

# Can a movie reduce intergroup hostility and promote peace after decades of protracted armed conflict?

An impact evaluation of the psychological and behavioral effects of the documentary *Del Otro Lado* (On the Other Side)

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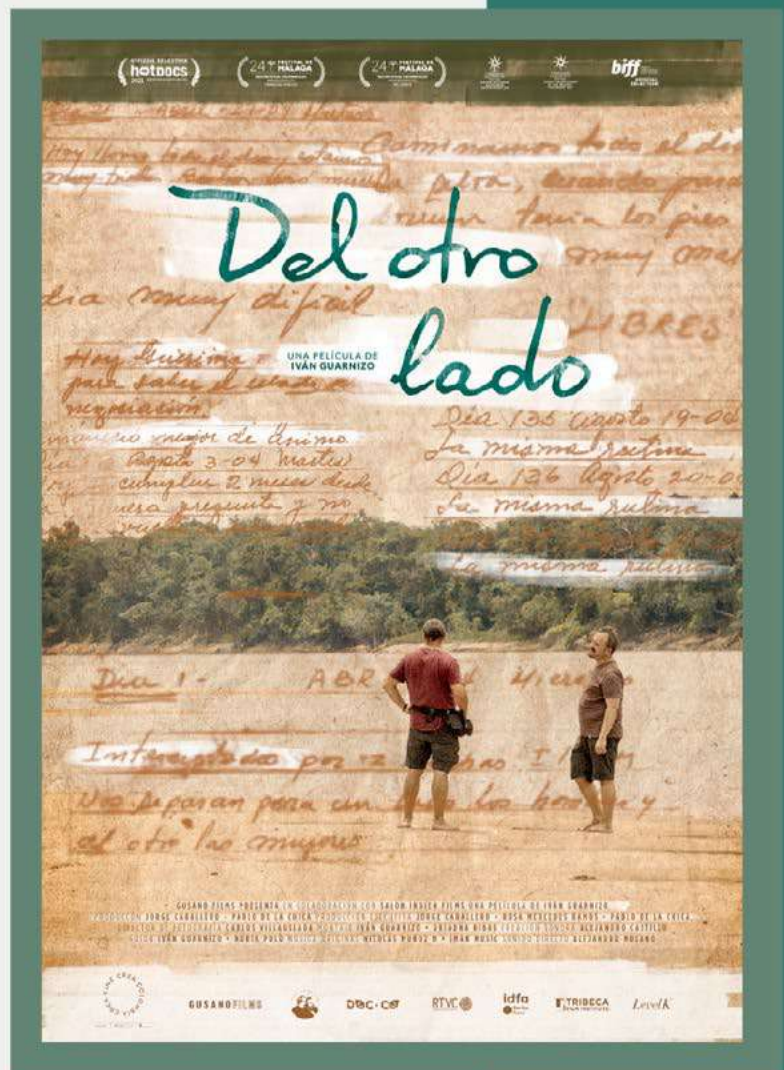
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# Executive summary

This report presents a research innovation that successfully brings together filmmakers, scientists, and movie audiences, to explore the power of movies to help reduce intergroup hostility and promote peace after almost six decades of war. We introduce a field evaluation of the impact of exposure in cinemas during the ongoing peace process to the documentary 'Del otro lado' (DOL). We focus on how the audience's attitudes, perceptions, dispositions, and behaviors toward FARC ex-combatants might change. We also assess how a documentary can impact the support for the integration process and forgiveness to facilitate the construction of peace in Colombia.

Our field experiment confirms that exposure to the documentary DOL can help build peace in Colombia by transforming socio-psycho-cultural barriers to support the peace process and its implementation. Especially increasing the social support for reintegration policies that can foster reconciliation and the final goal of promoting forgiveness and acceptance between groups. We provide evidence of how audiovisual content can, in a short time, reduce intergroup hostility and generate positive effects toward other vulnerable populations and society in general.

We show how people living amid an ongoing peace process can be positively affected by the power of narratives to reduce intergroup conflict in the naturalistic setting of a movie theater. It helps find effective ways to change expectations about the capacity of people to change by opening mindsets that can embrace the possibility of changing previous beliefs about the outgroup.

"Del Otro Lado" documentary has a positive transforming effect on moviegoers' trust, positive reciprocity, and altruism. It also provides evidence that DOL improves key attitudes, beliefs, and dispositions fundamental to reducing intergroup hostility after the war. We find that exposure to DOL helps humanize most armed conflict groups, except victims. Also, the perception of blatant dehumanization by Colombians towards Ex-Farc is reduced. After watching the movie, moviegoers' perceptions of Ex-Farc beliefs towards Colombians improve.

Finally, DOL addresses one of the conflict's most painful and unforgivable realities: the kidnapping of civilians by FARC. Regarding this difficult barrier, few empirical studies have been done. We introduce evidence that movies can help start a difficult conversation absent from the mainstream public opinion arena. For the first time in Colombia, we find that exposure to DOL reduces prejudice towards kidnappers and Ex-Farc members while it increases support for peace and integration policies. In a moment in which the peace architecture in Colombia has reached the phase of sanctions through restorative measures, we find a valuable result: DOL reduces the support to punitive redistribution policies, which is a big deal since extreme punitive preferences are the norm in Colombia.

# Resumen ejecutivo

Este informe presenta una investigación innovadora que reúne con éxito a cineastas, científicos y audiencias cinematográficas para explorar el poder de las películas para ayudar a reducir la hostilidad entre grupos y promover la paz después de casi seis décadas de guerra. Presentamos una evaluación de campo del impacto de la exposición en salas de cine durante el proceso de paz en curso al documental 'Del otro lado' (DOL). Nos enfocamos en cómo pueden cambiar las actitudes, percepciones, disposiciones y comportamientos de la audiencia hacia los excombatientes de las FARC. También evaluamos cómo un documental puede impactar en el apoyo al proceso de integración y perdón para facilitar la construcción de paz en Colombia.

Nuestro experimento de campo confirma que la exposición al documental DOL puede ayudar a construir la paz en Colombia al transformar las barreras socio-psico-culturales para apoyar el proceso de paz y su implementación. En especial, incrementar el apoyo social a las políticas de reinserción que puedan favorecer la reconciliación y el objetivo final de promover el perdón y la aceptación entre los colectivos. Proporcionamos evidencia de cómo un contenido audiovisual puede, en poco tiempo, contribuir a reducir la hostilidad intergrupala y generar efectos positivos hacia otras poblaciones vulnerables y la sociedad en general.

Mostramos cómo las personas que viven en medio de un proceso de paz en curso pueden verse afectadas positivamente por el poder de las narrativas para reducir los conflictos entre grupos en el escenario naturalista de una sala de cine. Ayuda a encontrar formas efectivas de cambiar las expectativas sobre la capacidad de las personas para cambiar, al abrir mentalidades que pueden aceptar la posibilidad de cambiar creencias previas sobre el exgrupo.

El documental "Del Otro Lado" tiene un efecto transformador positivo en la confianza, la reciprocidad positiva, el altruismo de los cinéfilos. También proporciona evidencias de que DOL mejora actitudes, creencias y disposiciones clave que son fundamentales para reducir la hostilidad entre grupos después de la guerra. Encontramos que la exposición a DOL ayuda a humanizar a la mayoría de los grupos involucrados en conflictos armados, excepto a las víctimas. Asimismo, se reduce la percepción de flagrante deshumanización de los colombianos hacia las Ex-Farc. Después de ver la película, mejora la percepción de los cinéfilos sobre las creencias de las ex-Farc hacia los colombianos.

Finalmente, DOL aborda una de las realidades más dolorosas e imperdonables del conflicto: el secuestro de civiles por parte de las FARC. Con respecto a esta difícil barrera, se han realizado pocos estudios empíricos. Presentamos evidencia que muestra que las películas pueden ayudar a iniciar una conversación difícil que estaba ausente en la arena de la opinión pública dominante. Por primera vez en Colombia, encontramos que la exposición al DOL reduce los prejuicios hacia los secuestradores y los miembros de las Ex-Farc, mientras aumenta el apoyo a las políticas de paz e integración. En un momento en que la arquitectura de paz en Colombia ha llegado a la fase de sanciones a través de medidas restaurativas, encontramos un resultado valioso: DOL reduce el apoyo a políticas de redistribución punitivas, lo cual es un gran problema ya que las preferencias punitivas extremas son la norma en Colombia..



# I. Introduction

In 2021, as part of the commemoration of 5 years of the signing of the peace agreement in Colombia, Gusano Films teamed up with two behavioral scientists to conduct a social experiment in cinemas in Bogotá. Based on recent advances in peace science (Moore-Berg et al., 2022), our team aimed to explore if a real-life story documented by ‘Del otro lado’ (On the Other Side), DOL for its acronym in Spanish, could help reduce inter-group hostility and foster support for peace among Colombians.

Despite the growing support for the peace process from the national public (PRIO – UNDP, 2020), the political environment and the pandemic coincided with the activation of serious post-conflict risks expressed in security hazards for the signatories; a scarcity of resources to support peace activities; and the effectiveness in the fulfillment of the agreements on behalf of the Colombian government between 2018 and 2022 (Cárdenas et al., 2022). Common sense suggests that in such a situation, additional effort from civil society may help foster conditions when institutions fall short to giving peace a chance.

The 2016 peace agreement opened a unique window of opportunity to try new remedies to innovate, accelerate and sustain the achievements of peace after six decades of war. One of those innovations lies in the collaboration between artists and scientists to assess scientifically, for the first time in the country’s history, complementary mechanisms to reduce hostility between enemy groups and transform hearts, minds, and behaviors to support peace after more than half a century of war. This report presents a behavioral evaluation of the impact of exposure in cinemas to the documentary on the audience’s perceptions, dispositions, attitudes and behaviors towards FARC ex-combatants, the process of integration and the possibility of forgiveness to facilitate the construction of peace in Colombia.

The report starts by introducing a brief context for the research and its goals, followed by a background on Gusano Films and DOL. Then, it unpacks the design, methodological and logistical aspects of

the research. Finally, it presents the results, identifies the impact of exposure to the documentary with reflections and recommendations on the use of the power of narratives to protect and accelerate the implementation of peace accords.

# II. Context

Bruneau and co-authors (2022) state that in conflict, people develop cognitive and affective biases about the outgroup, hindering reintegration and reconciliation. For these authors, even firmly-held intergroup biases are mutable (Casas, 2020). While most research on debiasing and conflict resolution efforts focus on direct person-to-person contact, these interactions can be logistically challenging to achieve for groups involved in the conflict (Casas & Hameiri, 2022). That is why most interventions are often limited to those already possessing sufficient motivation to meet face-to-face with “the enemy” (Bruneau et al., 2022) or to those willing to take other people’s point of view (Bacha-Trams et al., 2020; Mueller & Kane, 2017).

A vast range of empirical studies shows that the mass media and propaganda have often been used to generate hatred and perpetuate conflict (Littman et al., forthcoming). They can also be a tool for maintaining and rebuilding peace (Silva et al., 2021; Littman et al., forthcoming). Mass media, such as film, radio, social media, television, and print, can be a powerful tool for reducing prejudice and improving intergroup relations in society. Since media interventions can reach thousands or even millions of people at one time, they are a cost-effective way to promote societal change at scale (Littman et al., forthcoming). As stated by Littman et al. (Forthcoming), as a means of communication that intends to reach large numbers of people, mass media is not dependent on person-to-person contact. It can target the general population or specific groups, either explicitly or because of the way it is distributed.

Art is a bridge between one mind and another, a primary way in which people create and exchange meaning (Silva et al., 2021). A key component of conflict resolution is the ability and willingness to imagine another’s perspective. Mass media can

shift violent perceptions, beliefs, and norms by encouraging mutual understanding and highlighting positive interactions. The impact of art and media – such as books and movies – is a result of taking the perspectives of the characters depicted within the stories. Mass media achieves this through sharing stories (Silva et al., 2021). By putting these stories into the homes and phones of people across the globe, mass media can create a bridge between ingroup and outgroup in a way that other forms of communication cannot. It is this very pathway that gives mass media the potential to reduce conflict on a global scale (Silva et al., 2021).

Mass media can influence attitudes and behavior around intergroup relations directly or indirectly (Littman et al., forthcoming). Through its content, mass media provides a direct platform through which governments, organizations, and individual citizens can attempt to promote peace. Indirectly, through their effects on the social context of the intervention, mass media can affect social interactions and discussions.

