

Estrategias de los líderes de organizaciones sociales en la construcción de capital social

Strategies of leaders of social organizations in the construction of social capital

Estratégias dos líderes das organizações sociais na construção do capital social

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Resumen

El presente documento muestra un estudio cualitativo elaborado en Ciudad Juárez, México. El objetivo fue conocer las estrategias usadas por los líderes de las organizaciones sociales locales para construir capital social. Para ello, se llevaron a cabo entrevistas semiestructuradas con diez responsables de organizaciones de la sociedad civil. Los resultados demostraron que los líderes empleaban estrategias para la creación de capital social en función de los actores con quienes se vinculaban. En el caso del interior de las organizaciones, las principales estrategias se dieron en los procesos de toma de decisiones y manejo de conflictos internos. Por otra parte, la construcción de puentes con otras organizaciones se hizo por medio del intercambio de información y la formación de redes de interés. Además, en las comunidades donde ofrecían sus servicios, el establecimiento de confianza se hizo a través de sistemas de voluntariados, capacitación de la población diana y difusión de información relacionada con la organización. Con el Gobierno local, los vínculos establecidos se caracterizaron por una desconfianza mutua y por estar subordinados a intereses políticos, en particular en aquellas organizaciones dirigidas a fomentar la organización

vecinal. Los resultados se analizaron en virtud de su relevancia para estudios futuros sobre el tema y sus implicaciones prácticas.

Palabras clave: capital social, estrategias, liderazgos, organizaciones sociales.

Abstract

This paper shows a qualitative research carried out in Ciudad Juárez, México, whose intention was to understand the strategies used by the leaders of local non-profit organizations to build social capital. With that purpose in mind, we interviewed ten persons in charge of local non-governmental organizations. The results show that leaders employ strategies for the creation of social capital depending upon the actors. In the case of the organizations they lead, the strategies were related to decision-making and conflict processes. In the case of other organizations, the leaders constructed bridges through information exchange and formation of interest networks. On the other hand, these leaders tried to build trust in their communities through volunteer systems, training of the target population, and dissemination of information about the organizational activities. With the local government the interactions were characterized by mutual mistrust and immediate political interests. This was observed particularly in the organizations promoting neighborhood participation. The results are discussed in terms of their relevance for future studies practical implications.

Keywords: Social Capital, Strategies, Leaderships, Non-Profit Sector.

Resumo

Este documento mostra um estudo qualitativo desenvolvido em Ciudad Juárez, México. O objetivo era conhecer as estratégias utilizadas pelos líderes das organizações sociais locais para construir o capital social. Para tanto, foram realizadas entrevistas semiestruturadas com dez chefes de organizações da sociedade civil. Os resultados mostraram que os líderes utilizaram estratégias para a criação de capital social de acordo com os atores com os quais estavam vinculados. No caso do interior das organizações, as principais estratégias foram nos processos de tomada de decisão e na gestão interna de conflitos. Por outro lado, a construção de pontes com outras organizações foi feita por meio da troca de informações e da formação de redes de interesse. Além disso, nas comunidades onde ofereciam seus serviços, o estabelecimento da confiança era feito por meio de

sistemas voluntários, treinamento da população-alvo e disseminação de informações relacionadas à organização. Com o governo local, os vínculos estabelecidos foram caracterizados por desconfiança mútua e por estarem subordinados a interesses políticos, particularmente naquelas organizações que visam promover a organização do bairro. Os resultados foram analisados em virtude de sua relevância para futuros estudos sobre o assunto e suas implicações práticas.

Palavras-chave: capital social, estratégias, liderança, organizações sociais.

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Introduction

This article presents an empirical research aimed at understanding the ways in which the leaders and leaders of various groups and associations of civil society build social capital in the context of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Social capital is an important element to promote the development of societies and civil society organizations, which are one of the main actors in their construction not only because they are in direct contact with the problems of the communities, but also because they can act as interlocutors in the linkage of society with State institutions. However, this contribution can be challenging because organizations usually have limited resources and perform in spaces where traditions of political clientelism and lack of social participation prevail.

