

Helpdesk Research Report: Development Assistance and Social Capital

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Query: What evidence exists of the impact of development programmes on social capital (bonding and bridging social capital) across ethnic and tribal boundaries in Southern Sudan and Central and East Africa more widely?

Enquirer: DFID Sudan

Contents

1. Overview
2. General literature
3. Education
4. Cash transfers
5. Micro-finance
6. Participatory, community approaches
7. Additional information

1. Overview

Definitions

Social capital as defined by Putnam refers to 'features of social life - networks, norms and trust - that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives' (see Sabatini, 2005, p. 160). It is important to distinguish between bonding and bridging capital: 'Bonding capital refers to exclusive solidarity based on ethnicity, religion, cast or class; [whereas] bridging capital refers to inclusive solidarity, uniting people from different backgrounds' (Woolcock and Narayan, cited in Vervisch and Titeca, 2010 p. 487). Literature on conflict-affected and fragile contexts is focused primarily on transforming bonding social capital into bridging social capital.

A related concept is 'social cohesion', defined as 'behaviour and attitudes within a community that reflects a propensity of community members to cooperate' (King et al., 2010, p. 337). Although the terms 'social capital' and 'social cohesion' are often used interchangeably, they can be differentiated: Social capital is often seen as 'an individual-level asset that enables cooperation', whereas social cohesion refers to attributes of groups and 'patterns of cooperation directly, rather than the assets that may give rise to them', (King et al., 2010, p. 338).

Impact of development assistance on social capital

Most studies on social capital examine the impact of social capital variables on particular development outcomes. There are few studies that provide evidence of the impact of development assistance on social capital, and even less that focus specifically on Sudan and more widely on Central and East Africa.

A common theme among the available studies from the regions is the importance of assessing and mobilizing existing resources of social capital, such as established networks and informal methods of cooperation (Skovdal et al., 2008; Weihe, 2004; Gobezie, 2010; Vervisch and Titeca, 2010). Instead, attempts to develop new resources of social capital may result in the rushed formation of groups with

people who have little connection with one another. This can result in unsustainable groupings and organisations that remain exogenous to local communities. They can also crowd out traditional mutual support networks and diminish local dynamics of mobilisation. Vervisch and Titeca caution however that mapping groupings and organisations onto local endowments of social capital can be problematic where there is a history of exclusive, vertical patron-client relations. In Burundi, community associations in some instances suffered from elite capture. While they were successful at bridging people from different ethnic groups, they created economic exclusion and tension along these lines.

Sudan

In Sudan, the establishment of participatory, local development committees was found to have had a positive impact on social capital. They strengthened self-help capacity and increased the ability of local organisations to exploit potential economic opportunities and to develop stronger links with the markets and external partners (IFAD, 2010). The provision of micro-finance in Southern Sudan through savings and lending groups also contributed to social capital formation. Group work and shared learning contributed to a sense of cohesion. In addition, the involvement of faith-based agencies in implementation played an important role in the group cohesion process by promoting principles and values concerning peace, unity and oneness (Ndiku, 2006).

Central and East Africa

The formation of cooperatives and the strengthening of credit unions in Rwanda also had a positive impact on bridging social capital. Credit union administration integrates different ethnicities and surveys indicated that credit union members exhibited higher levels of trust working in groups than non-members (Weihe, 2004). In Ethiopia, micro-finance programmes for women seemed to have positive impacts at the individual, enterprise and household levels. Women reported improvements in their relationships with their husbands and receiving an increased level of respect. At the community level, however, participation in micro-finance resulted in a decline in social capital in Muslim communities, where local religious leaders considered such services to be forbidden. Women who chose to participate in them were excluded from participating in traditional social ceremonies (Gobezie, 2010).

Several studies have been done on various forms of development assistance and their impact on social capital in Kenya. One study found that development funding had neither a positive nor negative effect on social capital despite the explicit goal of these programmes (support to women's groups and block grants to primary schools) to increase social capital. Instead, the programme which did not have a specific goal to increase social capital (funding for textbooks) had the most positive impact on school social capital and formation. The study concludes that social capital is not easily created and external efforts through funding and policy may be limited (Gugerty and Kremer, 2000). A more recent study on cash transfer programmes in Kenya, aimed at assisting children orphaned by HIV/AIDS and their carers finds that transfers contributed indirectly to networking and the formation of social capital among adult caregivers and among orphans. Participants indicated a higher level of empowerment and greater sense of unity and willingness to work together (Skovdal et al., 2008). Another study found that cash transfers appear to strengthen the social networks and social capital of participant households. The additional resources enabled recipients to participate in community events, share food and borrow when necessary, which contributes to building trust and community (Ressler, 2008).