As a form of intervention, mass media is a means to change the audience's attitudes, knowledge, and / or behavior (Littman et al., forthcoming). Organizations have developed mass media contents to promote reconciliation in conflict and post-conflict settings. One common approach is entertainment-education interventions, embed content in media like television shows, movies, or soap operas, which is intended to change the audiences' attitudes or behaviors. Other common types of mass media interventions to promote peace include presenting personal stories of outgroup members, spreading messages from elites or other relevant social referents (e.g., peers, social influencers), and providing information about outgroups (Littman et al., forthcoming).

Experimental and observational research conducted in diverse contexts shows that mass media interventions can positively influence intergroup relations (Littman et al., forthcoming), since they are: scalable; a cost-effective way to reach large numbers of people at one time; and they have the potential to be a powerful tool to promote peace. As stated by Littman and colleagues more research is needed, especially in field settings, to assess the effects of different types of media interventions

with a broad range of attitudinal and behavioral outcomes related to peace. This report aims to contribute partially to fill this gap in the peace science literature. The specificity and uniqueness of our work is that it evaluates the effect of a mass media content, such as the documentary DOL, on cinema goes on the naturalistic setting of an ongoing peace process.

We argue that in the context of entertainment, cinema can provide a medium to facilitate perspective giving, taking, or sharing among conflicting groups. It is an alternative to person-to-person contact under challenging contexts such as post-conflict settings (Bruneau et al., 2022). Furthermore, movies, such as a documentary may bypass long-held affective, cognitive, and social filters adopted to make sense of and navigate protracted periods of intergroup hostility, especially within one's geographic borders. When peace arrives, those 'adaptive filters' that acted once as a remedy for lack of ingroup support amidst hostilities may result in robust buffers to intergroup contact, integration, reconciliation, or forgiveness.

### III. Research goals

- Conduct the first experiment in Colombia to establish massive promotion and pedagogy mechanisms for accelerating peace activities at a critical moment that the environment and the electoral process can aggravate.
- Produce rigorous evidence that helps guide communications teams, art collectives, and filmmakers on how to conduct communications-based interventions for peacebuilding prosocial change.
- Contribute to the literature and practice on the power of movies to build peace, in the industry, and the fields of security & peacebuilding, social psychology, conflict resolution, behavioral economics, and social & behavioral change communications.

### IV. About Gusano Films

Gusano Films SAS is a production company created

in Barcelona and Bogotá in 2008, which develops and produces non-fiction films and explores the possibilities between documentaries and technology through digital, interactive, and immersive formats. Its productions have been awarded at international festivals worldwide, such as Bafici, Guadalajara, L'alternativa, Tribeca Film Institute, Docs Barcelona, Malaga, and Cartagena. In addition, they have been selected for festivals such as IDFA, Visions Du Reel, Cinema Du Reel, Afi Docs, and Tudo Verdade (<https://www.gusano.org/>).

## V. The story: “On the Other side.”

After the peace agreements, the war between Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) and the Colombian State seemed to have ended, but the situation was far from stable. The Guarnizo brothers started investigating their mother's kidnapping by that group many years before. Upon finding her diary that she wrote during her captivity; they discover an almost mother-child relationship that she had with her captor. Now that most of the FARC guerrillas have surrendered their weapons, the brothers search to find their mother's captor looking for answers about that part of their mother's life.

The film was directed by Iván Guarnizo and produced by Gusano Films. The documentary has a rating assigned by the authorities of the Colombian government. We include the Certificate from the Ministry of Culture of Colombia that describes how the committee qualified the documentary as “General Public” or all ages admitted.

After five years of the signing of the accords and the beginning of the peace process in Colombia, it was the perfect moment to explore this question using science. Gusano Films wanted to empirically evaluate if content such as DOL could change people's perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors toward the peace process in Colombia. Through their projects worldwide, they witnessed the power of movies to transform people's perspectives on complex issues.

## VI. Methodology

The study is inspired by the experiment carried out successfully by Bruneau, Casas, Hameiri, and Kteily between 2018 and 2020 in Colombia (Bruneau et al, 2022). Bruneau et al., found that exposure to a 5-minute video could reduce dehumanization and negative meta-perceptions, increase the willingness to reconcile with former FARC combatants, and increase support for peace accord implementation policies. By using behavioral economics and social psychology, we seek to measure the impact of another mass media intervention, a documentary. We focus on its capacity to identify and remove barriers to prosocial behaviors that reduce hostility between groups; in this case, we found it also promotes prosocial attitudes and behaviors such as trust, altruism, reciprocity, support for peace, reconciliation, and forgiveness.

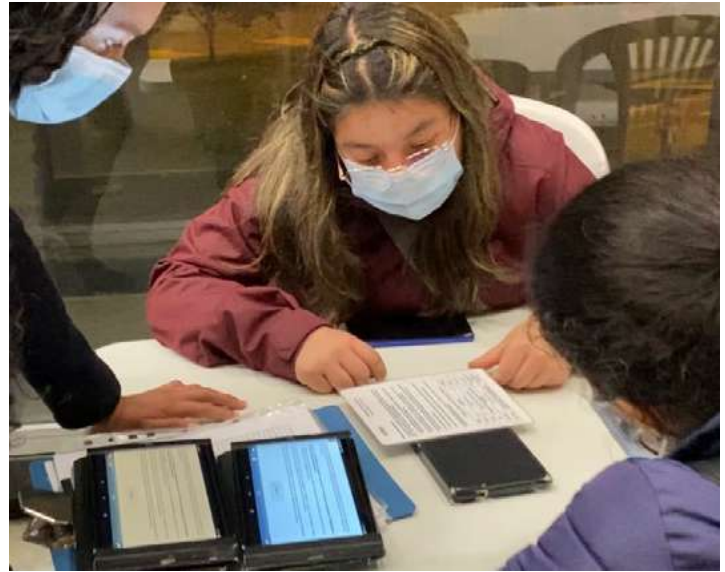


**Image 1.** Field experiment in cinema



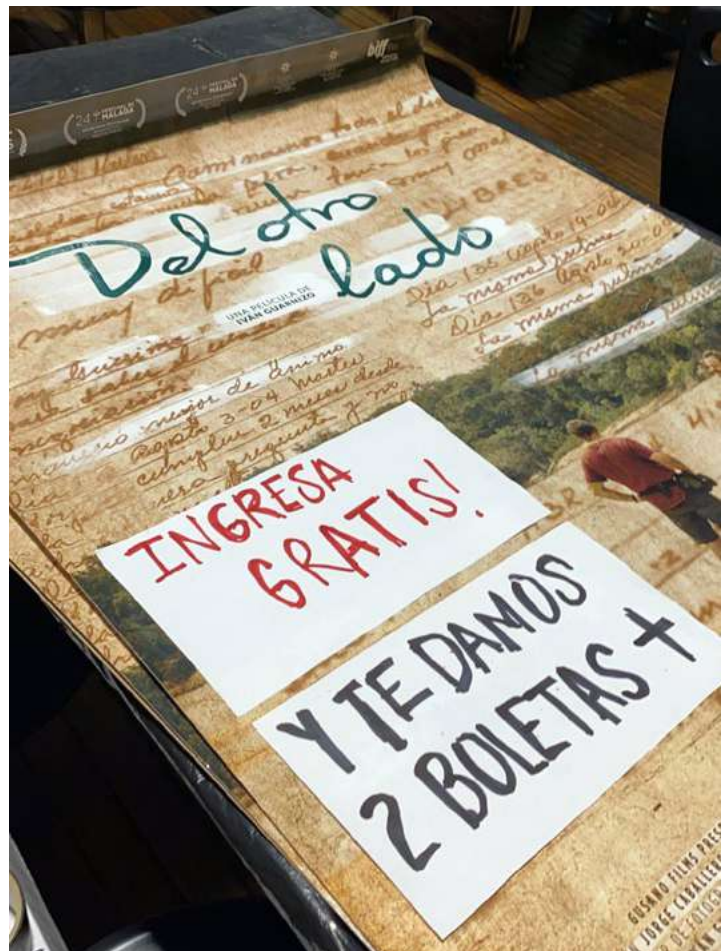
## 1. Experimental design

We built an alliance between scientists, film producers, distributors, and theaters to conduct a field experiment in Bogotá and implement a randomized controlled trial with a sample of the Colombian capital's audience of cinema-goers assigned to a control conditions (Not exposed to DOL) and a treatment condition (Exposed to DOL).



**Image 2.** Field experiment in cinema

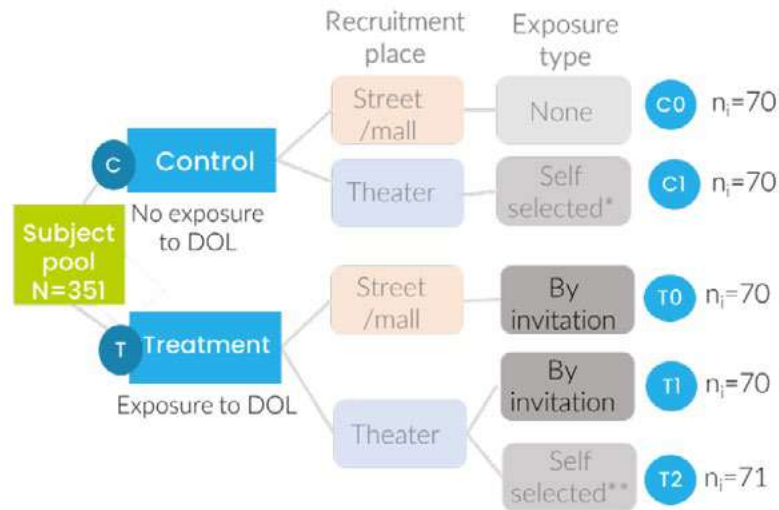
The behavioral impact assessment of the documentary DOL included three treatments: No exposure to DOL (T0), exposure to a film different from DOL (T1), and exposure to DOL (T2). The treatments were assigned to 4 groups: The first group consisted of the general population recruited on the street (C1); the second group included those who intended to see a film in the movie theater but still did not know which one (C2); the third group had those spectators who already had a ticket to see a film different from DOL (C3) and the fourth group included those who already have a movie ticket to see DOL (C4).



**Image 3.** Field experiment in cinema promotional poster



The control groups were constituted of C1T0 and C3T1. The experimental groups then were C1T2, C2T2, and C4T2. A total of 351 surveys were carried out. Table 1 and Figure 1 show participant allocation among groups.



\*Already planned to watch another movie

\*\*Already planned to watch DOL

**Table 1.** Groups and treatments

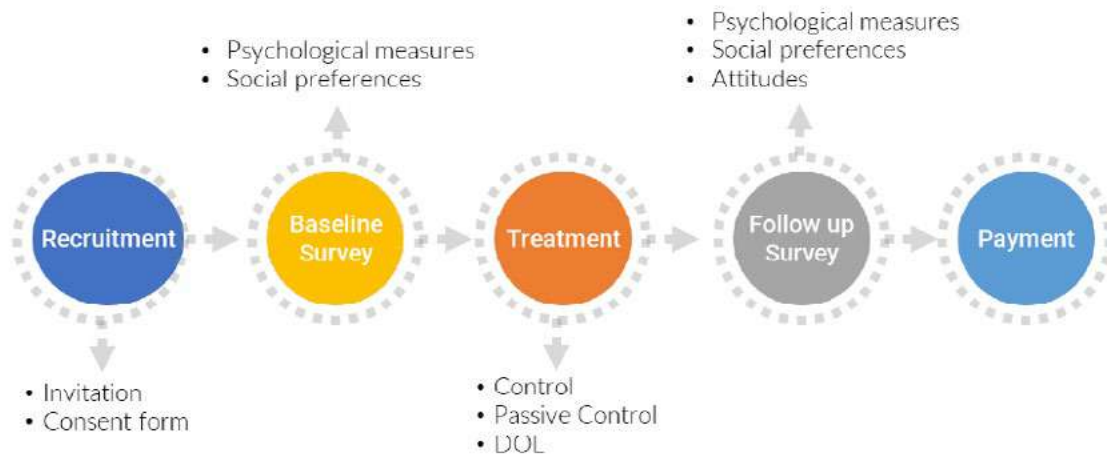
Recruitment place		Treatment: Exposure to...			
		None	Another movie	DOL	Total
		T0	T1	T2	
On the street or at the mall	C1	70		70	140
Movie theater without ticket*	C2			70	70
Movie theater with a ticket**	C3		70		70
Movie theater with a DOL ticket***	C4			71	71
				<b>Total</b>	<b>351</b>

\*Participants that wanted to go to the movies but had not decided yet which movie to watch. \*\* Participants that wanted to go to the movies AND decided to watch a movie different from DOL. \*\*\* Participants that wanted to go to the movies AND decided to watch DOL. Note: Sample size required to detect a mean of .4, given a mean of .6 under the null hypothesis; assuming that the sample standard deviation is .3, the significance level is 5%, statistical power is 80%, and that a two-sided test will be used with a difference in means under the null and alternative hypotheses pf .2, assuming a known population standard deviation of .3 and the population size is 8 million.

