

The Role of *Iddir* in Development for City Slum and Frontier Sub-cities of Addis Ababa: The Case of ACORD Intervention Areas

Kasech Abegaz

(099124275)

Supervisor

Mr Elias Berhanu

Master of Arts (Public Administration)

INDIRA GANDHI NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY

(April, 2014)

The Role of Iddir in Development for City Slum and Frontier Sub-cities of Addis Ababa: The Case of ACORD Intervention Areas

Kasech Abegaz

Supervisor

Mr Elias Berhanu

Master of Arts (Public Administration)

INDIRA GANDHI NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY

(April, 2014)

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the M.A (Public Administrations) of the Indira Gandhi National Open University

(April, 2014)

STATEMENT OF DECLARATION

Mrs. Kasech Abegaz declares that the thesis entitled **The Role of Iddirs in Development for City Slum and Frontier sub-cities of Addis Ababa: The Case of ACORD Intervention Area** is the result of my own efforts. I have conducted the thesis independently with guidance and support of the research adviser Mr. Elias Berhanu. The study has not been submitted for the award of any degree in any other university. It is submitted to IGNOU for the partial fulfilment of the requirement of the degree of Masters of Arts in Public Administration.

Name: Kasech Abegaz

Signature: _____

Date: April, 2014

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

Certified that the Dissertation entitled **The Role of *Iddirs* in Development For City Slum and Frontier sub-cities of Addis Ababa: The Case of ACORD intervention** is her own work and has been done under my supervision. It is recommended that this Dissertation be placed before the examiner for evaluation.

(Signature of the Academic Supervisor)

Name: Mr. Elias Berhanu

Address: _____

Study Centre: 8105_____

Regional Centre: _____

Date: April 2014_____

Table of contents

ACRONYMS.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	VI
ABSTRACT.....	VII
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Background of the Study	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem	5
1.3. Objectives of the Research	9
1.4. Scope and Significance of the Research.....	10
1.5. Limitation of the Research.....	11
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	12
2.1. Theoretical and Conceptual Literature Review.....	12
2.1.1. Social Capital	12
2.1.2. Locality and Community Development	15
2.1.3. Community Based Organizations	18
2.2. Iddir Societies Related Literature.....	19
2.3. Empirical Literature Review: Measurements	23
2.3. Conceptual Framework	24
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY.....	28
3.1 Sampling Design.....	28
3.2 Methods of Data Collection.....	29
3.3 Data Collection Instruments	30

3.4. Data Processing and Analysis.....	31
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS.....	32
4.1. The Data and Study Area.....	32
4.1.1. Household Data	32
4.1.2. Social Capital Index.....	33
4.1.3. Organizational Performance Index	34
3.2.4. Urban Development Indicators.....	36
4.2. Data Analysis and Findings	37
4.2.1. Social capital and CBOs Performances.....	37
4.2.2 Social Capital and Iddir Made Socio-economic Infrastructure	37
4.2. 3 Social Capital and Iddir based HIV/AIDS Care and Support Services.....	38
4.2. 4. Social Capital and Access to Finance	39
4.2.5 Social Capital and Members Participation in Key decisions.....	40
4.2.6. Social Capital and Gender Issues.....	41
4.3. Social Capital and Higher Level Collective Actions.....	42
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION.....	45
5.1. Conclusion.....	45
5.2. Recommendations	46
References.....	48

ACRONYMS

ACORD	Agency for cooperation and Research in Development
AIDS	Anti Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CDD	Community Driven Development
GOs	Governmental Organizations
HIV	Human Immune Virus
INGOs	International NGOs
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non Government Organizations
OVC	Orphan and Vulnerable Children
PCA	Principal Component Analysis
PLWHA	People with HIV and AIDS
SACCOs	Savings and Credit Cooperatives
SC	Social Capital
SOCAT	Social Capital Analysis Tools
SPSS	Statistical Package for social sciences
VCT	Voluntary Counseling and Testing

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my special gratitude to my advisor, Mr. Elias Berhanu, for his valuable advice and valuable comments at various stages of the thesis write up. His support was remarkable to produce the paper in this form.

My appreciation also goes to the staff of IGNOU in Addis Ababa who has been providing me a continuous and unfailing support during my study years at IGNOU.

Thanks are accorded to Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development (ACORD) for providing me the financial support throughout my study.

The support I have been receiving from Dr. Moges Shiferaw of ACORD and the ACORD Addis Ababa project team has been crucial for the successful completion of the study. Therefore they deserve heart-felt thanks.

I am very grateful to the *Iddir* members, leaders and other informants in the study area who have been providing primary data and information.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my family and all my friends for their understanding, encouragement and support to complete my studies.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis was to investigate whether the *Iddir* based social capital is transformable into development performance via *Iddirs* created organization as a mediating agency to reach collective social goals for the development of slum and frontier Addis Ababa. In this research both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed. The research was carried out in six villages (three slum and three frontier) located in two districts (01/02 and 02) of Yeka (specifically Frensay legacion area) and Akaki-Akali sub-cities respectively. Three hundred *Iddir* member households and 46 *Iddirs* were surveyed under the scope of the research. A positive relation was found among *Iddir* based social capital, organization and community level development performances and slum and frontier developments. Collective actions take place more frequently in the villages that have *Iddir* formed social capital and organizations. A positive relation is found between community level development performances and stock of *Iddir* formed social capital.

Key Words: CBOs, Community Development, Iddir, Social Capital

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

The governments and NGOs of the developing countries that have been working for rural community development recognized the availability of social capital within the community as a key condition to improve development performances of the communities. This in turn has required a mediating agency and identified as one of critical areas of concern in the community development efforts. Based on this concern, the community development professionals recommend two strategies: First, to take measures in order to strengthen the social capital in communities and ensure communities' full participation in power structures and decision-making" and second, increase CBOs' capacity to translate social capital into development performances such as collective actions. Both strategies are proposed to be addressed by governments, national bodies, the private sector, political parties, trade unions, employers' organizations, research and academic institutions, sub-regional and regional bodies, and non-governmental and international organizations.

Prior to modernization based community development, development theory, ideology and practices, the traditional religion, faith and spirituality were crucial to the processes of development for they are part of a people's world view and connectivity which is central to apprehending reality and constructing positive and productive relations changes. The failure of modernization based community development and the emergence of dependency syndrome development theory has led the re-consideration of people self-created communities (faith, spiritual and religion based communities) such as church and burial communities. In this new model the assumption is to create more communities and performances in aggregated social capital, aggregated CBOs and aggregated development performances in a given communities or localities.

After decades of marginalization by modern forces and modernization based community development ideology, theory and practices, the potential role of burial community (cultural) and their organization has been renewed in the discussion of social capital based sustainable

livelihood development theory. In most cases such community groups are considered as informal, passive, backward, irrelevant, unproductive, etc.

One of these traditional communities is *Iddir*. For the study, *Iddirs* (CBOs) are defined as voluntary burial associations of community members who reflect the interests of a broader constituency. They are generally small, informal organizations; often membership-based, initiated by local residents and located within the communities they serve. Thus, building the organizational capacity of *Iddir* could have a direct impact both on their involvement in communities as development agents, and as active citizens. Capacity development can be located in a bottom-up approach to community development. In the context of this study, *Iddir* community is either understood as locality or neighborhood *organizations*, or can refer to an interest community forming the constituency of a particular *Iddir* organization for other type of *Iddir* communities. Such *Iddir* communities are not homogeneous but *Iddir* community is sensitive to issues of power and domination within communities regarding gender, class and ethnicity as a democratic and open.

Iddir is the largest social capital stock in Ethiopia. Studies prove that nearly all households in urban areas are member of *Iddirs*. Until recently Ethiopians know *Iddirs* for their burial purposes services. *Iddir* for development is a new vision. *Iddir* is voluntary association of Ethiopians for the purpose of burial services created and built by Ethiopians for the purpose of burial services. Development of *Iddir* community consciousness is important for community development. And, it is important to respect the “felt needs” of respective *Iddir* local communities. These are the needs as perceived and felt by the community and could be different from those “needs” which have been identified by “outsiders”. People should be consulted and informed of different choices. Particularly, the local government institutions and local community organizations should establish a collaborative partnership in undertaking the responsibility for developing a local “vision” and strategy; and planning, allocating resources, implementing and monitoring and evaluation of development activities that would better cater the local needs.

Local governments are supposed to perform comprehensive functions that affect citizen's welfare and quality of life. NGOs working for community development are also taking greater responsibility to work in partnership with local government authorities or communities' structures or both. NGOs focus is on capacity development of either government or local community structures.

In Ethiopia, governments and the development agencies have been working to rural and urban CBOs development now for two decades. In recent years, there is a national initiative that works to the development of the CBOs sector. To this end effort has been made to the development of *Iddir* society by the different level of city governments and urban development agencies.

Increasing amount of city resources are invested to the development of *Iddir* society. Throughout the past two decades, many development agencies and city governments have gradually moved away from overlooking the role of *Iddirs* in development and are working in partnership with individual *Iddirs* and their associations. Similarly, shifts have been occurring more recently in the funding patterns of donors. *Iddirs*, once marginalized by donors and INGOs are now perceived as important local partners.

Consequently, they have received several types of technical, material, financial, organizational, and technical support from governments and various development agencies. Particularly, ACORD has developed *Iddirs* society's development strategy. ACORD's social development projects seek to give support to self-resilience strategy, to promote more effective participation, to build local capacity and to develop skill for more sustainable development.

Many *Iddirs* in Addis Ababa have received support to develop their own network and platform. ACORD and several development agencies and government are building awareness among *Iddir* society to achieve Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) at different levels. They also received administrative support from the government to establish district, sub-city and city level councils to mobilize their members to respond to the interests of government. In recent decade ACORD's initiative in *Iddirs* development is primarily motivated by the recognition on the unique significance that *Iddir* can play in social development in city frontier and slum areas, which are characterized by institutional inadequacy and poverty and hosts a large proportion of

urban slum and poor people. In this disadvantaged location, *Iddir* facilitate the networking of heterogeneous frontier communities and urban slums around the vision of equitable local development and development performances. In this way ACORD has invested in accumulation of social capital with the intention to increase the development performances of *Iddirs*. All urban developments in ACORD are *Iddir* centered and inspire other to use *Iddir* for social and economic development.

This study is motivated by ACORD's perspective of *Iddir* that see it as part of the border civil society sector that has a potential to play a role in the development of the country in collaboration with other actors. The philosophical movement of ACORD - *Iddrism*, was developed in a reaction to widen the narrow space for the participation of *Iddirs* in social and economic development by unifying the voice of *Iddirs*. In some areas ACORD partner *Iddirs* have sought to unite individual *Iddirs* as one independent organization. From these origins and objectives, *Iddrism* developed in two basic forms. In one form, may be known as ACORD-*Iddrism*, it advocates for the unity of ACORD partner *Iddirs* and their members within ACORD operational area through economic union, through development collaboration or both. In its other, broader form, may be known as inclusive-*Iddrism*, it relates to alliance among all *Iddirs* including non-ACORD partner *Iddirs*. Both lower level alliance and higher level union is the results of economic and social development motivation. It is an approach that focuses on the provision of goods and services, creating access and opportunity for the poor and marginalized, underserved and under privileged. It is believed that a study should be done to investigate the effectiveness of *Iddir*-centered social capital and *Iddir* organizations performances in local development in frontier and slum sub-cities in Addis Ababa. Invest a lot in capacity development of *Iddirs* society that ranges from individual *Iddirs* to linkage creations and development. The shortage of capital lack of capacity, lack of adequate and genuine participation is blamed to be among the main source of constraints to ensure economic development.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia is one of the low income countries with relatively low level of new social capital formations. But the country is endowed with individual citizen's self-created social capital in

existence now for century developed by the community, in the community for the community. These includes self help groups, informal, traditional, faith based organizations (church), burial associations and voluntary organizations which are still primary sources of social capital for a significant fraction of the Ethiopian societies. This is particularly true of the burial associations, the widely recognized social capital formation in urban areas. Today they are labeled as the organization of the poor people, traditional, informal and considered by many as liability for community development. They are gradual replaced by the new social capital formations. As civilization/modernization develops community power resulted from outsiders (government and NGOs) motivated by the force of decentralization rather than culture, faith and spirituality. Although there is more or less a consensus among Ethiopian researchers and scholars, development that burial societies social capital formation is the widely expanding social capital formations in urban Ethiopia. It is self created social capital widely formed in different parts of the country but often considered by many as non-developmental –non-transformable social capital.

