





ightarrow Donny Juan Pablo Lozano is famous among the Gramalote victims. He sings about the tragedy and the reconstruction of the town to a Hip Hop beat.

Chapter 2 The dynamics of Colombian Households

CARMEN ELISA FLÓREZ NÉSTOR EDUARDO MUÑOZ¹



→ In 2011, Donny and his mother, Mildred Leal, lived in Cúcuta. The high costs of living in the city forced them to return to Gramalote where, since 2012, they live in a refuge.

1. The authors are grateful for the comments made by Adriana Camacho and Ximena Cadena on previous versions of this chapter.

→ 2.1. Introduction

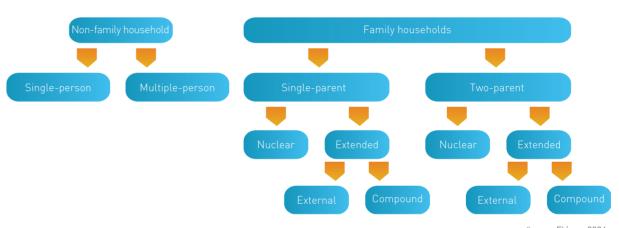
The "family" is made up of "a group of people related by blood, marriage or adoption regardless of physical or geographic closeness and their emotional or affective bonds" (Rubiano and Wartenberg, 1991, cited in Flórez, 2004, p. 24). It has traditionally been considered the foundation of society and the most influential of institutions (Becker, 1973, 1974, 1981; Rosenzweig and Stark, 1997 cited in Misión Social-DNP, 2002). "In a family, the resources of the individual members are combined (time and goods) in order to procure the greatest well-being possible for all. And, in difficult situations, the family acts as a shield that protects its members from threats and dangers" (Misión Social-DNP, 2002, p. 35).

The definition of family implies that it comprises a group of individuals united by family ties, even though the members reside in different households. This non-requirement of physical or geographic closeness makes the family statistically invisible. In this study, we therefore need to approach the family through the "household" understood as "a person or group of people that may or may not have blood ties, who occupy the totality or a part of the house, share meals and recognize only one person as the head authority (household head)" (Flórez, 2004, p. 25). Even though "family" and "household" are closely related, the members of a household need not be part of the same family, and it may be made up of members between whom blood relations do not intercede

Households can be classified as family households and non-family households. Family households are organized around a primary nuclear family² and are made up of people who are related to each other in first or second degree of kinship, adoption or marriage (including civil unions). Non-family households, on the other hand, refer to those made up of one or more people, in which there is no primary nuclear family and they can be made up of individuals that are related (brother and sisters, cousins, etc.) or by individuals without blood relations, including single-person households, which have become increasingly common in Colombia in recent decades (Flórez, 2004).

Households where family relations exist can be classified in terms of the inclusion of a primary nuclear family or in terms of blood relations (see Figure 2.1). The former type of classification, includes family households with one or both parents, defined by the presence or absence of the spouse of

FIGURE 2.1.
HOUSEHOLD TYPOLOGY BY KINSHIP AND HOUSEHOLD HEAD.



Source: Flórez, 2004

the household head, respectively. With respect to the family relationship to the household head, we have nuclear family households made up only of a primary nuclear family and extended family households which may include other relatives (extended households) and/or people not related to the head (compound households) (see Figure 2.1).

The household structure and its classification can change over time. A household can remain intact

(same primary nuclear family and different members), divided (division or change in the primary nuclear family) or recomposed (same primary nuclear family and different members in addition to the primary nuclear family). This demographic dynamic can be associated with the cycle of household family life, migration, or be a reaction to economic, labor, family or any other type of shock, which a household can be subject to at any point in time.

^{2.} A primary nuclear family is a group made up of (i) a couple without children, or (ii) the couple with single children, or (iii) the father or mother with single children living in the same household. It is called primary because it includes a head/spouse and their children (first degree of kinship).

Our main goal in this chapter is to identify the demographic and spatial dynamics of the Colombian households between 2010 and 2013 based on the first two waves of the Colombian Longitudinal Survey (ELCA) by Universidad de los Andes.

ELCA is the first longitudinal study to follow a significant group of Colombian households (nearly 10 thousand in urban and rural areas). The survey does not follow all of the members of the selected households, only the head, spouse and children, step-children and grandchildren born between 2001 and 2010. It does not, therefore, follow the whole nuclear family unit.³

The first wave of ELCA, carried out in 2010, contains information about 9,830 households being followed. Of these, 8,849 were surveyed once again in 2013. Due to the division of households surveyed in 2010 —be it due to the separation of the head/ spouse or to some of the members leaving the study— the number of surveyed households in 2013 rose to 9,262. In this chapter, we analyze the demographic and spatial dynamic of the 9,262 surveyed households in 2013, which include: a) households which were surveyed in 2010 and in 2013; b) new households which formed between 2010 and 2013 due to the division of the original households; and c) new households in the sample which formed because they received new members, differentiating between the urban and rural areas.4



With respect to the family relationship to the household head, we have nuclear family households made up only of a primary nuclear family and extended family households which may include other relatives (extended households) and/or people not related to the head (compound households).



