocial. Guild, Chambers and Professional Associations appear as important transversal organizations, even when Interest Organizations are also included.

For **Politics**, Party is a container of Ksocial and, territorially, the nation. The societal level diminishes Fusi. Politics from the locality to the departmental level do not contain Ksocial nor diminishes Fusi. The **State** only has an effect on Ksocial at the societal level, but as is the case with Media, it also increases Fusi. The rest of territorial units are devoid of social capital. But at the departmental level it has a positive effect on Fusi highlighting the problem with this territorial unit.

Which reservoirs do not contain Ksocial or/and Fusi? Family in none of its indexes, nor religion or recreation. Work, in the other hand, helps eliminate Fusi although it does not have an effect on Ksocial.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of the project, the development of a comprehensive instrument to measure social capital has been achieved satisfactorily, with results beyond expectations, especially for the discovery of the second factor (Fusi) in the conceptual and empirical space that the Barcas measures¹⁰. After the two processings of the Pretest and two additional of the national sample it can be said that we have a robust measurement of Ksocial with 37.2% and 12.8% variance explained for a total of 50%. The two factors include all the dimensions measured. As usual the construction of dimensions and variables can be further refined, but this is indeed a solid contribution to the measurement and understanding of Social Capital. The initial set of variables and dimensions was empirically and conceptually simplified and a parsimonious balance reached.

The quantitative measurement helps to establish a base line for comparison and change in a precise manner, which will precipitate learning about a subject matter so usually dealt with in a purely discursive way. Many of this subject matter will for certain continue to be discussed but it is important to have a solid empirical ground to anchor them. In this sense the international comparison that the World Value Survey is of invaluable worth and for space considerations many of this results have not been presented here. The empirical base that the Barcas provides should precipitate the refinement of public policies directed towards Social Capital and the fulfillment of the potential that this new concept has for the social sciences.

The results of the Barcas are congruent with the exiting literature. The discovery of the second factor and the Barcas capacity to measure it is also of great importance. Being able to detect when a believe has not been validated, that when Fusi is high, the believe is something different. This is new in this perspective. The statement of Putnam (1996) that attributes to the advent of TV watching the decadence of social capital in the US is not corroborated here. Instead, the causality is through Fusi, in the sense that citizens high in this factor tend to remain demobilized by the illusion that they have sufficient and valid information that allows them to disregard their responsibility for the public matters.

The measurement shows different results for the two factors (Factor Loading, Regression Coefficients etc.) and further analysis allows increasing the parsimony of the explanations. The disaggregation process into variables and items gives a further precision to understand the results, especially when path analysis can be used. However, it is necessary to remember that variables never surpassed dimensions when they were simultaneously included.

THE SOCIAL CAPITAL OF COLOMBIA

From the fundamental comparison of trust in strangers and perceived corruption, Colombia's social capital is feeble. As has been repeated in Mafiosi societies, when social capital does not fill society, it is crime, violence and lawlessness that abound. The Colombian society is fractured, atomized and very few institutions and believes contribute to strengthen such essential resource as social capital. This especially have an effect in the lack of institutions that can help in its governability. The measurement has brought forth a new set of problems, suspected but not measured in a way that allows to appreciate their importance and impact in society. Social Control over the State and its institutions, the dimension with the strongest impact on Ksocial, show how vulnerable and weak it is. Trust in the Fiscalía is positive and salient which must be preserved as very valuable. Those

¹⁰ Some important questions of the WVS that are strong predictors of its two factors were not included in the Barcas. Although a great effort was made to sample items in this regard, the power of these specific questions was found out latter (Inglehart, 1998). In Barcas new versions this must be corrected.

institutions that are less related to Fusi, and thus their validity established are of the greatest importance to generate Ksocial. However, some of the most fundamental political institutions such as Congress and Political parties have a very low level of trust from the population, barely surpassing Guerrillas and Paramilitary, not the best example of institutions in a violence ravaged country. It is precisely the frailty that the delegation of such control that makes these mechanisms of social control so vulnerable. Participatory mechanism that could broaden and make more effective this control is practically unknown to the population, especially the collective ones. Here a change seems fundamental to increase transparency, the commitment of citizens in the different reservoirs of participation and the dissuasive effect that they can have on corruption.