There is general proposition and hypotheses developed by social scientists and policy makers that that there is positive relation among modern community development performances, level of social capital and strength of CBOs, provided that the social capital is transformable and existence of transforming agencies. Although aggregated social capital, aggregated development performances and aggregated CBOs performances analysis is a common practice but will not provide information to draw social capital specific policy recommendation.

The Ethiopia community development system can broadly be divided into the modern community system (NGOs backed and the non-burial social capital intermediaries. These two community based development organizations are different with respect to their activities. These two CBO sectors can simultaneously build up and strengthen the community development system of the country. Burial fortification, the process of introducing development roles into *Iddir* communities, provides a comparatively cost-effective, sustainable, and long-term means of delivering more social capital into communities of poor localities. This approach not only will lower the number of severely social capital impoverished people who require treatment by complementary social capital interventions, but also will help them maintain improved social

capital status. Moreover, cultural fortification provides a feasible means of reaching poor urban populations who may have limited access to externally (politically and developmentally) fortified communities, CBOs, social capital and development provisions. Recently, however, there has been a shift: Governments and NGOs must now not only create a new social capital that produce more goods and services for the poor, unemployed to reduce hunger, but also more social capital-rich community to reduce hidden hunger.

Iddirs has been in existence since the feudal political system. Both in the feudal and socialist systems there was officially poverty and so there was no need for the subject like community development. Given the substantial cultural resources, cultural friendly funeral services, humanistic philosophy, democratic governance, inclusiveness, distribution, size of membership, long history of existence and task of the burial societies in Ethiopia, it is worth raising the issue of why it matters. In particular, since 1994 there are a number of classic studies emphasized the potential role of *Iddir* in HIV/AIDS, city security, saving and credit provision, legal service provisions, urban governance, sum upgrading, urban agriculture and the social and economic development of Ethiopia. In Ethiopia in the nineteenth century, it may appear that the need for a burial society is largely redundant in the specific circumstances of the developing areas, economies and societies. However, there are two main reasons why the existence of the burial societies matters: one concerns funeral services and the other relates to the development of community based programs.

In the first place, *Iddir* offer social relations (deposits) that claim to be capital certain. If this promise is to be honored, then there must be limits to the range and nature of social capital can reasonably take on to collective actions. Notwithstanding the existence of NGOs and Government created development communities and organizations in many parts of the world, (that is, modern organization and structures designed for this purpose also engaged in development activities), this consideration implies that *Iddir* based social system will tend to have a smaller range of equity-type social capital than those with a more broadly based structure including a wide range of development activities. More generally, *Iddirs* play a range of roles that are not suitable for modern CBOs and through their provision of sustainability, divisibility,

development delivery efficiencies and risk pooling services they broaden the spectrum of development available to communities. In this way, they encourage and improve the efficiency of development delivery and formation of social capita. Through the provision of a broader range of social instruments, they are able to foster a risk management culture by attracting poor who are least able to bear risks and fill the gaps in development services that otherwise occur in formal community systems.

However, there is basic incompatibility between the kinds of social capital offered by the *Iddirs* and those offered by the non-*Iddir* communities and institutions. One way of minimizing social fragility in the developing areas may be to encourage a diversity of *Iddir* based social capital and institutions, where communities are able to assume a variety of roles outside the customary structure, organization and community system itself.

Without this diversity, there is a tendency for all risks to be bundled within the balance sheet of the banking system, which more likely may lead to severe social crises. This point was widely noted by policymakers in their analysis of the lessons of the urban social crisis, for instance. Thus, there are very good reasons to perform studies on the transformability of *Iddir* formed social capital in parallel with non-*Iddir* society social capital with regards to their community development efficiency and productivity.

Ethiopian scholars spent much of the past two decades reflecting and debating on the history, origin and cultural roles of the Ethiopian burial society. Most scholars are skeptical about the role of *Iddir* in development. *Iddir* based development research has placed increased on the capacity of *Iddir* in community based resources management, service production, income generation, unemployment reduction, peace building and service provision at its center.

Claims are made regarding participation of *Iddir* in- development by ACORD and other NGOs. For ACORD *Iddir* is an ideal social structure and organization for community development. The conundrum of ensuring the sustainability of development interventions is assumed to be solvable by the proper involvement of *Iddirs* in the supply and management of resources, services and

facilities. However, despite significant claims to the contrary there is little evidence of the *Iddir* social capital transformability.

It is assumed that all memberships to networks and trust have been considered the driving force generating SC and have been the most used measures of SC. This should not come as a surprise, considering that in most countries and cultures, having the right contacts in the right place are the key to social and economic success. In his review of the literature of SC, Portes, A. (1998) has summarized the work of several authors and the hypotheses on how SC would be created through the individual interactions allowed by the social structures they belong to. These interactions create access to information, job opportunities and other positive effects, which result in obligations, expectations and trust. These in turns produce respect for norms, civic and social responsibility, initiative, safety and other positive outcomes that influence institutional efficiency and socioeconomic development.

Although, it is not known how SC at the micro level influences SC at the meso level, it is likely that this may occur through the production of ‘intermediate outcomes’ produced by the SC at the micro level. These ‘intermediate outcomes’, which are different from the final outcomes related to socioeconomic development, health and other more distant outcomes, include the sense of identity and pride, the security from crime, the political activism and participation which are the by-products of SC. These ‘intermediate outcomes’ would produce changes at the meso level, leading to higher institutional efficiency. For example, the sense of belonging to a group would lead to the sense of identity and pride, the cooperation and good relationship within the neighborhood would help to produce a sense of security, the respect for social norms would lead to the aversion towards crime and corruption, and would promote political activism. These factors that can be considered ‘intermediate outcome’ of SC would result in a pressure on the meso level to become more efficient.

1.3. Objectives of the Research

The research is motivated by the place of burial society based capital and Agency in the community based development theory and practices. It is often viewed as a non-transformable or

non-developmental social capital because of its cultural origin. Most of the social capital analysis is drawn strongly from ideas about the recursive relationship between agency and development performances structure with a lot of artificial dichotomies present in our current thinking about social capital and community development and accommodate a number of critical paradoxes and apparent conflicts. Considerable attempts were not made to understand the complexities, diversity and regularities of patterns of burial society's interaction between individuals and social structure. However, such critical generic conceptualization and analysis apparently makes little impact on the development mainstream as articulated through *Iddir* specific policy and practice. Concepts of 'the individual' underlying participatory approaches swings widely between 'rational choice' and 'social being' models. The former attributes individual behavior to calculative self interest, the latter to culture and social norms. A convenient and tangible alternative is found in the omnipresent focus on the organizations of collective action; organizing the organizations then becomes a central plank of participatory approaches to development. It is in an attempt to highlight some of these issues that the following discussion will be structured.

Thus the main objective of this thesis is to investigate whether the social capital of *Iddir* is translated into performance by the mediating agencies (*Iddir* organizations) to reach collective goals in disadvantaged areas, city frontiers and slum areas in Addis Ababa.

Its specific objectives include:

- To identify and analyze the social capital of *Iddir*
- Analyze the performances of *Iddir* based organizations
- Analyze the relation among social capital, CBOs and development performances at *Iddirs* councils level
- To examine the policy implications of the research findings

The analysis will provide a testing ground to improve the definitions and the measurements of disaggregated SC (*Iddir* based social capita) and of its CBOs and 'intermediate development outcomes' at the community level and to measure the disparities in strength of their association across localities. The analysis uses the variables which have been used in the literature to define SC, CBOs and community development performances. In this paper the immediate outcome

variables are those related to self confidence, participation, initiative, identity, pride, safety and trust in *Iddir* governance. These are considered ‘intermediate outcomes’ because they are the byproduct through which SC influence more distant outcomes such as increased collective actions. The data are from a survey carried out in Addis Ababa as part of the initiative promoted by ACORD to improve effective utilization of burial society’s social capital in Addis Ababa slum and city frontier areas.

1.4. Scope and Significance of the Research

Although the research is motivated by ACORD’s nationwide work and philosophy to work with *Iddirs*, this study will focus on roles *Iddirs* and social relation can play in city frontier and city slum development specific to Addis. It does not also give more emphases in the current ACORD’s institutional perspective of *Iddir* as part of civil society, institutional capacity-building that aim to shift Government and NGOs partnership with *Iddir* which in most cases regard *Iddirs* as beneficiary than actual partner in development planning and implementation. It is the researcher convention to hypothesis that such a shift is not possible without understanding the potential roles *Iddir* can play in community development first. This is because the social capital relevant to frontier areas local development is greatly depends on the availability of community level social capital. Network and local resources access without partnership may also not be enough, given the institutional vacuum in city frontier and slum areas that slum and city frontier institutions have faced over many years.

Thus, the scope of the study is limited to investigate the relation between the role of *Iddir* based social relation and organization for enhancing effective community development in Addis Ababa city frontier and city slum areas, although the present day *Iddir* is increasingly far from communitarian view of social capital. It is becoming part of the Ethiopian civil society with a multi-layer organization and structure and serving as a citywide network and national level synergy. The study focused to *communitarian* view of social capital, equates social capital with local level organizations, namely associations, clubs, and civic groups. This view, measured most simply by the number and density of these groups in a given community, implies that social capital is inherently “good,” that “more is better,” and that its presence always has a positive effect on a community’s welfare. This perspective (scope of *Iddir*) is important to analyze the

community development outcomes by stressing the centrality of new social ties in *Iddirs* -in helping the poor manage risk and vulnerability as developmental *Iddirs*.

Besides the limitation in the scope, the research is to my knowledge the first empirical research in field of social capital and can use as exemplary for development and social capital researchers in gender and researchers interested in the study of *Iddir* based social relation and organization in community development. It also helps governments and NGOs working for community development to understand the potential role that social relation and CBOs in fostering effective community development in areas where urban and rural deprivation (inequities) is one of the highest in a given city or region and communities are characterized by social ills such as crime, insecurity, high prevalence of HIV, rural-urban migration and displacement.

1.5. Limitation of the Research

The scope of the analysis is limited by data. It is done based on data obtained from fraction of the ACORD's operational areas in Akaki-Kality and Yeka sub-cities of Addis Ababa , limited number of primary *Iddirs* (46) and member household heads (273). The finding of this particular research informs government agencies and the NGOs interested to work with how investment in social capital can offer unique opportunity for achieving the desired results in city frontier and slum community development.

The Social Capital Index developed in this study was partially based on the perception survey among the sample population. So this study has all the limitations of the perception survey based study. However, there is no other way than perception survey to construct social capital index.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. Theoretical and Conceptual Literature Review

This section focuses on a brief presentation of theoretical and conceptual literatures related to the three enormous subjects: social capital, community development and community based organizations. The review covers the essentials and pertinent debates on concepts of the three subjects and the different perspectives as well as *Iddir* specific literatures.

2.1.1. Social Capital

Scholars argue that there are essentially four perspectives of social capital: communitarian, network, synergy and institutional perspectives. While each is making an important contribution, we find that one in particular is important and enjoys the strongest empirical support of World Bank's interdisciplinary Social Capital Group, put the researcher in the best position to articulate a coherent multi-disciplinary research agenda, and is able to propose a realistic set of policy recommendations pertaining to poverty reduction and promotes community development. Thus, our analysis updates and extends the perspectives outlined by the World Bank's interdisciplinary Social Capital Group and specific to communitarian perspective.