The literature cautions that rigid cut-off points in cash transfers, such as the 10 per cent rule in Kenya, can inadvertently create social tensions and divisions. Such restrictions are based on small variations in circumstance that ordinary people do not perceive as real differences (Ellis, 2008).

Sub-Saharan Africa

A review on the impact of community-driven development and curriculum interventions in Sub-Saharan Africa found weakly positive impacts of the interventions on social cohesion outcomes: 'only for one measure of trust in community members is there a replicated positive effect. In a measure of inter-group relations, there is a replicated negative effect. Otherwise, the evidence consists of a set of one-off estimates whose generality cannot be assessed. [In addition], all studies contained within

them some combination of positive, negative and null findings' (King et al., 2010, p. 365). A study on community-driven reconstruction in Liberia found evidence from surveys and behavioural measures that the programmes reduced social tension, increased the inclusion of marginalised group, and improved levels of social cooperation and support for democratic decision-making (Fearon et al, 2009).

Measurements of social capital

The level of social capital has been measured in studies through various characteristics and indicators. These include:

- Organisational structure
- Solidarity of the groups and willingness to work together
- Labour and time commitment of members to the group/organisation, including their mutual assistance activities
- Strength of the group/organisation's external ties (Gugerty and Kremer, 2000)
- Collective capacity and negotiation skills of participants
- Participation in social and cultural ceremonies and events (Gobezie, 2010; Ressler, 2008)
- Extent to which participants are empowered to make their voices heard, influence policymaking and the extent to which they can access social services (IFAD, 2010)
- Number of community associations and number of households participation in community life (see Vervisch and Titeca, 2010)

The literature highlights various difficulties with measuring social capital:

- There is no single, universal definition or method of measurement for social capital (Sabatini, 2005).
- The use of diverse definitions and indicators makes general assessments and comparisons difficult (Sabatini, 2005). At the same time, it is difficult to reduce highly contextual attitudes and behaviours that rely on abstract concepts into a few dimensions that can be comparable across contexts (King et al., 2010).
- The use of measures of 'social trust' results in reliance on indicators that have lost their linkage with the broader context and social and historical circumstances in which attitudes are created or determined.
- The use of 'indirect' indicators such as crime rates, blood donation, newspaper readers etc. can be misleading and confuses what social capital *is* with *outcomes*.
- Relying on a single dimension of social capital is insufficient and unrepresentative of the whole concept (Sabatini, 2005). It is likely that some indicators of social capital and social cohesion are substitutes, in that some measures go up while others go down (King et al., 2010)
- Indicators cannot be reduced to the number of associations or other community organisations. Despite the strong belief that such organisations result in the formation of social capital and a decrease in community conflict, this is not necessarily the case (Vervisch and Titeca, 2010)

It is important to pay attention to the multidimensional nature of social capital and to establish protocols for multiple outcome measures (Sabatini, 2005; King et al., 2010). There is also a need to engage in causal chain analysis (King et al, 2010). 'Indirect' indicators and measures of trust should be avoided. Instead, it may be preferable to focus on 'social networks' in order to achieve robust analysis (Sabatini, 2005).

2. General literature

Sabatini, F., 2005, 'The Empirics of Social Capital and Economic Development: A Critical Perspective', MPRA Paper, no. 2366, Munich Personal RePEc Archive
http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/2366/1/MPRA_paper_2366.pdf

This chapter introduces the concept of social capital and reviews the empirical literature on social capital and economic development. Social capital as defined by Putnam refers to 'features of social life - networks, norms and trust - that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue

shared objectives' (p. 160). The chapter identifies six main weaknesses of empirical studies in their attempts to measure social capital:

- There is no single, universal definition or method of measurement for social capital.
- The use of diverse definitions and indicators makes general assessments and comparisons difficult.
- The use of measures of 'social trust' results in reliance on indicators that have lost their linkage with the broader context and social and historical circumstances in which attitudes are created or determined.
- The use of 'indirect' indicators such as crime rates, blood donation, newspaper readers etc. can be misleading and confuses what social capital *is* with *outcomes*.
- Relying on a single dimension of social capital is insufficient and unrepresentative of the whole concept.

