Graduate School of Development Studies

"BEYOND THE CUSTMARY VIEW"

The Role of community-based organizations in local development: A comparative study of three "Iddirs" in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

A Research Paper presented by:

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(Ethiopia)

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialization:
**Local and Regional Development
(LRD)**

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The Hague, The Netherlands
November, 2010

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List of Acronyms

ACORD – Agency for Cooperation in Research and Development

CBOs – Community-based Organizations

CDC- Civic Driven Change

CSOs- Civil Society Organizations

DB-GAI- "Dele Berr-Genet Ameba" Iddir

Derg- The Military Government of Ethiopia which was overthrown
in 1991

FDRE- The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

ISC-Illusion of Civil Society

LD- Local Development

LG- Local Government

MFI - "Mehabere Fiker" Iddir

MSDI- "Medahinialem" Support and Development Iddir

NGOs-Non-governmental Organizations

Abstract

This research investigates the role of "Customary" CBOs in local development within a broader context of state-civil society dynamics and interactions. By putting CBOs in the middle of the state-society interactions, the research addresses the conditions under which "customary" CBOs become a local development agent. It is argued that, the existing members' level of participation, inclusive decision making process , formalization and organization set-up, the proximity of CBOs to the needs and problems of their members and their responsiveness justify the notion that "customary" CBOs are the "right" organization to execute local development roles both as a conduit of service delivery and self-determined change. Through case oriented approach, the research made strong efforts to highlight and discussed the conditions that facilitate a shift of roles .By doing so, it identified six "essential ingredients" that are of paramount importance to assume local development roles in such organizations. These essential ingredients which are internal and external to the organization includes:-organizational adjustment and formalization, growing awareness among members and leaders on their role and potential, capacity building and enhancement to mobilize resources, government and market failures, government recognition and enabling efforts and the existence of aid to support such initiatives. The research also draws the distinction between "internal and external ingredients", and argues that both ingredients are equally important to make meaningful change in people life and to the locality at large. Beginning with an overall review of "customary" CBOs and their interaction with other actors, it identified six essential ingredients that are important for "customary" CBOs to making organizational shifts and to assume different roles that transcend membership boundaries.

Relevance to Development Studies

The very essence of development has to do with betterment of life of community and the empowerment of the community to make decisions in the matters that affects their life. Cognizant of this essence of development, the research has relevance in highlighting the power of community and community initiatives at the local level to meet their needs as well as the needs of others.

Keywords

Community-based organizations, civil society, Local development, Iddir (s), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Chapter 1
1 Introduction

1.1   Background

This research paper addresses the "neglected subject" among academician and practitioners about the power and the potential of African CBOs to local development. As it becomes evident from the field, the organizational structure and formalization, the decision-making procedures, the logic of survival and the way they manage the "rules of the game", the operational ethos and the development roles of CBOs in Africa at the present time are providing lessons for development thinkers and practitioners to re-think and re-consider their negative assumptions about African CBOs and the danger of neglecting them. It is proved and argued here that the "informal", "traditional", "backward", "unproductive", "feeble", "inflexible" and "non-innovative" organizations, as they have been labeled in recent years by academics, practitioners and communities themselves, are reinventing themselves and achieving results that a few decades ago, would have been unthinkable. More importantly, they are harvesting the fruits of local development in a way that challenges the mentioned perception and labeling of many observers.

For many years, the debate on mainstream development was mainly focused on development policies and programme which is developed by "outsiders" with the aim of supporting the poor and the marginalized people on the basis of their own prescriptions as a panacea for development. However, history and practical experience in different context have shown that such kind of donor and aid driven approach to development never materialized the objective of empowering the poor and the marginalized, instead it exacerbated the problem of the poor by creating dependency and making them instrument of implementing donors' ideology through aid conditionality and formalities. Over the years, "community-based organizations/CBOs/ have too often been overlooked or neglected, or the efforts to work with them poorly informed or mis-directed"(Esman and Uphoff 1984:22).In the last two decades, it seems that the time has come to end to think in such top-down development approach and intervention; many developmental practitioners across the world started to re-organize and re-theorize new approach to development for better service delivery and community participation at the local level. Consequently, there is a growing interest to shift the emphasis from top-down to bottom-up development. In this regard, organizations are also shifts their organizational structure, goals and roles along with the shifts in development thinking. Ethiopia, by and large, is not an exception to this general trend and development re-thinking. The decentralization process that started in Ethiopia since 1995 provide a ground for the further development

and recognition of CBOs and their roles in local development, of which Iddirs' are classic cases in point.

According to Dejene (1993:39) Iddirs are "community-based organizations /burial associations/ established on the basis of neighbourhood, ethnicity, sex, and/or work place for the primary purpose of providing financial, material and moral support in times of death for the bereaved members and their families". Dejene further noted that, Iddirs are non-profit-making organization that exists based upon solidarity, friendship and mutual assistance and support among members. Iddirs have long years of existence both in urban and rural parts of Ethiopia. Despite the long years of existence of Iddirs as organizations of the community, it was in recent years that many developmental practitioners such as NGOs, local government, private sectors and Iddir members themselves recognized the potential roles that Iddirs can play beyond the "customary view". The "customary" role is the role of CBOs that is limited to membership boundary and mainly deals with burial services and related activities associated with death. In recent years, these spectators identify Iddirs as organizations which have the capacity to play other than assisting members, notably, the role in local development.

In "customary" ways Iddirs have been playing a number of social and economic objectives. According to Asfaw (2003), Iddirs have played important roles in organizational and institutional areas in conjunction with religious organizations, insurance role in mobilizing and saving resources, emergency role in mitigating the effects of incidents, social development role in getting members close to each other, mutual cooperation and support, conflict resolution and strengthening social solidarity and relationships. Though these activities being carried out by Iddirs justify the fact that Iddirs are actors in development, their development potential remained unutilized due to the poor understanding of governments, donors and the members themselves in this regard. Equally important is lack of appropriate policy support to scale up and promote their role in local development.

Consequently, until recently, it was the "customary" view that prevailed with regards to the roles of Iddirs in Addis Ababa. There was very limited attempt by NGOs and government to engage in Iddirs as partners in local development. According to Pankhurst (2006), there is a general perception and customary view that Iddirs are backward, unproductive, feeble and non-transparent organizations that are inflexible to assume different roles and responsibilities as well as changing situations other than their prior roles. He further mentioned that the historically strong state in Ethiopia has left little space for the emergence and development of local institutions such as Iddirs to participate in local development. During that time (before 1990s), many local organizations such as Iddirs cater for specific categories or sections of the population and/or limited to certain ethnic groups or geographical areas. As a result, Iddirs hardly participated in well-organized and coordinated manner to go beyond their "customary" role. Interestingly, however, in the last decade, the recognition of the government as to the role of Iddirs as partners in development, increasing awareness on the capacity and the potential that Iddirs have in development interventions, the initiations of Iddirs to engage in development and donor involvement and change in their approach and

philosophy towards CBOs, contributed a lot to the paradigm shift in Iddirs roles and functions in local development.

Although the recognition of the roles of Iddirs and raising awareness on the potential of Iddirs is a good starting point, there still exists a huge knowledge gap between the role and the potential of Iddirs and the actual contribution of Iddirs for the development of their members in particular and for the development of their locality in general. In this regard, Tegegn made an emphasis on the limitedness and lack of research in the area to tap the potential of local organizations like Iddirs:

> *Although communality–based organizations like Iddirs could serve as important intermediaries in development, almost no effort has been made by the government, the market and national and international NGOs as to how to tap their grassroots, voluntary and participatory potentials of Iddirs at the local level* (Tegegn 2000:50).

Cognizant of this fact, the purpose of this research is to contribute to this gap and it aims at assessing the roles of Iddirs in local development which is beyond the "customary" view. In this approach, the research has come up with a new insight on the role of Iddirs in local development which challenges the customary perception and understanding.

1.2   Research questions

1.2.1 Main research question

The main question that the research poses is under what conditions are "customary" CBOs become local development agents?

1.2.2 Sub research questions

What are the roles of Iddirs in local development?

- Why do Iddirs engage in local development?
- To what extent do Iddir leaders consult their members when taking this leap?
- What are the consequences for Iddirs in their involvement in local development role?
- In what ways and to what extent do external actors affect the role of Iddirs in local development?

1.3   Research Methods

In order to materialize the stated objectives of the research, both primary and secondary data collection methods are employed. The researcher used his prior contact with Iddirs and ACORD, an NGO working with Iddirs since 1995, as an entry point for this research to create rapport and good working relationship with the research community. The established contact and the researcher's prior work experience at grass roots level have played an important role in smoothing the contact with Iddirs and in reducing the time needed to collect the data and hence it played a positive role to collect reliable data within relatively short period of time. Furthermore, the comparative study

employed in this research has played a pivotal role to maintain the impartiality required of a researcher in conducting this research.

1.4   Data Collection Techniques

1.4.1 Selection of Cases

The finding of this research is based on three Iddirs selected for a comparative analysis to this study. These Iddirs are selected on the basis of their different functions and roles to their members. The first category of Iddirs is selected on the basis of its engagement in the "customary" role of provision only of burial functions to their members. The inclusion of this category to the comparative analysis provides explanation as to why some Iddirs remain in "customary" role while others provide developmental role along with the "customary" role. The second category has to do with Iddir which are engaged in local development role in partnership with ACORD. The involvement of donors to local development and the effect(s) it brought in the process are the focus of emphasis in this category. The third category of Iddirs has to do with those which engage in local development but do not have any connection with donors for their initiatives. Despite this separate parameter of selection criteria on the basis of their functions, in order to make a comparative analysis among them, common selection criteria are found quite imperative. Consequently, common and objective criteria for the three case studies are employed to create a "level playing field" for the comparative analysis. These include, among other things, size of the organization (large size is preferred for issues of representation), composition of both sexes, the existence of written bylaws, organizational structure with clear separation between the executive committee from members, "Good" track record in their area of functions, Iddirs which were formed on the basis of locality/community types of Iddirs, and year of establishment (to assess their impact, long duration is favoured than the newly emerging ones).

1.4.2. Primary data

For primary data collection, both key informants in-depth interview and in-depth-interview with purposively selected interviewees are conducted. To materialize the objective of the study, a total of sixteen people are interviewed. The key informants' interviews are held with local government officials and NGO leaders selected for this study. Four persons are interviewed, two from the donor agency, and the other two from the local government officials working in the area. Besides, the key informants' interview, in-depth-interview with six Iddir members purposively selected, two from each Iddir category are interviewed. To cross-check the responses of members and key informants in greater depth and to address leadership questions and concern, similar in-depth interview with six Iddir leaders selected from the three case studies are conducted. Thus, a total of twelve in-depth interview, six with members and six with Iddir leaders are conducted. To complement the research techniques, the researcher uses his personal observation and site visits on the past interventions and achievements of Iddirs in the area as additional tools.

1.4.3. Secondary data

For secondary data, desk review of different published and unpublished materials as well as electronic media are used; books, journals, articles and other related materials are assessed in the course of organizing this research to capture different views and opinions about the subject.

1.5. Limitations of the study

Time constraints during data collection and lack of reference materials especially in exploring the role Iddirs play in local development are considered as the major limitations of this research. Besides, the political situation (the growing political apathy) has created a challenge during data collection to discuss political issues openly with my informants.

Chapter 2
Conceptual and Theoretical framework

2.1 Conceptual Framework

It is quite imperative to note that the concepts discussed in this chapter are keys to link the research questions indicated in the first chapter with the findings that will be discussed in chapters four and five. The conceptual framework serves as a lynch pin to assess and examine the findings in academic perspectives.

2.1.1 Context: Civil Society Organizations/CSOs

The concept of civil society, also known as "voluntary sector", the "third sector", "non-profit sector", and "independent sector", in the academic literature as indicated by Wondwosen(2009:80), is the very controversial and the most debatable subject matter in the academic deliberation. Although it is very difficult, if not impossible, to provide a universal definition and delineation of CSOs, for the sake of this paper, CSOs are conceptualized as:-

> *An intermediate associational realm between state and family populated by organisations which are separate from the state, enjoy autonomy in relation to the state and are formed voluntarily by members of society to protect or extend their interests or values to others (White 1994:379).*

As an umbrella term, CSO usually consists of a number of organizations which work both for the benefit of their members as well as to the interest of the general public. However, as noted by Shiferaw (2002:8), "the major categories of CSOs comprise NGOs both at international, national and local levels, church organizations, CBOs, area-based associations, professional associations, credit associations, trade union and various interest groups, among other organizations".