The first perspective, the *communitarian* view, equates social capital with local level organizations, namely associations, clubs, and civic groups. This view, measured most simply by the number and density of these groups in a given community, implies that social capital is inherently "good," that "more is better," and that its presence always has a positive effect on a community's welfare. This perspective has made important contributions to analyses of poverty by stressing the centrality of social ties in helping the poor manage risk and vulnerability. As Dordick (1997) notes, the poor have "something left to lose", namely each other. In their celebration of community and civil society, however, many enthusiasts of this view of social capital have ignored its important "downside" (Portes and Landolt 1996). For example, where communities or networks are isolated, parochial, or working at cross-purposes to societies collective interests (e.g. ghettos, gangs, drug cartels), "productive" social capital is replaced by

what Rubio (1997) discussing the case of Colombia calls “perverse” social capital, which greatly hinders development. There are certainly many benefits associated with being a member of a highly integrated community, but there are also significant costs, and for some e.g. bright girls taken out of village schools in India because of community expectations the costs of their “connections” may greatly outweigh the benefits. In the case of organized crime syndicates in Latin America and Russia, such groups may generate large negative externalities for the rest of society in the form of lost lives, wasted resources, and pervasive uncertainty. The communitarian perspective also implicitly assumes that communities are homogenous entities that automatically include and benefit all members. The extensive literature on caste inequality, ethnic exclusion, and gender discrimination (Narayan and Shah 2000) outcomes often produced and maintained by community pressures suggests otherwise.

Evidence from the developing world including Ethiopia demonstrates why merely having high levels of social solidarity or informal groups do not necessarily lead to community development and social prosperity.

In Kenya, a participatory poverty assessment found over 200,000 community groups in rural areas, but most were unconnected to outside resources and were unable to lift the poor out of poverty (Narayan and Nyamwaya 1996). A World Bank report on Rwanda (World Bank 1989) cited the existence of more than 3,000 registered cooperatives and farmers groups, and an estimated 30,000 informal groups, yet these were unable to prevent one of history’s most gruesome civil wars.

Coleman (1998) pointed social organizations as the constructor of social capital and argues that social capital facilitates the achievement of goals that could not be achieved in its absence or could be achieved only at a higher cost. Putnam (1993) defined social capital from the perspective of social organization, such as, norms, networks and social trust that facilitate the co operation and co ordination of the mutual benefit. In his study of assessing the performance of CBOs in Africa he found that social capital is strongly and consistently associated with community based organizations’ performance in multiple social domains. He also pointed out

that social capital is higher among the horizontal groups than the hierarchical groups in their organization.

The social capital for disadvantaged communities Disadvantaged communities The large size of social capital and CBOs are created by external actors working for community development and disadvantaged groups poverty reduction and other goals. The social capital in disadvantaged communities is co-created by external development actors that NGOs and governments engaged with communities and community based organizations. CBOs provide an important buffer that mitigates the impact of crises. They are not generally built on traditional societies' principles that govern their collective coping strategies. When they are non-exclusive and adequately supported in acting proactively for the human, social and economic development of their membership, CBOs remove some of the key causes of non income poverty, contribute significantly to improving governance and provide checks and stability in the local socio-political.

The social capital in poor, vulnerable, slum and frontier communities (disadvantaged communities) can be harnessed and its integrity retained, while simultaneously helping the poor gain access to formal institutions and a more diverse stock of "bridging" social capital. It is a process burdened with multiple dilemmas, however, especially for external NGOs, extension services, and development agencies, since it may entail altering social systems that are the product of long-standing cultural traditions or powerful vested interests. This mechanism allows individuals initially to draw on the benefits of close community membership, but in doing so also ensures that they acquire the skills and resources to participate in more extensive networks that transcended their community, thereby progressively incorporating them into mainstream economic life.

These insights can be applied to poverty reduction more generally and compensating the disadvantaged groups (advantaged groups). The external driven social capital and NGOs supported CBOs shows that as the diversity of the social networks of the poor expand so too do their welfare. The social capital residing in a given network can be leveraged or utilized more efficiently, which is essentially the genius of group-based credit programs. Poor village women lacking material collateral are given loans on the basis of their membership in a small peer

group, which helps them start or expand a small business, and thereby improve their families' welfare. But the economic returns to any given network soon reach a limit, especially when it is characterized by high endowments of "bonding" social capital. If the network continues to expand e.g. through the arrival into urban slums of subsequent cohorts from the village its resources may become overwhelmed, thereby reducing well-being for long-established members. Similarly, long-term members of group-based credit programs may find that obligations and commitments to their colleagues becomes an obstacle to further advancement, especially for the more ambitious. In these circumstances, a solution taken by many poor people is partially to divest themselves of their immediate community ties, and to move to where networks are potentially more diverse (i.e., where "bridging" social capital is more abundant), and hence economic opportunities more promising.

The networks view will also be employed with great effect. The research analysis of poor communities in Akaki for example, reports that social groups among poor villagers serve vitally important protection, risk management, and solidarity functions. It is the more extensive and leveraged networks of the non-poor, by contrast, that are used for strategic advantage and the advancement of material interests.

2.1.2. Locality and Community Development

Locality and community development has been an important focus of community level research and debate in social sciences for decades. Berner and Korff (1995:214) mention that, a locality is the focus of everyday life; it is not merely the place where people reside but where they spend much of their time and life. On the other hand, Giddens (1984:375) concept of "locale" denotes a physical place with "definite boundaries that help to concentrate interaction in one way or another." A place, in turn, becomes meaningful and relevant only through collective social action and members interactions and relations. Localities, in this paper are a territorial community (*Iddir* community) that is defined and created by individual members of *Iddir*. Thus, *Iddir* is individual members "created" community.

It is known that many urban centers have localities which have less infrastructure service and it is assumed that these poor localities are abode for the poor than the middle and upper economic households, but there is surprisingly little information on actual empirical relation between household income and infrastructure service coverage in urban Ethiopia. Conventional definitions of urban poor tend to combine imprecise descriptions and analytical category regarding physical, social and economic aspects, resulting in different mixtures (Jones and Nici 1999).

In Ethiopia, the urban poor have been commonly associated with unemployment, shanties, overcrowding, filth, stink or uncollected garbage, lack or total absence of social services (Samson 2008). Social scientists have operationalised the concept of poverty principally as a property of individuals, families or households. Poverty is usually not referred to as an attribute of groups, communities, or regions (Spicker 2001:2). However, the concept of poverty especially when we consider the 'spatial' aspect, it is simply an aggregate of the conditions of the people who live in poor-localities (Samson 2004). There are higher concentrations of different kinds of social problem in the poor-locality. However, all people who live in such areas are not necessarily poor. The visible spatial characteristics of poverty, in most of the cases, are the housing conditions and lack of basic infrastructures which needs to be upgraded or/and redeveloped.

The concept of 'community development' has been around for more than four decades (Bhattacharayya 1995). However, in the last two decades terms such as grassroots development, people-centered development, community or participatory approach to development have emerged to express similar connotations (Stone 1989; Samson 2004). Biddle (1966:12) emphasized that in spite of the various definition attached to the concept of community development, all approaches claim to be legitimate contributions to address community problems.

Regarding the definition of 'community development' there is a variation in different literatures. Denise and Harris (1990:7) observation have elucidated this variation in definition. However, as Bhattacharyya (1995) clearly pointed out most definitions of community development contain

element that could be classified under a certain 'rational'. For instance, Christenson and Robinson (1989:14), stated that the rational to change economic, social, cultural, and and/or environmental situations. For Denise and Harris (1990:7), it is improvement of living conditions and way of life. Hence, this study took this rational as core element of defining community development in poor localities of Addis Ababa. The example concerned in this study is the type of community development performed by members of *Iddir* inhabitants of poor localities in Addis Ababa through mobilizing the members and inhabitants to contribute the 10 percent matching fund for access road construction.

The concept of 'community development' captures the importance of the link between trust and cohesion in the community on the one hand and shared expectations for the outcome on the other. It is a 'task-oriented' construct that captivates attention of residents with a shared expectations and mutual engagement for local development (Parisi et al., 2002). The term community development is, therefore, connote an emphasizes on shared beliefs in a locality's potential for action to actualize a planned output, coupled with an active sense of participation from the side of the residents (Sampson et al., 1997). Network, trust and reciprocity, which are features of social life, enable the participants to act collectively to having a shared vision (Rudd, 2000).

Distinguishing between the resource potential represented by personal ties, on the one hand, and the shared expectations for action among neighbors to be engaged in the community development, on the other, helps examine whether and how social capital influences community development. The underlying assumption here is that social capital plays a great role in community development and collective decision-making (Narayan, 1996). Community development is influenced by the institutional structure, such as government policies, cultural religious values, social capital, ethnicity, and property rights structure, on which the community is, embedded (Ostrom, 1998).

Therefore, increased frequency of interaction reduces free riding, promotes strong norms of reciprocity and social trust, amplifies the flow of information and provides a good atmosphere

for development collaboration. In this respect, local associations and institutions provide a framework for sharing information, co-coordinating activities, and making collective decisions and actions. In this study, in order to identify and capture the type of community development in the study areas, focus group discussion and in-depth interviews were conducted, which revealed the participation of community in local development. People were mobilized to contribute 10% matching fund for the construction of access to road in the neighborhood, while non-community agents such as government or non-government organizations covered the remaining 90% of the fund.

2.1.3. Community Based Organizations

CBOs have many definitions and categories. But African scholars like (Mulwa and Mala, 2000:4) defined CBOs in the context of Africa- that CBOs is a conscious modern concept of African togetherness. A CBO is an “organizational entity made up of people whose membership is defined by a specific common bond and who voluntarily come together to work for a common goal” (Mulwa and Mala, 2000:4). Ideally, a CBO is initiated, managed and owned by the members themselves in a defined community. It is hoped that those who come together to form the CBO will be able to enjoy the benefits of pulling their resources together and maximize their outcomes for the betterment of the individuals and the whole community.

The CBO studies divided them into three main groups. First, are the groups brought together to work on new, externally supported projects NGOs or government backed or created CBO. These are the so-called “initiative groups” whose members may be related to each other in a variety of ways (through family, politics, profession or business) and who form a committee to carry forward a particular development project. Sub organizations under *Iddirs* such as SACCOs, urban agriculture cooperatives, women income generation groups can belong to this group of CBOs as they are created by ACORD’s urban poverty reduction project initiatives. Second, there are traditional forms of community associations like which vary widely across the region as to their characteristics and types of activity. They can be summarised as village assemblies, religious groups, mutual help or savings associations, these groups vary according to whether

they are urban or rural, and are influenced by ethnic and cultural factors. Primary *Iddir* organizations are belongs to this category.

The third category is known as local (location based) organizations that have been given different names in different places. These include ‘community development associations’, ‘neighborhood councils’ and united community among others (Biddle 1996). Community based organizations are set up by collective efforts of indigenous people of homo or heterogeneous attributes but living or working within the same environment. It is seen as voluntary, non-profit, non-governmental and highly localized or neighborhood institutions whose membership is placed on equal level and whose main goal is the improvement of the social and economic well being of every member (Das et al, 2003). The district and sub city *Iddir* councils and Borena Gadda of Ethiopia can be considered as a good example.

Emerging robust CBOs are important for growth at the community level but also modernizing existing traditional CBOs like *Iddir*. Community driven development (CDD) is concerned with the enabling instruments and mechanisms that encourage CBOs to emerge, operate, grow and establish effective and sustainable linkages with the public administration, civil society and commercial sector. In particular, CDD aims to clarify the authority, autonomy, responsibilities and accountability of the CBOs, their higher-level partnerships and the different levels of public administration.