The chapter recommends that more attention is paid to the multidimensional nature of social capital; and that efforts are made to distinguish between effects on 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital. In addition, 'indirect' indicators and measures of trust should be avoided. Instead, it may be preferable to focus on 'social networks' in order to achieve robust analysis.

King, E., Samii, C., Snilstveit, B., 2010, 'Interventions to Promote Social Cohesion in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Development Effectiveness*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 336-370

<http://www.columbia.edu/~ek2570/Social%20Cohesion-EKing%20et%20al%20JDeff.pdf>

This article presents a synthetic review of impact evaluations concerning interventions to improve social cohesion in Sub-Saharan Africa. It provides an overview of the concept of 'social cohesion'. For the purposes of the review, social cohesion refers to 'behaviour and attitudes within a community that reflects a propensity of community members to cooperate'. There is difference between:

- 'inter-personal social cohesion, relating to attitudes and behaviours of different groups or individuals within a community, and
- inter-group social cohesion, referring to attitudes and behaviours of individuals across key cleavages in society' (p. 337).

The article notes that the terms social cohesion and social capital are often used interchangeably and that references to inter-personal and inter-group social cohesion parallel notions of 'bonding' and 'bridging' capital. In both cases, bonding capital and inter-personal cohesion can undermine bridging social capital and intergroup social cohesion, respectively, by fostering social division.

The article differentiates 'social cohesion' and 'social capital' however in that social capital is often seen as 'an individual-level asset that enables cooperation', whereas social cohesion in this review refers to attributes of *groups* and 'patterns of cooperation directly, rather than the assets (for example, religious belief, altruistic dispositions and so forth) that may give rise to them', (p. 338).

Schomerus, M. and Allen, T., 2010, 'Southern Sudan at Odds with Itself: Dynamics of Conflict and Predicaments of Peace, Destin Development Institute, London School of Economics, London http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/PDFs/10_0453%20Sudan%20Report08_forweb.pdf

This study on conflict and peace dynamics in Southern Sudan finds that there is no shared understanding between donors and local beneficiaries over what peacebuilding projects are aimed to achieve. The proliferation of funded peace activities – in particular peace conferences that focus on mediation, negotiation and dialogue - may serve to stifle creative alternatives in peacebuilding, including forms of community-based conflict resolution. The study recommends that peace cannot be seen as an end in itself, but must be connected with tangible benefits. As such, peace activities, such as open forums for dialogue, need to be linked to efforts to resolve identified problems. This could include pairing peace with infrastructure programming or enforceable local contracts over resources. This would create the incentive structure necessary to create a peaceful environment and to contribute to long-term processes of promoting tolerance and peaceful co-existence of different groups.

3. Education

Central and East Africa

Gugerty, M. K. and Kremer, M., 2000, 'Does Development Assistance Help Build Social Capital', Social Capital Initiative, Working Paper, no. 20, The World Bank, Washington, DC

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRANETSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/882042-1111750197177/20502293/SCI-WPS-20.pdf>

This study explores the impact of development funding on social capital in western Kenya in two settings: women's community groups and community primary schools. This is in contrast to most other studies that examine the reverse: the impact of social capital variables on particular development outcomes.

Social capital in women's groups was measured by:

- Organisational structure and solidarity of the groups (internal social capital).
- Labour and time commitment of members to the group, including their mutual assistance activities; and
- Strength of their external ties (social capital of groups).

The study finds that at least in the short run, outside funding has no strong effect on social capital formation among women's groups, despite the explicit goal of the funding to increase the organisational capacity and solidarity of the groups.

Social capital formation in primary schools was measured by:

- Parental and community support for schools
- Within-school effectiveness and staff motivation; and
- School interaction with local government officials and the local educational administration.