## 2. Setup

The experiment took place in October 2021 in Bogotá. A total of N = 351 people participated in the experiment. Three sites in different places in the city were selected for the experiment, to have a diverse set of populations, two movie theaters, each located within a mall (N=157 and N=168) and a movie theater whose entrance was on the street (N=26). Each participant was offered two movie tickets to any movie as a compensation for their time in a session which lasted approximately 35 minutes. More details about the experimental procedures, see section 3 in the appendix. See the session timeline in Figure 2.

**Figure 2.** Experimental session timeline



### 3. Outcomes

All study participants answered a survey before (i.e. baseline) and after (i.e. follow up) being exposed to the treatment (watching the documentary) or the control (not watching the documentary or watching another movie).

We used standardized measurement instruments whose origin lies in Bruneau et al. (2022); Bruneau et al. (2018), Bruneau, E., Kteily, N., & Falk, E. (2017); Bruneau, E. Lane, D. Saleem, M. (2017); Bruneau, E. Saxe, R. (2012); Kteily, N. Bruneau, E. (2017); Kteily, N. Bruneau, E. Waytz, A. Cotterill, S. (2015); Kteily, N. Hodson, G. Bruneau, E. (2016). The questionnaires are supported by previous research by Emile Bruneau and his team at the Peace and Conflict Neuroscience Lab at the Annenberg School for Communications at the University of Pennsylvania. The questionnaires for the desired measurement have been endorsed by the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Navarra ethics committees.

We used a digital survey carried out in the field with tablets, using the software Computer-Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI by Gandia Integra) to measure attitudes, perceptions, dispositions, and preferences related to interaction with ex-FARC ex-combatants. The survey also compiles a module of individual socioeconomic characteristics, individual perceptions, and questions from the World Values survey. These instruments have been replicated in the experimental economic literature

on social preferences and have also been widely applied.

The survey measured attitudes, dispositions, and behaviors through the following measures:

- Prosociality: the ability to trust, help, and share resources with others even at one's own cost. Prosociality is operationalize using measures of trust, reciprocity, and altruism from the Global Preferences Survey (Falk et al 2018) and other questions from Gallup and the WVS. We used questions related to trust and attitudes towards different groups. While the trust question is like one included in the WVS and various other social preferences surveys globally, it has the important advantage of distinguishing between trust in different groups. Specifically, the survey asks respondents to rate, on a scale of 1 to 10, to different communities.

- Altruism is the willingness to bear a cost in order to help another person.

- Reciprocity is a social preference concerning one's actions towards others that depends on an evaluation of the others' actions or character, for example, a preference to help those who have helped you or in some other way acted well (in your opinion) (i.e. positive reciprocity), and to harm those who have acted poorly (i.e. negative reciprocity).

- Emotions: Feelings of coldness or warmth towards

social groups, emotions of the ex-combatants, and hope regarding the future of the process. Emotions were assessed using a feeling thermometer, which asked participants, "How warm (favorable) or cold (unfavorable) do you feel towards the following groups?" (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993). Ratings were made for Farc ex-combatants using a 5-point scale anchored at 1 ('Very unfavorable') and 5 ('Very favorable').

- Dehumanization was understood as depriving a person or group of positive human qualities and was assessed with two measures presented in randomized order. First, we used the 'Ascent of (Hu)Man' scale (Kteily et al., 2015). As in Bruneau et al. (2022), the participants were provided with the popular Ascent of (hu)man scale and given the following instructions: 'Some people think that people can vary in how human-like they seem. According to this view, some people seem highly evolved, whereas others seem no different than lower animals. Using the image below, indicate with the sliders how evolved and civilized you consider the average member of each group to be.' The participants evaluated the same 12 groups as in the prejudice measure. The target groups were presented in random order, and the participants made judgments using a sliding scale anchored at the 'least evolved' image (0) and the 'most evolved' image (100). The ascent dehumanization score was calculated by subtracting the ascent rating of FARC members from the rating of Colombians. Second, trait dehumanization was assessed with the participants' ratings of how well a series of six traits characterize Colombians) and FARC members, with the target group order randomized across participants, using a scale of 1 = not at all to 7 = extremely so. These traits included backward and primitive, savage and aggressive, lacking morals, barbaric and cold-hearted, refined and cultured (reverse coded), and rational and logical (reverse coded). A trait dehumanization score was calculated by subtracting the rating of Colombians' rating from the FARC members' rating. A composite dehumanization score was created by first Z-scoring each measure and then averaging them), based on a similar approach used by Bruneau et al. (2021) and Kteily & Bruneau (2017).

- One factor contributing to our negative views

of others is how we think they view us, which is called 'meta-perception (Bruneau et al 2022). These meta-perceptions are often inaccurate and can maintain intergroup hostility. We measure meta-perceptions through the Beliefs about FARC unwillingness to reintegrate and give up violence. As in Bruneau et al. (2022) were assessed by asking the participants to rate how much they agreed or disagreed with statements endorsing anti-FARC beliefs using a scale of 1 = not at all to 7 = extremely so, with eight items of beliefs that are specifically about FARC members' unwillingness to reintegrate into Colombian society and give up violence to pursue peace. In addition to four items used in previous studies (that is, 'Members of FARC want to impose their norms and laws in the places where they will demobilize', 'Members of FARC are unwilling to get along with others in Colombian society, 'FARC members are not really interested in peace' and 'When demobilized, FARC members will be unwilling to give up their violence and criminality), we added four new items (all reverse coded; that is, 'Members of FARC are willing to adopt the norms and practices of the rest of Colombian society, 'FARC members are motivated to be accepted and integrated into Colombian society, 'FARC members are eager to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict' and 'FARC members want peace').

- Malleability In psychology refers to the process of brain augmentation through "neuroplasticity. In this case, it is assessed through the beliefs commonly held by non-FARC Colombians that FARC members cannot integrate into Colombian society. As in Bruneau et al. (2022) perceived malleability of FARC members was measured with an eight-item scale, assessing the extent to which the participants perceive that FARC members have the ability to change over time (for example, 'FARC members can do things differently, but the essential parts of who they are cannot really be changed).

- In psychology, empathy is defined as an affective reaction caused by, and congruent with, another person's inferred or forecasted emotions (Eisenberg, Shea, Carlo, & Knight, 1991). That is, feeling good in response to someone experiencing a positive event, and feeling bad in response to someone experiencing a negative event. As in Bruneau et al. (2022), empathy towards FARC members was

assessed using a four-item scale derived from Bruneau et al. (2015) (that is, 'To what extent do you feel empathy towards ex-combatants who lost their partners due to the conflict', 'To what extent do you feel empathy towards ex-combatants whose family reject them because of their past', 'To what extent do you feel empathy towards ex-combatants who were disabled by landmines' and 'To what extent do you feel empathy towards ex-combatants who cannot find work to support their families).

- Prejudice is described as "an unfair negative attitude toward a social group or a member of that group" (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999, p. 101). As in Bruneau et al. (2022), prejudice against FARC members was assessed with feeling thermometers, which asked the participants to report how 'cold/unfavorable' (0) to 'warm/favorable' (10) they felt towards different groups in random order. Specifically, the participants evaluated 12 groups, including Colombians, FARC members, and ten filler groups (for example, Europeans or Venezuelans in Colombia). A prejudice score was calculated by subtracting the feeling thermometer rating of FARC members from the rating of Colombians.

- Support for peace (Bruneau et al., 2022), was measured with three items assessing the extent to which the participants support the peace process with the FARC (that is, 'I support the peace process, 'If we do not accept a peace deal with FARC, there will be more suffering' and 'The peace process must be stopped' (reverse coded)). In the Preliminary Survey and Study 1, support for peace and FARC reintegration policies were measured with a few additional items removed from the final scales as they lowered the scales' reliabilities. One of these items was also measured in Study 2 but was excluded for consistency. However, including it did not affect the Study 2 conclusions (for the complete details, see the Supplementary Information).

- Support for FARC reintegration policies (Bruneau et al., 2022) was measured with three items assessing the extent to which the participants support policies that help FARC ex-combatants reintegrate into Colombian society (that is, 'Invest public resources in job training programs for demobilized members of the FARC financed by the government, 'Create public scholarships specifically for ex-combatants

of FARC and their families with public funds and 'Support policies that stipulate that demobilized FARC members must live in a restricted location outside of urban limits' (reverse coded)).

- Donation to a non-profit organization that promotes the reintegration of FARC ex-combatants was assessed by providing the participants with a bonus at the end of the study and then providing them the opportunity to keep all the bonus to themselves, donate half or donate all as in Bruneau et al. (2022).

- Assessment of job applicants' suitability was assessed as follows. As in Bruneau et al. (2022), the participants were shown different job descriptions in a randomized order and were asked to imagine themselves as the person in charge that needed to hire a new employee. They received one resumé for each job description. The resúmes were modeled around real resúmes that we obtained from FARC ex-combatants and used a standard form common in Colombia. In addition to some general information about the applicant, the resúmes included a sentence indicating that the applicant is a beneficiary of a program run by the Colombian National Agency of Reintegration (an indirect way to inform the participants that the applicant is an ex-combatant). After each resumé, the participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they trust the applicant to do a good job (from 1 = not at all to 7 = very much) and the likelihood that they would hire this applicant (from 1 = not likely at all to 7 = highly likely).

## 4. Descriptive statistics and balance across treatments

The descriptive statistics are displayed in Table 7.1 in the appendix. Our sample is comprised of adults who are on average 34 years old, with approximately 51% of women and 45% are head of the household. The fact that the sample is not only comprised of students or children is a contribution to the literature, as there currently exists a gap in evidence of the effects of contact among adults (Paluck et al., 2021). Most of our sample has achieved Secondary education.



In addition, in our sample, 47% was exposed to robbery or theft in the last 12 months and during the armed conflict, 21% witnessed an act of violence, 11% was a victim of an act of violence and 15% had a relative who was kidnapped. Treatments are relatively well balanced in terms of socio demographics (Table 7.1a). However, we confirm that there are differences within the groups. For example, we expect that those who already bought a ticket to DOL have different attitudes, and beliefs about ex FARC. Table 7.1b in the appendix presents the imbalance between groups in terms of the psychological measures before the intervention. The group T2 humanizes any category (in particular, ExFarc and Farc dissidents) more than group T1 but is not different to the control group (C0 and C1). Also group T2 has the highest perception that ex Farc is able and capable to integrate.

Our measures of trust are implemented after the intervention. In addition, “I assume ex-FARC only have the best intentions” in the baseline was not significantly different between groups. To measure the effect of DOL in a longer time scope, participants received an invitation to take the survey via email and a text message, four (4) months after the intervention. Participants who answered the 20-minute survey received a \$7 USD compensation. Only 91 participants of 250 (36%) took the follow up survey (77% of participants who initially provided their contact details) were successfully identified and agreed to answer the enumerators.

## VII. Results: Short-term effect of DOL on prosocial behavior and empathy

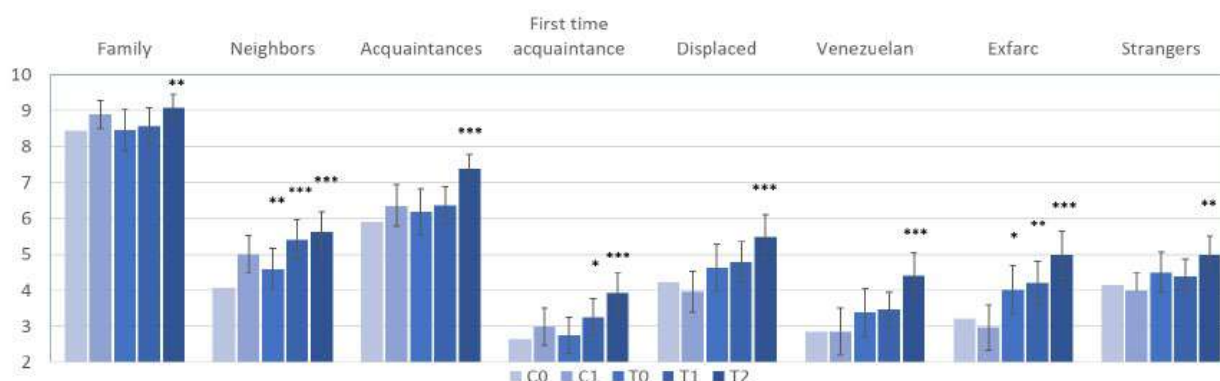
In general, the people exposed to the documentary seem to report a more positive response than they were before in terms of prosociality, empathy towards ex FARC and support for peace. There are consistent and significant differences across conditions. Although all groups were affected by DOL in the same direction, it was not in the same magnitude as each group had different baseline empathy levels. The following are the results of a comparison analysis between groups.