2.2. *Iddir* Related Literature

Social stresses that were (and continue to be) characteristic of most Ethiopian societies and communities resulted from rural-urban migration and urbanization. These include unemployment, displacement of the rural poor to the towns, crime and violence, poverty, low living standards, poor living conditions, possible decline in rural agricultural production, and so on.

Crush (2000) further contends that in Ethiopia, social and economic stresses poverty, in particular, forced (and still force) men to leave their rural homes, wives and families to seek

employment in urban areas, where they took up physically stressful and poor paying jobs. Due to the financial hardships born out of low incomes and related problems, these urban migrants sought mutual aid by *Iddir* societies. For urban poor, migrants and slums, *Iddir* societies became networks of support and affirmation, socially, culturally and economically.

Most *Iddir* societies in city slum and city frontier areas are small and cohesive, comprising members with shared local and cultural roots. Their regular meetings (normally held monthly) are opportunities for catching up on news in the community, conferring about common concerns, as much as poring over the shared funds of the *Iddir* society and adjudicating any claims made against them. Over and above the economic and social support function of *Iddir* societies, membership of an *Iddir* society has always had a socio-cultural significance. In most Ethiopian societies the ability of individuals and families to give their next of kin a dignified and respectable burial is a very significant cultural event. Many people believe that by joining an *Iddir* society they and their family will be given a proper burial, as *Iddir* covers most of the cost. Historical research has emphasized the priority allocated to burial society contributions, even in the poorest families. In this regard the attitude of families forced by direct economic straits to discontinue their membership is illuminating in this respect. One of the first things they intend doing when conditions are improved is to resume payment of *Iddir* fees.

Every cultural society/community has some form and mix of capitals (social, human, financial) and organizations. *Iddir* is the national and academia recognized name given to the Ethiopian burial societies but it has different names in different places.

Even if there are similar association elsewhere in Africa, *Iddir* is of indigenous origin (Pankhurst 2003). There are numerous types of primary *Iddirs*, Dejene (2003) identified 12 types. The most common one is the neighborhood *Iddir* which is formed by people living in the same neighborhood. Second to it comes workplace *Iddir*. Yet one can find nowadays various types of *Iddirs* in a given village.

In the academic world although there is a different views on the origin of *Iddirs*, most *iddir* societies today as in other African countries, evolved in response to the country's social and economic stresses. In their not so long history, *Iddirs* have spread throughout Ethiopia so rapidly

that it is now unthinkable to imagine a village without *Iddir* with the exception of remote areas. *Iddir* societies are the most widespread but its composition, system, approach and size may differ from place to place. But all over *Iddir* is community inspired oriented and mostly religiously and ethnically heterogeneous unless the vicinity is homogenous. They have a high level of participation and democratization (Dejene 2003) and promote self-esteem as each with his/her minor tasks counts (Alemayehu Seifu 1968). It is also considered as the most egalitarian, democratic and transparent society.

Some attribute its origin to urbanization and claim that it was started by migrants who came to work in the city. Others associate it with the Italian occupation when social life was disrupted. Scholars like Alemayehu (1968) claims that no *Iddir* existed before the Italian occupation. He argues that, rural life became difficult during the occupation and the city became attractive for those affected. This drastic migratory move to the city accelerated the pace of urbanization. And those who just came from the rural area were not accustomed to the way of life in the city. In rural areas communal life was strong. Mutual relationship among neighbors/relatives is a ruling norm. But in towns people live in physical proximity yet in anonymity. Many new migrants found themselves uprooted and got confused. In time of need they had either very few connections or none at all to lean on. Pankhurst argues that *Iddirs* are exclusively of urban origin. Even though there are many traditional forms of cooperation related to the rural life, there is no evidence that such cooperation was the foundation of *Iddirs*. Following the argument of Alemayehu, Pankhurst further elaborates that people should not confuse the traditional trend of mutual help and other associations with *Iddir*. The existence of a list of members, written bylaws, monthly monetary contributions, regular meetings, differentiated and fixed coverage scheme came into existence in an urban, monetized and literate setting rather than in the rural area where these did not exist. Yet others claim that *Iddir* is a traditional mutual support system that is transplanted from the rural area with certain modification so as to fit in the urban life (Dejene 2003; Levine 1965).

Endreas and Pankhurst (1958) were the first who came up with the idea that *Iddir* might have its origin among the Guraghes. Building on this claim Pankhurst refers to a pamphlet by Yehibret Minch *Iddir* (a Soddo Kistane/Guraghe *Iddir*) which claims that their *Iddir* was established in 1907 by merchants of hides, wax, fat and coffee. These people were despised and discriminated

in Addis Ababa partly due to the smell of their ware. They could only gather together in the wood and bury their dead at night. Held during one of their meetings, they were brought to Fitawrari Habteghiorghis, the Minister of Defense. They explained to the minister their purpose of getting together. He gave them permission. Pankhurst associates this with both the ethnic foundation of the Iddir and its origin from the Gurages. He also argues that opponents of this view have not come up with any counter evidence (Pankhurst 2003). Pankhurst and Endreas (1958) base their claim on the fact that the Gurages had a culture of tending the cattle of the deceased and work on his farm as long as two months. However, Alemayehu (1968) argues that this could not be taken as evidence for such mutual support systems exist among the Amharas and Oromos.

Despite the continued academic debates on the origin and history of iddir that focus on its traditional (cultural) role- provision of funeral services to members of its society, interest in iddir's development issues is of rather recent origin, dating back to the work of ACORD, beginning of 1990s. The debate on development theories of iddir have been motivated by the need to conceptualizing *Iddir* as social capital (Dejene 2003), mediating agency between end users and external development acts and as part of civil society in urban governances (Pankhurst 2003). The development literature on iddir is expanding rapidly in the past two decades, but it is not helpful to this study to trace out the evolution of development literature and to identify the various perspectives that are emerging. Scholar argues that that there are essentially three such perspectives: social capital, CBOs and part of civil society perspectives.

Recent studies in burial societies (Thomson & Posel, 2002, Verhoef, 2001) confirmed that with the exception of the Ethiopian *Iddir* societies, in many parts of the developing countries burial societies are failed to adopt structure, organizations and institutions that are conducive to successful development performances and to fit into the processes of modernization in urban areas.

In the study areas, since recently, significant number of *Iddirs* in Addis Ababa is involved in one or more of these development issues. As a result, holistic study of *Iddirs* development performances requires integration of the different fields of development. This study will focus on

the economic development through assessing the works of ACORD and its partner *Iddirs* and their associations in city frontier and slum areas in selected sub-cities of Addis Ababa.

The *Iddir* societies in the study area has come together around nine primary fields of studies: families and youth behavior problems, education ,community life , democracy and governance, general cases of collective action problems, public health and environment issues, crime and violence and economic development.

The study on roles of *Iddirs* in development in Akaki and Yeka sub cities will analyze and update and extends the perspectives outlined by the World Bank's interdisciplinary Social Capital Group, first convened in January 1996, which highlighted three general perspectives on social capital. ACORD consider *Iddirs* as part of civil society and enhanced their multi-level and dimensional capacity to offer their role for the development of the country. ACORD's perspective of *Iddirs* has gradually expanded from communitarian view to part of civil society in strengthening their capacity to play their developmental roles.

2. 3. Empirical Literature Review: Measurements

Community social Capital (SC) as a concept is an innovative concept but it remains difficult to quantify. SC has been the subject of intense debate during the last decade and it has been described in several ways. According to Portes (1998), individuals gain resources in terms of information and support from belonging to social networks. These resources are categorized under SC to differentiate them from the physical capital (i.e. tools) and the human capital (i.e. education). Putnam (1993) extends the concept of SC to include all types of social interactions, from the social contacts with neighbors to the participation into formal and informal organizations. The membership to clubs and associations would facilitate people cooperation, exchange of information and building of trust. A high level of SC would have beneficial effects in terms of the socioeconomic development of individuals, households, communities and countries. A low level of SC would have negative effects on the social fabric, which would be reflected in high levels of crime, ill health, unemployment and other social problems.

As described by Narayan and Pritchett (2000), the literature has dealt with SC at the micro level (individual/household/neighborhood), the meso level (institutions) and the macro level (region/country). SC can be seen as 'social glue' bonding the individuals, the households, the neighborhoods, the formal and informal groups and the community as a whole. The identification with these groups and with the values they represent leads to the respect of norms and social contracts, and to the building of a sense of trust and safety. This environment at the micro level influences the efficiency of the institutional level (meso level), which reflects the values and norms existing at the micro level. This is a two-way interaction because the efficiency of the institutions influences and strengthens the SC originating from the micro level. Finally, the efficiency of the institutions is critical to the socioeconomic development at the macro level.

2.3. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of the study is built on earlier empirical studies and summary of review of Ethiopian burial society's related literature and empirical findings conducted in specific localities. From the above theoretical and empirical discussion the relation among social capital, CBOs and community development performances is clear: there exist positive relations among the three variables. A difference in development performances between countries, regions and communities can be explained in terms of difference in the level of stock of social capital and strength of CBOs in translating the social capital into development performances. The other conclusion is NGOs can play a role to activate the existing stock of social capital that has positive values of a community by supporting the CBOs.

As one of the central purposes of the research is not to discover a new conceptual framework, but to apply the widely accepted conceptual framework to test the existences of these relations in the context of the Ethiopia burial societies, attempts are made to conceptualize iddir within the general theory and empirical findings. As mentioned earlier the research is motivated by the demand to check the existence of the same positive relation in city frontier and city sum localities in Addis Ababa.

Addis Ababa is endowed with iddir based social capital, organizations and development performances. Every village in Addis Ababa is endowed with some form of iddir based social

capital and Organizations. There is no village without iddir. Three out five people in the city are members of iddirs and large fraction of the city's long established organization; networks, associational activities, funeral services, SACCOs, income generation groups, urban agriculture cooperatives, and population are belongs to iddir and iddir societies. A difference that makes a difference in community development is the city frontier and city sum areas of Addis is a difference in iddir based social capita and organizations- iddir community and society forces. Iddir as open self-help groups with its original funeral service provision objectives have social capital that builds on universal human values and positive value for all Ethiopians. The general demand for community iddir based development. The genera demand to work for community development. The developmental iddirs with its humanistic philosophy, philanthropic and production objectives have social capital that has positive value for poor communities and localities.

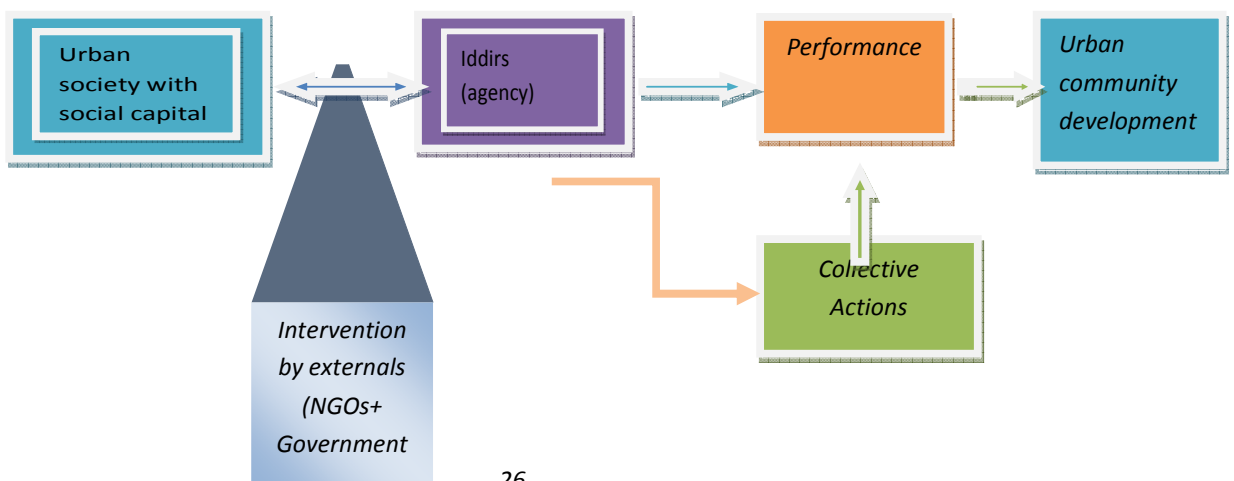
In many society and community level literatures and empirical researchers there is more or less a consensus that a community with high stock of social capital and strong social organization can go for social or collective actions beneficial for the society/ community or bring in development for them. It is therefore hypothesized that if the two are in existence, they are likely to cause perceived performance of community/ social development. This is congruent with (Ahmad 2004) conceptual framework for rural Bangladesh. The only difference is the development context (rural development) and the social capital and CBOs (generic) –that consider all forms of social capital and CBOs a viable in a given locations. This may not true for the cases of most burial societies in Africa. Burial societies with strong social capital and organizations have been in existence now for a century without developmental roles.