It is argued that, a CSO is not an isolate entity by its own rather it engages in constant interaction with other actors to advance its respective interest. However, in the interaction among the different sectors, it is important to note that each sector has its own limitation to work to the interest of the poor and marginalized sections of the society. In practice, there exists huge gap between the promise they made and the actual implementation of those promises. Schwabenland is critical of this limitation especially in the "third sector". According to Schwabenland (2006:9), "the "third sector" and their associational activities, are increasingly regarded as the activity that rest at the heart of the community and such community is regarded as a significant guarantor of democratic and civic engagement". However, much of the claims of voluntary organizations to represent those who have been left out of government progammes and policies remain a thought and wishful-thinking in its own. The issues of "representation and concern to the poor advocated by the voluntary organizations remain the irresolvable paradox that lies at the heart of this sector" (Ibid: 11).

In line with the above general perspectives, when we consider the situation in Ethiopia, the origin of civil society is of a recent development dated back in the 1960s. As Desalegn et al (2008) noted, civil society in Ethiopia has a short history, going back in effect to the last years of the Imperial regime, when the Civil Code containing the law of associations meant to govern all the CSOs was issued in 1960. During that time, there was hardly any active organization which fit to the current role and understanding of CSOs. There were only few professional associations which work to the interest of their members and professions in sporadic manner rather than promoting public actions and development for all.

Relatively, as noted by Desalegn et al (2008), the CSOs may be said to have began active role in the early 1970s as a result of a devastating famine in the country especially in Wollo and Tigrai Regions which forced the Imperial government to open its doors for international and local NGOs to undertake relief and rehabilitation activities. However, even during that time, their role was limited to relief and rehabilitation rather than lobbing and promoting governance for better public policy which is an integral part in current civil society discourse. Desalegn et al further indicated that, in 1980s, there were only sixty to sixty five organizations operating in the country, out of which the majority of them were international organizations engaged in relief and rehabilitation efforts. However, after the fall of the Derg in the early 1990s, there was a steady increase and accelerated growth of CSOs. Some Observers like Wondwosen (2009:84) confirms the above claim. According to him, the major achievements of CSOs in Ethiopia is the period between 1997 and 2001 the major areas of operation being the spheres of health, food security, education and emergency operations rather than promoting public actions, governance, better service delivery to the poor and working to the realization of their rights. Desalegn et al assert that due to their fast rate of increase, there were close to 3000 CSOs operating in the country in 2008, the majority of which fall under the category of NGOs and CBOs. In similar vein, Zakariyas (2010:5-7) argues that this number increased in 2009 and the number of CSOs registered under Ministry of Justice, the licensing authority, in 2009 reached as high as 4677, out of which NGOs comprise about 75%.

Interestingly, however, as the case in many African countries and in Ethiopia too, the increase in the number of NGOs and CBOs does not illustrate positive contribution to the improvement in impact and the betterment of life of the target groups. According to Desalegn et al (2008:38-42), there are two important aspects that have contributed to the negative and the limited impact of this sector to the development endeavor of the country: "one was that until recently the sector consisted of only few organizations and secondly that such organizations only operate under difficult and restricted conditions. Both the Imperial and the Derg regimes were unwilling to tolerate independent, autonomous and vibrant citizens' organizations which work to the benefits of their community and the country at large".

Furthermore; it is argued that like other countries in Africa, civil society in Ethiopia is rather weak. Ethiopia faces a challenge to build vibrant and strong civil society which work for the creation of right conscious citizens to help them engage in the areas of their concern. In line with this point, some authors

like Hyden and Mahlet (2003:221) argue that the challenge of building civil society and strong citizen is determined by a combination of factors such as political opportunity structure, resource mobilization and strong members' identity within their organization. This discussion will be reviewed in line with the major findings of the study in chapter five.

2.1.2 Community-based Organizations/CBOs

Some observers like Pratten define CBOs in a broader term as "mediators between the state and society, and between development agencies and the household" (Pratten 1997:139-140). For other authors like Howes, "CBOs are membership organizations that exist to further the interests of their own members and directly accountable to their members" (Howes 1997:820). It is apparent that both Pratten' and Howes' conceptualizations restrict the roles of CBOs to members' benefit per se. However, the conceptualization of CBOs in such restricted sense is far from adequate for the purpose of this research. To the contrary, it is argued that membership organization play local development role which goes beyond membership boundaries. Uphoff (1986:18) substantiate the above point. According to him, CBOs have positive roles outside of their membership boundaries. He states that CBOs promote development and undertake productive activities by putting available resources to their most efficient and sustainable use according to locally specific experience, and offer appropriate resolutions in conflicts of resource management at the community level. While the definition of CBOs remains a difficult question to answer in full consensus, in this paper CBOs are conceptualized as "voluntary organizations that serves specific population in a narrow geographical area. In a nut shell, we adopt Wondwosen's definition with little modification who defines CBOs as "membership organizations made up of groups of individuals who have joined together to further their own interests and/or the interests of others" (Wondwosen 2009:83).

According to Esman and Uphoff (1984:18-19) local organizations such as CBOs can act as intermediaries between the local communities and both government agencies and private commercial firms. For them, as an integral part of the third sector, CBOs can affect the performance of the whole institutional framework of a country, serving to make institutions more effective and responsive to the poor as well as filling an operational gap between the state and private enterprise. They further noted that, CBOs have their own logic and natural history that set them apart from bureaucratic structures and from market or commercial network. "CBOs relies more on voluntaristic mechanisms, appealing to people's sense of interest and values" (Ibid). In similar vein, Uphoff (1986) indicated that membership organizations like CBOs are local associations whose members may seek to handle three things: (i) *multiple tasks* such as local development activities along with other tasks,(ii)*specific tasks* such as dealing with issues of health or the economy and (iii) *needs of members* who have some particular characteristic or interest in common(Ibid:4). He further noted that, CBOs can range from being inclusive like the case of multiple tasks to being exclusive in the case of needs of members as indicated above. Esman and Uphoff (1984) indicated that cooperation and collective action among the CBOs is sought through processes of bargaining, discussion, accommodation and persuasion. Most of

the time in such organizations, "decisions are taken with reference to group and individual interests, neither state authority nor rules of profit maximization determine choices"(Ibid: 20). According to them, CBOs represent best their members' interests in decision making and decisions are made in collective manner than a top-down approach especially compared to the state and the market. The following table summarizes decision making procedures and mechanisms by sectors.

Table 1. Alternative ways of decision making procedures by sectors

	I	II	III
Principal mechanism	Bureaucratic structures	Market interactions	Voluntary associations
Decision-makers	Administrators & experts	Individuals producers, consumers, & investors	Leaders & members
Guides for behavior	Regulations	Price-signals	Agreements
Criteria for decisions	Policy	Efficiency	Interests of members
Sanctions	State-authority backed by coercion	Financial loss	Social pressure
Mode of Operation	Top-down	Individualistic	Bottom-up

Source: Adapted from Esman and Uphoff 1984, p.20.

As indicated in the above table, each sector has different level and mechanisms of participation and decision making procedure in place. Despite such difference in decision making procedures, Esman and Uphoff acknowledged that, in practice we could not find a pure sector engaging in certain activities alone, rather the market and the state shared certain characteristic from the "third sector" and vice versa. For instance, both the state and the third sector are similar in that, they would solve problems through collective rather than individual action which in turn makes these sectors public in nature. In another scenario, both the "market and the "third sector" do not wield state authority to gain their objectives in that they work collectively to influence the state authority" (Ibid: 21).

In Ethiopia, in the last two decades, due to a shift in development thinking in general and increment in organizational and resource capacity of CBOs in particular, efforts have been observed that recognized and acknowledged the role of CBOs such as Iddirs in the development process. In an unpublished paper (Moges, 2010), indicated that, after years of overlooking the potential roles that CBOs can play a role in development, development communities (INGOs and donors) that provide development support in the "third world" have begun to re-consider the importance of CBOs in development. In similar thought, it is argued that, the innovation of new development approach which gives emphasis on local actors and the CBOs

innovative coping mechanisms to tackle their problems and their involvement in different activities have contributed a lot for re-thinking and re-theorizing of CBOs' role in development. Hailu (1995) also substantiates this point. He argues that CBOs have a significant role to play in promoting local development and in improving the living conditions of the people in which development is destined for. However, mere recognition of the existence of CBOs per se is not a solution to the structural and deep-rooted problems of CBOs in Ethiopia; rather; CBOs require enough space, and needs to be mainstreamed in the formal development structure and approach. Despite the challenges to examine the roles, functions, definition and representation of CBOs, the undeniable fact and the bottom line of this discussion is that CBOs can have a role to play in local development which is contributory to the locality. On top of that, such organizations have also a potentially valuable asset to be exploited and utilized for development. The implication of this concept and its applicability will be discussed in great depth in the fourth and fifth chapters.

2.1.3 Organizational Goals

Despite the existence of enormous lists of definitions of organizations, this paper adapts a simple definition of organization provided by Andrich. In his early work in 1979, Andrich defined organizations as "goal-directed, boundary-maintaing and socially constructed systems of human activity" (Andrich 1999:2). In this definition, he acknowledged that organizations have fascinating social units, overall purpose and of many shapes and sizes. The author further noted that, the three main dimensions integral in the above definition that may apply to organizations of all types include: (i)*Goal-oriented*-goal directed behaviours and the deliberate design of activity systems are distinctive features making organizations different from families and small groups.(ii)*Boundary-maintaing*-the establishment of an organization implies a distinction between members and non-members and (iii)*Activity systems*-organizations have activity systems for accomplishing work in accordance with their purpose of establishment(Ibid:3-4). For Andrich, most organizations are not self-sufficient, rather they depend on interchanges with their environment such as information, institutional framework and other resources for their sustenance (Ibid: 5). According to Abrahamson (1993) as quoted in Andrich (1999:5), "organizations are the fundamental building blocks of societies and the basic vehicles through which collective action occurs. Through organizations, people pursue activities too broad in scope to be accomplished by individuals or families acting on their own".

According to Thompson and McEwen (1958), in the analysis of complex organizations the definition of organizational goals is commonly utilized as a standard for appraising organizational performance. In many such analyses the goals of the organization are often viewed as constant. For Perrow (1961:855), one reason for treating goals as static fixtures of organizational life as indicated above is that goals have not been given adequate conceptualization. Perrow concludes that many organizations such as profit-making organizations, voluntary organizations and non-voluntary organizations are guided by organizational goals which fall in either official goals or operative goals

categories, but in most case organizations have both official and operative goals to pursue their objectives.

2.1.4 Local Development

The concept of local development is defined as "a particular form of regional development, one in which endogenous factors occupy a central position" and development is meant for the benefits of the locality in question (Coffey and Polese 1984:4). For them, the term "local" connotes any action, event or process which concerns an individual place or territory and the impetus for which is found principally within that specific place rather than something imposed from external areas. But this conceptualization of local development is based primarily upon economic considerations and on sustained and irreversible economic growth of a certain area or locality. Thus, their understanding has the risk of generalization for it reduces the whole concept of local development to the economic variables. In another instance, scholars like Polese, (1999), attempted to conceptualize the term in broader perspective to include other related concepts. He contends that the generic term local development is employed to convey the same general idea as "development from below", "endogenous development" and "community development". For him, though scholars used different terminology as such, all these terms and their variants refer to the same central idea that development is a local process and can be locally initiated. Polese, further indicated that the central tenets in local development perspective emphasize on the fact that "the success of a region will in the end depend on the capacity of local actors such as firms, individuals, policy makers, etc., to take matters in hand, to organize various parties around common goals, to adapt and to successfully adjust to outside pressures" (Ibid: 308).

However; both the economic dimension explanation of Coffey and Polese and the broader understanding of Polese to include other concepts such as community development are far from the concept of local development adapted in this research. In this paper, it is argued that a full account of local development should not be explained in economic variable per se and/or general term; rather, it incorporates other factors such as social, political and environmental into consideration. As argued by Helmsing (2005:23), the concept of local development is perceived as "multi-actor (it involves public, private and non-profit actors), multi-sector (it includes both private and public sector of the economy) and multi-level (it includes both global change and local initiatives)". A classic case for the conceptualization of local development in this perspective is the work of Sryrett. According to him, "local development is a local initiative using mainly local resources under local control for predominately local benefit and is rooted in the particularities of local communities" (Sryrett 1995:4).