Consequently, it is necessary to know the processes by which civil society organizations build social capital in the communities where they operate. Likewise, it is necessary to understand the strategies they use in face of the challenges they must face in order to carry out this task. In this sense, the leaders and leaders of the social organizations are an important piece to understand these processes. Their work experience in the operation of the organizations they lead, their understanding of the needs and problems they serve in their communities, as well as the interactions they usually have with other social organizations and government institutions puts them in a key position to know the dynamics related to the construction of social capital.

According to the above, Ciudad Juarez can be considered as a valuable place to explore the aforementioned processes, since in that location a large number of social organizations operate,

which serve particular needs and social problems that the city has faced in recent decades, In addition to being actors who have managed to place various issues on the public agenda, among which can be mentioned the rights of women and children.

Therefore, the present study is an approach to the construction of social capital in the border area. This work is part of a larger project, whose main purpose was to explore the role of community leaders in the construction of citizenship in three different contexts of northwestern Mexico.

The context

Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, is a city characterized by being in a very particular sociohistorical conjuncture, which has led it to experience a series of events that have transformed its existence, such as that originated by the maquiladora industry. In fact, due to its proximity to the United States, Ciudad Juárez has been one of the main settlements of the maquiladora industry in Mexico (National Institute of Statistics and Geography [Inegi], 2007), which has caused a constant migration from other parts of the state of Chihuahua and the country to take advantage of the labor offers of the manufacturing industry. In this sense, the city has had one of the highest rates of population growth in the country during the last decades (Cervera, 2005).

Second, and since the 1990s, there has been a wave of murders and disappearances in the city of young women, mainly from the lower socioeconomic strata, which has attracted national and international attention due to the high number of cases and impunity in which many of those crimes remained (Pérez and Padilla, 2002). Related to this, the locality had an acute growth of violent deaths and other criminal acts during the last years of the last decade and the first ones of this one due, partly, to the fight between several groups of criminals and to the attempt of the institutions of security for handling said situation; As a result, the city concentrated most of the homicides that occurred in the state during 2008 and 2009, making it one of the most violent in the country (Escalante, 2011).

Facts such as these have given rise to a series of actions and mobilizations by citizens, some of which led to the constitution of social organizations of various kinds to address both the emerging problems facing the city and the needs that have persisted through the years. Among the problems addressed by this type of entities, one can find the different expressions of violence against women

and the oppression of different social groups, such as migrants, the disabled and the indigenous population. For this reason, in Ciudad Juárez, social organizations have become an important actor to introduce diverse demands to the public debate (Castillo, 2009; Pérez, 2005).

Concept of social capital

One of the factors that contributes to the development of societies, and that has been widely recognized by the academic community and organizations of various kinds, is social capital (Arriagada, 2005, Atria, Siles, Arriagada, Robison and Whiteford, 2003). For this reason, mainly since the late 1990s, different international agencies have recommended various national governments to generate and implement public policies aimed at building, reinforcing or taking into account social capital in communities, so that those groups traditionally subject to The exclusion can be organized and participate in their development to break their condition of helplessness and marginalization (World Bank, 2000, United Nations Development Programs, 2000). The discussion on social capital has introduced cultural dimensions into the debate on the phenomenon of development (Klikberg, 1999).

However, despite the lack of consensus among the authors regarding its definition, social capital usually refers to norms, institutions and organizations that promote trust, reciprocal help and cooperation (Durston, 2000). In this sense, Putnam (1993) defines it as those elements of social organization, such as networks, norms and social trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. In a study considered classical on social capital, Putnam (1993) compares the regions of northern, central and southern Italy to show that the first (rich and developed) were distinguished from the latter (poor and backward) because they had strong traditions of social participation and civic commitment.