→ In the home of Gladys Campo and Luis Eduardo Palacios in Barrancabermeja, they serve 25 to 32 lunches a day, all on a minimum salary.

^{3.} In the baseline, the non-family households were excluded (single-member and multiple-member households). In the first follow-up (second wave), households whose head and spouse were older than 65 years of age and who did not have children younger than ten years of age in 2010 (first wave) were excluded.

^{4.} At national urban level, ELCA is representative of strata one to four (excluding strata five and six), and in the rural context, it is representative of the households of small producers (mainly of stratum one) only of the four micro-regions.

2.2. The demographic dynamic

Table 2.1 presents a number of indicators on the demographic characteristics of the households in 2010 and 2013. These cross sectional results show urban-rural differences and trends through time that are consistent with other sources such as the Living Standards Measurement Survey or the National Households Survey, periodically carried out by DANE.⁵

The ELCA results show evidence, in the first place, of a greater household size in rural households than in urban ones, and a slight tendency toward a decline in the average number of people per household, in both urban and rural areas. In 2010, the average size of an urban household was of 4.2 members and that of a rural one, of 4.8. In 2013, these dropped to 4 and 4.5, respectively.

In the second place, it is evident that the nuclear household continues to be the predominant type of household in the country; more than 53% of rural households and, at least, 60% of urban households are nuclear units. However, the evidence also indicates that the nuclear household has gradually been losing some of its importance, giving way to single-person households, which —despite their incipient representation— are becoming increasingly common in both urban and rural areas, and particularly in the higher socio-economic strata. The 2013 ELCA clearly indicates a rise in single-person households in both urban and rural areas (2.8% and 2.2%, respectively). These did not exist in the 2010 sample.

In the third place, even though both parents were present in at least 66% of the urban households and 78% of the rural households in 2010, in 2013, single-parent households were more common, and there seems to have been an increase of female household heads. Single-parent households increased from 34% to 36% in the urban area and from 21% to 23% in the rural

Table 2.1.
Household characteristics by year and area.

Household characteristics	Urba	an	Rural mid	cro-regions
riodseriota eriaraeteristics	2010	2013	2010	2013
Average no. of people/household	4,2	4,0	4,8	4,5
Distribution according to type of hous	ehold (%)			
Family household				
Nuclear	60,8	59,8	54,5	53,5
Extended	39,1	37,4	45,4	44,3
Single-person household	0,0	2,8	0,1	2,2
Total households	100	100	100	100
Household head				
Two-parent household	66,1	64,1	78,4	76,8
Female household head	36,7	37,6	18,5	20,2

Source: Author's calculations based on based on ELCA 2010 and 2013

Excludes households that migrated between areas in the 2010–2013 period. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East micro-regions.

area between 2010 and 2013. Single-parent households and female household heads are associated given the cultural tendency to recognize the man as the household head when he is present.

^{5.} The direct estimations of the ELCA are not directly comparable with those from other surveys due to differences in the design and representation of the sample. For these reasons, the average size of an ELCA household is slightly higher than that estimated by DANE with the Quality of Life Survey (ECV), which is representative of the national urban and rural level: in 2010, the average people per urban household was 4.2 in the ELCA and 3.6 in the ECV; and the average size of a rural household was 4.8 in the ELCA and 4.0 in the ECV (website address).

^{6.} According to Flórez [2004] and updated data, the non-family oriented, single-person household represented, in 2008 for the seven principal cities, 26% of the total households of the fifth quintile and only 3.5% in the first quintile. Given that the ELCA does not include urban strata five and six, this may explain the lower presence of this type of household in the survey than in the total population.

The slight changes in the size and structure of the households shown in Table 2.1 are the result of the comparison between the structure of the households at two different points in time: 2010 and 2013. That is, they are the result of a comparison between two static photographs. The changes noted through this comparison are small and would lead to erroneously conclude that there is little or no transformation in the households between 2010 and 2013. These results hide the great demographic dynamic experienced by the households both in terms of size and household head as well as the division and restructuring of members. Tables 2.2 and 2.3 present matrices of the transition, in terms of type and household head between 2010 and 2013 for the households surveyed in both years. 7 The tables show evidence of part of the transformation in the structure of the households between these two years, which cannot be observed in the static photos.

On the one hand, despite the fact that nearly 60% of the urban households and 54% of the rural households were nuclear in 2010 and 2013 (see Table 2.1), only around 80% of the households which were nuclear in 2010 continued to be nuclear in 2013, in both the urban and rural areas (see Table 2.2). The remaining 20% of households became extended or single-person households. Similarly, only 715 of the extended urban households and 78% of the extended rural households continued as extended households, while the rest became nuclear or single-family households. This means that even though the percentage of urban and rural nuclear households was similar in 2010 and 2013, the nuclear households of 2010 were not the same nuclear. households seen in 2013. The added percentage of nuclear households is similar in the last two years. but it does not refer to the same households.

TABLE 2.2.
CHANGES IN THE TYPOLOGY OF THE SURVEYED HOUSEHOLDS BY YEAR AND AREA (PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS).