### 1. Social preferences

#### Result 1. Exposure to DOL improves trust.

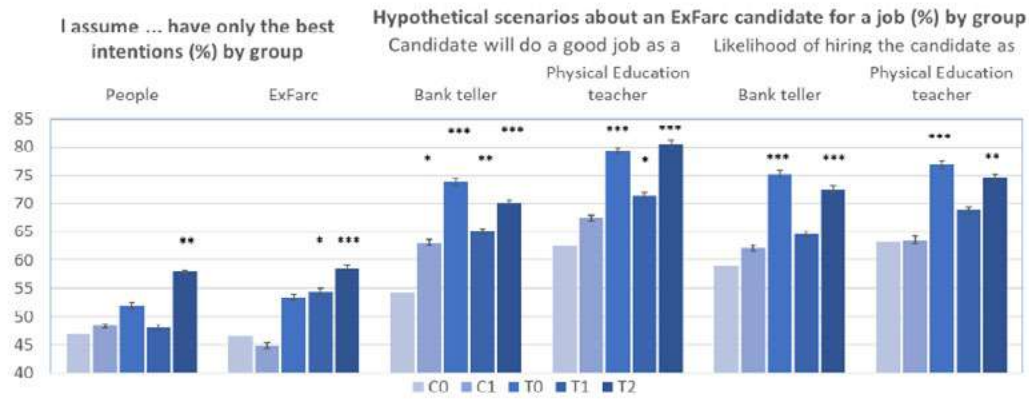
The average level of trust towards any group, after exposure to DOL, is the highest (and statistically significant) in group T2 compared to the control group. For example, the average level of trust towards ExFarc by is 1.72 points higher than C0. Exposure to DOL improves the perception that an ExFarc may be a good candidate for a job (bank teller or a physical education teacher) and the probability of hiring this ExFarc member.

**Figure 3.** Average level of trust in .... By group (0 to 10)



Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

**Figure 4.** WVS trust measure and hypothetical scenarios by group)

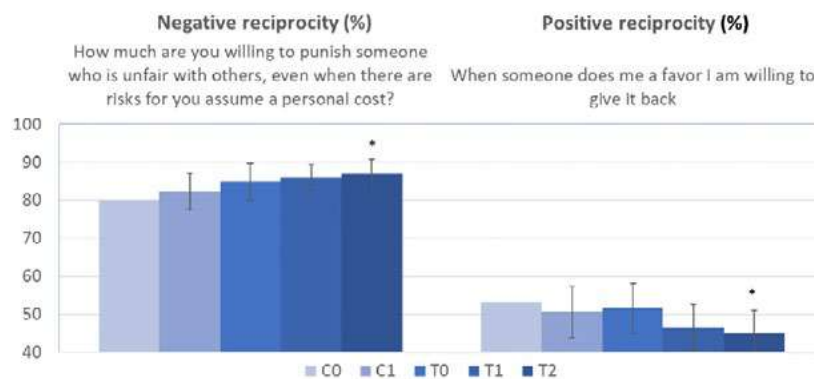


Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

## Result 2. Exposure to DOL improves reciprocity.

Negative reciprocity towards anyone is lower after the exposure to DOL while positive reciprocity is higher. Group T2 has the lowest/highest (and statistically significant) levels compared to the control group.

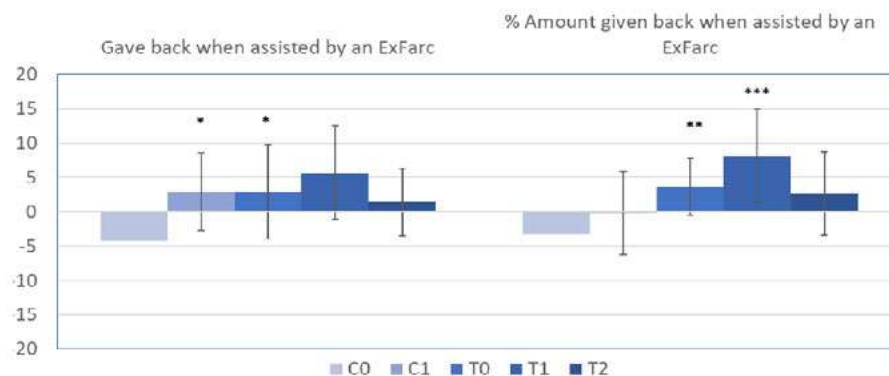
**Figure 5.** Positive and negative reciprocity (%)



Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

When comparing reciprocity before and after treatment within groups, participants significantly reciprocate 11% more to an Ex-Farc.

**Figure 6.** Positive reciprocity: Percentage difference before and after treatment within subjects by group

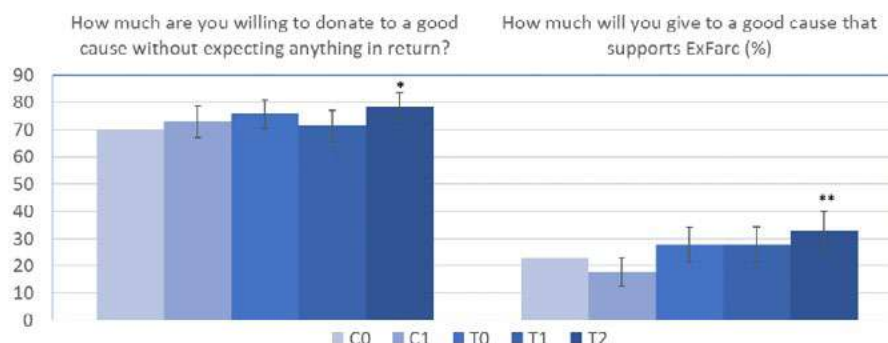


Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

## Result 3. Exposure to DOL improves altruism.

Exposure to DOL had a small effect on group T2 compared to the control group.

**Figure 7.** Altruism



Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

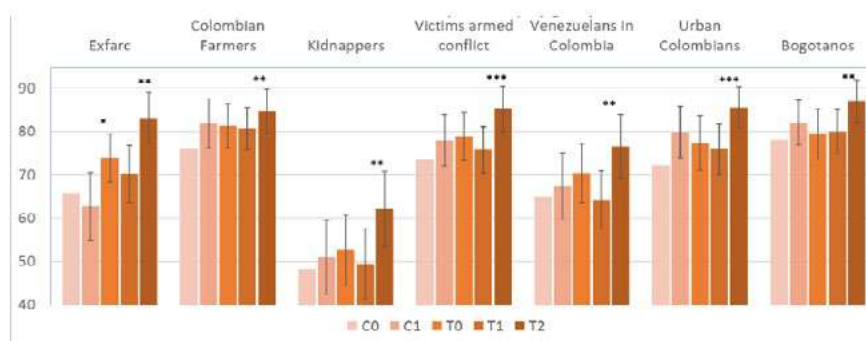
## 2. Blatant animalistic dehumanization

Blatant animalistic dehumanization was assessed in one of the two ways: (a) Ascent dehumanization alone, assessed by providing participants with the “Ascent of (Hu)man” scale (Kteily et al., 2015) and having them report their perception of the “evolvedness” of the (target group), such that the lower the score the more participants dehumanized the outgroup; (b) a multi-item measure asking how well dehumanizing traits (e.g., “backwards and primitive”) characterize the (target group) such that the higher the score the more participants dehumanized the outgroup.

## Result 4. Exposure to DOL helps to humanize more all groups except victims of armed conflict.

Group T2 responds significantly better to DOL than any other group.

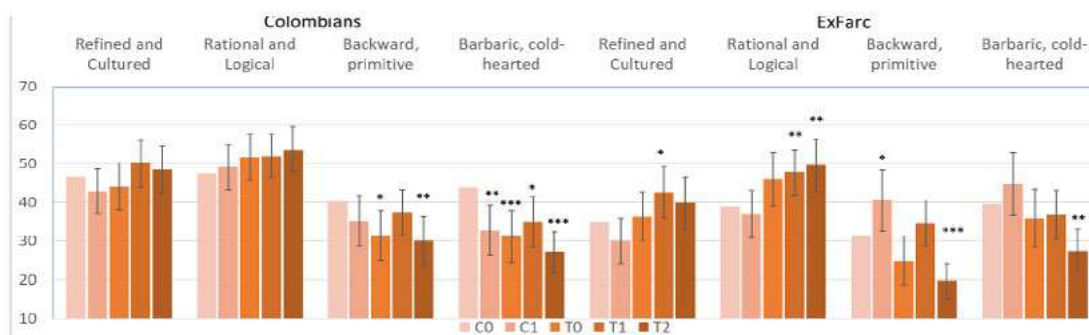
**Figure 8.** Ascent dehumanization by group (0 to 100)



Note: We measured the dehumanization of Ex-Farc (and filler groups in randomized order) with the “Ascent of (Hu)Man” Scale (Kteily et al., 2015), which asked participants to provide humanity judgments using a sliding scale spanned by the Ascent of (Hu)Man diagram. We anchored responses at the 0 “least evolved/civilized” and 100 “most evolved/civilized” sides of the image. Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

## Results 5 and 6. Colombians' perception of blatant dehumanization towards Ex-Farc are reduced.

**Figure 9.** Blatant Dehumanization: How much ... have these characteristics (0 to 100) by group

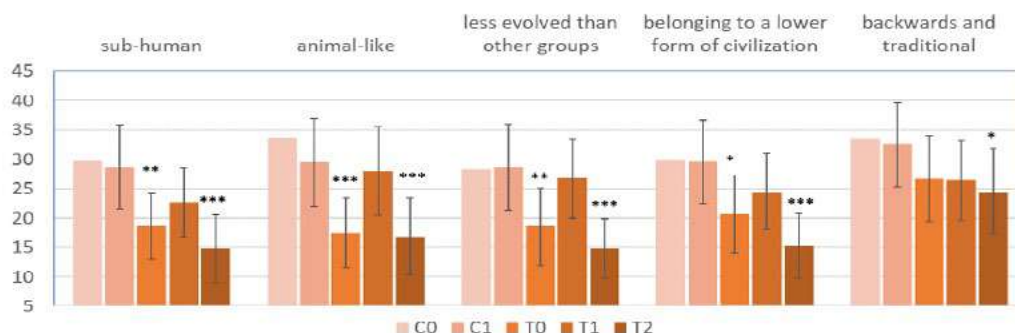


Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

## Result 7. Perceptions of moviegoers about Ex-Farc towards improve.

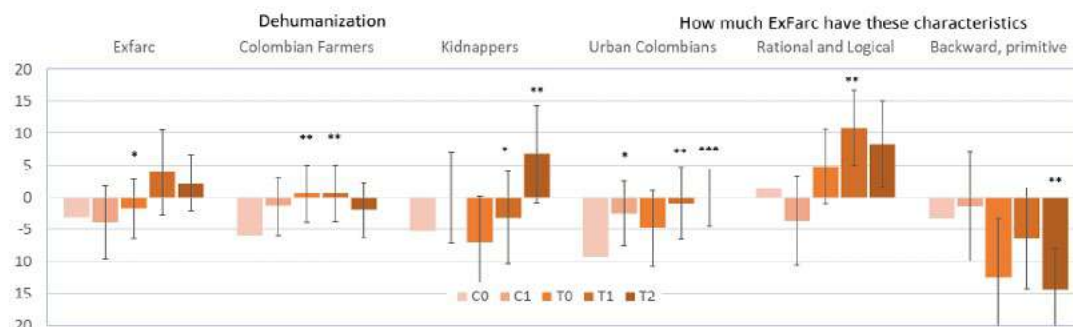
Meta-dehumanization was measured by providing participants with five items capturing the degree to which people felt that the target group thinks of the ingroup in dehumanizing ways (e.g., "The [outgroup] think of [the ingroup] as animals"), on scales anchored at 0 ("completely disagree") and 100 ("completely agree").