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This research employs **Civic Driven Change, Kramer's perspectives on the "third sector"** and the "**Illusion of civil society**" as a theoretical framework to analyze the different concepts and findings involved in this research paper. These tools are selected due to their direct relevance to the stated objectives and to the research questions indicated in chapter one. These theories serve as

a nexus between the concepts and the findings that will be discussed in chapters four and five.

2.2.1 Civic Driven Change/CDC

CDC as a concept of analysing community-based initiatives gives due attention to the role of civic agency in defining their problems and solutions instead of looking for assistance and support from outside. According to Boyte (2008), "CDC lens" does not simply accept historically evolved rules of the game within society as prescribed by the outsiders; instead, it focuses on rules and social values that are prescribed by the community to address the root causes of the problems. In addition, "CDC lens" offers a renewed perspective to put citizens as key actors in change processes. The author further elaborates that citizens are entitled to a range of political and civil rights with associated obligations that are central to the understanding of citizenship and civic initiations. In "CDC lens ", civic actors are the ones which decide about structural and enduring changes in their society. As Boyte explains further, at best, aid agencies with good intentions and practices play a facilitating role in lieu of deciding everything for the society from above. This approach calls for civic change as a tool for development of a society in place of aid change which has been dominant in mainstream development. Many proponents of the "CDC lens" claim that the most important aspect of "CDC lens" is that it takes a perspective of citizen-driven change and bottom-up process of social change and development than hierarchical and top-down decision making procedures.

Dagron underlines the importance of citizen involvement and participation to ensure sustainable development. The author argues "conceptualizing development without the active involvement of people deviates from its original intent and is unsustainable "….communication in development as dialogue and debate is at the core of civic involvement and social change" (Gumucio-Dagron, 2008:67). Furthermore, on top of questioning the "natural" boundary between the private and public dichotomy, the "CDC lens" further stresses the fact that local process, change and development will engage with each other to bring about large scale social transformation or development (Biekart and Fowler, 2009).

The validity and/or invalidity of the "CDC lens" and the existing theoretical gap in understanding community initiatives with reference to Iddirs will be discussed in the fifth chapter.

2.2.2 Perspectives on the "third sector"

To understand the complex and controversial concept of the "third sector", Kramer (2000) developed four perspectives or in his words "four alterative or supplementary paradigms" as a way of clarifying the basics in the "third sector". These four perspectives includes, political-economy, organizational ecology, new-institutionalism and open/mixed system, for this research the last two perspectives will be discussed and linked to the major findings in chapter five.

According to Kramer, one useful way to understand the "third sector" is the Neo-institutionalism, which rejects the static public-private dichotomy. Instead, this perspective advocates about the blurring of boundaries between

the sectors. The other perspective which helps to understand the roles and functions of the "third sector" in Kramer's view is the mixed and open system perspective or in his words an "intermediate area". According to him, the basic idea of this perspective is that the "third sector" can be explained in its relation with the other sector rather than something isolates and separate. This perspective explains the "complex interactions between four major sectors of the society such as state, market economy, the civil society of voluntary organizations and the community of households" (Ibid:15).
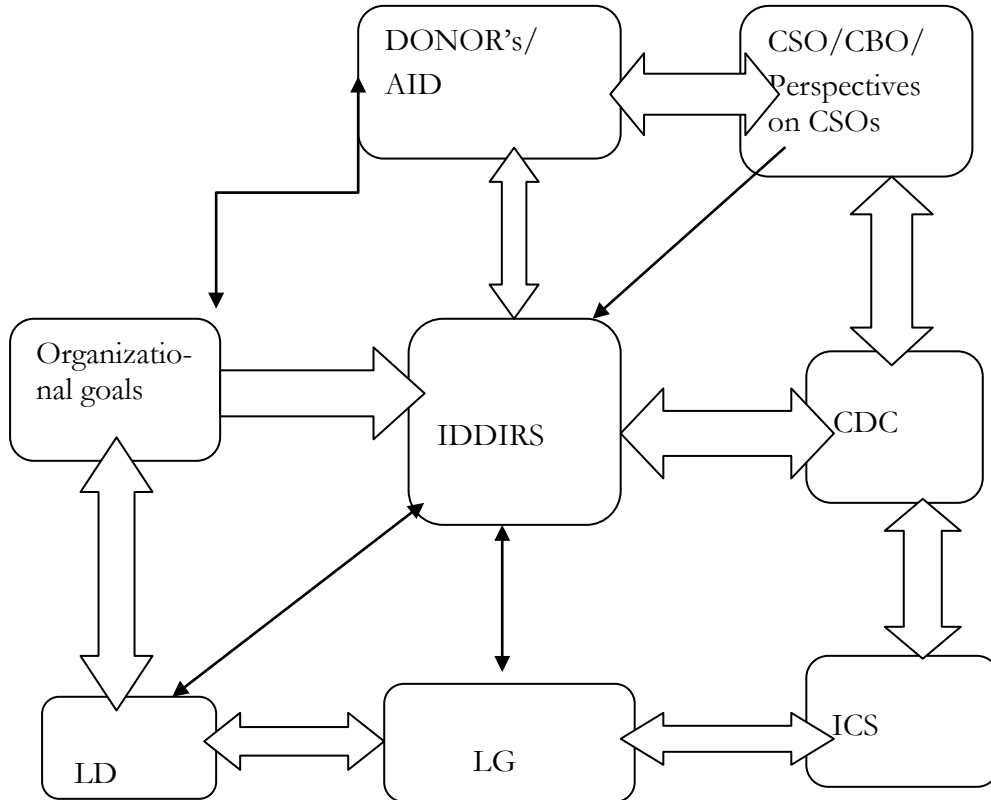
2.2.3 The Illusion of Civil society

The concept of civil society and the roles that CSOs play in Africa is very different from other parts of the world and it is a result of its own unique historical processes. According to Chabal et al (1999), in the "Western World", the formation of civil society is associated with democratic process and social movement to challenge the state in its relation with society. This resulted in the existence of strong, independent, highly organized and vibrant civil society which protects and defends public interests unlike its African counterpart. Hearn (2007) supports the above argument with regards to the formation of NGOs and CBOs in East Africa. She argues that in African context, NGOs and CBOs are "created by civil servants who are either working in government structures or "restructured" out of a job but who still retain contacts within ministries and government officials" (Ibid:1103). Ethiopia is not, by and large, an exception to the above general picture of CSOs in Africa.

It is believed roles on the one hand, and the government recognition of the role of Iddirs as partners in development as separate from the government structure and the market on the other provide a sound justification to consider Iddirs as part of CSOs. Besides, the lack of clarity to delineate the boundary of civil society in the academic discourse in general provides additional reason to consider Iddirs as part of the "ambiguous" umbrella that, given the current involvement of Iddirs in local development term called "civil society".

Chabal et al (1999) argue in the same line of thought with Hearn's. They believe that the "dichotomy between state and civil society, which is substantially taken for granted in most current interpretations of African politics, does not reflect the realities on the continent (Ibid:17). For them, the notion of civil society would only apply if it could be shown that there were meaningful institutional separations between a well organized civil society and a relatively autonomous bureaucratic state as the case in the western world, rather what we observe in Africa is the constant interpretation, or straddling, of one by the other"(Ibid:). To explain the illusion of civil society in Africa, Chabal et al (1999) further argue that the development of properly grounded associations charged with the defence and promotion of a "common good" within the public sphere is highly problematic in Africa due to the basic fact that "African societies are essentially plural, fragmented and, above all, organized along vertical lines instead of horizontal functional bonds or ties of solidarity between those who are similarly employed and professionally linked"(Ibid:19). By conceptualizing Iddirs as part of civil society, some of the findings of the research in the upcoming chapters will be assessed in line with this theoretical framework as deemed necessary.

2.3   Analytical Framework

The Analytical framework diagram indicated below is designed to address the questions of the research paper indicated in chapter one along with the major findings of the research. This analytical part will be discussed in great depth in chapter five.

```
   DONOR's/              CSO/CBO/
   AID        <------>   Perspectives
                         on CSOs



Organizatio-                          CDC
nal goals  =====>  IDDIRS   <=====>



   LD   <=====>    LG    <=====>   ICS
```

As indicated above in the diagram, the different arrows highlight the kind of existing relationship and partnership with external actors namely NGOs and local government. The double arrows explain two way partnership and relationship with Iddirs. In addition, the diagram also shows the linkage between the different theories and concepts discussed in the conceptual and theoretical part of the chapter.

Chapter 3
Literature Review on Iddirs and Description of Cases

The chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part discusses the existing literature about the origin and development of Iddirs as well as the types of Iddirs that exist in Addis Ababa. The subsequent part will provide brief description of the case studies to give the reader a general idea of the subject matter. This chapter will help to link the concepts and theories discussed in the preceding chapter with the major findings in the subsequent chapters.

3.1 Literature Review on Iddirs

3.1.1 Iddirs in Historical Perspectives

"Customary" associations and organizations such as Iddirs are the dominant features of associations in most developing countries especially in Africa whereby people organize themselves to minimize risks and to respond to their immediate social problems in their neighbourhood and community at large. According to De Weerdt et al (2007:158), such "kind of organizations(Iddirs) and in their words "Insurance Associations" sustained over time in different part of the world on the basis of implicit rules enforced by social norms, once joined, no one is tempted to defect later when they realise that their own contribution is outweighing their personal and social benefits". Pankhurst and Endreas (1958) adopt similar stance with regards to the origin and development of Iddirs. They argue that, the "friendly society" of England in the 18th Century had similar fields of services and functions to its members like the case with Iddirs in Ethiopia. They further contend that such kinds of associations are also very common in East Africa especially in Kenya and Tanzania under strict supervision of governments on their roles and functions to their members and locality at large.

As indicated above, based on a comparative study in Tanzania and Ethiopia, Dercon et al (2006) acknowledged the existence of similar organizations in other part of the world such as in Tanzania. In the same line of thought, De Weerdt et al (2007) indicated that the "customary" funeral society in Western Tanzania is called *Bujuni* which mainly established to cover the basic funeral insurance in contrast to informal networks of neighbours and membership requirements" as the case with Iddirs in the Ethiopian context (Ibid: 160). Despite the existence of different stand points and less consensus on the origin and universalities of Iddirs as organization of the community, most scholars who researched in the area contend that membership/CBOs such as Iddirs and *Bujuni* are locally initiated associations of people, who have voluntarily entered into an explicit agreement to help each other in a well-defined way when well-defined events occur (Ibid: 172). Membership inclusiveness, leadership accountability, locally appropriate rules and acceptable sanctions are combined to enable such "customary" organizations to retain a high local status and authority in the African context. De Weerdt et al(2007)

further noted that, "Insurance Associations" such as Iddirs are locally initiated associations of people especially the poor, who have voluntarily entered into an explicit agreement to help each other without any direct outside involvement.

Historically, as far as the origins of Iddirs in Ethiopia is concerned, popular opinion and the view of most writers on this point (Korten, 1972, and Fekadu, 1974) suggest that Iddirs are built on traditional forms of cooperation existing in the rural areas throughout Ethiopia. However, some authors like Pankhurst (2003, 2006) and others in recent years suggest that Iddirs are essentially urban phenomena which grew out of the needs of migrants to Addis Ababa (the Ethiopian capital). These researches further explain that, Iddirs' in Addis Ababa appeared in the early 20th century with the advent of migrants from the Gurage in southern Ethiopia. The existence of lists of members, written bylaws, monthly monetary contributions, regular meetings, differentiated and fixed coverage schemes and periodically elected executive committee members, and fines for non-compliant members, by and large suggest that Iddirs have a formal system to control its members and their contribution; Pankhurst (2003) uses this as a further explanation to consider Iddirs as urban phenomena.

Though the question whether Iddirs are of urban or rural origin remains contentious, the latter view on the origin of Iddirs as a 20th century phenomena is still the dominant view among those who have studied the subject in recent years. However, at this point it should be noted that there is no clear evidence and consensus among scholars with regards to where and when Iddirs originated. At the same time it is worth to mention the fact that most scholars have commonly argued that its development was associated with urbanization which was mainly caused by the Italian occupation. In the same token, Pankhurst and Endreas (1958) argue that, the development and spread of Iddirs across the country was facilitated by the occupation and the emergence of the market economy in the late 1940s after the Italian occupation. In the course of time, as noted by Pankhurst (1998), the role, function and size of Iddirs have been expanded to developmental activities along with providing members with the burial functions in time of death. Mutual support and assistance to funeral services is becoming one function of Iddirs among the many different functions. Since most Iddirs are not registered it is impossible to know the actual number of Iddirs that exist in the country in general and in the city of Addis Ababa in particular. Interestingly, however, most recognize that Iddirs are diverse in membership size, resources and the services they provide, their capacity to engage in development and their gender mixture. Furthermore, membership to Iddir transcend age, sex and social status categories, all members of the society such as civil servants, salaried employees, domestic servants, street children, poor women, etc., in one way or another belong to this organization .