	Urban				Rural micro-regions				
	Household typology 2013					Household typology 2013			
2010		Nuclear	Extend- ed	Single- Person	Total	Nuclear	Extend- ed	Single- Person	Total
1	luclear	79,2	18,4	2,4	100	80,2	17,6	2,3	100
Ε	xtended	24,2	71,5	4,3	100	19,3	78,4	2,3	100

Source: Authors' calculations based on ELCA 2010 and 2013

This excludes the households that migrated between areas in the 2010–2013 period and the new households that received new members to follow. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East micro-regions.

TABLE 2.3.
CHANGES IN THE HEADS OF SURVEYED HOUSEHOLDS BY YEAR AND AREA [PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS].

		Urban		Rural micro-regions				
Parental composition	Cor	mposition 20	13	С	Composition 2013			
	One par- ent	Two parents	Total	One parent	Two parents	Total		
One parent household	87,3	12,8	100	76,6	23,5	100		
Two parent household	10,1	89,9	100	10,2	89,8	100		
0	Gend	der of head 2	013	Gender of head 2013				
Gender of household head 2010	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total		
Male	98,7	1,3	100	87,8	12,2	100		
Female	5,2	94,8	100	9,1	90,9	100		

Source: Authors' calculations based on ELCA 2010 and 2013

This excludes the households which migrated between 2010 and 2013, and the new households that received new members to follow. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East micro-regions.

^{7.} Divided households are included but new households that received new members to follow are excluded in the 2013 survey.

Likewise, the increased number of single-parent households and female household heads between 2010 and 2013 shown in Table 2.1 is the result of a more complex dynamic. Only 87.3% of single-parent urban households and 76.6% of rural ones remained so in 2013, while 10% of two-parent urban and rural households became single-parent households. In contrast, greater percentages of singleparent households became two-parent households [13% in the urban area and 23.55 in rural area]. which occurs when couples reunite. At the same time, important transitions took place in terms of the household head between 2010 and 2013: 5% of urban households and 9% of rural households with female heads changed to male household heads. while 1% of the urban households and 12% of the rural households with male heads changed to female household heads. The urban-rural difference in the transformation of the households could be associated with the differences in re-composition, as we will examine further on.

Therefore, the demographic dynamic experienced by the households is much more evident than that which is shown in Table 2.1. In other words, the changes suggested in Table 2.1 hide important transformations in the structure of the households, which is made evident in Tables 2.2 and 2.3. Nevertheless, the changes shown in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 are the consequence of deeper transformations in the composition of the households, changes in the numbers of members, in the kinship relations, and in the roles held by the household members. Figure 2.1.1 classifies the households surveyed in 2013 accord-





→ Nicole Vanegas and her grandmother Liliana Herrera, on the Copacabana skating rink (Antioquia), in 2014. On the right, three years earlier at her home.

ing to their dynamic between 2010-2013, in terms of number and composition of their members:

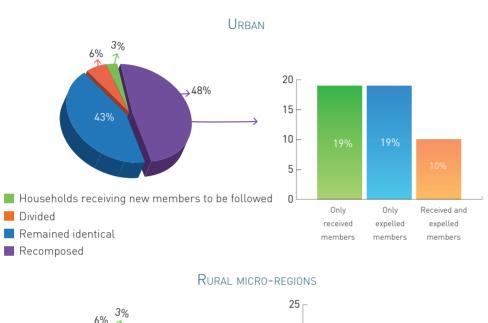
- 1. Identical original households: those that maintained the same household head and spouse (if they had one), and continued with the other members of the household.
- 2. Recomposed original households: those that maintained the same household head and spouse (if there was one), but changed some or all of the other members. This may be due to having expelled members or received new ones. These must be classified as: a) households that only received new members, b) households that

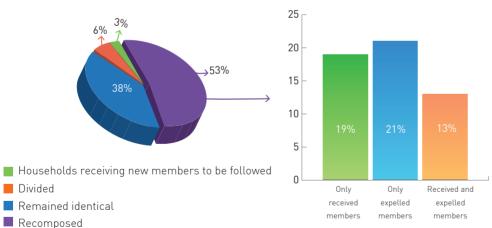
- only expelled members and c) households that received and expelled members.
- 3. Original households, which are divided/incomplete: those households that were divided into two households due to separation of the household head and his/her spouse (divided), or the death of the spouse or of the household head (incomplete). That is, either the head or his/her spouse changes.⁸
- 4. New households: those that were not surveyed in 2010 but were in 2013 as new members to be followed —other than the head or spouse—were received into them. The new members would have been children under thirteen years of age at the time.

^{8.} Henceforth referred to as "divided."

Figure 2.1.1.

Permanence, recomposition, and division of households between 2010 and 2013, by area (percentage of households).





Excludes the households that migrated between areas in the 2010–2013 period. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East micro-regions.

The results suggest an intense demographic dynamic between 2010 and 2013: less than half of the households remained identical (43% in the urban area and 38% in the rural area), around half were recomposed (47% urban and 53% rural), between 6% and 7% were divided, and 3% were new households. The dynamic was more intense in the rural area mainly due to the recomposition of the household due to the expulsion of some of the members.