**Figure 10.** Meta Dehumanization: what ExFarc think of Colombians ... (0 to 100) by group



Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

**Figure 11.** Dehumanization and Blatant dehumanization % difference before and after treatment within subjects by group



Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.



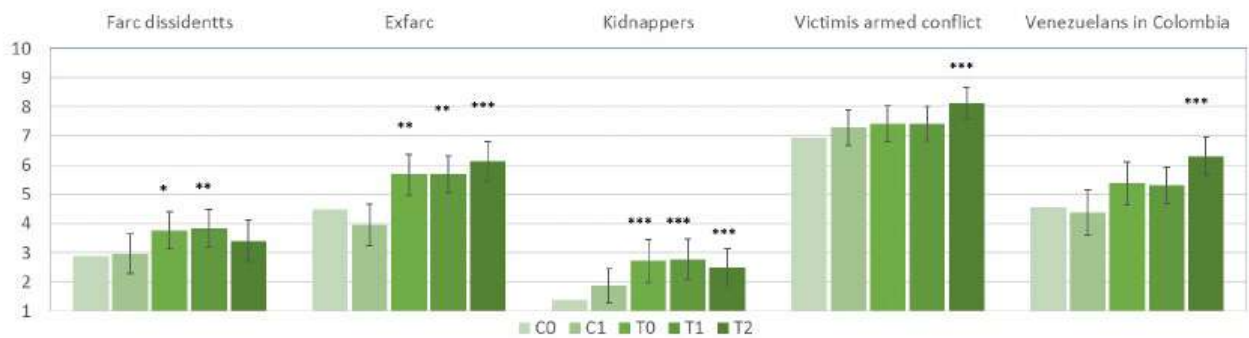
### 3. Prejudice

Prejudice was assessed with feeling thermometers, which asked participants to report how “warm/favorable” or “cold/unfavorable” they felt toward several groups. Scales were anchored at 0 (“very cold/unfavorable”) and 10 (“very warm/favorable”). The item was scored, such that the lower the score the less favorable, or more prejudiced, participants were toward the outgroup.

#### Result 8. Exposure to DOL reduced prejudice towards kidnappers and Ex-Farc.

These results are key since in all conditions, participants feel very negatively toward kidnappers, and there’s a massive change after watching DOL: DOL makes viewers feel more positive toward kidnappers.

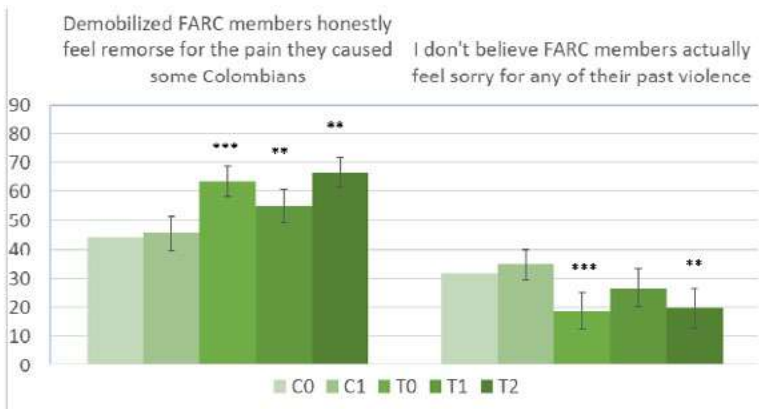
**Figure 12.** Feeling thermometers: how “warm/favorable” or “cold/unfavorable” they felt toward ... (0 to 10)



Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

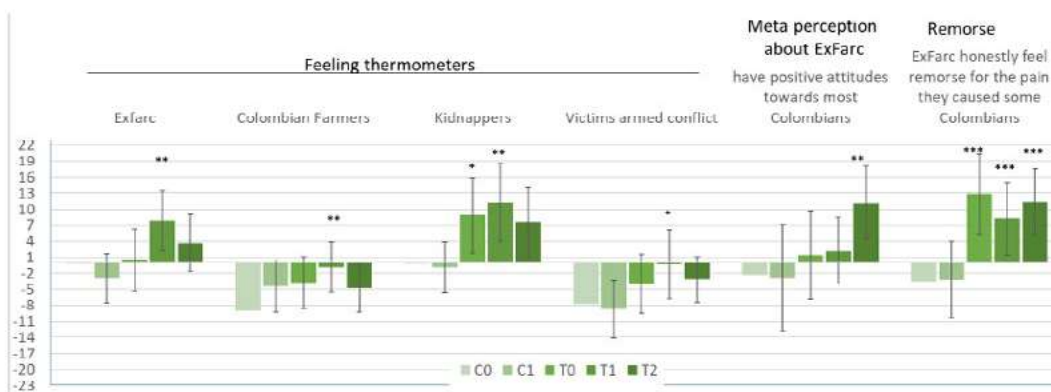
#### Result 8. Exposure to DOL improved perception of Ex-Farc remorse by Colombians.

**Figure 13.** Perception on remorse by Ex-Farc by group (%)



Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

**Figure 14.** Percentage difference of prejudice (before and after treatment) within subjects by group



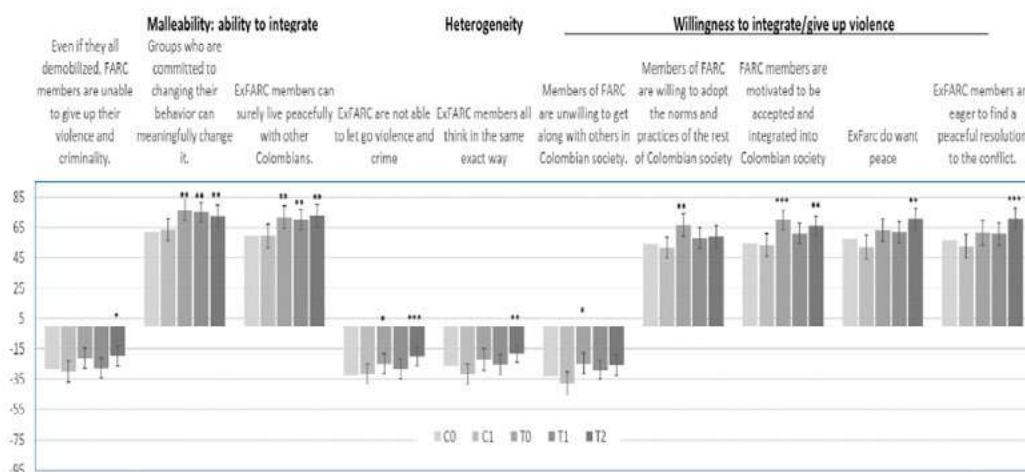
Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

## 4. Malleability

### Result 9. Perception about how malleable Ex-Farc combatants are, and their capacity to integrate improved

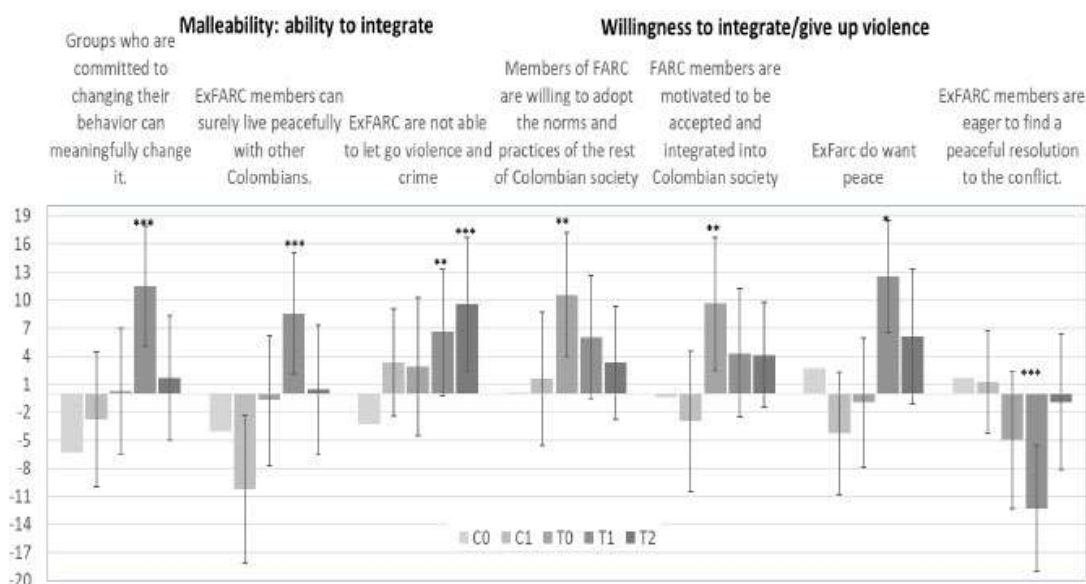
Beliefs about Ex-Farc's willingness to give up violence, their willingness to integrate increased. In addition, the perception that each Ex-Farc member are not homogeneous increased.

**Figure 15.** Perceptions on malleability, heterogeneity, and willingness to integrate/give up violence by ExFarc



Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

**Figure 16.** Percentage difference of prejudice (before and after treatment) within subjects by group

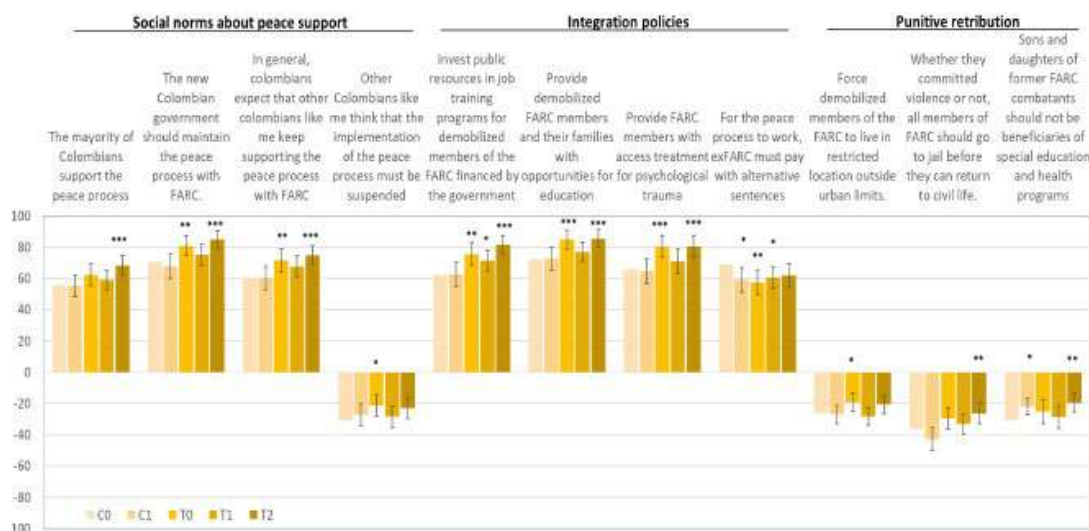


Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

## 5. Social norms about peace support, policies, and punitive redistribution

Result 10. Exposure to DOL increased support to peace and integration policies, as well as reduced the support to punitive redistribution policies.

**Figure 17.** Social norms about peace support, policies, and punitive redistribution by group



Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group, C0. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

## VIII. Conclusions

This report presents a research innovation that successfully brings together filmmakers, scientists, and movie audiences, to explore the power of movies to help reduce intergroup hostility and promote peace after almost six decades of war. We introduce a field evaluation of the impact of exposure in cinemas during the ongoing peace process to the documentary 'Del otro lado' (DOL). We focus on how the audience's attitudes, perceptions, dispositions, and behaviors toward FARC ex-combatants might change. We also assess how a documentary can impact the support for the integration process and forgiveness to facilitate the construction of peace in Colombia.

Our field experiment confirms that exposure to the documentary DOL can help build peace in Colombia by transforming socio-psycho-cultural barriers to support the peace process and its implementation. Especially increasing the social support for reintegration policies that can foster reconciliation and the final goal of promoting forgiveness and acceptance between groups. We provide evidence of how audiovisual content can, in a short time, reduce intergroup hostility and generate positive effects toward other vulnerable populations and society in general.

We show how people living amid an ongoing peace process can be positively affected by the power of narratives to reduce intergroup conflict in the naturalistic setting of a movie theater. It helps find effective ways to change expectations about the capacity of people to change by opening mindsets that can embrace the possibility of changing previous beliefs about the outgroup.