3.1. 2 Types/Categories of Iddirs

CBOs such as Iddirs exist often in diverse forms and differ from place to place as well as change in its form and functions with the passage of time. According to Agedew and Hinrichsen (2001), Iddirs employ various screening mechanisms to admit new members. They illustrate that some Iddirs charge large registration fees, some restrict membership to a clearly defined

geographic area, some fix a ceiling on the size of members and some others still restrict membership to a homogenous groups defined by sex, blood relations, professions etc. This general description of Iddirs is assessed in chapter four in line with the findings of the case studies. The following table provides list of Iddirs that exist in Addis Ababa, but the list is not exhaustive since it does not include newly emerging Iddirs types which are not yet documented.

Table 2: Types of Iddirs in Addis Ababa

No	Types of Iddirs	Recruitment Strategy/Criteria
1	Community("Sefer") Iddir	Membership is open to any households residing in a kebele or a set of kebeles.
2	Neighbourhood("Yegorebate") Iddir	Membership is restricted to households residing within a defined neighbourhood.
3	Family("Yebeteseb") Iddir	Membership is limited to relatives, members from different woredas and kebeles.
4	Provincial("Yekfelehager") Iddir	Members come from the same province in the country side.
5	Freinds("Yeguadegnamoch") Iddir	Members are limited to friends, often with similar backgrounds and interests.
6	Work-place("Yemesriabet") Iddir	Membership is restricted to permanent employees of a public organization or a private enterprise.
7	Professional ("Yemuya") Iddir	Membership is only open to members of a certain profession, like teachers', lawyers' associations etc.
8	Women's ("Yesetoch") Iddir	Membership is limited to women members who are tied to each other by place of residence, friendship or other factors.
9	Ethnic-based("Yebehir") Iddir	Membership is restricted to people from the same ethnic-group.
10	Religion-based ("Yehayimanot") Iddir	Membership is limited to people belonging to the same faith.

Source: Adapted from Agedew and Hinrichsen 2001,p 58.

Despite the existence of a variety of Iddir types in Addis Ababa as indicated in the above table, this research is limited to community types of Iddirs.

3.2 Description of Cases

This part of the chapter provides a brief discussion of the three case studies regarding their origin and development. By doing so, it will help the reader to relate this description with the analysis in the subsequent chapters.

Case One: "Mehabere Fiker" Iddir (MFI)

MFI is found in Addis Ababa Gullele Sub-City, Kebele 10 and 11. It was established in 1964 on the basis of locality for the purpose of providing burial functions to its members and it is the oldest of all other Iddirs considered in this research.. The founding members were a total of 10 persons who were living in a very close neighborhood. As revealed in the interview, a sudden death of an orphan child in the area was the main reason that motivated those founding members to come together thereby establishing MFI. When it was established, members' contribution was 10 cents and there was no written by law and organizational structure nor a meeting hall. Usually meetings were held in nearby church compound or in the bereaved family home at the time of death just to collect money so as to execute the burial activities. At that time, contribution used to be collected just when the incidence of death took place and all the collected money was expended on the spot.

From such initial stage of establishment, the organization has gone through a number of developments both in its structure, membership size as well as financial capacity.Currently, MFI has 261 members out of which 133 are women. In line with the membership growth, it also increased the contribution money from 10 cents to 10 Birr/1USD= 16.70 Birr/ and at present time, it has a financial capacity of birr 59,000 obtained from different sources such as monthly contributions, renting of articles owned by the Iddir such as chairs and meeting hall rental income on top of money collected from absentees as penality. In connection to this, the most important development is that MFI introduced monthly contribution ahead of the incidence of death rather than collecting money on the spot when incidence of death occurs.

Equally important in the growth process is that over the course of time a number of formalization and reforms have been taking place within MFI. According to my interviewee in MFI, this Iddir has managed to develop written bylaws and organizational structure as well as construction of meeting hall. It has a system of election procedure which requires election to be carried out every 2 years. As stated in the bylaws, every member has the right to elect and be elected and has also an obligation to serve his/her Iddir at a minimum of two years of services without payment. As indicated by the MFI leader, in order to maintain the cultural traditions and the needs of its members, MFI is only providing burial functions and related assistance to its members. In this regard, members of MFI revealed that there is a move to include developmental agenda in the bylaws. However, at this stage, there is a strong opposition from most members /and even from few leaders/ regarding the inclusion of development agenda. Most indicated that the inclusion of development agenda may politicize their Iddir and jeopardize the major burial functions on top of distorting the old cultural traditions and values rooted in their Iddir.

Source: Compiled from Interview

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Table 4. Case 2, Dele-Berr-Genet Amba Iddir (DA-GAI)

DA-GAI is found in Gullele Sub-City, Kebele 12, 13, 14 and 15 of Addis Ababa. It was established around 1974 for the primary purpose of mutual support and assistance in time of death. Five elders and religious leaders took the initiative to establish DA-GAI on the basis of their place of residency/locality. It was started with informal meeting and discussion among elders and religious leaders in the nearby church. In the course of time, they agreed to meet every Sunday and started to invite and include other non-religious members as well. As revealed by my interviewee, at the initial year of establishment of DA-GAI assumed more of a religious organization's, but in the course of time it started to include other members of the community as well from different religious background. As the case with MFI, membership contribution at the early years of the establishment of DA-GAI was 10 cents.

With regards to leadership, DA-GAI had unique experiences and practices. In the first 5-10 years, leadership role was left only for the elders and religious leaders who took the initiative for the establishment of DA-GAI. As can be understood from the interview, during that time it was very difficult to question any decision made by Iddir leaders and their decisions were not also open for public scrutiny unlike the practices at the present time. However, in the course of time, especially after 1986 DA-GAI made an important modification and overall improvement in the entire system.

According to my informant who has been a member since 1986, it was in 1986 that DA-GAI introduced the first bylaws and new form of working procedures within the internal organizational structure. At that time, DA-GAI had 50 members, the majority being men as opposed to a membership size of 351 at present time out of which 141 are women. In the same period, DA-GAI conducted the first election of Iddir leaders though the same leaders were re-elected to lead for two years of term of office. It is important to note that although they were the same persons who were in power, DA-GAI members and leaders acknowledged that it was the turning point and historic event to their organizational development since 1974 to elect their leaders. Besides, the existence of written bylaws has attracted additional members and increased the size of its members and financial capacity. At present, DA-GAI has a financial capital of 97,000 which is collected from the same sources as indicated above for MFI.

Since the introduction of the first bylaws, it has been under constant amendment and change depending on the existing situations and changing needs of members as well as the dynamism within the organization. So far they have modified the bylaws four times the lasts being in 2005. According to the leader of DA-GAI, the most important of all the changes and amendment in the bylaw was the amendment that DA-GAI made in 2005 to include developmental agenda and role. Since then, based on consultation with members and mutual consent to contribute its part to the development of their locality, it has engaged in local development activities by mobilizing members' knowledge, labor and money. As revealed by my interviewee, it was the combined needs and efforts of leaders and members within the organization that motivated them to engage in development rather than something imposed from outside. DA-GAI executed local development activities from their own sources (membership resources and contributions).

Source: Compiled from Interview

Table 5. Case 3, "Medihanialem" Support and Development Iddir (MSDI)

MSDI was established in 1986 and represent the shortest lifespan since its establishment as compared with the other two cases. It is found in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-City of Addis Ababa, kebele 17 and 18. It was founded by 20 persons living in the neighborhood contributing 50 cents at the time of death. As the name implies/Medihanialem means Holly Savior/, the founding members were from the same religious background, namely, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In the latter years of its development, it expanded its membership to other community members and membership admission was open to all community members irrespective of their religious background, as revealed by my interviewee. This effort was considered as the first kind of reform that took place within MSDI to expand its organizational horizon. However, despite the membership admission reforms, to maintain the image of the organization, members and their leaders prefer to keep the original name of the organization which signals religious connotation.

In the course of time and organizational development, MSDI made important development within the organization such as bylaws formulation and development, creation of organizational structure, and membership increment as the case with the other two cases discussed above. However as revealed by the interviewee, both the financial capital and membership size of MSDI is higher than the other two cases. The Secretary of MSDI explained that MSDI has a financial capital of 1 million birr the number of members being 500(200 women). In this connection, it was revealed that the financial capital of MSDI is the direct reflection of its membership size which is much higher than the other two cases. In addition, it has also a higher membership monthly contribution, birr 12, which exceeds by 2 birr from the other two cases.

The other unique situation with MSDI is that it has enjoyed a higher degree of partnership and cooperation with the external actors. Since 2005, it has partnership with ACORD and the local government in its engagement with development. My informant who is a leader of MSDI indicated that, "MSDI is among the few if not the only organizations that were engaged in development role during that time and MSDI is among the pioneer organization that executed development activities along with the burial functions". Unlike the case with DA-GAI the initiative to engage in development was not from within; rather, it was from outside. It was ACORD who took the initiative to discuss with MSDI leaders and members about their potential, commitment and interest to play development roles along with the burial functions. After a series of consultation and discussion as well as awareness raising workshop, trainings and seminars organized by ACORD, some members and leaders agreed to engage in development. It was after such contact that leaders and some members of MSDI brought the matter on board for further discussion and consultation within the organization without ACORD's interference. As revealed from my discussion with members and leaders, the Iddir members finally agreed to include the developmental aspects in their bylaws prior to any official contact with ACORD for such partnership. In my interview, it was stressed that, though it was ACORD's initiation, the finial say, decision and credit to engage in development is given to MSDI leaders of the time and their members. However, all of my interviewees acknowledged the positive and inspiring role of ACORD in the process. One leader also further explained that, MSDI is an exemplary model and pioneer to motivate other Iddirs to engage in development though it is very difficult to verify the claim. In addition to its partnership with NGOs, it has also high degree of contact and partnership with the local government unlike the case with the other two.

Source: Compiled from Interview

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Table 6. Summary of the three cases

For the sake of summarizing the important aspects in each Iddir, comparison of the three case studies with objective indicators and parameters is crucial to capture the existing communalities and differences.

Points of Com.	Cases		
	MFI	**GB-GAI**	**MSDI**
Membership size	261	351	500
Capital	Birr 59,000.00	Birr 97,000.00 plus registered assets like land	Birr 1,000000.00 plus registered assets like land and separate account for money obtained from donation(from ACORD)
Written bylaws	A written bylaw with 5 articles.	A written bylaw with 7 articles, the last two articles deal with development role.	A written bylaw with 7 articles, the last two articles enshrine development role.
Organizational structure	There is a clear organizational structure with general assembly and executive body as its major decision making bodies.	There is a clear organizational structure with general assembly and executive body as its major decision making bodies.	There is a clear organizational structure with general assembly and executive body as major decision making bodies and a council of decision making as a third body.
Level of partnership and cooperation	Most of the interaction is within the organization with limited contact to the local government for registration and licensing.	It has contact and partnership with similar Iddirs, organization for collective action in local development along with their frequent contact and collective action with the local government.	It enjoys high degree of contact with NGOs and local government to the extent of securing financial and material supports.

Source: Compiled from Interview

Chapter 4
Data Description and Interpretation

This chapter is primarily designed to discuss the major findings of the research from the data obtained in the fieldwork in a descriptive manner to answer the research question followed by a subsequent chapter which provides explanation on the "how" and "why" questions. To this end, this chapter is structured in 5 sections each addressing different questions of the research as indicated in chapter one. Questions such as what are the roles of Iddirs in local development? To what extent do Iddir leaders' consult their members in decision making? To what extent do external actors affect the roles of Iddirs in local development? What are the formalization process and development? What are the challenges encountered (both internal and external) in the course of executing their activities? These major questions are explored here in a logical and coherence manner in light of the three cases selected for this study.

4.1   Iddirs and Decision Making

As the findings of the research in the three case studies suggests, Iddirs have organizational structure and decision making procedure in place that allows participatory and inclusive decision making and consultation among members and their leaders. The first and the highest decision making body is the general assembly which consists of, by default, all members and has empowered to pass important decisions including the decision to dissolve the organization when deemed necessary. To pass any decision and to endorse those decisions, the resolution must be supported by a simple majority vote (Quorum) of members of the general assembly. Thus, any decision passed in the absence of this requirement is considered as null and void. This is a kind of decision-making procedure one finds in other formal organizations both in governmental and NGO sectors. Once the quorum is fulfilled, the ultimate decision making power and authority is rest on this body. The general assembly has the power to decide on: changing or amending the bylaws, issues of partnership with government or NGOs, shaping the role of their Iddir to play different roles and electing their leaders. The general assembly has also additional power to call the executive committee any time and question them in time of abuse of power and misinterpretation of the bylaws and has the right to take measures which go to the extent of removing them from power.