Social capital, then, refers to human associativity and cooperation, which has its origins in various sources. Portes and Landolt (2000), for example, identify four sources of social capital, which refer to the norms of reciprocity existing in a society. On the side of altruistic sources, there are rules that lead to grant resources for a moral obligation (for example, to donate money to the homeless); In addition, these rules can lead to solidarity with those members of the same ethnic, religious or territorial community. On the part of the instrumental sources of social capital, in the company there are face-to-face transactions, from which a tangible return of what is granted is

expected (for example, in a purchase-sale transaction); likewise, there are other transactions where this return is not directly demanded, but is guaranteed by the pressures of the community.

To have a better understanding of the nature of social capital, this should not be seen as a single and uniform phenomenon, but as a complex, varied and changing, hence they have been raised different types. Thus, Durston (2000) distinguishes between individual social capital and community capital, which act in a complementary manner. The first refers to the different social relationships a person has based on trust and reciprocity, while collective or community social capital is manifested in complex institutions, and consists of structures that make up the institutions of group cooperation.

Putnam (2000), on the other hand, states that there is binding capital and ladder social capital. The first is the one that points towards the interior of the groups seeking to reinforce exclusive identities and group homogeneity. The examples offered by the author on this type of social capital are those referring to religious and ethnic groups. On the contrary, the staircase capital is the one that directs its gaze towards the relations with different people, such as the movements of defense of civil rights.

In another order of ideas, positive consequences have been documented for the generation of social capital in some societies. In this regard, it is argued that social capital has value for individuals who own it (Putnam, 2001) and that it facilitates the formation of healthy civil societies (Durston, 2000). Specifically, empirical research has found evidence about the association between the presence of social capital in societies and phenomena such as health (Rocco and Suhrcke, 2012), the decrease in crime (Buonanno, Montolio and Vanin, 2009), economic development (Woolcock, 1998), individual welfare (Putnam, 2001) and the conservation of maritime resources (Gutiérrez, Hilborn and Defeo, 2011).

Although social capital is not a necessary or sufficient factor to act on the phenomena mentioned in the previous paragraph (Durston, 2000) -because it also has the capacity to generate a series of negative social consequences (Portes and Landolt, 2000) -, it has been shown to be an important element for the development and well-being of a society, by virtue of its influential role so that those excluded social sectors acquire power and establish a solid civil society (Durston, 1999).

Social capital and civil society organizations

A significant actor for the construction of social capital and citizenship are the organizations of the so-called third sector, non-profit sector or solidarity sector. In this a heterogeneous variety of entities (churches, clubs and diverse types of social groupings) that provide, without directly seeking a profit, a wide range of goods and services for the communities where they operate, hence they are recognized for their role. mediator between society and state institutions (Díaz-Albertini, 2003; Rozas, 1995). Due to this, it has been pointed out the need to empower or strengthen these organizations to foster trust and compliance with social norms of reciprocity (Díaz-Albertini, 2003).

This type of organizations are the ones that for Verduzco (2001) belong to the "solidarity sector", because they seek a disinterested support for the person or for the activities that help to promote human welfare. This author, therefore, proposes a hypothesis according to which the growing presence of this sector worldwide has been due to a combination of factors related to the thinning of governments as a result of economic pressures and public disenchantment by governments.

Now, in terms of its nature, Maton (2008) proposes a list of characteristics to define these organizational environments: 1) they have a belief system that specifies the actions aimed at producing the desired changes, 2) they have a series of activities central to achieve their mission, 3) have an environment of interpersonal and intergroup relations, and 4) have a structure of roles, leadership and mechanisms to adapt to the challenges and external and internal changes they face. In the case of Mexico, although there is no census documenting exactly the number of social organizations currently in existence, it is possible to measure their quantity with the census of the National Institute of Social Development (Indesol), according to which in the year 2014 there was a registry of 28,540 entities of this type (Indesol, 2014). In relation to the participation of the citizens in these, the Inegi (2015) calculates that in 2013 just under 1 400 000 people in the Mexican Republic collaborated in some non-profit organization without receiving any economic remuneration.