"Del Otro Lado" documentary (DOL) has a positive transforming effect on moviegoers' trust, positive reciprocity, and altruism. It also provides evidence that DOL improves key attitudes, beliefs, and dispositions fundamental to reducing intergroup hostility after the war. We find that exposure to DOL helps humanize most armed conflict groups, except victims. Also, the perception of blatant dehumanization by Colombians towards Ex-Farc is reduced. After watching the movie, moviegoers' perceptions of Ex-Farc beliefs towards Colombians improve.

Finally, DOL addresses one of the conflict's most painful and unforgivable realities: the kidnapping of civilians by FARC. Regarding this difficult barrier, few empirical studies have been done. We introduce evidence that movies can help start a difficult conversation absent from the mainstream public opinion arena. For the first time in Colombia, we find that exposure to DOL reduces prejudice towards kidnappers and Ex-Farc members while it increases support for peace and integration policies. In a moment in which the peace architecture in Colombia has reached the phase of sanctions through restorative measures, we find a valuable result: DOL reduces the support to punitive redistribution policies, which is a big deal since extreme punitive preferences are the norm in Colombia.

This experiment confirms the power of narratives to facilitate bottom-up peacebuilding as a complement to institutional and community efforts to protect the process and accelerate its implementation. Our intervention experience leaves a series of lessons learned for public communication teams in Colombia and worldwide to design, implement, evaluate, and scale-up communications for prosocial change in protracted conflicts.



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# Appendix

## 1. Ethical Considerations

All fieldwork and logistics of the project is funded by the partner Gusano Films SAS. The main researchers do not receive any monetary compensation. In addition, the documentary has an assigned rate by the Colombian Government authorities. We include the Certificate of Ministry of Culture of Colombia that describes how the committee rated the documentary as of “General Audience” or all ages admitted including children.

The following research ethics guidelines were followed:

1. Voluntary informed consent
2. Confidentiality and privacy
3. Cost-benefit analysis: To minimize interaction with the target population and maximize the benefits of the research, we use instruments already established in the literature. The required time for active participation is minimal.
4. Applied methods do not harm the participants. Nothing in the study affects participants or causes participants to take additional risks beyond those of daily life.

Standardized practices were used for all participants when conducting experiments and surveys:

1. Anonymity in individual data is guaranteed
2. The data will be kept anonymously in the database
3. It will be ensured that participants receive two movie tickets for their time
4. The participant could leave the study at any time
5. We do not collect specially protected data

## 2. Funding

Gusano Films SAS, the documentary producer, financed the costs of movie theaters, tickets, recruiters, and logistics.

## 3. Experimental procedures

**Recruitment:** A non-probability random convenience sampling was conducted in two movie theaters in Bogotá. The Universe was a group of Colombian citizens of legal age (18 years) of all socioeconomic levels who were on the street near these theaters. Invamer SAS, a consultant in data collection, was the company responsible for collecting the data.

**Sample size:** Using the information from the study on edutainment and ex-farm in Colombia by Bruneau et al. (2021), for a statistical power of 80% and a test of two means of different samples with a confidence level of 95%, they are five groups of 70 people each, for a total of 351 people. See Table 1.

**Location:** Due to logistics and costs, the study took place in Bogotá, the capital of the country and the most populous city. Within Bogotá, we chose two movie theaters where DOL’s premiere took place. The lower-middle socioeconomic group frequents both cinemas.

**Operation:** Fieldwork was conducted with 16 recruiters. The goal was to minimize the risk of participants waiting too long for the screening. The projection in the case of groups C2, C3, and C4 started a maximum of 15 minutes after the invitation to take part in the study.

**Type of survey:** Personal, face-to-face surveys were conducted with mobile devices before and after the movie. Each survey (before and after) had a maximum duration of 5 and 15 minutes, respectively.

**Application of the survey:** Only trained personnel applied to the study. Prior training was carried out for the proper handling of the questionnaire and the medium (tablets) in which the information was collected, the techniques for approaching the respondent, the ethical requirements, and the specific study instructions. The survey was completed on a tablet, in which the participant answered the questions privately after signing a consent form. The interviewer was available to answer any questions if the participant had any questions. The answers were stored online in the database that the consulting firm Invamer kept protected. Once the person completed the survey after the treatment, they were asked if they wanted their contact information to be saved for a follow-up of the study.

**Time:** In the movie theaters at the times of the projections set by the movie theater, from 5 pm to 10 pm. Business hours in Colombia are usually between 8 am to 5 pm.

**Incentive:** Participants were compensated for their time with two movie tickets per participant (valued at approximately 5 USD). Movie passes were all the same, corresponding to the specific movie theater.

The study lasted four weeks from the approval of the institutional ethics committee at Navarra University. The DOL premiere was on October 14, 2021. Data collection took place from October 14 to October 19, 2021.

## 4. Consulting firm in charge of recruitment and application of the survey

INVADER <https://www.invamer.com.co/> is a Colombian consulting company that has surveyed more than 9,500,000 people and conducts an average of 400,000 surveys annually. The regulations in force in Colombia govern INVAMER SAS, the ESOMAR Code of Ethics, the ISO 20252 and ISO 9001 standards for Market, Social, and Public Opinion Research, and the personal data protection law (Law 1581 of 2012).

Following the international code of ethics for market research and public opinion, Invamer will respect the anonymity of all respondents, all research information is exclusive to the client, and its management is confidential. INVADER has worked with research centers of several Colombian universities and Fedesarrollo (Foundation for Higher Education and Development); private economic groups such as Grupo Éxito, Isagen, Argos, Comfama, Bancolombia, Unisys and the National Association of Merchants, as well as Colombian newspapers and magazines and government organizations such as the Colombian Ministry of Defense, the Medellín mayor's office and the National Federation of Coffee Growers, Federation National of Departments.

## 5. (Spanish version) Invitación en la intercepción a los potenciales participantes

Son 3 invitaciones que varían dependiendo del grupo a invitar y el tratamiento: en la calle y cerca de sala de cine y no exposición y exposición a película o a DOL. A continuación, presentamos el formato de la invitación y a continuación una tabla explicativa de cuáles son los cambios para cada grupo.

**Tabla A1.** Ajustes a cada invitación, cada HIP y cada CI por grupo

Grupo	Descripción	(1) duración	(2) tratamiento
C1T0	Sin Exposición, personas en la calle	30 minutos	No aplica
C3T1 y C4T2	Exposición a otra película y personas que van a ver otra película, y Exposición a DOL y personas que van a ver DOL	15 minutos después de que usted salga de la película que va a ver.	, y entre encuestas usted verá la película que quiere ver.
C1T2 y C2T2	Exposición a DOL, personas en la calle y personas que quisieran ver una película	2 horas, de las cuales 1 hora y media es una película.	, y entre encuestas usted verá una película.

Fieldwork was conducted with 16 recruiters. The goal was to minimize the risk of participants waiting too long for the screening. The projection in the case of groups C2, C3, and C4 started a maximum of 15 minutes after the invitation to take part in the study.

Página 1 de 1

## INVITACIÓN

Buenas (días/tardes/noches). Mi nombre es (Nombre del encuestador), y trabajo para INVAMER (muestra sus credenciales que están siempre visibles), una compañía que se dedica a realizar investigaciones de Mercados y de Opinión Pública. Hoy Invamer le invita a participar en un estudio que se llevará a cabo aquí en (sala de cine) hoy, el día (XX) de Octubre, desde ahora hasta máximo (1). Si usted acepta participar, vamos a darle dos boletas de cine en reconocimiento por su tiempo en este estudio.

¿Le gustaría saber más sobre este estudio?

1. Si
2. No (Termine y anote en Registro de contactos #1)

Estamos invitando a personas que de manera voluntaria y en su tiempo libre quieran participar en este estudio sobre decisiones y percepciones de las personas en Bogotá. Este estudio es financiado por la productora audiovisual Gusano Films y cuenta con apoyo de esta sala de cine.

El estudio consistirá en responder en una tableta dos encuestas de 5 y 15 minutos cada una, respectivamente (2). Las preguntas de la encuesta exploran percepciones y actitudes con respecto a situaciones que se pueden presentar en la vida real de los colombianos. Todas sus respuestas serán anónimas.

La información que recogemos en estos estudios es absolutamente confidencial y su nombre y datos personales no estarán disponibles para ninguna persona o entidad. Esta información tendrá únicamente un uso académico y mantendremos el anonimato de sus respuestas.

Para garantizar su participación, solo necesitamos ver su documento de identidad para verificar su nombre y edad. Estas boletas de cine las puede utilizar cuando usted quiera en cualquier cine de (empresa de sala de cine).

Si está interesado, en este documento está la información para los participantes del estudio (da el documento al participante).

Para confirmar el recibido de las boletas, necesitaremos su nombre, su cédula de ciudadanía, su teléfono celular y su correo electrónico. Como estos son datos personales, en la página 2 del documento encontrará información sobre el tratamiento de sus datos.



## 6. Information sheet and consent form for the subject (Spanish version)

Information and Consent sheets vary in two details depending on the treatment, the body of the sheets will be the same as the questionnaires are the same and there are no specific characteristics that make the groups different, only the treatment.

Son 3 documentos que varían dependiendo del grupo y el tratamiento: en la calle y cerca de la sala de cine y no exposición y exposición a película o a DOL. A continuación, presentamos el formato de la invitación y a continuación una tabla explicativa de cuáles son los cambios para cada grupo.

Página 1 de 2

Hoja de Información a los Participantes

**Nombre del Estudio:** Estudio sobre decisiones y percepciones de las personas en Bogotá (El título detallado del estudio no se usa para no condicionar)

Investigadores: Sandra Polanía Reyes y Andrés Casas Casas

**El presente documento contiene información importante sobre este estudio y lo que puede esperar de su participación, en términos generales, si consiente participar en él.**

Usted ha sido invitado a participar de forma voluntaria y en su tiempo libre en un estudio de investigación denominado **Estudio sobre decisiones y percepciones de las personas en Bogotá**. Le rogamos lea detenidamente esta información y consulte cualquier duda que pueda tener antes de firmar el consentimiento informado. Tómese su tiempo antes de decidir sobre su participación y consulte con otras personas si lo desea.

Los investigadores responsables de este estudio son Sandra Polanía Reyes, profesora asociada del Departamento de Economía de la Universidad de Navarra y Andrés Casas, consultor de las Naciones Unidas. Puede llamar a Andrés en Bogotá 311 2634171 o escribir a Sandra a [spolania@unav.edu](mailto:spolania@unav.edu).

Usted debe tener al menos 18 años para participar en este estudio y ser ciudadano colombiano. Necesitamos ver su documento de identidad para verificar su nacionalidad y edad.

Este estudio busca analizar el cambio de las percepciones de las personas en Bogotá en la dimensión social. El estudio que se llevará a cabo aquí en (sala de cine) hoy, el día (XX) de Octubre, desde ahora hasta máximo (1).

El estudio consistirá en **responder en una tableta dos encuestas de 5, 15 minutos cada una aproximadamente** (2). Las preguntas de la encuesta son sobre percepciones y actitudes con respecto a situaciones que se pueden presentar en la vida real. Además, nos gustaría contactarlo en el futuro sobre este mismo estudio.

Como reconocimiento a su tiempo en el estudio en el día de hoy se le dará un reconocimiento de dos boletas de cine.

La participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Usted puede rehusarse a participar o salirse del estudio en cualquier momento. Sin embargo, si usted se sale antes de que termine la sesión, usted no recibirá las dos boletas de cine.

La información que recogemos en este estudio es absolutamente confidencial y su nombre y datos personales no estarán disponibles para ninguna persona o entidad. Esta información tendrá únicamente un uso académico y mantendremos el anonimato de sus respuestas. Cada participante tendrá un código que lo identificará y así no se relacionaran sus respuestas con sus datos de contacto. Invamer SA mantendrá segura esta información y el investigador responsable tendrá acceso solo a sus respuestas. Si usted acepta participar le daremos una copia de esta hoja de información y del consentimiento informado en físico o a su correo electrónico.

## **Protección de datos personales**

Todos los datos personales serán tratados conforme a las leyes actuales de protección de datos en Colombia, especialmente a lo dispuesto en la Ley Estatutaria 1581 de 2012, reglamentada parcialmente por los Decretos 1377 de 2013 y Decreto 886 de 2014, normas compiladas en el Decreto Único Nacional del Sector Comercio, Industria y Turismo 1074 de 2015 y aquellas normas que lo modifiquen.