It is a form of capital possessed by members of the iddirs social network or self-help economic groups, iddir based community development groups, schools, service delivery groups, resources management groups. Generally, social, physical, financial and human capitals in broader terms are well recognized as the important factors for economic growth and poverty reduction. While social capital in community development is comparatively new topic in development research however it received much attention in the last few years. Social capital affects the accumulation of other types of capital that are essential for poverty reduction (Ahmad 2004). *Iddirs* based relations and interactions are important for the production and a commutation of the stock of

valuable social capital necessary for urban community development. Democratic and developmental *Iddir* organizations are vital for social capital mediations or transforming the stock of social capital into development performances. Government and NGOs can play a role in supporting iddir based associations for effective utilization of social capital.

Iddir based social capital represents tendency for mutually beneficial collective action and it derives from the quality of relationship within a particular *Iddir* community. *Iddir* community with high social capital is more likely to achieve better outcomes in multiple domains. However is found in his empirical study that social capital by itself does not explain the major part of the variation in any of these outcomes. It is observed that some *Iddir* -villages with high social capital do not always perform well with respect to economic development, community peace, or democratic participation. It requires an appropriate mediating agency (in our case developmental iddir organization) to activate the stock of social capital and to make it more productive.

Iddir as CBOs provide an important buffer that mitigates the impact of crises. They are generally built on traditional societies' principles that govern their collective coping and insurance strategies. They are non-exclusive and adequately supported in acting proactively for the human, social and economic development of their membership, *Iddir* as a CBO remove some of the key causes of non income poverty, contribute significantly to improving governance and provide checks and stability in the local sociopolitical setting.



Regardless of the differences in the magnitude of the stock and quality of social capital, every locality has some form of *Iddir* based social capital and associated organization. The level of accumulation of the social capital and CBOs may differ from place to place because of the difference in concentration and heterogeneity of individual *Iddirs* gene in composition of members, objectives, structures, bylaws, governance, financial management, membership size, legalizations as well as in their derivatives structures and coverage, networks with the external world. They are also different in the size of external support and the types of development activities they are engaged in Communities organized around some development work. In this study performances are measured in terms of mutually beneficial collective actions.

From the above conceptual frame the Ethiopian burial societies in Addis Ababa have a bulk of *Iddir* based social capital and organizations that have the potential to play a role for community development in urban Ethiopia, if translated into development outcomes. NGOs and governments can play a catalyst role through supporting existing organizations.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The study is located in Addis Ababa city (Akaki Kaliti and Yeka specifically “French Legacion” sub cities), Capital city of Ethiopia. The two sub cities host the biggest number of the city’s slum and frontier communities and households. Therefore are regarded as the most vulnerable and poverty affected sub-cities with high unemployment and other social problems.

The study has employed both quantitative and qualitative research methods. This is an empirical study based on the field work done in slum and frontier sub city areas in Addis. The methodology of the study is influenced by World Bank’s multidisciplinary tool for practitioners for understanding and measuring social capital. The study employed the World Bank’s social capital analysis tools, SOCAT.

3.1 Sampling Design

This study covered three hundred iddir member households from six villages (50 households from each of the three slum and frontier villages). The villages under the study were selected purposively so that the study can be conducted in areas where ACORD is working for city slum and city frontier (urban) development by strengthening the capacity of individual *iddir* members and their organizations to engage in development activities.

The locations of the study area are provided in the Table 3.1. From the household survey most densely participated iddirs (at best seven from each village) were identified and the performances of those iddirs were evaluated and interview sessions were conducted with the iddir leaders and some of the members.

Table 3.1: Summary of survey areas

No.	Villages	District	Sub-city
1	Kuas Meda	01/02	Yeka
2	Ras Kassa Sefer	01/02	Yeka
3	Chefe	01/02	Yeka
4	Ketema- Limat	02	Akaki-Kality
5	Tele- Ber	02	Akaki-Kality
6	Legahar Sefer	02	Akaki-Kality

3.2 Methods of Data Collection

The quantitative methods used in this study includes household survey with structured and coded questionnaire, construction of Social Capital Index and CBO performance Index as well as community development performances.

The villages under the study are selected purposively so that the study is conducted in the sub-cities where ACORD is operating for social development by fostering social capital among people through establishing *Iddir* centered economic organizations namely savings and credit Cooperatives(SACCOs) and *Iddirs* centered social organization . The locations of the study are frontier sub city Akaki-Kality and slum (Ferensay legacion) in yeka sub-sub-cities in Addis Ababa. The different types of *Iddirs* are identified from the two sub-cities and the social and economic performances of those *Iddirs* are explored based on group discussion and on structured checklist. From *Iddirs* supported by ACORD *Iddirs* representative leaders and members as well as project beneficiaries are interviewed.

Focus group discussions with *Iddirs* leaders and Wereda council are held using open ended questions and open ended Interviews with community leaders. The quantitative methods used in this study includes beneficiary interview with structured and coded questionnaire, construction of Social Capital Index, CBO economic and social performance Index, and preparation of descriptive statistics. This is enriched with qualitative data obtained from group discussion and researchers observation.

To assess the social capital at the community level, a questionnaire is developed for the study area from which the researcher isolates six underlying factors as constituting social capital. The factors (identified through factor analysis) are participation in development work, diversity of membership, density and effectiveness of membership, solidarity, trust and inclusiveness.

Based on an individual's social capital score, the researcher predicted the community to which the person belonged, thus raising the prospects for this instrument being used for planning and monitoring community development activities. Thus, both instruments include a variety of questionnaires and open-ended methods to collect data at *Iddir* level. In addition to the measures

used above the study has included more detailed qualitative information on service delivery issues. Results from these studies capture different dimensions of social capital at community level. The most important variables in this study is density of associations, heterogeneity of membership in associations, active participation in them- and provision of local common services.

3.3 Data Collection Instruments

The data used in this study is collected from the study area based on instruments and guideline prescribed by the World Bank (2002) Social Capita Initiative. However, the World Bank's instruments were made localized according to the socio-economic and cultural context of Ethiopia and adopted to iddir city slum and city frontier contexts. The data was collected with the help of seven enumerators with financial support from ACORD.

The data was elicited through a series of group interviews conducted in the community during the initial days of survey work (the first five days). The community profile allowed the research team to become familiar with community characteristics and issues relating to social capital for reference in later phases of the data collection. The group interviews establish a consensus definition of the "community" in which the research takes place- city slum and city frontier communities. This definition was used throughout the community profile exercise and has served as reference for the interviews of the household survey. It also has defined the catchment area of institutions for the iddir organizational profile.

For each *Iddir* organizational profile (see annex C), interviews were carried out with the leadership, members, and non-members. Individual interviews were conducted with up to four leaders per primary *Iddir*. The interviews were a face-to-face. Focus group discussions were also carried out with members, with each group ideally having between 8-12 participants. Depending on the size and diversity of the group's membership one to four focus group discussions were conducted in all the survey localities.

3.4. Data Processing and Analysis

The data processing involved two important steps. The first step was to categories the individual and groups information and the second step was to allocate individual and groups answer to them. The set of coding frames covering all the information were extracted from the questionnaires. Another step of data processing was to enter collected information into the computer software programme (SPSS), and to obtain required output by running the programme. Multivariate analysis and descriptive statistics performed to analyze the groups and household data.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1. The Data and Study Area

The study area, Addis Ababa, is the capital of Ethiopia. It has about 2.7 million inhabitants (UNFPA, 2008), in its 10 sub-cities and 203 Kebeles. The data set for this paper came from the household survey and focus group discussions conducted in six ‘Villages’, selected purposefully based on the city slum and city frontier criteria from two Sub Cities. According to the Addis Ababa city planning unit, the city slum and frontier areas classified based on their precarious infrastructure, distance from the city center, the economic bases of the areas as well as housing and environmental conditions.

4.1.1. Household Data

The head of the *Iddir* member’s household were asked information about the performances of *Iddirs*, characteristics of *Iddir* centric local associations, iddir based economic groups; membership and roles in the different Iddir associations; perception of Social trust, participation in development work, conflict and confidence in *Iddirs* and participation in iddir driven collective action.

The total number of ACORD partner iddirs in the six villages amounts to 130, out of which 46 (35%) primary iddirs were selected for the survey. The number of primary *Iddirs* selected in a village varies from seven to six. Then, about 30% of the total members in a primary iddir were taken from each iddir as samples, with the minimum number for one *Iddir* was fixed at ten. While only 273 were reached by the survey and the remaining 27 were not available.

4.1.2. Social Capital Index

In this study, Principal Component Analysis (PCA) is used in building the social capital index for both city frontier and city slum communities of ACORD operational areas. This index was calculated to measure social capital at household level. The index constructed in this study is influenced by World Bank's multidisciplinary tools to understand and measure social capital (World Bank 200:41-84). Three structural and three cognitive indicators of social capital were chosen to build the index as defined below. The indicators are as follows:

Social Capital Indicator	Nature of indicators
Density and effectiveness of membership	Structural
Diversity of Membership	Structural
Participation in development work	Structural
Solidarity	Cognitive
Trust	Cognitive
Conflict and conflict Resolution	Cognitive

PCA was done to determine whether any underlying explanations/ relations exist and if exists, then to provide weights to the indicators. The PCA is a relevant choice for this purpose (Hjollund and Svendsen 2000:16). Structural social capital includes “rules, social networks, roles, procedures that facilitate mutually beneficial collective action by lowering transaction costs, coordinating efforts, creating expectations, making certain outcomes more probable (and) providing assurance about how others will act.” On the other hand, cognitive social capital means “norms, values, attitudes, and beliefs which create and reinforce positive interdependence of utility functions and which support mutually beneficial collective action.”

The indicators in the table above load highly onto a single common component which accounted for about 58.65 percent (Eigen Value 4.04) of the combined variance (Table 4.1.2). Therefore, the six separate variables can validly be combined into a single social capital index which can be used as an explanatory variable in multivariate analysis (World Bank 2002:57).

Table 4.1.2: Component Matrix of Social Capital Indicators and Factor Loading

Social Capital Indicators	Factor Loadings of Component 1
Density and effectiveness of membership	0.7234
Diversity of Membership	0.8012
Participation in development work	0.8456
Solidarity	0.6107
Trust	0.9002
Conflict and conflict Resolution (internal)	0.5234

4.1.3. Organizational Performance Index

It was mentioned in the chapter one that this study aims to see whether strong *Iddir* organizations are emerged in the communities where social capital is also high and whether community with high social capital (structural and cognitive) and strong iddir organizations are able to bring in development. In order to address this objective an index of Iddir community based organizations is obviously needed. This study uses the CBO performance Index constructed by Ahmad and Haque (2007) in their study on community based fisheries management in Bangladesh and community based water resource management in Zimbabwe. This index consists of seven broad indicators. The indicators include financial Management; legal and formal status, management and Daily Administration of Activities; staffing and human resource development; democratic practice and participation; communication Skill, and polity formulation.

The study customized the above seven CBOs performances indicators in the context of iddirs. Accordingly one performances indicator i.e policy formulation was replaced by voluntarism. Given the current status of *Iddirs* is not developed to engage in policy issues.