Regarding the role of social organizations in the creation of social capital, Díaz-Albertini (2003) argues that these can strengthen this social element through the construction of standards and the empowerment of collective action. In addition, it states that organizations can link disadvantaged sectors with state and economic institutions of a country. Among the empirical studies where it is

possible to verify these ideas can be cited a work by Islam and Morgan (2012), who study two non-governmental organizations in Bangladesh with the intention of knowing their contributions for the creation of social capital and the empowerment of communities . These authors found that the organizations investigated created social capital in various areas, such as programs for the generation of income, cultural festivals, links with other social and governmental organizations, and various community leaderships, among others.

However, the work of social organizations in the strengthening of social capital can be hampered by a series of constraints, which can be both inherent to them and the economic and social conditions in which they carry out their activities. Among the limitations, the following can be mentioned: financial dependence with respect to international cooperation resources, tendency to execute short-range local projects -which, consequently, are not aimed at training their recipients for citizenship-, lack of accountability and difficulty in coordinating their actions with other social agents (Díaz-Albertini, 2003). This can be seen in the study by Islam and Morgan (2012), in which the authors find that in the process of building social capital, organizations face a series of barriers, among which problems related to illiteracy can be pointed out. of its recipients, class conflicts in the context where they work, reductions in the supply of financial resources that organizations received and under performance of their collaborators.

The role of leaders in social organizations and the construction of social capital

For the actions of social organizations to achieve their purpose and endure over time must be guided by responsible management and have the appropriate inputs. For this reason, an important piece within organizations are the people assigned to direct them. This makes it necessary to analyze leadership in social organizations. However, despite the importance of leadership in the context of the work carried out by these organizations, there are few studies in Mexico and Latin America that have sought to investigate the issue.

Traditionally, leadership has been analyzed in the business world, where some of the main conceptualizations on the subject have emerged (Yukl, 1989). However, the community level, which is where solidarity organizations operate, deserves other approaches, because their nature and challenges are different from those of business structures. For example, in addition to the absence of a search for direct profit, an important part of the activities of civil society organizations

can be based on the work of volunteers, who may require other incentives to be motivated, different from those of a person who receives a salary.

This type of events has forced conceptualizations of leadership to take into account the particular areas where social organizations operate. In this regard, we can cite the work of Montero (2003), who lists a series of features typical of leadership that arise in community contexts of Latin American origin, among which are its active nature and oriented towards strengthening commitment to the community and its interests, to be assumed as a service and to have a political character because it seeks the welfare of the community. Indeed, the aforementioned author argues that these leaderships have a participatory and democratic nature, that is, they are based on the awareness of the needs of the members of a group and their active support. For this reason, Montero believes that, due to the extraordinary commitment and disinterested devotion to the community, it is necessary to state the existence of a type of leader who is in a higher ethical state, which he calls altruistic. In this sense, Maton (2008) states that a leadership that empowers its followers is characterized by being inspired, talented and committed.

Regarding the investigation of leadership in social organizations' environments in other countries, we can mention, first of all, the work of Purdue (2001), who analyzes the way in which the leaders of several English communities build social capital for actions related to urban regeneration. The author finds that community leaders act as key points of contact between government initiatives for urban regeneration and residents of neighborhoods. In this study, it is determined that the effective development of leadership requires two types of social capital: one internal or communal and the other external collaborative with the Government. Each of them requires the existence of mutual trust with several networks.

On the other hand, Zambrano, Bustamante and García (2009) examine the factors that hinder the processes of community empowerment in two popular zones of Chile; In this work, they point out that one of the main difficulties for community organizations to achieve greater impacts is in themselves. In a concrete way, the centralization of the links in the president of the organization, as well as the low renewal of leadership are the main obstacles for communities to access resources to improve their quality of life and increase their autonomy.