Of the total number of recomposed urban households, 40% only expelled members, 40% received, and 20% expelled and received members into the household. In the rural area, 35% only received, 40% only expelled and 25% received and expelled, meaning that 65% of the rural households expelled members. The reasons for the expulsion of members were generally economic (economic independence, work, study) or family relationships (separation, marriage or leaving to live with father, mother or other family members), whereas reasons associated to social or family conflict appear to have been minimal. Furthermore, the reasons given for receiving new members were mainly family-oriented (birth, marriage, separation, integration of a relative), followed by reasons related to shocks (domestic, violence or natural disaster), while economic reasons (work or study) seem to have been less important.

The ELCA indicates that the extended household is more common in the rural regions, as well as in the Atlantic coastal region, while the nuclear family prevails in the country's central area. Similarly, differences were noted in the demographic dynamic of the households between regions in the 2010-2013 period. These results confirm the findings of previous studies in terms of the family composition not being homogenous between regions due to different cultural patterns (Flórez, 2000; Gutiérrez de Pineda, 1975; Ordóñez, 1986).

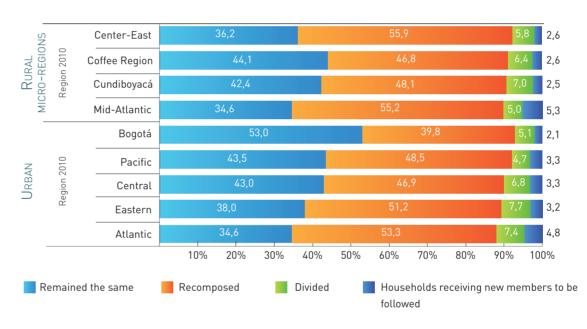
Figure 2.2 shows that the urban Atlantic and the mid-Atlantic rural regions exhibited the greatest dynamism in the period, in terms of household composition. They had the smallest percentage of households, which remained identical (34%), the greatest percentage of recomposed households (53% urban and 55% rural), the greatest percentage of new households (around 5% rural and urban), and among the highest percentages of divided households (7.4% urban and 5% rural). In contrast, Bogotá was the least dynamic region in terms of internal changes in the households. It had the highest percentage of unchanged households (53%), the smallest percentage of recomposed (39.8%) and divided households (5%), and the smallest percentage of new households (2%). Finally, even in the least dynamic region in terms of households, only around half of the households remained identical while the other half were transformed either through being divided or recomposed.

Between areas, the results show a greater heterogeneity between regions in the urban area than in the rural area. In the rural area, the mid-Atlantic and Center-East regions are similar, as are the Coffee and the Cundiboyacá regions. In contrast, the urban areas present greater differences between regions. Bogotá and the Atlantic display completely different behaviors.

ELCA results display evidence of more significant differences in the population dynamics caused by socioeconomic levels in the urban areas than in the rural ones. Figure 2.3 shows the distribution of households in accordance with the demographic dynamic for 2010-2013, by level of wealth in 2010.9

Figure 2.2.

Distribution of surveyed households in 2013 according to permanence, recomposition, and division between 2010 and 2013, by area and region in 2010 (percentage of households).

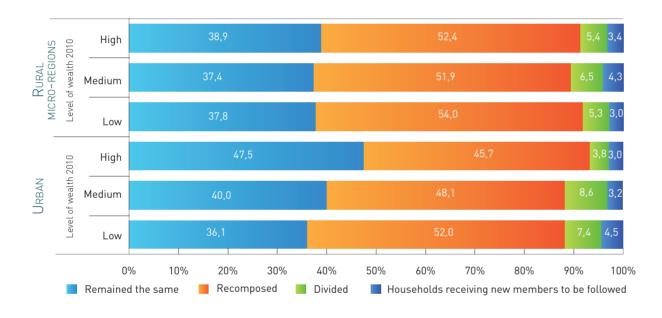


Source: Authors' calculations based on ELCA 2010 and 2013

This excludes the households which migrated between areas in the 2010–2013 period. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East micro-regions.

^{9.} The level of wealth corresponds to the terciles of a continuous index of wealth constructed based on durable goods and access to services which the household possesses.

Figure 2.3.
Distribution of surveyed households in 2013 according to permanence, recomposition, and division between 2010 and 2013, by area and level of wealth in 2010 (percentage of households).



This excludes the households that migrated between areas in the 2010–2013 period. The level of wealth corresponds to the terciles of a continuous wealth index, constructed based on durable goods and households' access to services. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East micro-regions.

In the urban households, greater heterogeneity was observed in the demographic dynamic according to level of wealth, while this dynamic in the rural households was more homogenous. A greater percentage of urban households with higher levels of wealth remained identical, whereas households with lower levels of wealth showed greater changes: greater recomposition, division, and emergence of new households. These changes were greater to the degree that the level of wealth decreased. For example, 47.5 % of the urban households with high levels of wealth remained identical, while this condition was true in only 36.1% of those households with lower levels of wealth. Inversely, in the rural area, the demographic dynamic of the households was more homogenous: nearly 38% remained identical, a little more than half were recomposed, around 5% were divided, and 3% were new households, without great differences according to levels of wealth.

These results confirm the socio-economic differences found in other studies associated to differences in access to social resources and services, perceptions and attitudes regarding family and the value of children (Flórez, 1990; Flórez 2000; Ordóñez, 1990).