The same kind of decision making procedure is also applicable within the executive committee which consists of 7-9 members and represents the second decision making body in the structure of Iddirs. Out of the total 9 members 5 or more members (quorum) have to be present to make decision and pass endorsement within the committee. As indicated by the leaders of the three cases, the executive committee is accountable to the general assembly and work in close contact and consultation with the assembly especially on matters that go beyond the power of the executive committee.

The executive committee is responsible to carry out the day to day activities. Among them are decisions making on matters of membership admission, penalty or fine against non-compliant members and leaders, and generating income through renting of Iddir materials. It has a two years term of office and works on voluntary basis.

As revealed by Iddirs leaders and members, instead of a top-down decision making procedure, decision making principles in the structure of Iddirs include mutual agreement, negotiations, consultations and dialogue, among other things. This finding perfectly fits to Esman's and Uphoff's understanding of CBOs and their decision making procedures as indicated in the second chapter (see the table adapted from Esman and Uphoff). However, most members and leaders admitted that to reach to such mutual agreement and consensus, there is a lot of monotonous and painful exercise of negotiation, persuasion and also confrontation with non-compliant members and leaders to work for the common goal and to compromise the divergent interests among members and leaders. For instance, most members and leaders indicated that failure to attend members' funeral ceremonies and failure to pay the monthly contributions are the most obvious grounds of confrontation among members and leaders. However, they further stressed that even in such situation to hold the members together for collective action; most Iddirs prefer advice and consultation with non-compliant members than rushing to punishment. In this connection, the statement made by one of my interviewees is worth mentioning:

> In most case we give priority for advice and consultation for non-compliant members and leaders rather than rushing for penalty because penalty might affect the social values and traditional meanings attached to Iddirs conflict or problems solving mechanisms (Serekalem, secretary of MFI).

However; the situation is not alike across Iddirs with regards to fine to non-compliant members. Accordingly, MSDI has zero degree of tolerance for non-complaint members. To avoid "free-riders", besides fine to non-compliant members, they also use social sanctions which include, decline to collaborate and assist in any of the funeral preparations, non-sharing of essential domestic items and non- participation in the events organized by the non-compliant members in the locality.

With regards to the sex compositions, out of the total of twenty five executive committee members in the three case studies indicated above, nine are women. These women are working in different positions within the executive committees including leadership positions. Unlike the case in the past, in recent years more women are shown up for leadership position and have played an important role in their assigned positions as indicated by one of my woman informants, who is working in secretary position for MFI. Though the involvement of women in leadership position is considered as a good initiative to replicate, still it is quite imperative to note that the figure indicates under-representation of women in leadership positions especially when compared with their size in the general assembly.

Due to the existence of open dialogue and forum of participation in any issues which range from simple issue of monthly contribution to the complex matter of involvement in local development among all members, most of my

informants, both leaders and members confidently expressed that Iddirs represent the most democratic and participatory organizations of the poor and the marginalized people. This findings and expression of the interviewees' are also shared by earlier writers in the area such as Dejene (1993) and Pankhurst (2003) who argue that, Iddirs are the most democratic and accountable organization that deepen civic values and principles as indicated in chapter three. However, it is important to note that all Iddirs are not similar in providing open space and forum for members' participation in decision making process; there are instances in some Iddirs where important decisions are made by the leaders in top-down manner.

4.2   Formalization and Iddirs' Leadership

One of the basic features of Iddirs as CBOs which is different from other organization is the existence of written bylaws which is developed, endorsed and implemented by all members on mutual consensus. As indicated by the informants, Iddir members are the one who are empowered and have the privilege to define the "rule of the game" and held accountable to the bylaws. Such practices justify the formalization process in the structure of Iddirs from a mere collection of people to a collection of rules to guide their collective action. All of the Iddirs employed in the case study have written bylaws in place that guide their day to day activities and their members. Equally important is the existence of flexible systems and procedures to amend or change Iddir bylaws depending on members' needs and dynamism within the organization. In all the case studies, their bylaws are frequently modified and updated to incorporate different issues. In this regard, my informant in MFI indicated that they have reviewed and modified their bylaws four times since its establishment. The same holds true for DB-GAI which has amended its bylaws two times. My informants in DB-GAI indicated that the most remarkable change in the amendment was the change they made in 2005 that incorporated two additional provisions that warrant for it to play a role in local development along with the burial functions. In the same token, MSDI bylaws has been in the process of change and development since its emergence in the 1980s and so far it managed to modify the bylaws five times in 1984, 1990, 1995, 2000, and 2005 as revealed by my informant who has been a leader and member since its inception.

Each bylaw has its own articles and sub-articles within it. The bylaws of most Iddirs have five main articles, but for some Iddirs such as DB-GAI and MDSI which engage in local development roles, they have additional two articles that directly deal with their roles in local development. According to my informants in the three case studies, the articles have different aspects of emphasis. The first article, states about the general and specific objectives of the Iddir. Article two, explains the authority and duties and responsibilities of the general assembly and the executive. The third article, discusses about rules of payment on admission, death and emergency case for members. The fourth article, on the other hand, explains situations about bylaw modification or amendment. The final and the fifth article provides for the situations that may

lead to the dissolution of the organization. Interestingly, however, I have reviewed three bylaws and I have observed that besides the general provision, sub-article three of article one states the non-interference of Iddirs in politics and administrative affairs of the government. It goes on to state that "Iddirs are free from politics, religion and ethnicity". Further, it enshrines that Iddirs could cooperate, accept and implement government strategies and regulations. The implications of this will be explored in the subsequent chapter in line with the concept of the illusion of civil society and Kramer neo-institutionalism discussed in the second chapter.

Regarding leaders' –members' relationship in the case studies, there exists a transparent and democratic transition of power from one leader to the other with two years fixed term of office. Each member has a minimum obligation of serving his/her Iddir for two years in leadership position. As stated in the bylaws, each and every member is entitled to elect and be elected in leadership position. The leader of MFI explains the situations stating:

> *In my opinion contrary to earlier practice in which leadership position is left to political elite and religious leader members, today we have improved our practice and open our doors for the young, women and educated one to come to the leadership position (Derso Zeleke).*

The informants further explained that MFI can be an exemplary model for other Iddirs for the enforcement of the provision of the bylaws which prescribe two years term of office for leaders. But, contrary to the practice in MFI and, more importantly, contrary to their own bylaws, the cases in DB-GAI and MSDI reflect a different practice since most leaders have been in power for more than two years. A leader of MSDI, who has been in power for the last ten years, explains the practices saying:

> *I am willing and ready to leave the place for others and I also expressed my view in many instances including in the General assembly meetings but no one is ready to take my leadership role, rather, most members insisted on me to continue in my leadership role (Arega G/Hiwot).*

This kind of practice also stands true in DB-GAI in which leaders have been in power for 7 years. When I spoke this matter with members, they told me that their good performance, loyalty to the members and observance of the bylaws as well as their commitment to work are the main reasons for accepting the leaders for such long time. Interestingly, both the leaders and the members revealed that Iddirs represent the most democratic organizations at the grassroots level. They mentioned that the existence of fixed term of office and periodic election as testimonies for participatory and democratic practices in the structure of Iddirs.

The following statement of one of my interviewees clearly reveals and summarizes the gap between the bylaws and the practice:

> *Iddir leaders like me are elected by members or removed from power by members depending on our commitment, loyalty and performance. Our actions and responsibilities as Iddir leaders are open to members' scrutiny. Members are entitled to replace any leader who behaves improperly. At the same time, members are also empowered to re-elect the one that has good personality and is responsive to members' needs (Kassahun, leader of DB-GAI)*

However; such practices of democratic principles are not uniform across Iddirs. Accordingly, in some instances there are Iddirs leaders who are in power for 20 or more years and are not participatory at all. Equally important is that whether or not it is in the interest of members to keep leaders for long, there exists a contradiction between the written bylaws and the practices as evidenced in DB-GAI and MSDI Iddirs.

4.3   Functions and Roles of Iddirs

This sub-section, deals with the functions and roles of Iddirs both to their members and to the locality at large. The "customary" and local development roles of Iddirs were given a focus of attention in this discussion. Further discussion on this point will be provided in the next chapter in line with the theories and concepts discussed in the second chapter.

4.3.1 The "Customary" Functions and Roles

As can be seen from the case studies, Iddirs in Addis Ababa have been actively playing burial roles. Interviewed members of MFI expressed that mutual assistance and cooperation is not only the obligation of Iddir members but also it is the long-standing culture and the norm of the Ethiopian society. On top of that, Iddirs such as MFI, DB-GAI and MSDI have been equally playing a pivotal role in conflict resolution and serve as social security in time of crisis such as flood, famine, and drought. My informants further explained that, DB-GAI provides some percentage of money from the Iddir account for members to assist themselves in time of sickness and help members in the rehabilitation process before the incidence of death occurs. Contrary to some writers such as Desta (2003), understanding of Iddirs (every Iddir member must pay monthly contribution) as explained in the third chapter, in recent years, Iddirs such as DB-GAI have introduced exemption of monthly contribution fee for the elderly members and care and support for members before death. DB-GAI and MSDI members indicated that, in line with their "customary" functions, their Iddirs have also actively involved and have been making strong efforts to change harmful traditional practices such as building costly tombs, highly expensive burial expenses and organizing feasts. One of my informants and a member of DB-GAI since 1990 explained the importance of his Iddir saying:

> *My Iddir is my life security even very close than my family and relatives both in time of sorrow and happiness in social, cultural and economic aspects (Tesfaye Bekele).*

4.3.2 Local Development Functions and Roles

Unlike the case with MFI which prefer to stick with the "customary" role due to capacity constraints and members demand, as explained by the members and their leaders, DB-GAI and MSDI go beyond the "customary" view and have been involved in local development activities both initiated internally and/or externally by other actors. As explained in the subsequent chapter, MFI has its own logic and argument for its preference to play the "customary role" as it stands now. Interestingly, however, it is quite imperative to note that all Iddirs do not engage in local development role. In the same thought, even those Iddirs which play a role in local development, there exists variation in their philosophy or strategy of implementation. For instance, DB-GAI is playing such role from the resources obtained from their own sources

(membership contribution both in kind and cash) whereas MSDI works in partnership with an external actor (ACORD) to carry out local development activities.

In the case of DB-GAI, since 2005, it has been playing an active role in the local development through human, material and financial mobilization of its members. As the findings illustrate, DB-GAI has engaged in a number of activities which are contributory to the locality beyond the membership boundaries. These activities include, among other things, the construction of road, bridge, kindergarten, water pipeline and electricity installation, urban sanitation and plantation of trees for environmental protection, the creation of livable city and promotion of local economic development via saving and credit facilities and construction of gridding mills for members. During my field visits, I have observed the constructed road and bridge as well as the water tanker which is serving as a source of income generation activities for members. As explained by my interviewees, the innovative part of the income generation activities is that the generated income is re-invested for promotion of local development activities and has a positive effect to reduce some of the costs that members are expected to contribute for local development. Besides, it provides opportunity for poor members since they are relieved of in cash contributions in as far as they spend some time for work. The secretary of DB-GAI stressed that, following their efforts and achievement in the area, DB-GAI managed to influence the local government to take similar initiation. As mentioned in the interview, a successful case in this regard is that the local government built ring road in the area which had been neglected over years.

As explained above for DB-GAI, the situation in MSDI with regards to local development initiatives and involvement shows similar trends with few exceptions in scopes and level of engagement with the external actors to diversify the resources bases of the organization. As discussed above, the resource base of DB-GAI is limited to members' contribution unlike the case with MSDI which managed to obtain and mobilize resources from external actors. Quite interestingly, the findings suggest that the local development activities in both Iddirs are similar and the difference is in scope and expansion of those activities in wider geographical settings or locality than in the nature of those activities. MSDI has more coverage and expansion of those activities as a result of their high capital and the availability of resources from external actors as revealed by the interviewees. In addition to the local development activities indicated above for DB-GAI, MSDI has additional activities such as building of traditional and cultural game centers, building of shower rooms, and construction of elder day care center as well as opening of café and recreational centers as indicated by the interviewed leaders in MSDI. To carry out the above mentioned activities, the leader of MSDI indicated that besides the commitment and determination of MSDI members and the leaders to execute the indicated activities, the role of ACORD as external actor has also got appreciation from the leaders. One leader explains the positive role of ACORD saying:-

The support that we got from ACORD seems insignificant in financial terms compared to the budget that ACORD has as a donor, but we got a number of benefits in "software" programmes, behavioral change and positive inspiring roles which are hundred times better than financial support (Ato Dawit Melese).