The study looked at two types of funding: textbook provision and block grants to schools. It finds that block grants, which were explicitly designed to promote social capital, had little impact on the formation of social capital. While participation in school projects increased, there were no other effects after one year. In contrast, textbook provision, which had no specific goal to increase social capital, had the most positive impact on school social capital and formation. Funding in these schools increased the participation of parents and school committee officials at school meetings, improved teacher effort in school (in terms of willingness to run extra coaching sessions, more frequent presence in the classroom and lower absenteeism), and increased involvement of government 'teacher support' personnel.

The paper concludes that these findings demonstrate that social capital is not easily created and external efforts through funding and policy may be limited. Further, at least in the short-run, assistance designed to specifically promote social capital did not have the intended effect. It also did not have a negative affect, however, among groups or schools.

4. Cash transfers

Central and East Africa

Skovdal, M., Mwasiaji, W., Morrison, J. and Tomkins, A., 2008, 'Community-based Capital Cash Transfer to Support Orphans in Western Kenya: A Consumer perspective', Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 1 - 15

<http://academia.edu.documents.s3.amazonaws.com/335565/ccct.pdf>

This paper examines the effect of community-based capital cash transfers (CCCTs) as a method for assisting children in Africa orphaned by HIV/AIDS and their carers. It describes the experience of one community in western Kenya that received a lump sum as part of a CCCT scheme. One of the aims of this scheme was to strengthen the social and human capital of the community through training, networking and working together. As part of this, the scheme encouraged community mobilisation and the formation and strengthening of community groups. The paper finds that not only did the

CCCT programme contribute directly to food production and some income generation, it also contributed indirectly to networking and the formation of social capital among adult caregivers and among orphans. Discussions with participants indicated a higher level of empowerment and greater sense of unity and willingness to work together.

The paper also explores some of the general literature on cash transfers in Africa and health initiatives. CCCTs have been considered to contribute to high levels of civic engagement and participation, and the formation of a sense of local unity. While there is still little evidence for a link between social capital and health programmes, the paper finds some positive outcomes of initiatives encouraging grassroots participation in local community networks. It notes a finding from literature on South Africa that 'a key determinant of the success of these programmes was the extent to which they mobilised existing resources of social capital or encouraged the development of new resources of social capital' (p. 12).

Ressler, P., 2008, 'The Social Impact of Cash Transfers: A Study of the Impact of Cash Transfers on Social Networks of Kenyan Households Participating in Cash Transfer Programmes', Paper presented to S. Gillespie, Regional Network on AIDS, Livelihoods and Food Security; International Food Policy Research Institute
<http://programs.ifpri.org/renewal/pdf/KenyaCashTransfers.pdf>

Cash transfer programmes have operated in Kenya for several years in support of people who lack access to food sufficient to meet daily needs and who are impacted by the HIV/AIDS crisis. This qualitative study explores the impact of cash transfers on social networks in the country. While cash transfers may contribute to the well-being of the household, it is unclear whether they have an impact on local markets, gender relations and social networks of the household. In addition, the dynamics of social networks in situations of vulnerability and specific cultural aspects are not well understood.

The paper finds that informal social networks at the household level in Kenya can be observed through food sharing events and behaviours, such as sharing food with a neighbour, reciprocal exchanges of resources, and participation in food events at the community level. In many cultures, 'sharing of food builds trust and community. The lack of food and the resulting isolation from community participation destroys social networks and contributes to vulnerability' (p. 3). The study finds that cash transfers appear to strengthen the social networks and social capital of participant households. The additional resources enabled recipients to participate in community events, share food and borrow when necessary as they had the means to repay.

Ellis, F., 2008, "We Are All Poor Here": Economic Difference, Social Divisiveness, and Targeting Cash Transfers in Sub-Saharan Africa', Paper prepared for 'Social Protection for the Poorest in Africa: Learning from Experience', 8-10 September, Kampala, Uganda
http://www.wahenga.net/sites/default/files/We_are_all_poor_here_Ellis.pdf

This paper emphasizes the problems with setting rigid cut-off points in pilot social cash transfers (such as the 10 per cent rule in Kenya, Zambia and Malawi). Such transfers can inadvertently create social tensions and divisions as they 'involve seeking tiny variations in circumstance that ordinary people do not perceive as real differences in order to select a lucky few people as transfer recipients' (p. 11).