TABLE 2.4.

Demographic characteristics of households in 2010, according to the dynamic between 2010 and 2013, by area.

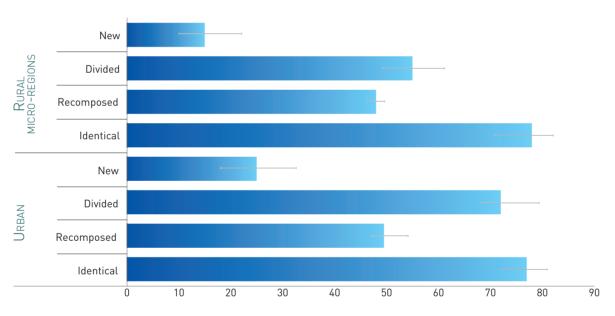
		Urba	n		Rural Micro-Regions				
Household characteristics in 2010	Identical house- holds	Recom- posed households	Divided house- holds	New house- holds	Identical house- holds	Recom- posed households	Divided house- holds	New house- holds	
Average number of people per household	3,6	4,5	4,3	6,1	4,2	5,1	4,6	7,8	
Distribution according to ty	pe of house	hold (%)							
Family households									
Nuclear	76,8	49,7	71,8	26,0	68,4	47,0	55,2	16,7	
Extended	23,2	50,1	28,2	74,0	31,6	53,0	44,8	83,3	
Total Households	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Household head									
% Two-parent house- holds	70,9	57,9	94,0	64,6	81,1	75,8	83,6	80,4	
% Female Household head	29,8	42,6	40,7	33,2	15,7	20,1	30,8	5,5	
Average age of head	44,0	44,0	42,3	39,7	45,4	46,3	44,0	40,0	

This excludes the households that migrated between areas in the 2010–2013 period. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East micro-regions.

The results presented up to now show evidence of a great dynamism in the composition of households between 2010 and 2013, with differences by area, region and socio-economic level. However, beyond merely identifying the dynamic, it is also of interest to identify the characteristics of the households according to the dynamic each of them experiences. For example, how different are the households that remain the same from those that divide or recompose? Table 2.4 presents the demographic characteristics of the households in 2010, according to the dynamic they experienced between 2010 and 2013. Figure 2.4 shows the percentage of nuclear households in accordance with the household dynamics.

FIGURE 2.4.

Nuclear households in 2010, according to household dynamics between 2010 and 2013, by area (percentage of nuclear households).



This excludes the households that migrated between areas in the 2010–2013 period. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East micro-regions. A 95% confidence interval is reported.

Table 2.4 indicates that, in both urban and rural areas, the households that remained identical were mainly smaller, nuclear, two-parent households with a male household head, and with household heads with the greatest average age. The divided households, even though also generally smaller in size, nuclear and two-parent, presented higher rates of female household heads. On the other hand, recomposed households were larger in size, nuclear or extended, without other differences but with a tendency to have female household heads; whereas the new households were the largest in size, mainly extended, with female heads in the urban area, and male in the rural and with heads who were on average, younger.

Figure 2.4 clearly shows that, in both rural and urban areas, the most common type of households to remain identical were nuclear, whereas the least common were new households. A high prevalence of nuclear households and of two-parent households among those that remained identical is observed in all the regions (Figures and Tables 2.5): at least 65% of the identical households were nuclear and at least 62% were two-parent households, regardless of the area or region.

Table 2.5.

Demographic characteristics of the households that remained identical between 2010 and 2013, by region and area.

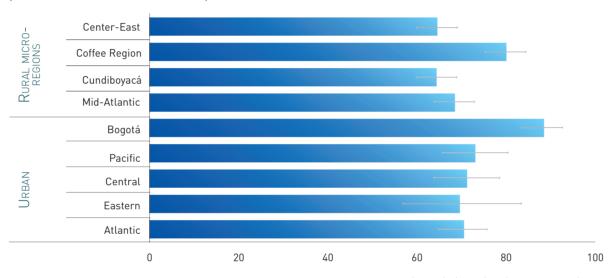
			Urban				Rural micro	-regions	
Household characteristics in 2010	Atlantic	Eastern	Central	Pacific	Bogotá	Mid- Atlantic	Cundi- boyacá	Coffee region	Center- East
Average # of people/ households	4,2	3,8	3,6	3,6	3,5	4,6	4,1	3,8	3,9
Distribution according to	type of hou	sehold (%)							
Family household									
Nuclear	70,6	69,6	71,5	73,1	88,8	68,5	64,4	80,1	64,6
Extended	29,4	30,4	28,5	26,9	11,2	31,5	35,6	19,9	35,4
Total household	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Household head									
% Two-parent house- hold	74,2	62,5	66,5	69,4	78,6	88,2	72,1	90,5	73,9
% Female household head	30,3	38,6	32,7	31,9	23,0	12,7	21,9	6,2	20,0

This excludes the households that migrated between areas in the 2010–2013 period. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East micro-regions.