4.4 Iddirs and their partnership with other actors

The findings suggest that, there is a positive correlation between Iddirs' level of cooperation and partnership with other actors and Iddirs' involvement in local development. The more the activities of Iddirs, the higher the cooperation and partnership that Iddirs can have with external actors such as other Iddirs, local government, NGOs and other organizations. As indicated by the interviewed informants, one of the reasons for such positive correlation is that the involvement of Iddirs in different activities attracted other actors especially aid agencies/donors and the local government both for the aim of addressing the problems of the poor at the local level and/or political gain. The leader of MDSI illustrated that the local government and the NGOs have different interest in their partnership with Iddirs at the local level. The primary aim of the local government for their partnership is to get the support of Iddir members in their political campaign as Iddirs have large number of peoples as members. For the NGOs, partnership with Iddirs at the local level has two main advantages. One is that it is very easy to find the poor and the marginalized such as women and elders in community organizations like Iddirs. The second is that it helps the external actors to get legitimacy from the community which in turn has positive impact for project sustainability and sense of ownership.

The findings in MFI indicated that as a result of their burial functions which are by its very nature membership bounded, it has limited contact and partnership with external actors. In this regard, according to my informants in MFI, the only partnership and interaction of their Iddir is with the local government mainly in legalization process, registration, approval of their bylaws endorsed by members, and also in matters of conflict resolution. The local government in its part facilitates for the opening of bank account for the legally registered Iddir such as MFI and monitors the proper utilization of the money for its primary purpose of establishment. It is fundamental to evoke that this is a recent positive development in Iddirs' structure, since, earlier, Iddirs did not have legal status and Iddirs' bank accounts used to be opened in the name of leaders which in turn opened the room for abuse and manipulation. In lieu of the services they get from the local government, Iddirs in their part pay a registration fee of birr 150 when they are registered and every year a renewal fee of birr 50 has to be paid to the local government.

DB-GAI has relatively stronger and many contact with the local government and other similar Iddirs working in the locality more than the contact MFI had. According to the leader of DB-GAI, the positive support that they get from the local government goes beyond registration and legalization. The leader mentioned that the provision of land by the local government for construction purpose and Iddirs leaders' participation and inputs contributions on government community development programmes

and strategies are the direct result of their involvement in local development. The secretary of DB-GAI, also mentioned the positive level of partnership and collaboration of DB-GAI with similar Iddirs for joint local development activities in the locality such as construction of roads, bridge and electricity installation as well as in sharing good practices and experiences. He further noted that, prior to that period where his Iddir was playing a burial function alone; it did not have such kind of interaction with the local government and other similar Iddirs. Interestingly, as indicated by both leaders and members in DB-GAI, it does not have any partnership or collaboration with NGOs in their role to execute local development activities and most of the resources are obtained from members' contributions.

The case with MSDI reflects a unique case of cooperation and partnership with the external actors. Unlike the case with the other two Iddirs in the case study, most of MSDI activities are executed in partnership with the external actors. MSDI's has high degree of partnership and collaboration with other actors which work in similar area. Most of the strategies and approaches of MSDI is "external oriented and out ward looking" than "internal oriented and inward looking" as opposed to the case with MFI and DB-GAI. As revealed by one of the leaders of MSDI, the level of partnership and cooperation of MSDI with the external actors such as local government, other Iddirs in the locality and ACORD is justified mainly with its multiple involvement in a number of activities. My informant who is team officer from the Addis Ababa Civil and Labor Affairs explained that his office provides a lot of support and ready to support to such active Iddirs as MSDI which are doing part of the government job. Members and leaders from MSDI acknowledged that they are getting different support from the local government including open space provision from the Addis Ababa City Municipality for building recreational centers and offices. When I visited MSDI office for my interview, my informants told me that the whole compound with its five office rooms, and one meeting and training hall were obtained from the local government for free for their good track records in their local development intervention. In addition to that, MSDI has also better organizational image and recognition by the public at large. The combined effects of their extended intervention in other localities outside of Addis in nearby small towns and having a better access to the state owned media to promote their activities due to their contact with the government have contributed a lot for its recognition both by the public at large and for its good image as well.

Equally important to the partnership that MSDI has had with the local government is the level of partnership that it has with NGOs, notably ACORD. MSDI has more than five years of partnership with ACORD as discussed in the third chapter. In its partnership with ACORD, MSDI has got a number of supports and incentives. As indicated by the Project Manager of ACORD and confirmed by MSDI leaders and members, besides ACORD's initiation of involving them in the role of development, it also provides them with training on human rights, bylaws development, change management, book-keeping and recording, basic skills trainings on saving and credits, good governance and democratic principles for Iddir members and their leaders and a number of capacity-building support to scale-up Iddirs' potential role in

development. As indicated in the discussion, most of the "software" activities of ACORD transcend the life of partnership. ACORD has also funded local development projects and activities of MSDI besides the donation of office materials and computers. The Project Manager further indicated that the existence of memorandum of understanding and written agreement with both the government and MSDI provides an added value for long lasting partnership and accountably mechanisms that exist among partner organizations in the last five years of joint partnership. As the findings revealed, MSDI has high degree of contact and partnership with the external actors in its engagement in local development than the other two cases. The impacts of such partnership and collaboration will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

4.5 Challenges Encountered

The different roles and functions both in "customary" as the case with MFI and a role in local development along with the "customary" role carried out by DB-GAI and MSDI as discussed above is not without challenges. My informants revealed that they were faced with a number of challenges at different level from different actors. As indicated by most of the informants, some of the challenges at the organizational level include limited commitment and willingness among members to join leadership position, lack of professionals in the leadership position, and members' limited labor and time contribution in local development activities. Furthermore, it was mentioned that as Iddirs are engaged in collective actions, problem of "free-riding" always creates challenges to the further development and contributions of Iddirs, though most committed to contribute their part. Equally important is the challenges that Iddirs faced from external sources. In this regard, both the leaders and the members in the case studies indicated that the limited government supportive policies and inadequate space or land for the construction purpose is among the challenge that they consider external. In addition to the above indicated challenges, my informant in MSDI revealed competition for funding among Iddirs as a challenge to his Iddir in recent years especially in their partnership with ACORD.

In other perspective, the interviewees from the local government and ACORD in their part mentioned some of their challenges in their partnership with Iddirs in development. In this regard, the interviewed local government officials mentioned the difficulty involved in convincing and persuading Iddir leaders and members to engage in joint partnership. They said that Iddir members and leaders are skeptical and reluctant to accept government invitation for joint implementation of development activities. Their negative experience with the previous regimes contributed to the lack of trust and confidence among Iddirs. One of the historical reasons for the lack of trust is that, in 1978, the military government confiscated all Iddirs materials to support the war against Somalia. In addition to that, some Iddirs in the early 1960s also involved in rebellion against the then government which further erodes trust and partnership over years. In another scenario, ACORD officials also mentioned some of the challenges they encountered in the last five years

of partnership. As indicated by the Project Manager, some of the challenges of working with Iddirs include limited capacity and experience in executing development activities, lack of trust and commitment to engage in partnership with external actors in the first two years of partnership, lack of professionals to develop and design project proposal as per donor requirement, weak reporting and problems to meet deadlines.

Chapter 5
Data Analysis and Discussion

This analytical chapter briefly discusses the main research question of the study and is designed to answer the "how"" and "why" questions of the research. In this chapter, the major findings of the research are discussed with its implication on the theoretical and conceptual framework discussed in the second chapter.

5.1 The "customary" Roles and its Conceptual and Theoretical Implications

My findings and earlier studies in the area (see Pankhurst, 1998, 2006, Dejene, 1993, Asfaw, 2003) suggest that all Iddirs both in rural and urban areas have mission and the necessary resources at hand to execute their "customary" role to the best needs of their members. However, even in the "customary "role, all Iddirs do not have equal capacity. Certainly, poorer or smaller Iddirs have financial and capacity constraints to adequately cover the burial functions to its members. As a CBO, these services are limited to members only, and non-members are excluded from the services. CBOs by their very nature have element of non-member exclusion and they are membership oriented in their services. As discussed in chapter two, Howes (1997) indicated that membership organizations such as Iddirs at this primary function exist to further the interests of their own members and directly accountable to them Helmsing (2003) supports the above claim. He argue that "every member in CBOs participates by virtue of accepting membership" (Ibid:75).In the "customary" sense, Iddirs' activities are limited in their scope and only work to help members and their relatives in time of death.

As far as its theoretical implications are concerned, in the "customary" role and in their initial year of establishment, my findings in the three case studies reflect the basic tenet of the "CDC lens" employed in this research paper as a theoretical framework. Similar to the claim of "CDC lens"(Boyte, 2008), Iddirs are usually formed on the basis of civic driven concern to find solution to their problem using their own skills, talents, leadership capacity and resource at hand rather than something prescribed from above by donor agencies or coerced by the government to form their organization.

It is important to note that the local development role is not something that we can find in all Iddirs. For instance, from my cases MFI represent the "customary" role of Iddirs. As discussed in chapters three and four, Iddir members have the right and the decision making capacity to guide the role and activities of their Iddirs. Engagement in local development is not something left for the discretion of Iddir leaders; rather, it requires the consent of the majority of the general assembly and should be provided for in the bylaws of Iddirs. As revealed in the discussion, MFI has its own logic and rationale to remain in their "customary" role as it stands now. Two of my interviewees in

MFI explained that since most of the members of MFI consist of old-age people, their major emphasis is to the burial function than to engage in local development initiative. Most members considered their Iddirs as social insurance and security to their life than contributing to development outside of their domain which, according to them, is a role to be played by the government and NGOs.

On top of that, some members also expressed that engagement in development may distort the "customary" values and long standing traditions that are deep-rooted in Iddirs apart from jeopardizing the burial functions of Iddirs as explained in chapter three. My informant in MFI indicated that "engagement in development negatively affects the level of interaction of members as well as existing trust to their organization as a life security and insurance institution". This also reflects the above claim of "CDC lens" which put citizen/members at the heart of decision making. In similar vein, another informant stressed that engagement in local development will lead to conflict of interest and tension between the different roles of Iddirs. Still some other members believe that engagement in development matters negatively affects the efficiency and effectiveness of Iddirs to play active role to its members in time of death. Quite interestingly, the interviewed informants have basic very and narrowed conceptualization of local development. For them, local development is all about caring for the poor, the old-aged and their neighbors in time of sickness and death and also conflict resolution efforts of Iddir leaders and their members in the families and communities at large. This finding go against the conceptualization of local development in the second chapter which treats it as engagement in tangible activities such as infrastructure, promotion of economic activities and creation of livable city.

Contrary to members' views, leaders in MFI provide a different justification and rationale for the non-involvement of their Iddir in local development roles. According to them, the main reason for the non-involvement of their Iddir in local development role has to do with limited financial, human (especially educated person) and material resources. But the leaders also admitted that lack of awareness and willingness to engage in development among members equally contributes to the existing practice. This further explains the fact that Iddir members have more power and bargaining potential to influence decision making process within the organization as discussed   in the preceding chapter. This finding can be linked with Esman's and Uphoff's (1984) views of decision making procedure in CBOs which is more of negotiation, dialogue and agreement than imposition from above (be it their leaders or outside actors).

5.2   Local development Roles and its Conceptual and Theoretical Implications

The findings of the research suggest that, Iddirs' involvement in local development is not something that is created out of the blue; rather, it has gone through a number of processes both within and outside the organization. As revealed by my informants, a number of steps such as continuous discussion with members and leaders, assessing the organizational capacities,

examining the needs of the community, modifying the goals and bylaws of the organization have been taking place inside the organization. Most of the informants identified that organizational maturity and expansion (with specified rules and regulation), leadership and member's commitment to mobilize resources (willingness to work additional time and contribution as needed), proximity to the problems and ability and capacity of members to identify the existing gaps and problems, development of faith and trust on their organization for their development due to their close intimacy and the existence of open forum of dialogue in Iddirs structure considered as a triggering factors that contribute a lot to Iddirs' decision to engage in local development. Similarly, the growing awareness of members about their capacity to deal with their problems through members' dialogue and experience sharing with other similar Iddirs has played a positive role for Iddirs to undertake local development. Membership increment both in size and composition of members such as business men, old-aged with local skills and needs and semi-skilled professionals and more importantly, young and women participation in leadership positions in recent years provided additional asset or "essential ingredients" for Iddirs to expand their role to development.