Objective

In view of the importance of social capital for the construction of citizenship and the development of societies, as well as the relevance of social organizations and their leaders in this task, the present investigation aimed to investigate the strategies that leaders and responsible for ten social organizations located in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, used to build social capital. This exploration was done in two dimensions: on the one hand, it was investigated how leaders build social capital within the organizations they preside over; On the other hand, they investigated the way in which they are linked to the diverse actors of the communities where the organizations work. This was aimed at identifying the challenges and opportunities that leaders must face in the processes of building social capital.

Methodology

To achieve the proposed objectives, a qualitative methodology was used, with which the construction of social capital was explored from the perspective of the leaders who agreed to participate in the research. This identified the procedural aspects associated with the creation of social capital.

However, it is worth noting that qualitative research provides a complementary view, with non-generalizable findings, from the eyes of social subjects, which is why it is part of a systematic effort and a rigorous theoretical and methodological design. The qualitative approach places special emphasis on the evaluation of the subjective and experiential, as well as on the interaction between the subject. Likewise, it privileges the local, the daily and the cultural to understand the logic and meaning of social processes for the actors themselves, who live and produce the sociocultural reality. The qualitative approach has a holistic perspective that pushes the researcher to assess scenarios, people, contexts, groups and organizations as a whole, not reducible to variables. This means that phenomena are studied from a historicist perspective, which takes into account the past context and current situations, since it is understood that the present contains aspects of the future in germination (Galeano, 2007).

For this reason, the research presented in these pages is descriptive and exploratory. The descriptive implies that one only seeks to know situations or social events; It is not interesting to check explanations, test hypotheses or make predictions. On the other hand, it is an exploratory

study because they collect and identify general background, themes, theories and concepts that refer to the problem posed. The research findings, therefore, are not intended to be generalized.

Instrument

The technique for collecting data was the semi-structured interview. The explored categories were related to social capital in several areas: within organizations, the relationship between the organizations studied and the community where they developed their work, as well as the relationship between these and other relevant actors, such as different social organizations and entities. governmental.

Participants

The people who collaborated in this research were responsible for ten social organizations that operated in the locality providing various services, among which we can mention the promotion of child and youth development, psychological assistance to survivors of traumatic events, the neighborhood organization and the promotion of civic values in children and adolescents. Regarding the general profile of the participants, six were female and four male. All had a university education and had a career in social organizations (between 3 and 20 years of work). Of the participants, five had been the initiators of the organization they presided over, while the others had been promoted to the position of responsible based on the work they had done in the organizations.

Data collection

Participants were explained the purpose of the study and the use that would be given to the information they provide. The voluntary, confidential and anonymous nature of their participation was emphasized to them. The interviews were recorded in audio, with prior information and consent of the interviewees. Likewise, they were notified that the generated documents would be reviewed by them to approve or disapprove their publication.

Analysis of the information

The recorded audio was transcribed into a text document by three undergraduate students, who were previously trained in this regard. For the analysis of the data collected, the computer program Atlas.ti 7 was used, and the well-founded theory was used (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), according to which the social actors studied are carriers of perspectives and interpretations both of themselves and of your social actions. For this reason, it is up to the researcher not only to learn everything he can from them, but also to incorporate them "in their own interpretations" (Galeano, 2007, p.165). One of the central arguments of the grounded theory is that it must reflect systematically on the diversity of perspectives of social actors with which the researcher has contact. Therefore, concepts that analytically develop between the theoretical and the empirical are used; in other words, "the conceptual relations are located, but it is emphasized that in them the multiplicity of perspectives of the social actors involved" (Galeano, 2007, p. 167).

Results

As already indicated, it was investigated in the creation of social capital within the organizations that were in charge of the informants and in the context where they developed their activities. Specifically, the strategies that the interviewees used to build relationships of trust and cooperation in the various areas related to the daily work of the organization were examined. In this sense, the first sub-theme explored was that of decision-making processes. In this regard, the informants reported that they tried to involve their collaborators to allow them to decide on the relevant issues of the work, taking as a reference their criteria and professional experiences. Subsequently, this information provided by the collaborators became an important input to decide the direction of the organization. The following quotes illustrate this statement:

We start with a very simple idea: the complexity of what we are working on is such that there is nobody who has all the keys to reading and can give an answer to this, so everything has to be a collective construction. Then we try as much as possible to generate an interdisciplinary team (personal interview, S. M., 2016).