Civil Society

The axial change in Latin-American societies towards the development of Civil Society was measured in Colombia, with a baseline for its growth established. Although weak and traditional in international comparison, as measured in membership in non-religious voluntary organizations, it was still the more important reservoir for the accumulation of social capital. Although the crowd out effect of religious organization and mass going on civil society found by Putnam in Italy was not replicated in Colombia, it is regrettable that so much of such participatory resources are invested in voluntary religious organizations that do not generate social capital directly or, at least could have done so in the religious reservoir. As reservoir, civil society has three significant elements, first vertically, membership in interest organizations, second guild membership and especially trust in them. And, third, territorially, only the neighborhood that also is a reservoir where information is validated. The message is clear: Civil Society is the reservoir more important for the generation of social capital and its development through increased membership in secular non religious organizations is a clear path to do so.

Hierarchy, Governability and the Viability of Neocorporatist Model of Social Contract

The results in Hierarchy and vertical articulation shows that Colombia's problems are more the lack of vertical institutions that an excess of them that could have excluded citizens from access to the center. To develop the implications of the results, the presence of membership in interest representation organization and guilds as reservoirs that accumulate Ksocial leads to another discussion over the mechanism to strengthen the governability of society. Particularly these lead over the Social Corporatism and/or Social Democrat model of social contract in which the highly socially encompassing labor and employers federations establish some fundamental agreements, which incorporate the commitment of society's members. As in can be observed from the international comparison, Colombia is one of the countries where memberships in Guilds and Unions are lowest. If Guilds are containers of social capital, the weakness of labor unions as counterparts in this social pact process give serious doubts about the **social** feasibility of the model. If the labor structure does not help either because its high and early content of service workers and its regional decentralization, the socialdemocratic classical model as well as its implied class party politics can also be dismissed as feasible political scenarios.

What is left then? The notion of active, participatory, conscious, politicized citizen, publicly responsible in the territories for public matters, universalistic, anticlientelistic: the model of Civic Republicanism. But his model of citizen, product of education and cognitive mobilization, requires spaces for their participation. And thus we are back to the **territorial cleavages** identified in civil society, politics and the state.

The Territorial Cleavages for the development of Social Capital

To establish the territorial containers where social capital or Fusi is present, it is necessary to go through the three differentiated segments of society. In every instance measured: locality, municipalities and departments, the three segments are devoid of social capital. Civic society at the barrio level accumulates Ksocial. But the cleavage between the barrio and national or societal

levels is notorious. At least in politics the national level and political parties are solid containers. But for the state, only the societal level contains Social Capital.

What happens with the other territorial levels? The Department, as the most deficient will be taken as an example. From any angle taken, civil society, politics and the government, the department is devoid of Social Capital and sometimes high in Fusi.

In the political sphere, the department has the executive elections with least voting; in the legislative, the assembly of deputies barely escapes below municipal and above Senate on voting, but the Chamber of Representatives, which also is a departmental electoral jurisdiction comes in the last place. Here an interesting element comes into account: the voting in the Chamber of Representatives is the smallest but is the most significant to validate information as it has a negative impact on Fusi. But besides voting, it is in the linkage elements where the problem of the department is more dramatic. Executive linkage is the smallest in the department, and legislative linkage both for the department and Chamber of Representatives are the smallest. The problem is that, once deputies are elected, the linkage between these and voters drops for this body and the Chamber of Representatives. Voters consider their representatives as the most distant. The two legislative bodies based on the electoral departmental district are the furthest apart from their electorates. There is no Accountability mechanism as there is no Recall¹¹ for the representative bodies.

At the departmental state level, its government is high in Fusi. Citizens that believe in them do not have valid information to validate their trust. As a matter of fact, the best data available on the departments that and expert working on their bankruptcy and fiscal crisis was using, was four years old (Rodriguez, 1999).