Todos los datos personales serán tratados conforme a las leyes actuales de protección de datos, especialmente al Reglamento (UE) 2016/679 del Parlamento Europeo y del Consejo, de 27 de abril de 2016, relativo a la protección de las personas físicas en lo que respecta al tratamiento de datos personales y a la libre circulación de éstos, en adelante RGPD y la Ley 3/2018, de 5 de diciembre de Protección de Datos Personales y garantía de los Derechos Digitales (LOPD).

## **Página 2 de 2**

El Responsable del Tratamiento de los datos de la Universidad de Navarra, en cumplimiento del citado RGPD, le informa que si participa en este estudio sus datos personales serán tratados por el equipo investigador exclusivamente para extraer conclusiones del estudio. También podrán acceder a los datos autoridades competentes y los miembros del comité ético, si lo considerasen necesario para supervisar la realización del estudio.

No será posible identificarle a usted a través de las comunicaciones que pudiera generar este estudio. Usted es el responsable de la veracidad y corrección de los datos que nos entrega y tiene la facultad de ejercer los derechos de acceso, rectificación, supresión, limitación del tratamiento, portabilidad y de oposición de sus datos de acuerdo con lo dispuesto en la normativa en materia de protección de datos. Para ejercerlos, deberá dirigirse por escrito al delegado de Protección de Datos de la Universidad de Navarra a la dirección de correo [electrónico\\_dpoe@unav.es](mailto:electrónico_dpoe@unav.es), adjuntando una fotocopia de su documento nacional de identidad o equivalente.

En caso de no estar de acuerdo con el tratamiento de datos realizado o considerar vulnerados sus derechos, tiene derecho a presentar una reclamación ante la Agencia Española de Protección de datos ([www.agpd.es](http://www.agpd.es)).

Consentimiento Informado de participación en el estudio

Yo (**Nombre del participante**) he recibido de (**Nombre del encuestador**) información clara sobre el **estudio sobre decisiones y percepciones de las personas en Bogotá**, a cargo de Sandra Polanía Reyes, de la Universidad de Navarra, en el que voluntariamente quiero participar.

- Declaro que he leído la Hoja de Información al Participante sobre el estudio citado.
- Se me ha entregado una copia de la Hoja de Información al Participante y una copia de este Consentimiento Informado, fechado y firmado.

- He tenido el tiempo y la oportunidad para realizar preguntas y plantear las dudas que poseía. Todas las preguntas fueron respondidas a mi entera satisfacción.
- Se me ha asegurado que se mantendrá la confidencialidad de mis datos.

En consecuencia, doy mi consentimiento para la participación en el estudio propuesto.

Doy mi consentimiento para el almacenamiento de mis datos personales en el lugar y condiciones indicadas en la Hoja de Información del Participante      Sí\_\_    No\_\_

Doy mi consentimiento para que el equipo me vuelva a contactar con posterioridad      Sí\_\_    No\_\_

**Firmo por duplicado quedándome con una copia.**

---

Firma del participante

---

Firma del Investigador o persona  
que proporciona la información  
y la hoja de consentimiento

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Fecha y hora

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Fecha y hora

## 7. Data Summary Statistics

**Table 1.** Demographics (N=351)

**Table 1.** Demographics (N=351)

Characteristic	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Live in Bogota (%)	95.44	20.89	0	100
Born in a city (%)	77.21	42.01	0	100
Born in Bogota (%)	70.09	45.85	0	100
Not Colombian (%)	1.99	14.00	0	100
Woman (%)	51.85	50.04	0	100
Age	33.65	13.30	18	83
Head of the household (%)	45.87	49.90	0	100
Household size	3.43	1.81	1	14
Socio Economic Status	2.78	1.01	1	6
Income level 1-6	2.67	1.47	1	6
Veteran, ExFarc or Paramilitary (%)	3.70	18.91	0	100
ExFarc (%)	0.85	9.22	0	100
Ex paramilitary (%)	0.57	7.54	0	100
Veteran (%)	2.28	14.95	0	100
Single (%)	64.67	47.87	0	100
Married (%)	26.50	44.19	0	100
Education level 1-6	4.33	1.10	1	6
Secondary complete or higher (%)	98.29	12.98	0	100
Undergraduate (%)	56.70	49.62	0	100
Graduate (%)	15.38	36.13	0	100
Anyone from the HH has been a victim of robbery or theft in the last 12 months (%)	47.01	49.98	0	100
During the armed conflict...				
Witnessed an act of violence (%)	21.08	40.85	0	100
Was a victim of an act of violence (%)	11.40	31.82	0	100
Anyone among relatives was kidnapped (%)	15.38	36.13	0	100

**Table 1.a** Balance across treatments

**Table 1.a** Balance across treatments

Characteristic	Control C1==1 C0==1 (1) Mean/SE	Exposure to DOL T0==1   T1==1 T2==1 (2) Mean/SE	t-test Difference (1)-(2)	Normalized difference (1)-(2)	F-test for joint orthogonality
Lives in Bogota (%)	0.957 [0.017]	0.953 [0.015]	0.005	0.022	0.841
Born in a city (%)	0.750 [0.037]	0.787 [0.028]	-0.037	-0.087	0.428
Born in Bogota (%)	0.686 [0.039]	0.711 [0.031]	-0.025	-0.055	0.617
Not Colombian (%)	0.007 [0.007]	0.028 [0.011]	-0.021	-0.152	0.116
Woman (%)	0.529 [0.042]	0.512 [0.034]	0.017	0.033	0.760
Age	32.840 [1.012]	34.183 [0.972]	-1.343	-0.101	0.339
Head of the household (%)	0.436 [0.042]	0.474 [0.034]	-0.038	-0.077	0.482
Household size	3.436 [0.136]	3.431 [0.133]	0.004	0.002	0.981
Socio Economic Status	2.743 [0.087]	2.801 [0.069]	-0.058	-0.058	0.600
Income level 1-6	2.793 [0.118]	2.592 [0.104]	0.200	0.136	0.204
Veteran, ExFarc or ExPalamilitary (%)	0.050 [0.018]	0.028 [0.011]	0.022	0.114	0.322
ExFarc (%)	0.014 [0.010]	0.005 [0.005]	0.010	0.104	0.391
Exparamilitary (%)	0.007 [0.007]	0.005 [0.005]	0.002	0.032	0.779
Veteran (%)	0.029 [0.014]	0.019 [0.009]	0.010	0.064	0.571
Single (%)	0.664 [0.040]	0.635 [0.033]	0.029	0.061	0.575
Married (%)	0.243 [0.036]	0.280 [0.031]	-0.037	-0.083	0.442
Education level 1-6	4.407 [0.087]	4.284 [0.079]	0.123	0.112	0.296
Secondary complete or higher (%)	0.986 [0.010]	0.981 [0.009]	0.005	0.036	0.735
Anyone from the HH has been a victim of robbery or theft in the last 12 months (%)	0.443 [0.042]	0.488 [0.034]	-0.045	-0.091	0.406
During the armed conflict...					
Witnessed an act of violence (%)	0.229 [0.036]	0.199 [0.028]	0.030	0.072	0.512
Was a victim of an act of violence (%)	0.114 [0.027]	0.114 [0.022]	0.001	0.002	0.988
Anyone among relatives was kidnapped (%)	0.179 [0.032]	0.137 [0.024]	0.041	0.114	0.307

Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.



Table 7.1b Balance across groups (continued)

Table 7.1b Balance across groups (continued)

	C1==1   C0==1 (1) Mean/SE	T0==1   T1==1   T2==1 (2a) Mean/SE	t-test Difference (1)-(2a)	F-test for joint Orthogonality (1)-(2a)-(3)	T0==1   T1==1   T2==1 (2b) Mean/SE	T2==1 (3) Mean/SE	t-test Difference (1)-(2b)	t-test Difference (1)-(3)	t-test Difference (2b)-(3)	F-test for joint Orthogonality (1)-(2b)-(3)
<b>Feel Thermometers</b>										
Farc dissidents	2.986 [0.245]	3.308 [0.208]	-0.322	0.317	3.393 [0.254]	3.141 [0.362]	-0.407	-0.155	0.252	0.513
Exfarc	4.364 [0.270]	5.431 [0.213]	-1.067***	0.002***	5.264 [0.258]	5.761 [0.378]	-0.900**	-1.396***	-0.496	0.005***
Colombian Farmers	8.836 [0.180]	8.777 [0.157]	0.058	0.807	8.671 [0.204]	8.986 [0.234]	0.164	-0.150	-0.314	0.594
Urban Colombians	7.771 [0.212]	7.863 [0.159]	-0.091	0.730	7.771 [0.201]	8.042 [0.256]	0.000	-0.271	-0.271	0.655
Kidnappers	1.671 [0.230]	1.735 [0.195]	-0.063	0.834	1.736 [0.242]	1.732 [0.333]	-0.064	-0.061	0.003	0.978
Victims armed conflict	7.936 [0.221]	7.900 [0.191]	0.035	0.904	7.629 [0.243]	8.437 [0.299]	0.307	-0.501	-0.808**	0.111
Venezuelans in Colombia	5.043 [0.262]	6.171 [0.213]	-1.128***	0.001***	5.729 [0.263]	7.042 [0.341]	-0.686*	-1.999***	-1.314***	0.000***
Police	5.021 [0.260]	4.706 [0.240]	0.315	0.373	4.786 [0.298]	4.549 [0.407]	0.236	0.472	0.236	0.598
<b>Meta Perceptions EXfarc</b>										
feel cold towards most members of Colombian society	34.121 [2.516]	36.573 [2.223]	-2.452	0.466	36.757 [2.723]	36.211 [3.876]	-2.636	-2.090	0.546	0.761
have positive attitudes towards most Colombians	52.986 [2.598]	51.389 [2.131]	1.597	0.635	52.850 [2.517]	48.507 [3.937]	0.136	4.479	4.343	0.595
like most members of Colombian society	49.500 [2.440]	45.659 [2.078]	3.841	0.231	46.743 [2.547]	43.521 [3.606]	2.757	5.979	3.222	0.376
see most colombians with a good opinion	50.700 [2.502]	51.194 [2.040]	-0.494	0.878	52.329 [2.528]	48.958 [3.459]	-1.629	1.742	3.371	0.726
<b>Collective Blame EXfarc</b>										
How responsible were exFARC, in general, for these actions?	6.036 [0.263]	6.137 [0.213]	-0.102	0.764	6.136 [0.261]	6.141 [0.372]	-0.100	-0.105	-0.005	0.956

Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by place.

Table 7.1b Balance across groups (continued)

Table 7.1b Balance across groups (continued)