Decisions about modifying strategies or something like that usually come and then are analyzed; obviously I give them the go-ahead or I say no, this can not be. They

come from the people who are in the field who know the most, yes? You can not make decisions (sic) from a desk that kind of decisions ... For example, "right now we have to focus more on this", "we must do this". This has worked for us since they come from the field boys (personal interview, J. M., 2016).

Yes, yes, in my case, for example, when [the issue] has to do with the children they [the collaborators] are the specialists, I am a social worker, I can know a lot until the child's diagnosis, they are the specialists ... There have been cases in which for example that the DIF requests that they be transferred to another shelter, it has happened true, because of course I am consulted, we join the seven we are talking about right now, the department heads, but for that I do not say I think so, no, I have to approach with my therapists, we all talk, they write and they say: "They know that the decision we make is this," because they comment as specialists, this is convenient, this is not It agrees and I expose it (personal interview, J. A., 2016)

The second sub-theme where the establishment of a cooperation based on trust was observed was through the management of conflicts among collaborators. The importance of recognizing conflicts within the organization and of dialogue to solve them was mentioned. The dialogue to which the informants referred was to expose and listen to the points of view of the people involved. Likewise, the role of the leaders interviewed in the dialogue was to be mediators of the conflict and to make the collaborators involved feel heard and taken into account, as can be seen in the following quote:

This relational issue in the teams is very important, right, how to open dialogue spaces where you can see ... "Let's see, see, see, listen, look", there are things [in the] that you're saying the same, but you are not listening I can not be teaming with you because you're saying things differently, I say them differently, but it's almost the same, you bastard. That is, how can we put filters to expand, to improve relational links between the same team. And this is a directive function, but that has the perspective of mediator, mediator, who can be aware, be aware that there are quarrels, so that you solve them, there are conflicts, well, how do you solve them,

well giving power to the parties, that they feel that we are recognizing them, that what they say is important, important for the institution, for the same person, this one, make him see that the other part is not the problem, that we are the two parties of the solution, this ... reaching mutual agreements, and together establishing supervisory mechanisms (personal interview, L. B., 2016)

In the second topic, the processes of creation of social capital outside of organizations were analyzed, through the relationships that these, through their leaders, constructed with three different agents: other social organizations, the community where they developed their work and the Municipal government. In the first sub-topic, the interviewees agreed that, in general, relations with other organizations were good and that there was coordination to develop activities, share information and obtain resources. In fact, in an important part of these relationships the degree of consolidation was such that networks were formed to work on some issues and try to influence their inclusion in the public agenda. Among these issues can be cited the pressure to create a legislative framework in defense of the rights of children in the state of Chihuahua. It should be noted that of the three agents analyzed, the links established with other organizations proved to be the most solid and coordinated:

Here we participate in various alliances, we are aware that the profound transformation of the city has to go through joint efforts to enhance the coincidences and ... and participate in many partnerships. Here in Juarez we participate in ... [an assembly of organizations] ... an articulation group. Right now we are working on a city goals plan that becomes our agenda, eh ... organizations of different profiles, different matrices, different eh ... angles ... and that has been very good. In the state we also have some very interesting alliances with organizations in [the city of] Chihuahua and ... nationally and internationally (personal interview, M. L., 2016). Well, I think we have had a very good response regarding other organizations or institutions, since they refer us to users, they talk to us constantly to refer us to the users truth (personal interview, A. M., 2016).