Furthermore, households that were recomposed or divided underwent great transformations, both in structure and in terms of the household head. Only 58.2% of the urban nuclear households and 62.5% of rural nuclear households that were recomposed or divided remained nuclear. Nearly 25% of the rural and 31% of the urban extended households became nuclear units; a little over a third part of the urban and rural nuclear households turned into extended households; and some of them (between 3% and 5%) became singleperson households (see Table 2.6). At the same time, 82% of the urban two-parent households and nearly 90% of the rural ones remained two-parent, whereas between 20% and 23.5% of the single-parent households turned into two-parent ones (see Table 2.7). This means that between a fifth and a quarter of the recomposed or divided single-parent households turned into two-parent households. In contrast, nearly 98% of these urban and rural households kept their male household head.

Figure 2.5.

Nuclear households, which remained identical between 2010 and 2013, by region and area (percentage of households).



This excludes the households that migrated between areas in the 2010-2013 period. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East micro-regions. A 95% confidence interval is reported.

Source: Author's calculations based on ELCA 2010 and 2013

Table 2.6.
Changes in the typology of recomposed or divided households between 2010 and 2013 (percentage of households).

l lava ab al d		Urban				Rural Micro-Regions				
Household typology in		Household t	typology 2013	Household typology 2013						
2010	Nuclear	Extended	Single-parent	Total	Nuclear	Extended	Single-parent	Total		
Nuclear	58,2	37,6	4,1	100	62,5	33,6	4,0	100		
	30,8	63,6	5,6	100	24,8	72,3	3,0	100		

Source: Author's calculations based on based on ELCA 2010 and 2013

This excludes the households that migrated between areas in the 2010–2013 period. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East micro-regions.

Table 2.7.
Changes regarding the heads of households that recomposed or divided between 2010 and 2013, by area (percentage of households).

		Urban		Rural micro-regions			
Household typology 2010	Househ	old typology 20	13	Household typology 2013			
	Single-parent	Two-parent	Total	Single-parent	Two-parent	Total	
Nuclear	79,95	20,1	100	76,6	23,5	100	
Extended	17,5	82,5	100	10,2	89,8	100	
Gender of household head	Gender of h	nousehold head	2013	Gender of household head 2013			
2010	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	total	
Male	97,6	2,4	100	97,7	2,3	100	
Female	8,4	91,6	100	11,6	88,5	100	

This excludes households that migrated between areas in the 2010–2013 period. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East regions.

The demographic dynamic of the households, their permanence or recomposition, can also be related to the occurrence of shocks. Table 2.8 shows the percentage of households that experienced some kind of important shock,10 depending on whether the household remained identical or was recomposed between 2010 and 2013. The results suggest that, in both urban and rural areas, households that recomposed had a tendency to experience a greater incidence of shocks —with the exception of violence shocks— but with a notable difference in that they experienced many more important family shocks. Secondly, they also experienced health shocks more intensely, followed by important work shocks, especially in the urban areas. The recomposition was probably the result of some form or other of shock, but here, we will only observe the relationship that exists between the shock and the household dynamic. Analyzing the causality goes beyond the scope of this chapter.

^{10.} An important shock is an event which had a medium to high-level effect on the households' economic stability. Production shocks refer to bankruptcy, loss of crops, loss or death of livestock. Family shocks refer to death, separation or the arrival of people to the household.

Table 2.8.
Households that experienced shocks between 2010 and 2013, according to the household demographic, by type of event, and area (percentage of households).

	Urb	an	Rural Micr	Rural Micro-Regions		
Household characteristics in 2010	Households which remained the same	Households which were recomposed	Households which remained the same	Households which were recomposed		
Violence shock	1,3	0,9	0,7	0,6		
Natural disaster	3,9	5,0	13,1	15,6		
Health shock	15,0	22,1	21,7	23,2		
Family shock	4,2	11,7	2,2	10,3		
Employment shock	19,5	21,3	7,9	8,2		
Production shock	3,2	3,3	35,3	35,2		
Household/Asset shock	7,0	9,5	8,8	9,4		

This excludes households that migrated between areas in the 2010–2013 period, and divided and new households that received new members to follow. It captures households that, over the three years, experienced shock in the household, which had a medium to high effect on their economic stability. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East regions.

2.3. THE SPATIAL DYNAMIC

The study of households over time allows us to examine the spatial mobility experienced by the households as well the demographic dynamic. Given that ELCA follows the households over time even when they change areas or towns, it can identify short and long-distance migrations. Nevertheless,

given the rules set forth in the ELCA study regarding space, ¹¹ it is possible that long-distance migrations are at times underestimated. Figure 2.6 presents the distribution of original households in accordance with their migratory activities between 2010 and 2013.