All the seven performance indicators show strong positive relation with the first component and the first component explained 73.12% of the variance within the observations. So, the iddir organization performance index is constructed on the basis of the first component.

Table 4.2.2: Component Matrix of Performance

Factor Loadings of Components		
Indicators	Component 1	Component 2
Financial Management	0.6412	0.4532
Legal and Formal Status	0.7240	0.4142
Management and Administration	0.7430	0.3125
Voluntarism	0.5320	0.6621
Democratic Practice and Participation	0.8742	0.4321
Communication	0.3421	0.4739
Eigen Values	3.8461	3.0123
% of Variance of Components	67.12	19.2034

The community *Iddir* is different from the formal definition of a community that assumes there is one identifiable community in any location and that there is a co-terminosity between natural (resource), social and administrative boundaries. Community *Iddir* is a social boundary that the very definition involves defining those who are 'members or included' in rights, activities, benefits and those who are excluded because they do not belong to the defined decision making entity.

At collective level those groups, organizations, networks, associational activities, services, bylaws, leaderships, governance structures, and social capitals which are not belong to *Iddir*. The self evidence of 'community *Iddir*' persist a considerable evidence of the overlapping, shifting and subjective nature of '*Iddir* communities' and the permeability of boundaries. Community *Iddir* has an overlapping structure with political administrations and run activities that overlap with social organizations and economic organizations.

A concentration on administrative boundaries highlights the need in development for clear administrative arrangements, more to do with the delivery of its goods and facilities for the entire communities than a reflection of any social arrangement. Researching community *iddir* organizations is different in nature, it became clear that the idea of an administratively defined community little reflects the wealth and complexity of *iddir* local networks of resource use,

decision making and social interaction. Thus whilst some iddir based facilities, services and resources are largely managed at *Iddir* council level and at mender or village level, decisions about watershed management, urban agriculture, slum upgrading, saving and credit management for instance involved a wider group of people from more than one mender. Under any single primary developmental *Iddir* there are a number of sub-organizations that make credit, communications, and information and energy sources directly available to their members and the entire communities in poor and frontier areas. The services and facilities of most developmental iddirs are not membership or constituency bounded, it is open to the entire village community. Funeral services are membership bounded services and provided by primary iddirs only.

Moreover, iddir connection is not limited to single community and location bounded. Individual households are connected through complex relationships of iddir centric associational activities (such as church membership, work place iddir, kinship, etc) and to networks of wider and overlapping 'iddir communities', often physically distant from the household location.

3.2.4. Urban Development Indicators

The third objective of this study was to investigate whether *Iddir*-centered social capital and CBOs performance translate into urban development performances. As a result, it was necessary for the study to identify the indicators of urban development. However, there is no well established indicator for urban development. In the light of that index this study selects sets of indicators of sustainable urban development that consider social, economic and environmental performance indicators relevant for the city slum and frontier realms of Addis. The concern in Addis Ababa today is both urban poverty reduction and urban development, which requires community level development performances indicators. Some of the indicators proposed for rural development are still relevant for city frontier areas.

However, no index was calculated with those indicators. Only descriptive analyses are provided in Section 4 of this paper. The relevant indicators of urban development used here are as follows:

- *Iddir* made Socio-economic infrastructures (road, bridge, grain mill, school, water,)
- HIV/AIDS care and support services

- Legal service provision and urban governances
- Gender issues
- Access to Savings and credit Services
- Democratic participation of members
- Higher level collective actions

4.2. Data Analysis and Findings

4.2.1. Social capital and CBOs Performances

Table 4.2.1: Social Capital and CBO Performance

Villages	Social Capital Index	CBO Performance Index
Kuas Meda	H	M
Ras Kassa Sefer	M	M
Chefe	H	H
Ketema- Limat	H	H
Tele- Ber	M	L
Legahar Sefer	L	L

Note: a value above 0.61 is high (H), between 0.26-0.60 is medium (M), and below 0.25 is low (L).

4.2.2 Social Capital and *Iddir* Made Socio-economic Infrastructure

An attempt was made to draw any relationship between social capital and socio-economic infrastructure. Accordingly, it is observed that there is significant variation of iddir made socio-economic infrastructure according to the stock of iddir based social capital (Table 4.2.1). The problem of grain mill, schools, bridge, feeder road and water services to urban slum and frontier areas is partly addressed through iddir's own structure. Thus, it is safe to conclude that iddir based social capital has high potential to address the socio-economic infrastructural needs of slum and poor communities. For example, from the survey it was found that the iddir owned primary school in Akaki offers education for 210 students (50:50) of which 15 students from the

poor households have got access to free educations. The *Iddir* school committees are devoting their time and energy to properly manage the learning and teaching processes as well as creating strong linkage with education bureau and the local administration. As can be seen from the table *Iddirs* in the study areas have engaged in number of local development activities such as feeder road, bridge and school construction and water and grain mill installation based on the priority needs of the community. They also are able to create linkages with GOs and NGOs to realize self- initiated community development projects and ensure strategic partnership for development.

Table 4.2.1: The Iddir Social Capital and Iddir Made Socio-economic Infrastructure

Village	Iddir formatted Social Capital Index	Iddir made social and economic infrastructures				
		Water (No)	Schools	Bridge (No)	Feeder road in kms	Grain mill (No)
Kuas Meda	H	-	-	1	4.5	3
Ras KassaSefer	M	1	-	1	3.5	1
Chefe	H	-	-	1	3	-
Ketema- Limat	H	1	-	0	2.5	2
Tele- Ber	M	-	1	0	1.5	-
Legahar Sefer	L	-	-	1	1	-

Sources: Own Survey results

4.2. 3 Social Capital and Iddir based HIV/AIDS Care and Support Services

HIV/AIDS related support and care service is a very important social service in Addis slum and frontier areas. It is one of the main indicators of community development in the context of Iddir. In this sub-section an attempt was made to focus on the relation between social capital and

HIV/AIDS related care and support services. It is evident from the table that villages endowed with high *Iddir* based social capital are also endowed with better HIV/AIDS care and support service status. Table 4.2.3 also describes three major indicators of HIV/AIDS care and support services, i.e. awareness rising, support Orphan and vulnerable children (OVC) and home based care for people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA). It is observed from the table that OVC and PLWHA have received better support in villages where there is high *Iddir* based social capital. This relation between social capital and HIV/AIDS service indicators can be explained that community with high social capital shares knowledge and information with each other more frequently than those with lower social capital. As a result, awareness level is higher in the communities with high capital which may contribute to low prevalence of HIV/AIDSs.

Table 4.2.3: Social Capital and Health Care

Village	Social Capital Index	HIV/AIDS awareness creation (No of people)	Support OVC (No)	Care and support
Kuas Meda	H	740	25	11
Ras Kassa Sefer	M	456	9	6
Chefe	H	955	190	33
Ketema- Limat	H	1050	22	18
Tele- Ber	M	600	7	5
Legahar Sefer	L	285	5	2

4.2. 4. Social Capital and Access to Finance

It is widely known that saving and credit services have almost become important services for ACORD partner iddirs. A significant number of urban slum and poor people, especially women are the main clients of these services. *Iddir* based SACCOs have contributed significantly to the self-employment generation activities resulting into rise of income and consumption of the participating households. Usually *Iddir* based SACCOs operate credit system by using the existing social capital as collateral which has important implication in transforming into development performances. This study has tried to capture the relation between social capital

and access to savings and credit. It became evident from the study that there is a strong positive relation between access to savings and credit and social capital. On the other hand, it was found that credit defaulter rate and the percentage of non-regular savers is higher in the villages where the stock of social capital is low (see table Table 4.2.4).

Table 4.2.4: Social Capital and Access to Iddir based Savings and Credit Services

Village	Social Capital Index	Access to Credit (Percentage of iddir member Households)	Defaulter of credit (Percentage of iddir member Households)	Members who continuously saved in the past one year (Percentage of SACCOs members)
Kuas Meda	H	95	1	4
Ras Kassa Sefer	M	87	4	12
Chefe	H	91	2	7
Ketema- Limat	H	82	3	13
Tele- Ber	M	43	5	33
Legahar Sefer	L	68	9	32

4.2.5 Social Capital and Members Participation in Key decisions

Proponents of social capital claims that in the communities where the stock of social capital is higher, participation in key decisions will also be higher and more community members are involved actively in a larger range of development decision making processes. This study also tries to observe the relation between social capital and participation in key *Iddirs* decisions such as determination of loan size, credit repayment period and development contribution. This study revealed that *Iddir* members participation in key decision making processes vary with the stock of social capital. Percentage of member's participation in key decision area is much higher in the villages where the stock of social capital is higher than those endowed with lower stock of social capital (Table 4.2.5).

Table 4.2.5: Social Capital and Members Participation in key decisions

Key Decision making Areas in Sample Iddirs				
<i>Village</i>	Social Capital Index	Loan size determination	Size of development contributions	Credit repayment period
Kuas Meda	H	H	H	H
Ras Kassa Sefer	M	M	H	H
Chefe	H	H	H	H
Ketema- Limat	H	H	M	M
Tele- Ber	M	H	M	L
Legahar Sefer	L	M	L	M

Note: High (H) represent very good participation, medium (M) average level of participation and Low (L) reflects low level of participation in key decision making areas..

4.2.6. Social Capital and Gender Issues

Gender issues are important indicators of community development, particularly for community iddirs. It was found in this study that social capital has its positive role in gender related issues. It was found that in the villages with high women *Iddir* based social capital play strong role in bringing positive change in gender relation and increasing the participation of women CBOs in development endeavor.

Table 4. 2. 6: Social Capital and Gender Issues

Village	Social Capital Index	Awareness creation on gender issues(No of people)	Women iddirs engaged in development activities (No of women iddirs)
Kuas Meda	H	122	7
Ras Kassa Sefer	M	97	5
Chefe	H	102	8
Ketema- Limat	H	93	4
Tele- Ber	M	54	2
Legahar Sefer	L	23	1

4.3. Social Capital and Higher Level Collective Actions

This section answers the objectives about the relationship between higher level iddir social capital, CBO performance and collective actions. It presents the evidences of the significant higher level collective actions (iddir council level) taken place in the communities under the study. This part is written on the basis of the FGDs done in the councils, ACORD's practical experience with CBO councils and researcher observation. There are ranges of collective actions performed by the councils on behalf of their members in the study area. However, in this study selected collective actions that occurred in the recent past are compiled here: legal service provision. Support for elderly and urban governances on behalf of primary iddir members see table 4.3.1. Although it is not easy to map the relation among the three variables at the level of the council there are plenty of evidence that demonstrate the role of the councils in terms of creating a conducive legal environment, creating linkages with government and other actors and providing service that can be better deliver at the council such as provision of legal aid, information on policy issues and support to vulnerable groups.

Social capital Here mainly the incidents happened in the sub-city communities with high social capital are included because in the communities with low stock of social capital, collective action was hardly found to take place.

Table 4.3.1A: Legal Aid services to women and men community groups by Iddirs council in Yeka and Akaki sub-city in 2013.

#	Iddir council	Type of cases	Iddir served beneficiaries in the past 24 months		
			Female	Male	Total
1	Yeka –sub city Wereda01/02 Addis Fana Iddirs association	Divorce cases	36	36	72
		Writing court briefs	414	138	552
		Property Inheritance	24	12	36
		Mediation of spouses	103	56	159
		Rape cases	20	-	20
		Physical assault	120		120
		Raising children out of wedlock	52	-	52
		Refusal of expenses to contribute to household expenses	64	-	64
		Kicked out of residence	256	-	256
		Total	1089	242	1331
2.	Akaki Kaliti Rai Iddirs council Wereda 02/03	Writing court briefs to social courts and primary courts	488	113	601
		Advisory and counseling services to spouses	327	327	654
		Physical assault	89	-	89
		Rape cases	4	-	4
		Valuation and identification of properties (post divorce)	232	232	464
		Refusal of expenses to contribute to household expenses	116	-	116
		Kicked out of residence	68	-	68
		Total	1324	672	1996

Table 4.3.1B: Activities performed by Iddir councils, in Yeka and Akaki sub-cities to raise awareness of their members and community.

