

SES

Social Inclusion and Energy Management
for Informal Urban Settlements

CASE STUDY

SOCIAL CAPITAL ACROSS THREE DIFFERENT NEIGHBOURHOOD SETTLEMENTS IN GONDAR, ETHIOPIA

Bekele Molla and Hone Mandefro



Funded by the
Erasmus+ Programme
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ABSTRACT

The study was intended to compare the stock of social capital across three different neighbouring settlements (i.e. inner slum-city (Enkoye Mesk), outskirts squatter settlement (Genfo Kuch) and condominium (Aba Samuel Condominium) residents) in the city of Gondar, Ethiopia. Specifically, the study aimed to explore perspectives about social capital; compare different dimensions of social capital; and factors that affect the development and maintenance of social capital in the three neighborhoods of Gondar City. The study followed qualitative dominant mixed research methods approach. Thus, questionnaire (survey), focus group discussion and in-depth interview methods were used to collect data. The

findings of the study indicate that perspectives of residents about good neighborhood across the three different settlement areas were similar. On the other hand, compared to the inner slum cities and outskirts squatter settlement, condominium residents were found to have the lowest social capital in Gondar. The vertical nature of condominium houses and the divergent backgrounds of the neighbours uniquely contributed to the poor social capital among the condominium residents. Factors that affect good neighbourhood such as illegal weapon trafficking, gangsters, corruption, hoodlum, lack of integrity intolerance, selfishness and gossips were among the major ones. ♦

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PART 1 BACKGROUND

The study is intended to identify the impact of neighbourhood design on residents' social capital. It aimed compare social capital of residents in three different neighbourhoods in Gondar (Ethiopia): inner-city slum, squatter settlement at the outskirts of the city and a condominium. The impact of living on a certain neighbourhood on the social relationship has always been an area of focus among social scientists, especially in the first half of 20th century. Nevertheless, there is no agreement over the possible impact of neighbourhood form on social relationships. Sociologists such as Wirth (1938) and others from Chicago school believed that the size, density and heterogeneity of cities overall led to impersonality and a high degree of anomie across communities. However, Gans (1968) argues that context is relatively less important in understanding neighbourhood life stating "the neighbourhood plays a minor role in people's lives and their predisposition" (p. 23).

Overtime, the impact of a neighbourhood type on social relations has been analysed through the concept of social capital (DiPasquale & Glaeser, n.d; Sampson, Morenoff & Gannon-Rowley, 2002). This is primarily following the familiarization of the concept by the works of Bourdieu (1985), Coleman (1988) and the "routinization" of the term (Woolcock, 2010) and Putnam's (1993, 1995, 2000) seminal but also controversial works. The debate over the impact of neighbourhoods on social relationship seems rebounding following the introduction of 'neo-traditional' or pedestrian-oriented housing design in western countries aimed at increasing *neighbourhood social capital* by promoting designs which encourage interaction among residents.

Neighbourhood social capital has got three dimensions (Alaimo, Reischl & Allen, 2010). The first is *bonding social capital* which refers to the level of social interaction and connection among residents of a neighbourhood. Bonding social capital is measured through informal social ability among residents, social support, and trust and responsibility. The second dimension is *linking social capital*. Linking social capital is measured through the level of connection between residents and those who can influence what can happen in the neighbourhood (like officials) and the level of awareness residents have in neighbourhood organizations. The third component of neighbourhood social capital is the neighbourhood norm and values. It refers to residents' feeling of responsibility to the neighbourhood, residents' participation in neighbourhood activities, and level of satisfaction members' exhibit being residents of that particular neighbourhood, informal social control, and collective efficacy of the neighbourhood members to address neighbourhood issues.

In Ethiopia, new types of high rising condominium neighbourhoods are emerging to exist in major cities of the country. These neighbourhoods are the results of the massive Integrated Housing Development Program (IHDP) piloted in Addis Ababa in 2003 and launched at city level in 2005 to be followed by different regions of the country. IHDP aims to ease the acute shortage of housing with massive construction of houses and thereby creating job employment for urban residents.

As already noted above, differences in neighbourhood social capital can arise because there is something inherently different about the neighbourhoods

themselves (Subramanian, Lochner, Kawachi, 2003). Following the introduction of the condominium houses, there has been a perception by the mass that the design of these neighbourhoods (which are vertical and densely populated in comparison with other neighbourhoods) has caused weak social interaction among residents (Abebe Gezahegn¹, Enanu Belay, Ezana Hailselassie, Martha Thehay, Meaza Tadele ..., Tisirt Mersha 2011; Ingwani, Gondo, Gumbo a Mazhindu, 2010; Reporter's Amharic newspaper editorial, December 10, 2011). For instance, a community assessment of Gotera condominium site by Abebe et.al. (2011) has put a low level of social interaction as a top community issue.