In addition to such internal "essential ingredients" within the organization, external factors have also played an important role for their engagement to undertake local development initiatives. The interviewed informants in DB-GAI and MSDI indicated that local government and market failure to respond to the needs of the community at the local level are among the main reasons external to their organization. As identified by the informants, government failed to meet the socio-economic demands of the community at the local level such as infrastructure and basic services like water and electricity. The failure of the government to deliver these basic services weakened the confidence of citizens on the capacity of the government. CBOs then re-structured their organization and started the local development initiatives by their own efforts and using the resources at their disposal. One informant said "Our engagement in development with own resources has contributed a lot to avoid the notion of dependency syndrome which is common in most development projects". This finding goes hand in hand with Esman's and Uphoff's (1984) conceptualization of CBOs as institutions that fill the operational gap between the state and the private enterprise and also for being more responsive to the poor and their welfare as discussed in chapter two. However, it is imperative to note that, members demand and commitment to engage in development is the appropriate development channel of intervention to have access to and capture resources both from internal and external sources, as revealed in the discussion. Both leaders and members stressed that despite the government's failure to meet their demands, they recognized the government's willingness to allow Iddirs to engage in local development as something positive and also feel that the government recognition to their efforts in the locality is commendable. Though the two case studies identified government failure as such, they utilized different strategies to deal with their problem as explained in the upcoming few pages.

With the above backdrop into consideration, when we assess the role of Iddirs in local development, different level and degree of involvement are

observed among the cases. Some Iddirs do not take part in this role as indicated above for MFI at least in the conceptualization of local development in this paper (see chapter two). However, this is not to deny the basic MFI's conceptualization of local development as "helping and caring for the poor, the elderly and the sick and also burial functions of its Iddir" as indicated above. On the contrary, some Iddirs such as DB-GAI and MSDI perceived local development as a tangible activity inclusive of infrastructures, creation of livable city, and promotion of local economic development as conceptualized in this paper by Sryrett (1995). Iddirs members and leaders in DB-GA and MSDI explained that local development is something that can be done by Iddirs and their members using local knowledge and resources rather than waiting for others to decide and implement. This explanation of members and leaders perfectly fits with Polese's (1999) notion of local development as a "local process and can be initialed locally" in response to local needs. These groups of Iddirs contend that they have both human resources and the local knowledge to identify needs, design and implement local development initiatives which is peculiar to their area and the top-priorities of the community.

However, it is quite imperative to note that, all Iddirs do not employ the same philosophy or strategy while dealing with local development initiatives. My case studies indicate two contradictory philosophies. DB-GAI is running local development roles mainly from the resources obtained from membership and it has hardly collaborated or partnered with external actors such as NGO and government to accomplish its task. DB-GAI reflects internally initiated local development and relies mainly on members' resources and contributions to implement local development activities. This relates the notion of local development to internal actors mainly to Iddir members and leaders. The situation in MSDI suggests the other "side of the coin". MSDI engaged in a higher degree of partnership and collaboration with the external actors especially with NGO (ACORD) to execute most of its local development initiatives. The situation in MSDI shows the involvement of multi-actors, multi-sectors and multi- level which is of course the central tenet of local development as conceptualized by Helmsing (2005). Such multi-actor involvement in local development has its own consequences both in terms of impact achievement, expansion of activities as well as the existing tension and interaction with the different actors involved in the process as explained in great depth in the last section of this chapter.

What is most interesting is that unlike the case in MFI where members and leaders have basic understanding of local development as explained above, the case in DB-GAI and MSDI shows that they have a clear understanding of the concept of local development including its complexity and the way how to handle such complexity as discussed in the literature. In my discussion with members and leaders, I have found out that most of the issues and activities they considered as local development is an integral part in the conceptualization of such concept in the academic discourse. Most of my informants think that local development must be locally initiated, involve local community and peculiar to the locality. This thinking is the same in the understanding of local development among academicians. As indicated in

chapter two, Sryrett (1995) conceptualized local development in similar line of thinking as explained by the informants. Moreover; as revealed by most of my informants in DB-GAI and MSDI, some of the local development activities which are locally initiated in response to local needs as discussed in the preceding chapter includes among other things construction of road, bridge, kindergarten, water pipeline installation, introduction of electricity facility to the very remote area of the locality, urban sanitation and plantation of trees for environmental protection, promotion of local economic development via saving and credit facilities, building of traditional and cultural game centers, building of shower rooms in the community, and construction of elder day care center , opening of cafe and recreational centers as well as construction of gridding mills for members. The activities indicated above justify the fact that CBOs such as Iddirs have the "know-how" and the capacity to identify and undertake their own development by mobilizing resources within and outside of the organizations rather than a "positive recipient" of assistance and support.

As the case with the concept of local development, the findings of the study have also theoretical implications. Though both case studies support some of the claim of "CDC lens" which puts citizen/members at the heart of decision making, some of the findings especially in the case of MSDI suggest a contradiction to "CDC lens" claims. As Boyte (2008) explained, at best, aid agencies with good intentions and practices play a facilitating role in local development initiatives carried out by CBOs and tend to conclude that CBOs such as Iddirs has the capacity to break aid chain analysis. However, the findings of the research shows that rather than breaking donor- citizen partnership and giving donors as a facilitating role as claimed by the "CDC lens", civic driven organizations such as Iddirs have a more "bargaining power" and play a "positive sum game" in their partnership with donors unlike the case with NGOs in which they are forced to accept donors' formalities and conditionalities. The civic nature of Iddirs as organizations, the resources base as well as the critical masses that they have as a member may give them additional power to reject the straight-jacket of donor parameters.

Equally important in the finding is that CBOs can benefit positively from aid as they have the bargaining power to throw out the negative aspect of aid. They can select the best from the lists that can suit their needs and preferences. The ability and capacity of Iddirs to pressurize government to engage in similar initiation of local development is the other signals for donors to reconsider their conditionalities and formalities while thinking partnership with CBOs. The findings suggest that, the bargaining power of MSDI and the open dialogue and consultations with ACORD for such consideration as indicated above have resulted in a positive game situation. When I spoke to ACORD and MSDI leaders and members, they mentioned the existing win-win situation that they have in their partnership. Contrary to the "CDC lens", this does not show the detachment of CBOs from aid; it even shows the strong linkage and the way how CBOs can selectively benefit from aid. From the case studies, MSDI shows how CBOs engage in partnership and manage to get resources from outside. Moreover, being civic driven organization does not necessary guarantee its independence from donor ties and partnership. In practice, what

is happening is that donor agencies, for instance ACORD, have roles that go beyond facilitating in their partnership with civic driven organizations such as Iddirs. Such consideration of civic driven organization as self-reliant and self-sufficient that has the capacity to break aid chain dynamics by its own as advocated by many proponents of "CDC lens" has more theoretical value than practical experience at the ground.

5.3   Local development Roles and its concomitant consequences

The finding suggests that the involvement of Iddirs in local development as in the case of GB-GAI and MSDI has brought a lot of positive and negative consequences for all actors involved in the process. However, the extent and magnitude of the consequences differ from one actor to the other. In this part the observed consequences for different actors and its implication on some of the theories discussed in the second chapter is explored.

As indicated by the leaders and members of DB-GAI, their engagement in local development has improved the organizational capacity and resource mobilization efforts of members and leaders within the organization. Before their involvement in local development, the only source of income is monthly contribution from members but now they managed to generate additional source of income from different sources such as mills, water tanker and saving and credits activities as indicated above. On top of that, they have also improved their interaction and partnership with local government and similar Iddirs working in the locality for joint local development initiatives. However, some of the informants also stressed that conflict of roles and interests inside the organization as well as local government involvement to the extent of affecting their independence with the aim of supporting their activities are considered as the negative aspects of their engagement in development. Prior to their role in local development, the local government did not have an interest at all but now they showed interest to work in partnership with Iddirs at the local level due to their positive impact and role in the area. This raises a big question of autonomy and the separation of sectors as revealed by the informants.

The case in MSDI has demonstrated related consequences and impacts. Most informants explained that MSDI has benefited a lot in its interaction with external actors especially in the area of capacity building, expansion of project activities and positive impact achievements to the locality at large. MSDI leaders revealed that they have improved their organizational capacity to deal with a lot of issues ranging from simple issues of membership admission to complex issues of membership management, project development and maintaining the different actors' interests involved in the process. This touched most of the attributes indicated in Kramer's perspective that explained the third sector in relation with other sectors and the interactions among the different actors such as the society, NGOs and the government towards "common goal" what he calls "open and mixed system" as discussed in the second chapter. However, as Iddirs members revealed, in its involvement in local development MSDI has shown much involvement with external actors

such as donors rather than utilizing the local resources members have within the organization. Capturing resources from outside has its own negative effects on organizations like MSDI to maintain their identity as organization of the poor and the local community. The current involvement of government to support Iddirs' role in development as revealed by the interviewed local government officials confirm this trend and the potential negative consequence it has to maintain the organizational identities of Iddirs as an independent organization.

The findings have also other theoretical implications as discussed above. It has implication on Kramer's (2000) perspectives of the "third sector". Iddirs' involvement with the government and the NGOs as explained above for joint intervention programmes and projects shows the blurring of boundaries between the sectors as explained in Kramer neo-institutionalism in the second chapter. As the findings suggest, the involvement of both the government and Iddirs in similar roles hardly provides a space to make a dichotomy between sectors on the basis of their roles and functions. The "CDC lens" which questions the boundary between the public and private sectors and advocates for the interdependence of these sectors seems to be applicable as evident in the findings. However, contrary to Kramer's argument and "CDC lens" claims, the findings suggest a distinction between organizational structure of Iddirs and their functions with regards to separation of boundaries between sectors. In terms of its structure, as part of civil society organization, Iddirs have separate organizational structure that does not fall either to the category of government or market sector. But in terms of Iddirs' roles and functions in local development, it shows blurring and overlaps between the different sector each doing more or less similar functions.

The blurring of functions and roles has concomitant consequences with regards to Iddirs independence and autonomy as separate civil society organizations. With the pretext of supporting Iddirs efforts in local development, local governments are involved more and more in Iddirs organizational structure and mode of operation. As revealed by Iddir members, the involvement of the local government to support Iddirs with the government budget(for example budget allocation for HIV/AIDS projects) and the initiation from the government for joint implementation of government strategies in recent years shows such illusion of boundary between the government and Iddirs' as independent sectors. Such kinds of interactions further erode the potential of Iddirs to come up with their own developmental agenda which may challenge the already existing political articulated development agenda of the government. As indicated in the discussion, a case in point is the government involvement to organize all Iddirs in union or umbrella organizations in Addis Ababa under supreme observation of the country's president. The interviewed informants in DB-GAI indicated that such kind of government involvement seems to be co-option rather than co-operation that engenders the interests of members and the community at large and adds illusion to the boundaries between the different sectors as explained by Kramer, Chabal and Daloz in the second chapter. As revealed by members, the governments are more interested to uses the CBOs as a tool to implement its strategies rather than working to the felt needs and priorities of members.

In similar vein, the government is also involved to provide the government funds to Iddirs to execute HIV/ADIS projects. In this regard, some of the interviewed informants admitted that the involvement of the government in the last two years put a big question mark about the independence and autonomy of Iddirs. This finding perfectly fits with Chabal's and Daloz's (1999) views of the "third sector" or in their words civil society in Africa in general and in Ethiopia in particular as explained in the second chapter. They contend that, in the African context it is difficult if not impossible to find a "clear separation between a well organized and independent civil society and a separate state". On top of that, the inclusion of one article in the bylaws for their non-engagement in political affairs also reflects the existing tensions and autonomy problems of Iddirs.

As indicated in the preceding paragraphs, the empirical research suggests that, Iddirs have the "knowhow" of local development, they have the capacities such as human resources, materials and organizational set-up to execute those local development activities, have the bargaining power and negation ability to promote their own agenda with aid agents and more importantly, they perform function that are similar to the government which in fact is contrary to most perception and understanding of CBOs. This provides an important lesson for academician and practitioners about their "wrong" perception of local organizations in Africa and it also call for the need to re-consider and revise such "wrong" perception about African CBOs and their potential role in development.