#	Topic of training/workshop	Participants		
		Female	Male	Total
1	Sexual and Gender based Violence	59	32	91
2	Governance	18	79	107
3	Human rights	64	24	84
4	Dialogue on basic rights	21	75	96
5	Child rights policy	54	37	91
6	Gender in leadership and decision making	203	81	204
7	Rights based development approach	86	60	146
	Total	505	328	833

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to address pertinent issues related to identifying and analyzing social capital of *Iddir*, performance of *Iddir* based organizations and assesses the relation among social capital and development performances of higher level *Iddir* associations and examines implication on policy matters. Responding to these issues help to use the accumulated social capital in burial societies and transform it into development performances for community development.

The researcher has used household survey and qualitative research method to examine the stock of social capital in selected neighborhoods in Addis Ababa and analyzed the level of performance at household level and its impact on community development and collective action. poor households used household survey and qualitative research methods, and CBOs, in selected poor-neighborhoods in Addis Ababa to analyze the level of social capital at the household level and its impact on community development and household wellbeing. The multivariate analysis indicated that the extent to which a household can engage in locally oriented community development rest on the level of social capital and degree of CBOs performances. Our findings provide new insights into prevailing theories of social organization. First, contrary to the image of slum and poor and localities as socially isolated individuals, the results indicate that members of *iddirs* and residents of poor and frontier localities respond to adverse socio-economic and ecological conditions through actions intended to alleviate community problems and getting involved in community development. Moreover, members of *iddirs* and residents of poor localities also tend to have strong personal networks both formally in terms of membership in local associations and informally connecting them to friends and neighbors in their localities. Second, the findings suggest that high level of social capital appear to function as signals of community capacity that motivate residents to become engaged in community developments. In this study it is noted, however, that these inferences are based on cross-sectional data, and that further research is needed on the connection between poor localities contexts and community

development, preferably using longitudinal data that can link individuals' perceptions of their CBOs, localities conditions to their subsequent participation in collective actions.

The result of the study has significant impact for NGOs and government bodies to use capacity and resources of community to address development problems. It is the belief of the researcher that the approach will provide a useful understanding to address the issue of urban poverty and vulnerability. The input of this approach is it gives unique tool to analyze the commonly used community development approaches and guide social workers, practitioners, policy makers and researchers to design schemes to explore the resources in the *Iddir* community and facilitate development programs.

It is evident from the study that there is a strong relation between social capital and the performance of *Iddirs*. Community *Iddir* in city slum and city frontier areas have strong social capital and strong social capital are also strongly associated with well performing primary *Iddirs* and collective actions are more likely to take place in these communities. From this study, it can be commented that if social capital acts like an engine then *iddir* are the drivers for collective actions and development. From the quantitative analysis it can be said that social capital and *iddirs*'s performance may not ensure the development of physical infrastructure as such however it significantly influences to achieve social indicators like health services, better participation, gender equality, education attainment, access to credit, inclusiveness, community harmony etc.

5.2. Recommendations

From the findings of the study above it is safe to recommend that policies, strategies and programs for urban development in Ethiopia should recognize *Iddir* based relation as social capital and the potential roles community *iddir* organizations can play in city governance and broad-based community development.

Development agencies that attempt to foster *iddir* based community development can make their efforts more effective by taking the democratic practices with in *Iddirs* as a working model to upgrade and transform social capital into development performance. Unlike other types of

community, community *Iddir* has democratic leadership and governance culture and membership is open for all. Most community iddirs that are not engaged in development activities have been applying representational democracy .All members have the right to elect their leaders and make them accountable to their rights to get access to funeral services. The role of the *Iddirs* leader is preferred to act towards developing civic agencies that contribute for the betterment of the whole community. The role of the government and external actors should be play a catalyst role and facilitate technical and financial investment to bring the desired changes.

However, this process takes time and a “blue print” model may not work in all cases. Instead, it should be treated as an “evolutionary process”. In the past, the great potential (social wealth) of *Iddir* members or people’s participation was not generally given enough thought. Participation of *Iddis* has been limited to financial contribution for the top-down development planning, which makes them passive and symbolic representation. Therefore Interactive participation and planned mobilization of social capital should be the practice.

For organizations interested to work with women *Iddirs* it is important to note that many of the women *Iddirs* do not possess the strength to participate actively in local community development. Strengthening their social capital for collective action will help them benefit from the process of urbanization. To achieve sustainability, it is necessary to facilitate and institutionalize a process through which community women iddirs themselves would evolve local organizations to satisfy their own local needs.

As a prerequisite for accumulation and the effective mobilization of community iddir’s social capital for community development, “improving or upgrading” the human capital is crucial. Developing skills of the individuals in a given burial community will enhance the quality and quantity of the output of social capital such as the collective action. Moreover, many other problems may occur due to unplanned and *ad hoc* formation of community iddir organizations in a “rush”. These may include domination by few influential people working for conflicting interest or exclude the members from decision making spheres.

References

Ahmad, A. and A.K. Haque (2007). NGOs, CBOs and social capital – A study of Community-Based Fisheries Management in Bangladesh, Discussion paper, Lund University School of Economics and Management workshop in March 2007.

Alemayehu, S. (1968). Iddir in Addis Ababa: A Sociological Study. Ethiopia Observer. Vol. 12, no. 1.

Berner, E. & Rüdiger K. (1995). Globalization and local resistance: the creation of localities in Manila and Bangkok. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 19, 208–22.

Bhattacharayya, J. Solidarity and Agency: Rethinking Community Development, Human organization. Volume 54, 60- 69.

Biddle, W. (1966) The "Fuzziness" of Definition of Community Development, Community. Development Journal, 1, 5-12.

Christenson, J.A. & Robinson, W. (Eds.). (1989). Community Development in Perspective. Iowa City, IA: Iowa State University Press.

Coleman, J. (1988). "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital' American Journal of Sociology 94: S95-S120.

Das Gupta, M., Grandvoinet, H. & Romani, M. (2003). Fostering community-driven development: What role for the state. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 2969.

Dejene, A. (2003). Iddir: A Look as a form of Social Capital in A. Pankhurst (ed.) Iddirs: Participation and Development. Proceedings of the Ethiopian National Conference ACORD. Addis Ababa.

Denise, P.S. & J.R Harris (1999). *Experiential Education for Community Development*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Dordick, G. (1997). *Something Left to Lose: Personal Relations and Survival among New York's Homeless Philadelphia*, PA: Temple University Press.

Giddens, A. (1994). *The constitution of society*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Hjøllund, L., Svendsen, G. (2000). "Social Capital: A Standard Method of Measurement," Working Papers 00-9, Department of Economics, Aarhus School of Business

Levine, N. D. (1965). *Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mulwa, Francis W. and Mala, Strapola, (2000), *Management of Community Based Organizations*. Nairobi: Premese Olivex Publishers.

Narayan, D, and Sahel, T. (1999). "Gender Inequity, Poverty and Social Capital" Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Nayaran, D. & Pritchett, L. (1997). *Cents and Sociability: Household Income and Social Capital in Rural Tanzania*. Washington DC: World Bank. World Bank Research Working Paper No. 1796.

Jones, S. & Nelson, N. (Ed). (1999). *Urban Poverty in Africa: from understanding to alleviation*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Narayan, D. (1995). *Designing Community-Based Development*, World Bank, Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development Network. Washington, D.C: Social Development Paper 7.

Narayan, D. (1999). *Bond and Bridges: Social Capital and Poverty*. Washington, DC: World Bank. Working Paper No.2167.

Narayan, N. and David. N. (1996). "Learning from the Poor: A Participatory Poverty Assessment in Kenya" Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Ostrom, E. (1998). A behavioral approach to the rational choice theory of community development. *American Political Science Review*, 92, 1-2.

Pankhurst, A. and Damen, H. (2000). The Iddir in Ethiopia: Historical Development, Social Function, and Potential Role in HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control. *Northeast African Studies*. Vol. 7, No. 2, pp 35-58.

Pankhurst, A. (2003). The Role and Space of Iddirs to Participate in the Development of Ethiopia in A. Pankhurst (ed.) *Iddirs: Participation and Development*. Proceedings of the Ethiopian National Conference. ACORD. Addis Ababa: CPP.

Pankhurst, R. and Endreas, E. (1958). Self-help in Ethiopia. *Ethiopia Observer* vol. II. No,11.

Parisi, D., Grice, M.S., Taquino, M., & Gill, A.D. (2002). Building capacity for community development for economic development in Mississippi. *Journal of the Community Development Society*, 33, 19-38.

Portes, A. (1998). "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Contemporary Sociology" *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 1-24.

Portes, A., Landolt, P. (1996). "The Downside of Social Capital" *The American Prospect* 26 (May-June): 18-21, 94

Putnam, R.(1993a). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Rubio, M. (1997). "Perverse Social Capital—Some Evidence from Colombia" *Journal of Economic Issues* 31(3): 805-16.

Rudd, M. A. (2000). Live Long and Prosper: Community development, Social Capital and Social Vision. *Ecological Economics*, 34, 131-144.

Samson, K. (2004). *Social Capital for Synergic Partnership: Development of poor Localities in Urban Ethiopia*. Gottingen: Cuvillier Verlag.

Samson, K. (2008). *Urban Poverty in Ethiopia: Problems and Prospects for Improvements*. *Journal of African Development Studies*, 1, 104 -134.

Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, F. (1997). *Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy*. *Science*, 277, 918-924.

Spicker, P. (2001). *Poor areas and the ecological fallacy*. *Radstats Journal*, 76.

Stone, L. (1998). *Cultural Crossroads of Community Participation in Development: A Case from Nepal*. *Human Organization*, 48, 206-213.

Thomson, R.J. & Posel, D.B. 2002. *Burial societies in South Africa: a movement at the crossroads*. *South African Actuarial Journal*, 2: 83-128. Cape Town: Actuarial Society of South Africa.

World Bank (1989). *Staff Appraisal Report, Rwanda, Agricultural Services Project*. Agricultural Operations Division, South-Central and Indian Ocean Department, Africa Region. Report No. 7599-RW, May 8. rld Bank 1989.

World Bank (2002), *Social Capital: From Definition to Measurement, Understanding and Measuring Social Capital: A Multi Disciplinary Tool for practitioners*, Washington DC: The World Bank.

Verhoef, G. 2001. *Community incentives for survival: the case of African women and stokvels in urban African communities, 1930-1998*. *Enterprise and Society*, 2(2): 259-296.

Annex A: Questionnaire

A.1 Organizational Profile interview guide

1. Organizational identity

1.1 name of CBO/Iddir

1.2 Type of Iddir

1.3 Membership size Female-----Male----- Total-----

1.4 Location: City-----sub-city-----Wereda-----Village-----

2. Leaders interview guide

A. Origin and development

2A.1 how was your Iddir established

2A.2 In what kind of activities the Iddir is involved

2A.3 In what ways the Iddir changed its structures and purposes

What is the main purpose of the Iddir Currently?

2A.4 what sort help has received from outsiders

What type?-----,-----,-----

2. B Membership

2B.1 What type of people are involved

2B.2 is there a condition to be a member?

2B.3 Are members contribute to the Iddir?

2B.4 Are members of the CBO/Iddir are also members of other CBO?

3. Institutional Capacity

3C.1 How would you explain the quality of leadership of this Iddir in terms of

- Stability
- Number/division of role
- Quality and skills of leaders
- Collaboration with others

3C.2 How would you characterize the quality of participation

- Attendance in meeting
- Decision making
- Consultation process
- Debate (e,g opposing ideas)
- Women participation, young, disabled, PLHA
- Involving elites or illiterates

2C.3 How do you explain the organizational culture of the CBO?