On the other hand, the attention to the needs of the community is the reason of being of the organizations, which are an important actor for the construction of social capital and for the development of the communities, for what was the second subtopic explored . In this regard, the information collected indicates that in this area organizations are usually perceived positively by communities and enjoy high levels of acceptance. Despite this, there are several challenges to build bridges with communities. In fact, when there is progress in this regard, these links tend to be fragile, difficult and slow, so it is necessary to do constant work to maintain trust and credibility. This was observed with particular clarity in the organizations dedicated to the formation of neighborhood committees and other forms of community organization:

[The link with the community is] not to the degree we would like, no, a network of neighbors is a very interesting experience, but it is very ... it is very expensive, what we have done is ... eh ... in a society of distrust as Juarez, uh ... how to show that you can be a credible subject ... Then it is to be fighting every square centimeter of credibility (personal interview, AM, 2016).

Well, the community is like a resource, the community is like someone who helps, someone who ... sometimes gets a little confused, they think that we are from the government, sometimes it is seen as that perception; later they realize that they do not (personal interview, A. M., 2016).

I do think we have a lot of sympathy, like, who represent the social cause of childhood, right? We have a great acceptance eh ... we do not have the citizen participation that we would like (personal interview, J. L. F., 2016).

For this reason, the strategy proposed by some informants to deal with this situation consists of a gradual approach to the community through various activities:

We start from what is ... tangible and closer how can all these issues of mmhh ... potholes, parks, sidewalks, lighting, all these issues that afflict the neighbors, the traffic ... all this, go taking them in a process of formation, of gradual politicization, eh ... to get them involved in other issues, that is, transcend the closest tangible and think in more political terms and think in terms of the city, then there we go in that process (personal interview, J. L. F., 2016).

Regarding the strategies that the informants described to link and encourage the participation of the recipients, two great types emerged that were closely related to each other: the training or training of the people of the community and their involvement in the activities of the organization. In other words, there was an active search for informants and their collaborators to train people in the communities where they offer their services to form volunteer cadres:

[The community participates in] the summer camp, which are enrolled as volunteers, also by convocation and they are given a training and they already facilitate activities for the children, since they cook them or they put workshops, but it is the same community in that moment (personal interview, ML, 2016).

Yes, volunteering is very difficult, because our volunteering is not just distributing flyers, we train them, we train them and we have a whole volunteer training program, apart we have students from the university who have also worked with us and some of them afterwards They have stayed here, but volunteered on all of moms and dads, yes, more moms, but every once in a while someone, somebody, appears. Yes, we train them and they work in the schools with the parents ... We have a whole training program throughout the month to teach them to be leaders and obviously the workshop that they give to the parents first we train them methodologically and we choose those who have communication skills, etc. ... the community ... yes, in fact the mothers of the children are the ones who have become more involved with us, they get involved, they help in the activities that we do to them. If we make an event, it is moms who help us (personal interview, J. M., 2016).

Another strategy detected in the narratives of the informants to build trust was to disseminate information in the community related to the activities of the organizations (plans, reports and projects), which was published in different media, such as advertisements in the facilities, spaces in local television and radio programs, Facebook, among others:

Yes, I think it has been one of the areas that I have lacked to exploit, this, for example, when we have any event, any information campaign always the main [recipients] are the parents from ... we have a television interview, we carry to someone from the parents; we have interviews here; we use Facebook a lot, which is the one that has given us the most interesting results, but also the different media of radio and television, and we always try to make parents witness what is being done and what has worked for us (personal interview, JA, 2016).

Look, what we share with the community, especially with the kids, is where the resources come from, right, who is supporting us, where are the objectives of the resources ..., in the case, for example, of the youth project, we What we say to you is "that amount that you are budgeting has to have objectives that pursue them and you are keeping accounts, what they buy, how much they have left, what they need and how much is programmed". There are others that ... information that we do through a bulletin that we paste here, of the activities that are done, and what we want now is to see the theme of the family garden, the family garden, where, this, it is seen a little more the process, and that people will be clear about how it is done, in the logic of that hopefully and that could serve to, this, involve them more and more, and from there to do, make projects that will improve an idea of , what type of project do we seek as a community (personal interview, L. B., 2016).