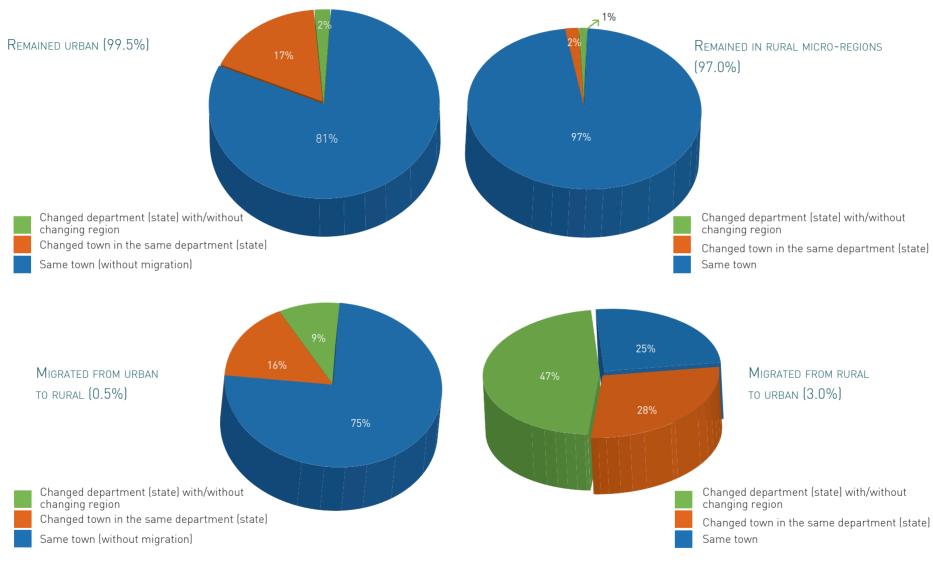


→ Family disputes led Blanca Rincón to live with her daughter Carmen and her granddaughter, Antonia. In 2010 (the lower picture), she lived in her own house, in Villa Hermosa (Medellín).

^{11.} ELCA follows the households if they move to a town which is part of the study of the survey sample or if they move to a town which is not a part of the initial study but is on the way between two towns included in the sample and is located in a radius not greater than one hour in the most common mode of transport. In practice, on occasion, the effort put in to survey a household implied going even further away. Despite this, it is possible that households, which move large distances, are more likely to be lost from the sample.

Figure 2.6.

Migration patterns of the original households by area between 2010 and 2013 (percentage of households).



This excludes the divided and new households that received new members to follow. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East micro-regions.

Firstly, we can observe that rural to urban household migration took place (3%), whereas the households in the urban area remained almost entirely in the urban area (99.5%). Therefore, there is evidence of rural-urban migration but urban-rural migration was practically inexistent.

Secondly, the intra-area migration was greater in urban areas than in rural ones: 81% of households that remained in the urban area stayed in the same town, while 97% of those which remained in the rural area also stayed in the same town. These results indicate that urban-urban migration was greater than rural-rural migration.

Thirdly, in both urban and rural areas, the intra-area migration was mainly short distance, whereby people changed towns but stayed in the same department. Thus, of the urban households that remained in the urban area, 17% moved to another town within the same department, while only 2% changed departments, within or outside the same region. In the rural area, the percentage of households which remained in the rural area but spatially moved were even fewer, with 2% changing towns within the same department and only 1% changing department. These results suggest that migration within the same area was mainly short distance (intra-departmental).

Additionally, the mobility pattern was quite different for households that changed area. Almost half (47%) of the households that migrated from the





→ Lizeth Quevedo, 24, left her childhood home to move in with Esnoraldo López, 54. They live with her son from a previous relationship.

rural area to the urban area changed department, whereas 28% changed towns but stayed within the same department, 25% migrated within the same department and 9% changed departments.¹² This suggests that rural-urban migration was more long distance and urban-rural migration had a tendency to be mainly short distance. All of these results on migratory patterns are consistent with previous studies on the topic based on population censuses (Martínez and Rincón, 1997; Martínez, 2006).

To be able to evaluate the possible relationship between migration and the recomposition of households, Table 2.9 shows the migratory conditions of the households according to whether they remained the same or recomposed. The results do not provide evidence that there is an important relationship. Migration appears to be equally important in both types of households.

^{12.} These values must be taken with caution given the low number of cases of migration between areas: urban-rural and rural-urban.

Table 2.9.

Migratory conditions of the original households, according to the demographic dynamic between 2010 and 2013, by area (percentage of households).

	Ur	ban 2010		Rural Micro-Regions 2010			
Demographic household dynamic	Non- migratory	Migratory	Total	Non- migratory	Migratory	Total	
Intra-area migration							
Original household that remain identical	81,1	18,9	100	96,9	3,1	100	
Original households that are recomposed	81,1	18,9	100	97,2	2,8	100	
Migration between areas							
Original household which remain identical	99,8	0,2	100	97,9	2,1	100	
Original household are recomposed	99,3	0,7	100	96,3	3,7	100	

Excludes divided and new households that received new members to follow. The intra-area migration refers to town or department changes within the same area. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East regions.

The ELCA analyzes whether there is any kind of relationship between migration and the occurrence of any event that affected the households' economic stability between 2010 and 2013. Table 2.10 shows the percentage of households that experienced some important shock, depending on whether the household migrated or not, during the period. 13 The results indicate that extreme violent, employment and assets shocks are associated to migration in the rural area, and the prevalence of these types of shock were significantly greater among migrants (intra and inter-area) than non-migrants. In contrast, important disaster and production shocks in the rural area were far greater among non-migrants than migrants (intra and inter-area). It would appear that disaster and production shocks inhibit migration —in and out of— rural areas, whereas violent, employment and asset shocks motivate it.