5. Micro-finance

Sudan

Ndiku, K., 2006, 'Laying the Foundation for Micro Enterprise Development in South Sudan', Final Evaluation Report, Stromme Foundation
http://www.norad.no/en/_attachment/118121/binary/7007?download=true

The 'Laying the Foundation for Micro-enterprise Development in Southern Sudan' was implemented in Lietnho, a small rural community in South Sudan. The programme engaged the community well, which contributed to support from local authorities and civil society. Social cohesion was enhanced

with the building of social capital through savings and lending groups and people. The report finds that faith based agencies that were involved in implementation played an important role in the group cohesion process by promoting principles and values concerning peace, unity and oneness.

Beneficiaries developed greater willingness to work together and began to work increasingly at different levels of identity groups 'The programme brought about a sense of cohesion based on the group work, adult learning together and a new spirit of hope at the community level. Youth were found to have begun anticipating that their needs could also be addressed if they formed groups' (p. 29). The sense of cohesiveness was present not only in groups but in the market place. Access to an organised group in turn contributed to a rise in confidence and sense of belonging, which is important in the formation of social capital. It also contributed to a sense of ownership. Despite the ability of the programme to successfully motivate the community, a recent programme review found that the model in use needed to be adapted more to the context of Southern Sudan.

Central and East Africa

Gobezie, G., 2010, 'Empowerment of Women in Rural Ethiopia: A Review of Two Microfinance Models', The Fletcher Journal of Human Security, vol. 25, pp. 23-38

http://fletcher.tufts.edu/praxis/archives/xxv/XXV_article2_Gobezie_Ethiopia%20Microfinance_FINAL.pdf

This paper reviews two microfinance models in Ethiopia, Group Guarantee Lending (GGL) and Community Managed Loan Funds (CMLF) and their contribution to the empowerment of women. It finds that a key potential benefit of the group lending approach, aside from providing access to credit, is the ability to bring poor people together. Attending regular meetings and the opportunity to share norms and values can contribute to increased trust. This can in turn contribute to the formation of social capital as people learn to work together for a common purpose. The paper stresses however that there are different levels of empowerment and social capital – individual, enterprise, household and community. The lending programme seemed to have positive impacts at the individual, enterprise and household levels. Women reported improvements in their relationships with their husbands and receiving an increased level of respect. At the community level, however, local religious leaders in Muslim communities consider participation in microfinance services to be forbidden; women who choose to participate in them are not allowed to participate in traditional social ceremonies. Despite this decline in social capital at the community level, these areas still have the highest proportion of women's participation.

The Group Guarantee Lending model is a top-down model, which can be inconsistent with existing networks that the poor have already maintained for long periods of time. There is thus a danger that this approach can result in the rushed formation of groups with people who have little connection with one another. It can also crowd out traditional mutual support networks, particularly important in the event of repayment problems. The CMLF model on the other hand relies on existing local social networks as a platform for the delivery of financial services, which may serve as a more appropriate model.

6. Participatory, community approaches

Sudan

IFAD, 2010, 'Country Programme Evaluation: Republic of the Sudan', International Fund for Agricultural Development, Office of Evaluation, Rome

http://www.ifad.org/evaluation/public_html/eksyst/doc/country/pn/sudan/sudan.pdf

This evaluation of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)'s operations in the Sudan considers nine impact domains, one of which is 'social capital'. It finds that the social capital impact was moderately satisfactory. The assessment was based on:

- To what extent did IFAD empower the poor to make their voices heard, influence policymaking and gain access to social services?

- How well did IFAD interventions help in building the poor's collective capacity in order to increase their capacities and their negotiation skills?

Positive aspects of the impact on social capital include: the institutionalisation of village and community development committees in project areas; improved capacity of planning, executing and managing development activities; and positive effects on women's empowerment. The local development committees were found to have had a positive impact on social capital. The empowerment and mobilisation of men and women to identify development opportunities and priorities and engage in planning resulted in increases in social cohesion and local self-help capacity. The strengthening of local level self-help organisations increased their ability to exploit potential economic opportunities and to develop stronger links with the markets and external partners.