As discussed in great depth in the preceding sections of this chapter, besides its direct relevance as a lens for future development plans and interventions with African CBOs, the findings sturdily challenges and criticize Chabal's and Daloz's perspectives about African Civil society. Contrary to the authors' perspective, as evident from the field, the African CBOs have a different logic and ethos of operation. Instead of using the "western" model of separation of sectors as advocated by the authors, the evident from the field suggests that, African CBOs have their own "strategic options" of how to deal with the existing structure and how to play the positive game with the already existing systems. Contrary to the Chabal and Daloz unilateral model CSOs, the African CBOs have shown a different logic of harvesting the fruits of development and how to pressurize and attract external actors such as government and NGOs to their development agenda within the existing system. This also suggest a new way of civil society formation and the dynamics of CSOs in African than the one proposed by the authors'. All the indicated local development activities are executed with this logic of working with the existing systems and creating positive influence among the different actors involved in the process rather than following the unilateral "western" model of CSOs as pointed out by Chabal and Daloz. The findings suggest that, to contribute for the development of the poor the focus of attention has to do with "knowing the basics" about how to deal with the existing systems to respond to the basic needs of the poor rather than waiting for ideal separation and autonomy of sectors to happen at the expense of the urgent needs of poor and the marginalized people.

Chapter 6
Conclusions

The study analyzed the conditions under which "customary" CBOs can undertake local development activities using three Iddirs as a case study in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. As a conclusion, in this chapter, the identified six "essential ingredients" that are imperative to undertake local development activities by such organizations will be summarized.

As evident from the field, to undertake local development role internal adjustment and improvement in the new line of operation is quite indispensible. In this respect, the findings have identified three major of such adjustments that are internal to the organization. Firstly, to undertake local development role it is found out that organizational adjustment, organizational expansion in size as well as organizational maturity to assume different roles are fundamental. It is this organizational maturity and formalization process that help CBOs to execute roles that transcend their primary purpose of establishment. Secondly, in line with the formalization process, there is increasing awareness among Iddir members and leaders on issues of how to deal with their own problems. Periodic meetings of members and leaders helped then to share different experiences and new way of thinking about the future of their organization and how to deal dynamism within and outside the organization. Experience sharing discussions and the open forum that they have, positively contributed to the shifts of roles and provided Iddirs with additional power and motivation to engage in a role beyond their membership boundaries. Thirdly, the existence of organizational maturity and increasing awareness of "what to do" and "for whom to do" enhanced the capacity of such organization to undertake local development activities. This further signals that, local CBOs with local resources are the real maker of development and solver of their problems with such internal ingredients than leaving for other actors to act on their behalf. These are civic actors which do the same role like other civil actors across the world but with different logic of operation in their partnership and local resources mobilization strategies and efforts. The findings also imply that, civil society organizations such as CBOs are very important in Africa where social welfare and safety net programmes are almost non-existence and/or ineffective to respond to the felt needs of the community. Furthermore; such organizations also provides an open forum in which citizens exercises their rights and obligations in development. It also suggests that effective achievement of goals can be obtained when it has taken local resources and knowledge as well as local culture into consideration rather than super-imposed from above. The study has shown that, such "internal ingredients" outlined above are a pre-request as to how "customary" CBOs can assist to fill the existing gap and undertake local development roles that are beneficial both to their members and the immediate environments.

Equally important to the internal ingredients are external ingredients which have played an important role in the course of Iddirs roles in local development. The first of such external ingredient has to do with market and government failures. In the face of government and market failures to meet the socio-economic and political needs of the community, the involvement of community and their organization to respond to their needs is quite crucial to address and redress the root causes of the problem. The rampant market and government failures in Africa lead to the proliferation of once ignored and neglected CBOs to assume different roles and also to fill the existing gapsthat are left out by the government and market. In this regard, it has been found out that, through their own self-initiated independent efforts communities are determined to address their problem by their own organization such as Iddirs. This widens the dynamic of civil society formation and the process of civil society formation in African and further challenges the grand theories of civil society formation which advocated for uniform strategies and process of civil society formation. It shows that unlike to most popular thinking and grand theories, African has civil society organizations and has its own process of civil society formation. Contrary to "western" view of civil society formation as something related to social movement and democratization process, the African way of civil society organization has to do with self help and mutual support organization which determined to address their problem and the problem of others by working with the existing social systems and structure. The role of Iddirs in local development is a signal and supportive case for the above claims. The major findings of the study imply that some Iddirs are change agents in the promotion of local development and are capable enough to meet the general welfare of their members without government and/or market assistance.

If we flip the other "side of the coin", the second external ingredient has come to play a pivotal role. Despite government failure to respond to the basic needs of its citizen, the findings suggests that government recognition of Iddirs role in local development ,allowing Iddirs to assume local development roles and more importantly providing enabling environment to Iddirs to execute their activities are commendable and contributory to Iddirs overall achievement in the area. Besides, the government is also showing interest to work in partnership with Iddirs in joint local development activities on top of providing them the legal status, approval of the endorsed bylaw and provision of land for future construction purpose. This highlights to the power of CBOs to pressurize government and managed to bring them to their own developmental agenda.

The third and the final essential ingredient external to the organization has to do with the positive aspects of aid and the capability of CBOs such as Iddirs to capture and utilize external resources for their own developmental agenda. In this regard, contrary to the academician thinking and common sense understanding, it is found out that CBOs selectively benefited from the positive aspects of aid in a way that is beneficial both to their members' demands as well as to the locality at large. As evident from the study, aid can play a positive role and assist and facilitate the role of CBOs in local development. As revealed in the study, aid contributed a lot both in strengthening the internal organizational structure as well as in influencing and

pressurizing other actors to engaged in similar role and to bring back external actors to work for the welfare of the poor and the marginalized. The findings suggest, re-consideration of our perspective on the role of aid in development and the positive effects it brings when it is sustained by adequate internal adjustments. It is found out that, aid can assists to the proliferation, emergence and creation of potential CBOs that can respond both to their needs as well as to the needs of others. Thus, aid can contribute to the formation of new actors in development. The empirical study imply that, the combined effects of internal and external ingredients explained above provide a sound justification and adequate answers for the inquiry of this study as to how and why "customary" CBOs can undertake local development role that transcend membership boundaries and benefits.

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Appendices

Appendix I

I <u>Interview Guiding Questions for Members</u>

- ➢ Sex   Male------------------ Female-------------------------------------
- ➢ When did you became a member of this Iddir_____
- ➢ Why you want to became a member_____
- ➢ To how many Iddirs are you a member in_____
- ➢ Why you prefer to be a member of this Iddir but not others_____
- ➢ What are the benefits you get or costs you incurred as a result of being a member to this Iddir_____
- ➢ What is your role to your Iddir_____
- ➢ What is the roles of your Iddir to meet your needs and the needs of other in your locality_____
- ➢ What is your level of participation in your Iddir both in decision making and leadership role_____
- ➢ What do you think of the existing situation in your Iddir regarding decision   making procedure_____
- ➢ Do you think that Iddir is a right institution to promote citizen participation   and   to   ensure   felt   needs   its members_____
- ➢ Do you think that your Iddir has capacity and resources to engage local development and local governance matters_____
- ➢ How do you assess your contribution and the contribution of others to your Iddir development_____
- ➢ What is your view on the capacity and democratic nature of your electorate_____
- ➢ What do you think of your leaders representation of your views and interests in embarking decision_____

- What do you think about your Iddir partnership with government, NGOs and other similar Iddirs in your area_____
- What do you think is the major challenges to you Iddir_____
- What do you think is the solution to overcome those challenges_____

II Interview guiding questions for Iddirs' Executive committee

- Sex   Male----------   Female----------------
- The position of the interviewee in the Iddir_____
- How long you been in this position_____
- Why you want to be member of the executive committee_____
- Would you mind telling me the origin and development of your Iddir?
  - Year of establishment
  - Who took the initiative for its establishment
  - The initial purpose of establishment
  - The current role of your Iddir
  - The resource of your Iddir human, material and financial capital?
  - Current size of membership including sex composition
- How do you explain the internal structure of your Iddir?
  - Decision- making process
  - The existence of written bylaw
  - Members participation in decision making
- What are the major functions of your Iddir both for its members as well as to the locality development?
  - Burial functions
  - Local developmental functions
  - Local governance functions

- What are the major contribution of your Iddir in local development and local governance?

- How is the existing contribution and partnership with other agencies such as local government, NGOs and Iddir members to in your Iddir intervention in local development and local governance?

- What do you think the success and failure of your Iddir intervention in local development?

- What are the lesson learnt from both the success and failure of your programmee?

- What are the opportunities and constraints for Iddirs to engage in local development and local governance issues?

- Do you think that, Iddirs are the right institution or organization to engage in local development and local governance roles? Why or why not?

- Do you have development plans to your Iddir for the next one, two or more years?

III Interview Guiding Questions for Local government officials

- Sex   Male------------------   Female---------------------

- Your position in the organization_____

- How long you been in this position_____

- What are your major duties and responsibilities in the organization_____

- What is your level of knowledge and information with regards to Iddirs in general_____

- What do you think of Iddirs as an institution of the community_____

- What are the major activities or supports your organization providing for Iddirs_____

- What is the level of partnership of your office with grassroots organization like Iddirs_____

- How do you assess the level of partnership_____

- What do you think of Iddirs role both for their members as well as for the promotion of local development_____

- How does your organization perceive local development and local governance_____

- Do you think that Iddir is an ideal institution to engage in local development and local governance matters_____

- What is the role of your organization to promote Iddirs role in development_____

- What are the existing policies and programmes in your office which facilitates Iddirs role in development_____

- How do your organization view people organization for common benefits_____

- Do your offices involve in any way with Iddirs organization and decision making process_____

- Do you think that Iddirs are a good partner in development_____

- What do you think is the advantage of working with Iddirs as a partner in development_____

- How do you assess Iddirs potential and capacity to execute development activities_____

- What do you think is the major challenges of working with Iddirs_____

- What are the best practices and lessons your office get from the partnership_____

- What is your organization future plans with regards to Iddirs role in development_____

IV   Guiding Question for interview with NGO officials (ACORD)

- Sex   Male---------------- Female_____
- Your position in the organization_____
- How long you been working in this organization_____

➢ When did your organization start partnership with Iddirs in local development and local governance?

➢ How does your organization perceive local development and local governance?

➢ Why do you select Iddirs as a partner in local development? And whose initiative was that?

➢ How do both Iddirs leaders and members participate at the different level of decision making process?

➢ Do you have participation mechanism in place to ensure Iddirs members participation in the process?

➢ What are the accountability mechanisms to ensure transparency and effective service delivery to the best needs of members?

➢ What is your requirement from Iddirs to engage in partnership with your organization?

➢ What kind of partnership does your organization have with Iddirs?

- Written agreement
- Members participation in the partnership
- Process of decision making, is it the view of leaders or the view of each members

➢ What is the local government role in your organization partnership with Iddirs in local development and local governance?

➢ What do you think of the existing policies and programmes of the local and national government in line with your intervention with Iddirs?

➢ What do you think of your organization role to change the life of Iddirs members and to promote locality development?

➢ What are the potentials or opportunities of working with Iddirs for your organization?

➢ What are the challenges your organization encountered as a result of working with Iddirs?

➢ Do you think that, Iddirs are the right institution or organization to engage in local development and local governance roles? Why or why not?

- What are the major lessons your organization learn so far in its engagement with Iddirs in development intervention?
- Does your organization have any development plans with Iddirs in the coming one, two or three years?

Appendix II

List of Key Informants' and Interviewee

No	Name	Position	Organization
1	Serekalem Assefa	Secretary	MFI
2	Derso Zeleke	Chairman/Leader	MFI
3	Menda Beyene	Member	MFI
4	Abate Tarekegn	Member	MFI
5	Beyene Dadi	Chairman/leader	DB-GAI
6	Kassahun Tekelie	Secretary	DB-GAI
7	Tesfaye Bekele	Member	DB-GAI
8	Zeleke Zenebe	Member	DB-GAI
9	Dawit Melese	Chairman/Leader	MSDI
10	Arega G/Hiwot	Secretary	MSDI
11	Berehanu Abera	Member	MSDI
12	Feleke Kassahun	Member	MSDI
13	Kassech Abegaz	Project Manager	ACORD
14	Abdi Adem	Development worker	ACORD
15	Abebe lemma*	Partnership and fund raising case team officer	Addis Ababa City government Labour and Social Affairs Bureau
16	Ketema Begashaw*	Social problems and prevention case team officer	Addis Ababa City government Labour and Social Affairs Bureau

*False name for confidentiality and security reason.