Similar analysis could be made for the other territorial units, and a recently introduced electoral district at the sub-municipal level: the JALs, show a strikingly high linkage, the problem is how to make these reservoirs of Social Capital thrive with it. Here the nature of the electoral district has to be dissected and its contribution to atomization analyzed. Colombia has a very destructive system of Proportional Representation. This mechanism supposedly structured to protect minorities, ends up being the shield for the atomization of parties and clientelism. At the departmental electoral district the Representatives are elected two for each department and an additional one for each 250.000 inhabitants in them. So representatives have their voters scattered in their territories. Maybe a mechanism to change this would be to have unipersonal territories district in which the winner takes all. In this way people would know who is his representative, and a legislative recall could be used. Today deputies and representatives are accountable to no one. It is not surprising that the Provincia, introduced in the Constitution as a sub-departmental level was eliminated in the 1994-1998 legislature without any public debate. Another problem is that the specific jurisdictions and responsibilities for the departments be clarified as there are some fundamental ones that are in a limbo between national, department and municipal jurisdictions.

The State

The State is a container weak in Ksocial and high in Fusi with the problematic implications that this has for legitimacy and governability. When the State is territorially disaggregated only has Ksocial at the societal level. Trust in Public Administration has a great potential for improvement given the very low level today. As mentioned before, the territorial government is high in Fusi. In the other hand, in Fusi the statement that the "State provides the necessary information to citizens", is not rated especially low but this is more an unvalidated believe than a reality. The lack of transparency

¹¹ The Americans after WWII introduced such a mechanism in Japan to countervail the power of bureaucrats. There, a third of the electorate could start the recall of a municipal councilman or an administrative officer and a majority of the electorate could recall a representative. (Hoffman-Martinott, 204)

and the public offer of information was one of the least fulfilled goals established in the national policy of participation of the Samper government (CONPES, 1995). It is of critical importance to make public governmental information. As Louis Brandeis said: "The best antiseptic (for corruption) is sun light".

Politics and Political Parties.

National politics and political parties as reservoirs have the potential to further develop Ksocial. The fact that the national level produces a validation process in Fusi is very interesting, and shows significant potential that requires further research. The societal level also has such effect although it does not produce Ksocial. The lack of presence of the other territorial levels is a problem already discussed.

Parties showed a contribution to Ksocial as a political reservoir and in vertical articulation and in the dimension of political participation. In this last one it was included in its construction but was found of no significance there. So parties show more an impact on the problem of governability- vertical articulation and Hierarchy- and least as political participation and ideological political linkage.¹² It is one of the voluntary organizations with more membership (although here they are mixed with groups, a problem for atomization of parties) but with the least ratio of active to total membership. If they have a great responsibility in building the most aggregated alternative reference rationalities, the citizen perceive their effort to inform them as very poor. In this way they are not contributing to the process of political education and to create this aggregated ideologies that provide the country with alternative images of future. With Congress is one of the Institutions that arouse more distrust from the population. Several reforms are being proposed,¹³ some of them directed towards governability that include modifying the proportional representation regime that atomizes parties and foster clientelism. Several other reforms are being discussed such as eliminating the difference between electoral quotient and residual that furthers atomization, rising the voting threshold to be a party, and requiring them to have single list for every election. However, these reforms do not try to solve the problem of linkage and accountability as discussed in the department.

Interpersonal and Horizontal Relationships have a strong effect in diminishing Fusi and increasing Ksocial. However these are difficult to intervene directly¹⁴ in a country as fractured as Colombia. They will only change as the spaces devoid of social capital are filled and the collective agreements constructed from below will generate trust among strangers. Change here is indeed the main result of other possible changes.