^{13.} For intra-area migration, the urban-rural migration results are excluded due to the low number of cases

In the urban area, on the other hand, the differences in terms of the presence of shocks between intra-area migrants and non-migrants are not as notable as in the rural area. Important differences can be observed between intra-area migrants and non-migrants only in the prevalence of important employment shocks, suggesting that this type of shock motivates urban-urban migration.





→ In 2014, only four people lived in the García-Segura household. Jeniffer, Carlos and Delfina's eldest daughter moved out with her son, Felipe.

TABLE 2.10.

Households that experienced shock between 2010 and 2013, according to their migratory condition, by type of event, and area (percentage of households).

		Intra-area	Inter-area migration			
Type of shock	Urban		Rural micr	o-regions	Rural micro-regions	
	Non- migrant	Migrant	Non- migrant	Migrant	Non- migrant	Migrant
Violence shock	1,1	1,1	0,5	4,3	0,6	5,2
Natural Disaster	4,5	4,4	14,9	3,5	14,6	3,5
Health shock	19,7	15,2	22,5	24,7	22,6	23,4
Family shock	8,5	7,6	6,8	10,8	6,9	7,2
Employment shock	19,2	25,9	7,7	20,9	8,0	30,3
Production shock	3,3 2,7		36,0	11,5	35,3	2,2
Household/asset shock	8,1	9,7	9,0	15,8	9,2	25,1

Source: Authors' calculations based on ELCA 2010 and 2013

Excludes divided and new households that received new members to follow. Intra-area migration refers to town or department changes within the same area. The urban-rural migration is also excluded due to the low number of cases. The rural sample is only representative of the mid-Atlantic, Cundiboyacá, Coffee Region and Center-East regions.

2.4. Conclusions

ELCA is the first longitudinal survey through which we can confirm for Colombia what other longitudinal studies have evidenced in other countries. Cross-sectional surveys do not reveal the transformations that households undergo over time. ELCA, however, provides evidence of the intense demographic dynamic experienced by the urban and rural households between 2010 and 2013 whereby less than half of the households maintained their structure, heads, and size, while the rest were divided or recomposed.

The demographic dynamic of the households presents differences by areas, regions and levels of wealth. The dynamic is more intense in the lower wealth levels than in the higher ones and is more intense in the rural area than in the urban. However, it is more heterogeneous among regions and levels of wealth in the urban area than in the rural

area. This means that the demographic dynamic of the households is more intense, but also more homogenous in the rural area than in the urban one.

The characteristics of the households by their demographic dynamic suggest a relationship between the structure of the household and its dynamic over time. The households in which there is only a nuclear family with both parents present tend to be less dynamic (they remain the same over time) than the extended or single-parent households. This may be because the former have greater resources to deal with shocks or events such as migration or because they are more consolidated households (older household head, for example). A direct relationship between the recomposition of the household and the prevalence of shocks can be observed; that is, households that have experienced shocks, especially of the family type, tend to recompose.

The results of the households' spatial mobility show an important rural-urban migration, which was almost inexistent the other way around. We can see that inter-area migration is more likely to be longdistance, while intra-area migration is more likely to be short distance. We can also see that ruralurban migration is long distance while urban-rural migration is short distance, and that there is a greater percentage of urban-urban migration than rural-rural migration. The results also indicate that the spatial mobility of the households, especially of the rural households, seems to be associated with the presence of events which economically destabilize the household, particularly events related to violence, employment and household assets. Likewise, urban-urban migration can be associated with difficult employment-related shocks.

References

Flórez, C. E. (1990). La transición demográfica en Colombia: Efectos en la formación de la familia. Bogotá: Ediciones Uniandes; Universidad de las Naciones Unidas.

_____ (2000). Las transformaciones sociodemográficas de Colombia durante el siglo xx. Bogotá: Banco de la República; Tercer Mundo Editores, Economía del Siglo xx.

_____ (2004). La transformación de los hogares: Una visión de largo plazo. *Coyuntura Social*, *30*, 23-49.

Gutiérrez de Pineda, V. (1975). Estructura, función y cambio de la familia en Colombia. Bogotá: Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Medicina, División de Medicina Social y Población.

Martínez, C. and Rincón, M. (1997). Tendencias recientes de las migraciones internas en Colombia. *Desarrollo urbano en cifras*, 2, 230-261.

Martínez, C. (2006). Las migraciones internas en Colombia. Análisis territorial y demográfico según los censos de 1973 y 1993. Bogotá: Universidad Externado de Colombia.

Misión Social-Departamento Nacional de Planeación, (2002). Familias colombianas: Estrategias frente al riesgo. Bogotá: Departamento Nacional de Planeación; Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo; Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar.

Ordóñez, M. (1986). *Población y familia rural en Colombia*. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Facultad de Estudios Interdisciplinarios, Programa de Población.

_____ (1990). La fecundidad en Colombia 1985: Niveles, diferenciales y determinantes. Bogotá: Profamilia; DANE.

Rubiano, N. and Wartenberg, L. (1991). *Hogares y redes familiares en centros urbanos*. Ponencia presentada en el Congreso de Trabajo Social, Cali, Colombia.