Central and East Africa

Weihe, T., 2004, 'Cooperatives in Conflict and Failed States', US Overseas Cooperative Development Council, Washington, DC www.uwcc.wisc.edu/info/intl/weihe.pdf

Cooperatives are special purpose organisations. They are distinct from associations as they are group-based businesses in which risk and benefits are shared by members and they require sound business management. Cooperatives can increase their scale and effectiveness by mobilising social capital through group action and networks. This paper explores the contributions of cooperatives in fragile and conflict-affected states. It provides anecdotal information that cooperatives in these contexts can become ethnic bridging institutions. It notes that more empirical data is needed however to better identify the benefits and demonstrate the impact of cooperatives.

One of the cooperatives profiled in the paper is the credit union system in Rwanda. The World Council of Credit Unions aims to strengthen credit unions in the country. Credit union administration is fully integrated without evidence of ethnic difference; and staff is hired based on education and experience. An increase in trust bonds is demonstrated in a 2002 member survey in which '62 percent of the respondents indicated that they had a higher level of trust in various institutions than the general population. [...] Credit union members exhibited substantially more trust working in groups than non-members' (p. 18).

While cooperative development efforts include both successes and failures, the paper argues that cooperatives are more likely to succeed under the following circumstances:

- When cooperatives are built on embedded cultural norms, drawing on pre-existing informal cooperation at the tribal and clan level (within the marketplace and in dealing with common property systems). To support development goals, however, they must be organised along business principles.
- Cooperatives cannot be imposed by governments, donor or development agencies.
- Resource pooling and group-based businesses can serve as an economic development alternative to relief and continued dependence (e.g. Rwanda, Mozambique)
- Minorities or groups may be distant from markets (e.g. Rwanda, Sudan) and require collective action for economic development and to create market linkages from minority to majority populations
- Cooperatives have been successful in the integration of different ethnic or religious groups into a bridging institution. Cooperatives must grow as businesses beyond a single ethnic or group identity to become transformational. 'When multi-ethnic groups become convinced that the cooperative is organised equitably and managed effectively, the cooperative can grow rapidly, even when the groups had been unwilling in the past to work together' (p. 21)

Vervisch, T. and Titeca, K., 2010, 'Bridging Community Associations in Post-Conflict Burundi: The Difficult Merging of Social Capital Endowments and New 'Institutional Settings', Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 48, no. 3, pp. 485-511
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=7872257>

Community associations are designed to bring participants together to cooperate in order to achieve shared objectives. They are considered in the literature on social capital to be effective instruments to transform bonding social capital into bridging social capital. 'Bonding capital refers to exclusive solidarity based on ethnicity, religion, cast or class; [whereas] bridging capital refers to inclusive solidarity, uniting people from different backgrounds' (Woolcock and Narayan, cited on p. 487).

The perceived effectiveness of associations has resulted in the belief that building community associations will result in the formation of social capital; and emphasis is placed on the number of new associations that were built or strengthened in order to gauge the level of social capital. This paper cautions against such an approach by international actors, drawing on lessons learned from three interventions in Burundi.

Burundi does not have a strong associational tradition; social organisation beyond the family has been minimal. Society was much more vertically stratified with patron-client ties than horizontally stratified. Since the war, the number of associations has increased dramatically – in large part due to external interventions. Community conflict reduction was measured by the number of associations and the number of households participating in associational life. However, the paper demonstrates that there was not necessarily a correlation between an increase in associations and a decrease in community conflict. Important lessons learned from the case studies are:

- Externally driven support to community associations is often treated as a technical, apolitical intervention. However, community associations are deeply embedded in the local social and political context. Associations that were formed under a technocratic approach in Burundi (the CIBA project) never merged with existing social capital endowments or forms of social organisation. As such, most associations remained exogenous institutional settings. They were not sustainable as their reason for existing remained only within the scope of the project.
- External development interventions enable association leaders to build up outside legitimacy (linking capital). This can negatively impact the association when they are not held to account by the rest of the association, resulting in authoritarian tendencies or corruption. In the case of the LITA intervention, community associations did map onto local endowments of social capital; however these were pre-existing exclusive, vertical patron-client relations. Elite capture of most leadership positions in the associations resulted in internal mismanagement and pitted different groups against each other. While the associations were successful at bridging people from different ethnic groups, they created economic exclusion and tension along these lines.
- By using civil society associations as cheap implementing agents for donors, these associations became passive beneficiaries rather than empowered citizen groups. The experience of the CLC intervention in Burundi demonstrates that associations can become more concerned with implementing donor's changing priorities and exogenous processes of social capital building. This may diminish local dynamics of the poor in organising themselves and hinder the spontaneous development of bridging associations. Associations can also become entirely dependent on the continued presence and funding of donors, resulting in sustainability issues.