The Jacobin Spanish Catholic Tradition

The role of Colombia's tradition and its consequences leads to the question if this is a "path dependency" with no exit. Are Colombia condemned to the Jacobin Spanish-Catholic tradition legacy and the kind of development that it implies? Inglehart (1998) conclusion that countries with a catholic heritage have less interpersonal trust and are poorer is very discouraging. However, an example of the possibility of change with a similar tradition than Colombia's is presented by Inglehart (1988, figure 6) for Spain. There, although the change from 1981 to 1996 is important, specially in the WVS dimension of Survival to Well Being, when the generations above 38 years old (the median of the sample) and those younger are compared, it is found for the younger generation a striking change in the Traditional to Legal Rational Secular polarity. The young are practically a part of the western European culture with no catholic heritage. But in the Colombian case, a

¹² There is a great deal of data in the Barcas about these matters. It is possible to identify differences of effects for different parties. These could also be differentiated in reasons given for voting, in a traditional modern continuum. The relationship with clientelism could thus be discerned.

¹³ The most recent, pushed by President Pastrana's government was defeated as it had too many alternative agendas in a single package.

¹⁴ Antanas Mockus' practice as mayor of Bogota drives in this direction and is an important experiment to change civic culture.

transformation of these dimensions must go through development of a strong secular civil society that contributes effectively to the accumulation of social capital. However, there is nothing inherent in this process. The persistence of a culture can be illustrated by the very high predictability that the values of different ethnic identities can have after three generations in the supposed USA "melting pot" (R. Smith, 1995).

The Cognitive Mobilization Thesis

The confirmation of the Cognitive Mobilization Theory, that is, that the creation of an active and rational democracy must be preceded by the expansion of education, mainly measured by the percentage of population that have gone through secondary school and of labor force in the service sector, is one of the more consistent result of this research piece. Education had an effect in increasing Ksocial and decreasing Fusi. It would be repetitious to reiterate the impact of education of the different variables: Civic and Political Participation, Social Control, etc. In this sense the clearest public policy about the development of social capital is the expansion of education, especially basic education. An infant that does not go to school is disabled to become a citizen and for this, education should be obligatory, more than the vote, more so now that there is not a shortage of governmental supply of education at the elementary level. At secondary level the investment in secondary education is central. A great deal of content analysis of courses can be made, but since the classical studies about modernization and modernity (Inkeles & Smith, 1974), what makes the difference is the *latent curriculum*, that is, makes the difference is what attendance to school imprints. Finally, the results of Education and Political Skill show the importance of university education, as confirmed by Clark et.al. (1998) when he emphasizes professionals and not just white-collar workers as condition for the development of the New Political Culture. This result confirmed by Verba et.al. (1995) for the USA, presents a more conservative impact of less than university education for political participation. It is however the participatory process than can compensate this effect by the collective learning that takes place as you participate.

The relationship between Participatory and Representative Democracies.

Finally, a surprising finding is the lack of relationship between the weak participatory democracy and the unlinked representative democracy. The synergies between these two elements will only increase when a relationship between the two appears and a collective rationality emerges from the agreements and consensus reached. There are many legislative members who see participation and the use of its mechanisms as additional burden to be avoided. Again, they assume Social Control as a zero sum game. Someone's control diminishes someone else's. They are wrong. It is possible to have a society where there is an abundant form of both kinds of democracy, one helping the other, with many citizens and representatives participating in decisions and their control, with high levels of agreement over what should be done and transparency in its implementations. When citizenship collectively exerts social control, transparency and accountability will shine in collective rationality, legitimacy and democratic governability.

Further Research

There is a lot of further research to be done. The regional analysis is most significant to understand the process of social transformation and the routes established in the community classification model. Most certainly their analysis will give new results than those at the individual level. But there are many other questions to be solved. Political parties: Are there different political cultures among them? Their relationship with Clientelism? The reasons to vote for them? What are the relationships between different churches and religious voluntary organizations and the dimensions of Ksocial? And Fusi? What can be learned about Putnam's Political Equality indexes that left us so perplexed? What can be learned about Atomization, Political Skill, and the relationship between Linkage and Voting Reasons? The relationships between Anti-hierarchy and belonging to interest organizations? There are many variables that were only sketched such as governability, legitimacy, occupational

structure and family structure which justify in themselves whole research projects to find their relationship with Ksocial. But these are endeavors that require a maturation process to let the results settle in and to acquire an additional perspective on them. For this the scientific community must enrich them.

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