Although condominium housing has been criticized for its unaffordability (Hone Mandefro, 2011; Azeb Kelemework, n.d; UN-HABITAT, 2010) on various grounds, it is difficult to deny its potential as an alternative way of housing. Indeed, it has enabled many households who otherwise would not have afforded to own houses. It has also created a job opportunity for thousands of unemployed people in Addis Ababa alone (UN-HABITAT, 2010). For these reasons, the government of Ethiopia had continued the Integrated Housing program putting it as one of the pillars for its Growth and Transformation Plan II (2016-2021).

A better understanding of the determinants of social capital in the community can help to create opportunities to foster psychological and community empowerment (Gracia & Herrero, 2004). However, to date, there is no systematized evidence about perspectives of residents on social capital; dimensions of social capital; and factors that affect the development and maintenance of social capital in different neighbourhoods of Gondar (Ethiopia) are real or mere scare. Therefore, this study aimed to compare social capital across three different neighbourhood settlements in Gondar, Ethiopia. Investing on such issue would help to develop neighbourhood design guidelines that aim at improving the quality of life in neighbourhoods in general and improving social capital in condominium neighbourhoods in particular.

Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to compare social capital across three different neighbourhood settlements in Gondar, Ethiopia. Specifically, the study aimed to:

- Explore perspectives of residents about their social capital in three selected neighbourhoods of Gondar.
- Compare different dimensions of social capital in the three selected neighbourhoods of Gondar.
- Identify factors that affect the development and maintenance of social capital in the three selected neighbourhoods of Gondar. ♦

¹ Ethiopian authors are written with their full name.

PART 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Conceptualization of Social Capital

The concept of social capital is one of the most discussed concepts in the social sciences. Yet, the literature lacks a comprehensive definition of the concept with definitions varying from author to author and among disciplines. Economists, for instance, have viewed social capital as just another form of capital along with human capital and physical capital. Sociologists have described social capital as a social relationship among members of citizens and viewed it as one form of social organizations. Social geographers have considered the relationship between people and their environment in creating, maintaining and promoting as social capital.

Portes (1998) argues that social capital as a concept is nothing new in sociological terms and the term “simply recaptures an insight present since the very beginnings of the discipline” (p. 1). He argues that the idea of capital or benefit from and in social relationships has been discussed by classical sociologists such as Emile Durkheim who “recognized that social relationships constitute resources: the productivity of industrial society rests on a complex division of labor in which relationships of complementarily bind people together” (Harriss, 2001, p. 4). The concept also associated with Marx arguing Marx discussed the idea behind social capital to make a “distinction between an atomized class-in-itself and a mobilized and effective class-for-itself (Portes, 1998, p. 1). Similarly, other writers, like Harries (2001), have argued that Marx discussed the concept behind social capital when he pointed out the advantage of the organization of workers to influence the class relationship.

Bourdieu and Coleman are the founding theorists of social capital because they introduced the term social capital systematically for the first time (Häuberer, 2011). Robert Putnam has also familiarized the term through its series of works with the title of bowling alone which ultimately has led to the “routinization” of the term (Woolcock, 2010). Together, Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman are responsible for familiarizing the concept. However, the way the three authors viewed and defined social capital is not similar.

Bourdieu (1986: 248-249), defined social capital as: “... the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.”

Important to note here is that Bourdieu was interested in how class reproduces itself and how membership in social gathering would let individuals get resources, which would not be otherwise accessible to them, that can be converted into economic capital. The 'possession' of particular durable social relationships, in other words, may provide for differential access to resources (Harriss, 2001, p. 5). Accordingly, for Bourdieu, social capital is not attribute of the society but the attribute of members of a group who possess durable social relationships. Coleman (1988), whose concept of social capital is embedded in the context of rational choice theory, argues that social capital inheres in the structure

of relations between persons and among persons and that it facilitates actions of the persons who are connected by the structure of relations.

Types of Social Capital

Social capital theorists, in their own turn, come up with different types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Bonding social capital is defined as “strong, intense personal relationships, offering mutual support, understanding and exchange” which includes people nearby like family members, colleagues and friends (Power & Wilmot, 2007, p. 1).

Bridging social capital consists of ties with the member of other groups with similar economic and political status, such as the relationship between the neighbourhoods (Mesfin Setarge, 2011, p. 13-14). Linking social capital consists of vertical relations with formal institutions and organizations, which is the level of trust between farmers and extension agents or the staff of government agencies (APO, 2006). The linking social capital was believed to develop to accommodate the criticisms of neglecting power issues among social capital theorists (Harries, 2001).

On the other hand, Alaimo, Reischl and Allen (2010) discussed three dimensions of neighbourhood social capital differently. According to the authors, the first is *bonding* social capital which is measured through trust and reciprocity, knowing neighbours, intergenerational relationships, and social support. Secondly, they identified the *linking dimension* of social capital, which is measured through people’s connection with people who can influence what happens in the neighbourhood, and awareness of neighbourhood organizations. The third dimension of neighbourhood social capital identified by the authors is *neighbourhood norms and values* measured through the feeling of responsibility to the neighbourhood, neighbourhood involvement, informal social control, collective efficacy, neighbourhood influence, and neighbourhood satisfaction. Summary of the dimension of social capital along with indicators is presented in the following table.