	C1==1   C0==1 (1) Mean/SE	T0==1   T1==1   T2==1 (2a) Mean/SE	t-test Difference (1)-(2a)	T0==1   T1==1   T2==1 (2b) Mean/SE	T2==1 (3) Mean/SE	t-test Difference (1)-(2b)	t-test Difference (1)-(3)	t-test Difference (2b)-(3)	F-test for joint Orthogonality (1)-(2b)-(3)
<b>Remorse and Heterogeneity</b>									
Demobilized FARC members honestly feel remorse for the pain they caused some Colombians	48.193 [2.700]	50.801 [2.115]	-2.608	48.664 [2.558]	55.014 [3.725]	-0.471	-6.821	-6.350	0.285
I don't believe FARC members feel sorry for any of their past violence	38.857 [2.880]	35.863 [2.201]	2.995	37.850 [2.639]	31.944 [3.946]	1.007	6.913	5.906	0.339
ExFARC members all think in the same exact way	31.243 [2.397]	27.635 [2.124]	3.608	29.614 [2.667]	23.732 [3.468]	1.629	7.510*	5.882	0.199
<b>Malleability</b>									
Members of FARC are unable to change to get along with others in Colombian society.	30.350 [2.683]	27.578 [2.249]	2.772	31.686 [2.930]	19.479 [3.174]	-1.336	10.871***	12.207***	0.009***
Even if they all demobilized, FARC members are unable to give up their violence and criminality.	31.964 [2.765]	27.327 [2.169]	4.637	29.936 [2.706]	22.183 [3.564]	2.029	9.781**	7.753*	0.086*
You can't teach an old dog new tricks— FARC members can't really change their basic characteristics.	30.914 [2.669]	26.346 [2.082]	4.568	29.421 [2.676]	20.282 [3.135]	1.493	10.633**	9.140**	0.025**
FARC members can do things differently, but the important parts of who they are can't really be changed	36.050 [2.716]	33.033 [2.281]	3.017	37.914 [2.979]	23.408 [3.108]	-1.864	12.642***	14.506***	0.001***
ExFARC cannot change from a violent guerrilla movement to a non-violent political movement	35.093 [2.701]	30.588 [2.204]	4.505	33.386 [2.785]	25.070 [3.505]	1.707	10.022**	8.315*	0.066*
ExFARC are unable to live among Colombians.	34.879 [2.698]	29.261 [2.035]	5.618*	30.650 [2.586]	26.521 [3.252]	4.229	8.357**	4.129	0.138
<b>Beliefs about willingness to give up violence</b>									
ExFarc do want peace	55.621 [2.813]	59.294 [2.313]	-3.672	56.600 [2.829]	64.606 [3.968]	-0.979	-8.984*	-8.006	0.156
ExFARC members are eager to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict.	53.671 [2.730]	62.213 [2.276]	-8.542**	61.300 [2.789]	64.014 [3.960]	-7.629*	-10.343**	-2.714	0.049**
<b>Beliefs about desire to integrate Exfarc trope integrate</b>									
Members of FARC want to impose their norms and laws in the places where they will demobilize.	42.586 [2.816]	37.441 [2.211]	5.145	38.657 [2.664]	35.042 [3.959]	3.929	7.543	3.615	0.277
Members of FARC are unwilling to get along with others in Colombian society.	34.129 [2.546]	32.526 [2.138]	1.603	35.493 [2.694]	26.676 [3.407]	-1.364	7.453*	8.817**	0.106
Members of FARC are willing to adopt the norms and practices of the rest of Colombian society	52.093 [2.574]	54.701 [2.106]	-2.609	54.143 [2.577]	55.803 [3.675]	-2.050	-3.710	-1.660	0.689
FARC members are motivated to be accepted and integrated into Colombian society	55.536 [2.439]	59.697 [2.116]	-4.161	58.479 [2.635]	62.099 [3.550]	-2.943	-6.563	-3.620	0.304

Note: Differences in the means between each group and the control group. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* indicate significance at the 1, 5, and 10 percent critical level. The whiskers present robust standard errors clustered by pl

**Table 2. Session characteristics**

Characteristic	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Survey duration in minutes	34.38	12.08	11.25	79.15
Time of the day				
12pm	25.36	43.57	0	1
2pm	19.66	39.80	0	1
4pm	31.05	46.34	0	1
6pm	23.93	42.73	0	1
Session took place in				
Mall 1	44.73	49.79	0	1
Mall 2	47.86	50.03	0	1
Cinema 3	7.41	26.23	0	1
Session was conducted in the weekend	56.13	49.69	0	1

**Table 3. Trust measures****Table 3. Trust measures**

Variable	Mean	SD
<b>Level of trust in... (0 to 10)</b>		
Family	8.69	2.07
Neighbors	4.95	2.38
Acquaintances	6.44	2.43
First time acquaintance	3.11	2.24
Displaced	4.62	2.61
Venezuelan	3.39	2.68
ExFarc	3.88	2.83
Police	3.53	4.79
Strangers	4.40	2.34
I assume people have only the best intentions (0 to 10)	5.06	2.53
I assume ExFarc only have the best intentions - Baseline	5.01	3.12
I assume ExFarc only have the best intentions - Follow up	5.16	2.49
Counts on friends or relatives in case of need (%)	84.62	36.13
Participant feels safe walking at night in the neighborhood (%)	23.36	42.37
Willing to vote in the next elections (%)	82.05	38.43
<b>Imaginary scenarios about an ExFarc candidate for a job (%)</b>		
Candidate will do a good job as a bank teller	65.29	28.10
Likelihood of hiring the ExFarc candidate	66.71	28.49
Candidate will do a good job as a physical ed teacher	72.22	27.11
Likelihood of hiring the ExFarc candidate	69.47	27.85
All measures from the follow up survey.		

**Table 4.** Dehumanization measures

**Table 4.** Dehumanization measures

		Baseline		Follow up	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>Ascent dehumanization</b>	ExFarc	71.73	30.22	71.23	28.75
	Colombian Farmers	82.58	22.26	80.97	23.69
	Farc dissidents	66.97	30.68	64.17	30.94
	Kidnappers	54.42	37.09	52.67	35.82
	Victims armed conflict	76.90	27.05	78.26	24.75
	Venezuelans in Colombia	73.64	28.68	68.72	30.60
	Urban Colombians	81.70	22.93	78.20	26.00
	Europeans	80.97	24.79	78.56	26.40
	From Bogotá	81.70	24.05	81.31	23.09
<b>Meta Dehumanization - ExFarc think of Colombians</b>	Sub-human			22.83	27.75
	Animal-like			25.06	31.20
	Less evolved than other groups			23.38	27.99
	Belonging to a lower form of civilization			23.94	28.15
	Driven by their instincts			28.67	30.86
	Backwards and traditional			28.75	30.87
<b>Trait dehumanization on Colombians</b>	Refined and cultured	44.61	23.26	46.43	25.85
	Rational and Logical	47.03	24.24	50.78	24.77
	Backward, primitive	39.54	29.14	34.87	27.40
	Barbaric, cold-hearted	40.04	29.61	34.03	27.51
<b>Trait dehumanization on ExFarc</b>	Refined and cultured	32.71	26.73	36.82	27.08
	Rational and Logical	39.52	26.70	43.88	27.82
	Backward, primitive	37.80	30.75	30.21	27.71
	Barbaric, cold-hearted	46.47	32.55	36.90	30.29

**Table 5.** Prejudice measures

**Table 5.** Prejudice measures

		Baseline		Follow up	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>Feel Thermometers</b>	Farc dissidents	3.18	2.97	3.37	2.81
	ExFarc	5.01	3.18	5.19	3.06
	Colombian Farmers	8.80	2.22	8.34	2.27
	Urban Colombians	7.83	2.38	7.52	2.33
	Kidnappers	1.71	2.79	2.25	2.76
	Victims armed conflict	7.91	2.71	7.44	2.62
	Venezuelans in Colombia	5.72	3.14	5.19	3.06
	Police	4.83	3.33	4.60	3.22
<b>Collective Blame Exfarc</b>	How responsible were exFARC, in general, for these actions?	6.10	3.10	5.99	2.95



**Table 6.** Malleability, beliefs, and meta perceptions

Table 6. Malleability, beliefs, and meta perceptions

	Baseline		Follow up	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>Malleability</b>				
Members of FARC are unable to change to get along with others in Colombian society.	28.68	32.29	27.25	30.83
Even if they all demobilized, FARC members are unable to give up their violence and criminality.	29.18	32.03	25.49	28.57
You cannot teach an old dog new tricks— FARC members can't really change their basic characteristics.	28.17	30.82	25.34	28.51
FARC members can do things differently, but the important parts of who they are can't really be changed	34.24	32.73	35.05	31.74
Groups that are characterized by violent tendencies will never change their ways.	31.18	30.55	29.50	29.95
Groups who are committed to changing their behavior can meaningfully change it.	69.00	31.76	69.87	30.90
ExFARC members can surely live peacefully with other Colombians.	68.06	31.38	66.84	31.43
ExFARC cannot change from a violent guerrilla movement to a non-violent political movement	32.38	32.02	32.45	32.22
ExFARC are unable to live among Colombians.	31.50	30.60	28.59	29.30
ExFARC are not able to let go violence and crime	31.34	31.18	27.52	28.37
<b>Beliefs about willingness to give up violence</b>				
ExFarc do want peace	57.83	33.47	61.06	32.15
ExFARC members are eager to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict.	58.81	32.98	60.48	32.63
<b>Beliefs about desire to integrateExfarc trope_integrate</b>				
Members of FARC want to impose their norms and laws in the places where they will demobilize.	39.49	32.65	35.40	32.80
Members of FARC are unwilling to get along with others in Colombian society.	33.17	30.66	30.11	30.21
Members of FARC are willing to adopt the norms and practices of the rest of Colombian society	53.66	30.52	57.97	31.07
FARC members are motivated to be accepted and integrated into Colombian society	58.04	30.03	60.99	29.96
<b>Meta Perceptions EXfarc</b>				
feel cold towards most members of Colombian society	35.60	31.29	34.99	31.24
have positive attitudes towards most Colombians	52.03	30.84	54.01	29.34
like most members of Colombian society	47.19	29.68	48.58	28.76
see most colombians with a good opinion	51.00	29.58	51.73	28.25
<b>Remorse and Heterogeneity</b>				
ExFARC members all think in the same exact way	29.07	29.89	24.71	28.10
Demobilized FARC members honestly feel remorse for the pain they caused some Colombians	49.76	31.20	54.94	30.96
I don't believe FARC members actually feel sorry for any of their past violence	37.06	32.81	26.37	29.38

**Table 7.** Social norms and support

Table 7. Social norms and support

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Social norms about peace support</b>				
Most Colombians support the peace process	60.12	28.28	0	100
The new Colombian government should maintain the peace process with FARC.	76.01	29.91	0	100
In general, Colombians expect that other Colombians like me keep supporting the peace process with FARC	67.03	29.98	0	100
Other Colombians like me think that the implementation of the peace process must be suspended	26.09	29.40	0	100
<b>Policies and punitive retribution</b>				
Invest public resources in job training programs for demobilized members of the FARC financed by the government	4.95	2.16	0	7
Force demobilized members of the FARC to live in restricted location outside urban limits.	1.70	1.74	0	7
Provide demobilized FARC members and their families with opportunities for education	5.49	2.00	0	7
ExFarc must contribute to a fund dedicated to investigating war crimes	4.51	2.18	0	7
Ban FARC members from well-paying jobs	1.79	1.97	0	7
Ban any public funding from being spent on efforts to reintegrate FARC into Colombian society	1.93	2.08	0	7
Provide FARC members with access treatment for psychological trauma	5.07	2.30	0	7
Whether they committed violence or not, all members of FARC should go to jail before they can return to civil life.	2.35	2.05	0	7
Children of former FARC combatants should not be beneficiaries of special education and health programs	1.76	2.03	0	7
For the peace process to work, ExFarc must pay with alternative sentences	4.31	2.20	0	7
ExFarc must be accountable in order to obtain peace	4.67	2.17	0	7

**Table 8.** Social preferences module

Table 8. Social preferences module

Social preference	Measure	Meaning	Baseline		Follow up	
			Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Positive reciprocity	Neutral	= 1 Giving back when assisted by a stranger	91.45	28.00		
	Neutral \$	% Amount given back when assisted by a stranger	55.37	30.95		
	Neutral \$ Exp	Expectation % given back by most people in the city	16.33	23.04		
	ExFarc	= 1 Giving back when assisted by an ExFarc	91.17	28.42	92.88	25.76
	ExFarc \$	% Amount given back when assisted by an ExFarc	57.36	31.53	59.50	30.94
	ExFarc \$ Exp	Expectation % given back to an ExFarc by most people in the city	15.67	23.77	19.61	26.23
	General	When someone does me a favor, I am willing to give it back			8.40	2.02
Negative reciprocity	Self	How much are you willing to punish someone who is unfair with you, even when there are risks for you assume a personal cost?			4.23	2.80
	Others	How much are you willing to punish someone who is unfair with others, even when there are risks for you assume a personal cost?			4.93	2.78
	Self 2	If I am treated unfairly, I will take revenge whenever I can, even if I have to assume a cost			3.12	2.62
Altruism	Neutral \$	% Amount given to a good cause	24.14	25.04		
	Neutral \$ Exp	Expectation % Amount given to a good cause	8.58	15.66		
	ExFarc \$	% Amount given to a good cause that supports ExFarc	20.67	25.52	25.81	26.87
	ExFarc \$ Exp	Expectation % Amount given to a good cause that supports ExFarc	7.07	14.56	10.57	18.64
	Neutral 1	How much are you willing to donate to a good cause without expecting anything in return?			7.38	2.45
	Donation scene	Will you donate the value of these tickets to a Colombian NGO?			58.40	49.36
	Donation neutral	Will you donate the value of these tickets to a Colombian NGO that supports farmers?			22.51	41.82
	Donation ExFarc	Will you donate the value of these tickets to a Colombian NGO that supports ExFarc?			35.90	48.04
	Donated	Donated money in the last month (%)			31.91	46.68
	Helped a stranger	Help a stranger in the last month (%)			79.49	40.44
	Helped other	Help anyone with money or kind in the last month (%)			83.19	37.45
	Volunteered	Volunteered in the last month (%)			23.65	42.55