From the external agents to the organizations that have been treated in the present work, the municipal government was the one with the greatest challenges to create cooperation links. In this subtopic, the analyzed narratives show a series of difficulties to establish communication channels, among which the ignorance of the officials towards everything related to the needs and problems of the local communities stands out; In addition, the informants reported that it seems

that administrations are guided mainly by personal political agendas. The result of this is the existence of links between organizations and the City Council characterized by distrust, fragility and highly dependent on the political orientation of the administration in turn. In the same way as relations with the community, this manifested itself especially in the organizations whose activities are directed to the neighborhood organization, and where networks were formed among them to try to influence the public agenda. All this is paradoxical, since the municipal governments should be the government entities with the closest contact with the communities:

Look, I think that, to see, we have identified that all relationship with the municipality is, was and will continue to be pedagogical processes, because it is clear to us that those who come to the public administration, eh, and have to assume certain roles that are not they know, they do not know, they do not know and then from our point of view or from our experience is that the public official always sees civil society people as a threat, not as someone who I do not know if they think you want to take them away or they want to minimize them; total, that they let themselves be helped a little and let us help little, because also in this understanding of civil society we are few tolerable, no. And that causes situations to become very tense (personal interview, J. L. F., 2016).

Oh! Do not ask me that because I always want to cry. No, notice that in the last two or three years it has been a relationship with a lot of distancing, but also with a lot of knocking, mainly for the organizations that make up the network, that we are part and that we are founders of it. This, through that another of the things is how they make visible or how it becomes tangible that we do much management to the municipality, truth, through letters, through requests and has been null, the response of the administration municipal (personal interview, C. C., 2016)

Conclusions

Social organizations are a key element to achieve the well-being of Latin American societies, especially their most vulnerable and unprotected sectors. Consequently, their understanding is essential to know how to enhance the achievement of their ends. Likewise, this understanding has to go through the analysis of the existing dynamics between the organizations and the elements of their immediate context, so that the investigation of the actions that the leaders execute in the daily work of the organizations becomes a piece key in such a purpose.

In summary, the strategies detected for the creation of social capital vary depending on the area in question and have varying degrees of success. In the case of the interior of the organizations, the main strategies detected were in the areas related to decision-making and the management of internal conflicts. With regard to the construction of bridges, in the case of other organizations, the strategies were the exchange of information and the formation of networks of interest. This type of relationship proved to be the most consolidated. On the other hand, in the case of the community where they developed their activities, the establishment of trust was made through volunteer systems and the training of the target population, as well as the dissemination of information on the activities of the organization.

Although there is a perception that organizations are perceived positively by the communities, there were also coincidences in which cooperation links and community participation are difficult to maintain. With the third agent analyzed, the local government, the established ties were characterized by being based on mutual distrust and subordinated to immediate political interests, particularly in those organizations aimed at promoting neighborhood organization.

The above points to an active role of leaders and organizations in strengthening the social fabric of their communities and within organizations. However, the achievements obtained in this regard are disparate. That is to say, while relations with other organizations show to be consolidated and have obtained fruits of them, such as the positioning of issues in the public agenda, there is still a way to go to form social capital in the communities where they operate, by virtue of the absence of full social participation. In this regard, it must be said that although it is possible to build social capital deliberately (Durstun, 1999), one must be aware that these processes are slow, so that the perspective of organizations should be directed towards the long term. It

should be noted that in a context of permanent scarcity of resources, maintaining that perspective is especially challenging.

On the other hand, the complexity of the relations with the municipal authorities and the distancing between such instances and the social organizations, at least those analyzed, is evidence of an absence of social capital of bridges. This is paradoxical, since, as noted, the municipal governments, being closer to the communities, should know how to relate to their main actors. This demonstrates the need to continue exercising organized pressure through aspects such as accountability, professionalization of the public service and compliance with government plans.

As recommendations, it is suggested to investigate in the perspective of other actors, such as the collaborators of the organizations and the members of the communities, with the purpose of knowing more broadly the processes of construction of social capital by the organizations. On a practical level, it is suggested that leaders be trained in tasks such as mediation and organized political action, in order to exercise more effective leadership.

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