Sub-Saharan Africa

King, E., Samii, C., Snilstveit, B., 2010, 'Interventions to Promote Social Cohesion in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Development Effectiveness*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 336-370

<http://www.columbia.edu/~ek2570/Social%20Cohesion-EKing%20et%20al%20JDeff.pdf>

This article, cited above, presents a synthetic review of impact evaluations concerning the effectiveness of community-driven development (CDD) and curriculum interventions to improve social cohesion in Sub-Saharan Africa. CDD emphasises the central role of beneficiaries in important project decisions concerning selection, design and implementation. The most common projects reviewed related to school and health facilities. Curriculum interventions reviewed were short-term interventions targeted at adults. They aimed to communicate specific messages designed to change beliefs, values, perceptions of social norms and behaviour; and to promote leadership skills, solidarity and collective action.

The review found weakly positive impacts of the interventions on social cohesion outcomes in Sub-Saharan Africa: 'only for one measure of trust in community members is there a replicated positive effect. In a measure of inter-group relations, there is a replicated negative effect. Otherwise, the evidence consists of a set of one-off estimates whose generality cannot be assessed. [In addition], all studies contained within them some combination of positive, negative and null findings' (p. 365). The article notes that broad and substantive participation was often lacking in CDD interventions, which may have limited the impacts.

The article emphasises that these findings demonstrate the difficulty in developing a common protocol for measuring the effects of social cohesion: 'behavioural manifestations are highly context specific. Attitudinal manifestations rely on abstract concepts that, when translated into terms that are meaningful to subjects, are also highly context specific. The ability to reduce these diverse measures to a few dimensions comparable across contexts requires that such measures can be anchored to valid, context free constructs. [...] There is also the likelihood that some indicators of social cohesion are substitutes; that is, some measures go up while others go down' (p. 366). There is a need for studies to establish protocols for multiple outcome measures and to engage in causal chain analysis.

See also:

King, E., Samii, C., Snilstveit, B., 2010, 'Interventions to Promote Social Cohesion in Sub-Saharan Africa', Synthetic Review 002, International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie)
<http://cu-csds.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/SR002-Final1.pdf>

Fearon, J. D., Humphreys, M. and Weinstein, J. M., 2009, 'Development Assistance, Institution Building, and Social Cohesion after Civil War: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Liberia', CGD Working Paper, no.194, Centre for Global Development, Washington, DC
http://www.cgdev.org/files/1423322_file_Weinstein_CGD_WP.pdf

This paper presents findings from a study on the impact of a community-driven reconstruction (CDR) programme in Liberia. Although community-driven development initiatives have increased in the past decade, there is little evidence of their impact. The CDR programme in Liberia had the following key components: villages were grouped in approximately equally-sized 'communities', based on geographic proximity and pre-existing ties; efforts were taken by the implementation organisation (the IRC) to sensitise local communities to the new development project; the IRC oversaw the election of community development councils (CDCs); and the CDCs were then empowered to oversee a community-wide process to select and implement a quick impact project, followed by a larger development project.

The CDR programme is based on the notion that even brief exposure to participatory politics can result in increased cooperation and improved wellbeing. The study was based on an analysis of baseline and follow-up surveys and behavioural data collected from public goods games. The results provide evidence that the programme had a positive impact on beneficiary communities. Survey data provide strong evidence that the programme reduced social tension, increased the inclusion of marginalised groups and improved individuals' trust in community leaders. There is little evidence though of greater ability of the community to act collectively. Behavioural measures of cohesion are generated by examining the actual behaviour of community members in collective action problems facing their communities. The results provide strong evidence that the CDR programme improved levels of social cooperation and support for democratic decision-making, even after the programmes conclusion.

7. Additional information

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Selected websites visited

ACCORD, Chf international, Clingendael Conflict Research Unit, CMI, CRISE, Eldis, Google, Google Scholar, GSDRC, Human Security Gateway, IFAD, Ingenta journals, IRC, LSE, Reliefweb, Socialcapital gateway, UNDP, UNESCO, Wahenga.net, World Bank

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