- Existence of bylaw
- Application of procedures
- Revision of bylaws
- Is there mechanism for conflict resolution
- What is the nature of the conflict

2C.4 How would you explain the Iddirs capacity in carrying out of specialized activities?

- Credit fund
- Infrastructure development
- Support to vulnerable
- Legal support
- Financial management
- Planning

2D. Institutional linkage

2D.1 How would you characterize your CBO/Iddir relationship with other Iddirs

2D.2 Do you have links with organizations outside the village? If yes with which ones? What is the nature of the links?

2D.3 Have you worked with other organizations to achieve mutual goal?

2D.4 Do you have link with government? Have you get assistance?

2D.5 Is your Iddir linked to any government program?

What sort of roles does your Iddir play?

2D.6 Do you feel you are sufficiently informed about government programs and activities? What are your sources of information?

2D.7 Have you tried to give inputs to government? In what circumstances? What kinds of challenges faced?

2D.8 Has your Iddir participated in development plan of government? What do you think about the planning mechanisms?

3. MEMBERS INTERVIEW GUIDE

3A. Organizational History and Structure

3A.1 How did this group start?

3A.2 Who have been the leaders of this group? Who are the leaders now? How and why did the leadership change over time? What are the qualities of leadership?

3A.3 Why did you decide to join this group? What kinds of benefits do you get by being a member of this group?

3A.4 How are the leaders of this organization selected? How are decisions made? To what extent do you feel the Iddir represents your concerns to the outside world and to the government?

3A.5 Why are some people not members of this organization?

3A.6 How do you feel this Iddir complements, replaces, or competes with government institutions' activities in the community?

3A.7 How do you feel this organization complements, replaces, or competes with nongovernmental institutions' activities in the community?

3A.8 What would you do to make this organization more effective?

3B. Institutional Capacity

3B.1 How would you characterize the quality of leadership of this organization, in terms of...

- Stability?
- Number of leaders/availability?
- Diversity/heterogeneity of leadership?
- Quality and skills of leaders?
- Relationship of leaders to staff and to the community?

3B.2 How would you characterize the quality of participation in this Iddir, in terms of...

- Attendance at meetings, both internal to the Iddir and externally with other organizations?
- Participation in decision making within the Iddir?
- Dissemination of relevant information prior to the decision?
- Informal opportunities to discuss the decision?
- Consultation processes with base Iddir or with the community?
- Broad debate, including opposition positions, and honesty?
- Dissemination of the results of the decision making process?
- The number of women, young people, poor people in the Iddir and who occupy positions of responsibility in the Iddir?
- Whether any groups within the community feel excluded from the Iddir? What groups are they?
- The level of participation of more prosperous families (elites) in the Iddir?

- Whether elites are sympathetic, supportive, interfering, adversarial, or negative influences?

3B.3 How would you characterize the organization a culture of this Iddir, in terms of...

- The existence and level of knowledge of procedures and policies?
- Whether the procedures and policies are carried out? Whether there are problems with nonattendance at meetings, theft of property or supplies?
- Conflict resolution mechanisms, both within the community and within the Iddir?
- The nature of conflicts between the Iddir and community members?

3B.4 How would you characterize the organizational capacity of this Iddir, in terms of...

- Carrying out specialized activities (e.g., credit, commercialization)?
- Preparing financial reports for banks, donors, and government?
- Reacting to changing circumstances (e.g., price fluctuations, change in government)?
- Developing specific plans for the future (instead of reacting to opportunities as they present themselves)?
- Reflecting on and learning from previous experiences?

4B.4 What is your view about how the organization deals with government? (For example, does kinship or party affiliation play a role in determining the relationship?)

4B.5 What is your view about how the organization deals with other organizations that work in the village/neighborhood?

Thank you for giving me Your time !

A.2 Guiding Check list for Collective Action

Collective Action of Iddir

Name of the Iddir

Location: Sub-city-----Wereda-----Village -----

Membership size F-----M-----

Year of Establishment

Name of Respondent (s)

Position in the Iddir

1. Iddirs institutional capacity

- 1.1 Do the Iddir have leadership structure?
- 1.2 How do you elect leaders?
- 1.3 Is there a fixed term of leadership?
- 1.4 Do the Iddir have book of accounts?
- 1.5 Is there bank account?
- 1.6 What types of assets are available?
- 1.7 Who manages the resources?
- 1.8 Is there a bylaw?
- 1.9 Is it revised periodically?
- 1.10 Is there a change occurred to reform the burial ceremony?

2. Social capital and Democratic Participation

- 2.1 Is there adequate understanding about participation?
- 2.1 In what types of Issues members participate?
- 2.3 Was there occasion members proposed agenda for a meeting?
- 2.4 Do members know about their rights to participate in decision making?
- 2.5 Do women participate in leadership and decision making?
- 2.6 Do you think women have hindrance to participate in leadership and decision making?
- 2.7 Is there a chance to Iddir members to participate in a meeting organized by government?

2.8 Do the Iddir involve in local development?

2.9 Who are preferred to be leaders of Iddirs (Poor, rich, aged, elite...)

3. Social Capital and Gender issues

3.1 Do the Iddir is taking part in rights issue?

3.2 Is there understanding about women's rights policy?

3.3 Was there a chance to create awareness about women's rights?

3.4 Is there any kind of support to women related to legal matters?

3.5 Is there a support to women Iddirs to participate in development program?

3.5 Is there financial access to women CBOs to facilitate participation of women in IGAs?

3.6 Do women participate in political voting?

4. Social capital and Infrastructure

4.1 Does the Iddir participate in local development?

4.2 What kinds of Infrastructure projects implemented by mere Initiative of Iddirs?

4.3 Do members contribute voluntarily to the projects?

4.4 In what form members are contributing or involved?

4.5 What changes have brought by the Iddir

4.6 How do you explain the interests of members?

5. Social Capital and HIV/ AIDS

5.1 Is there any kind of awareness creation activity performed by the Iddir?

5.2 Is there a support at time of sickness of members?

5.3 What kind of support is available?

5.4 Is there a support to OVCs?

5.6 Is there HBC service for bed ridden patients?

5.7 Do Iddirs encourage members to use VCT service?

6. Access to Finance

6.1 Is there access to credit for members?

6.2 Who manages the scheme? (If available)

6.3 How did you get the seed capital?

6.4 Is there members contribution?

6.5 What is the maximum loan size?

6.6 Do members pay loan timely?

6.7 Is there saving by members?

6.8 Is there increase in the group fund?

6.9 Do members save regularly?

7. Institutional Networks and Organizational density

7.1 Which organizations are working together?

7.2 How do they work together?

7.3 Are there organizations working against each other?

7.8 Is there a possibility of sharing resources?

7.9 Is there similarity of members in the organizations?

7.10 Is there a tradition of sharing good practices?

8. Solidarity

8.1 Is there a culture of addressing issues faced by the community?

8.2 What kinds of Issues are addressed in the past years?

8.3 Have there been efforts by the Iddirs to improve the quality life of community/members?

8.4 Were there community groups played important roles?

8.5 What kind of support is received from other organizations?

8.6 Was this action successful?

8.7 Was there incidence of failure to implement community initiative? If failed why?

9. Inclusiveness

9.1 In the last three meetings what has been the level of participation of women inthe Iddirs

Active-----Moderate-----Little-----None

9.2 In comparison in earlier meeting was this level of participation more or less the same

More-----less-----same

9.3 To what degree the Idir truly represent its members

Highly, representative

Some what representative

Slightly

Not at all

29.4 To what degree the rich/elites attend meetings

High-----Moderate-----Low

Thank you for your cooperation!

Annex B. List of Iddirs contacted for the study

No	Name of CBOs	Sub-city		Year of Establishment (GC)	Membership		Total	Financial capital 1USD = 19.5Eth.Birr
		Woreda	Specific Location		Female	Male		
1	Kokeb	Yeka	Ras kassa sefer	1985	32		32	62,638
2	Selam	''	Ras kassa sefer	1983	33	1	34	81,670
3	Nib	''	Ras kassa sefer	1987	60	4	64	116,107
4	Edget	''	Ras Kassa sefer	1982	34	1	35	93,473
5	Setoch Hibret	''	Ras kassa sefer	1992	30	2	32	72,247
6	Hibret Lefre	''	Ras kassa sefer	1990	25	11	36	171,821
7	Betsebe	''	Ras kassa sefer	1983	33	11	44	85,797
8	Koba	''	'Chefe	1993	33	-	33	62,849
9	Hibrert Beandnet	''	Chefe	1983	22	27	49	121,099
10	Selam sefer kuter 2	''	Chefe	1994	21	-	21	67,015
11	Tiru Minch	''	Chefe	1986	22	-	22	61,516
12	Fikre selam	''	'chefe	1991	24	-	24	56,139
13	Tesfachen	''	Chefe	1993	28	2	30	72,408
14	KesteDemena	''	Chefe	1987	39	6	45	102,676
15	Ehtemamachoch	''	Kuas meda	1992	28	1	29	59,303
16	Gurbetna	''	Kas meda	1994	29	11	40	70,539
17	Selam sefer wondoch	''	Kuas meda	1981	14	68	82	198,618
18	Edget Beandnet	''	Kuas meda	1973	28	46	74	152,553
19	Edget Behibret	''	Kuas meda	1979	7	14	21	Not willing
20	Selasie Lematawi Iddir	''	Ketema limat	2011	60	38	98	15,000
21	Tele Ber Meredaja Iddir	''	Tele Ber	1991	40	80	120	8,000
22	Fikre Selam Meredaja Iddir	''	Legehar sefer	1998	30	40	70	27,000
23	Medertore mastenageja yesetoh iddir	''	Ketema Limat	1993	76	-	76	10,000

24	Maste Beruh Tesfa yesetoch Iddir	“	Ketema limat	2009	36	-	36	40,000
25	Chole GenetMeredaj	“	Leghar sefer	1975	113	127	240	15,000
26	Kidus Gebriel meredaja iddir kuter 4	“	Legehar sefer	2000	115	105	120	35,000
27	Ketema lemat meredaja iddir	“	Ketema limat	2005	7	44	51	25,000
28	Yetulu Dimtu Mahebere Kahnat	“	Tele ber	2012	1	37	38	5,000
29	Ketena 3 meredaja Iddir	“	Tele ber	1988	68	144	224	15,000
30	Tewodros Tefenakayoch iddir	“	Ketema limat	1995	20	8	28	
31	Yekedmo meder tor mastenageja	“	Teleber	1992	70	40	110	20,000
32	Wetatoch leandnet meredaja iddir	“	Tele ber	1995	25	98	13	38,000
33	Yemelka Shene Kidus Gebriel	Akaki Kaliti	Legehar sefer	1978	35	91	126	587,843
34	Melkashene K/Michael	“	Legehar sefer	1980	26	63	89	135,615
35	Kidus gebriel yesetoch	“	Ketema limat	1992	19	1	20	29,891
36	Abat turetegna	“	Leghar sefer	1994	11	14	25	50,463
37	Kidus Giorgis yesetoch	“	Legehar sefer	1991	14	-	14	16,384
38	Yeselale Iddir	“	Leghar sefer	1984	29	40	69	107,893
39	Legehar Iddir	“	legehar	1987	22	35	57	182,682
40	Seden sodo	“	Babut Tabis	1984	21	44	65	122,841
41	Mahdere Mariam	“	Tele ber	1991	16	6	22	31,915
42	C-Zone	“	legehar	1989	25	21	46	52,371
43	Selale Tewelajoch	“	Tele ber	1984	5	21	26	81,224
44	Kidus Selassie	“	Legehar sefer	1981	5	37	42	60,698
45	Geshen Mariam	“	Legehar sefer	1988	10	21	31	45,555
46	Yetulu dimtu Mahber		Tele ber	2012	1	37	38	5,000