Table 1

Dimensions of Neighbourhood Social capital
(Alaimo, Reischl&Allen; 2010)

DIMENSION	INDICATORS
Bonding neighbourhood social capital	Trust and reciprocity
	Know neighbours
	Neighbourhood people get along
	Social support
Linking social capital	Neighbourhood people have connections
	Aware of neighbourhood organizations
Neighbourhood norms and values	Feel responsible for neighbourhood.
	Neighbourhood residents involvement
	Informal social control
	Collective efficacy
	Neighbourhood influence
	Neighbourhood satisfaction

Other writers have identified slightly different dimensions for neighbourhood social capital. Dekker (2007) identified social network, trust, and norms as dimensions of social capital. Social network refers to the connection people have within the neighbourhood like membership in groups and organizations and having friends with other residents. According to Dekker trust refers to the view of residents as to what extent they believed that co-residents in the neighbourhood can be trusted. He also used neighbourhood attachment to refer to the residents’ socio-emotional feelings they have to the neighbourhood as a place.

Characteristics of Social Capital

Social capital has been analyzed at various levels: micro level (individual, family and neighbourhood level) meso (institutional level) and macro (country or region level). Social capital available at the different levels may have different functions and different outcomes. Charles and Kline (2001) demonstrate the importance of the universe of defining social capital as follows:

An individual's global social capital may be important when he desires advice about where to send his son to college, while his neighbourhood social capital is probably more important when he wishes that someone keep an eye on his house while he is on vacation. Given this possible distinction about different dimensions of social capital, empirical work should be explicit about the sphere in which the form of social capital under examination operates, so should focus on outcomes for which the particular type of social capital is important (P.6). According to Charles and Kline (2001), researchers have long been interested in examining neighbourhood level social capital. Jacobs (1961) argued that neighbourhood' is a socio-spatial or imagined unit with a specific, but a limited, social significance for its residents. It is only one of the many contexts in which people establish and maintain their social networks (Keinhans, Priemus, & Engbersen, 2007). The neighbourhood effect can be contextual (house tenure and design) or of the nature of members of the particular neighbourhood (socio-demographic characteristics and socioeconomic status).

Neighbourhood and Social Capital:

Theoretical Review

Theorizing about community was the task of many disciplines ranging from sociology, community psychology, urban studies, and anthropology and to even biology (Wright, 2004). In *the Chicago School Perspective (theory of social disorganization)*, for instance, writers such as Guest, Cover, Matuseda & Kubrin (2006) argued that living in certain types of communities has an impact on localized behaviour (p. 364). Sociologists such as Wirth (1935) believes that the great size, density and heterogeneity of cities overall led to impersonality and a high degree of anomie across communities. The key emphasis in the Chicago School perspective falls on the importance of collective properties such as the overall community stability of residence, the age or period of development of housing in the community,

the mixture of commercial and residential land uses and the degree of social disorganization. They, however, would also agree that individual related factors have an impact on neighbourhood's social cohesion (Guest et.al. 2004).

Supporters of the perspective of *Community of Limited Liability* argues that attachment to the community is contingent, voluntary and based on instrumental values tied to investment function and use as opposed to the effective ties and interpersonal neighbour relationship, which characterize the natural area or urban village portrayed in Chicago Ecological perspective (Guest et.al., 2006). Community of Limited Liability claims that it is based on instrumental values such as home ownership and childrearing practices (Chaskin, 1997; Guest et.al., 2006; Bottermann, Hooghe & Reeskens; 2011). According to this perspective, neighbourhood ties develop a function of the perpetual need to protect one's investment in a neighbourhood: "knowing and interacting with neighbours is a rational means of protecting one's investment in home and or children" (Guest et.al., 2006, p. 365).

Social Class Perspective authors such as Gans (1968) argues that context is relatively unimportant in understanding neighbourhood life stating 'the neighbourhood plays a minor role in people's lives and their predisposition' (p. 23). Gans contends that variation in social ties among neighbours should be quite strongly related to individual-level differences in social class indicators such as educational attainment and level of income. According to Guest et.al. (2006, p. 366), "Class behavior reflects differences in educational attainment that in turn indicates differences in socialization and life experience." They argue that middle income class individual exhibit more interest in civic participation and membership voluntary associations while working class people feel much more comfortable in unstructured, informal relationship with kin and small peer groups.

Interaction Theory of Cohesion also argued “more people should have less potential to interact and, thus, people in smaller communities may know other individuals better and, therefore, interact in more [among themselves]” (Wilkinson. 2008, p. 307). Network theories of sociology would tend to support the interaction theory of social cohesion. Those individuals who are more involved with others will be more likely to have higher levels of social cohesion for that community (Wilkinson, 2008).

Determinants of Neighbourhood Social Capital: Empirical Review

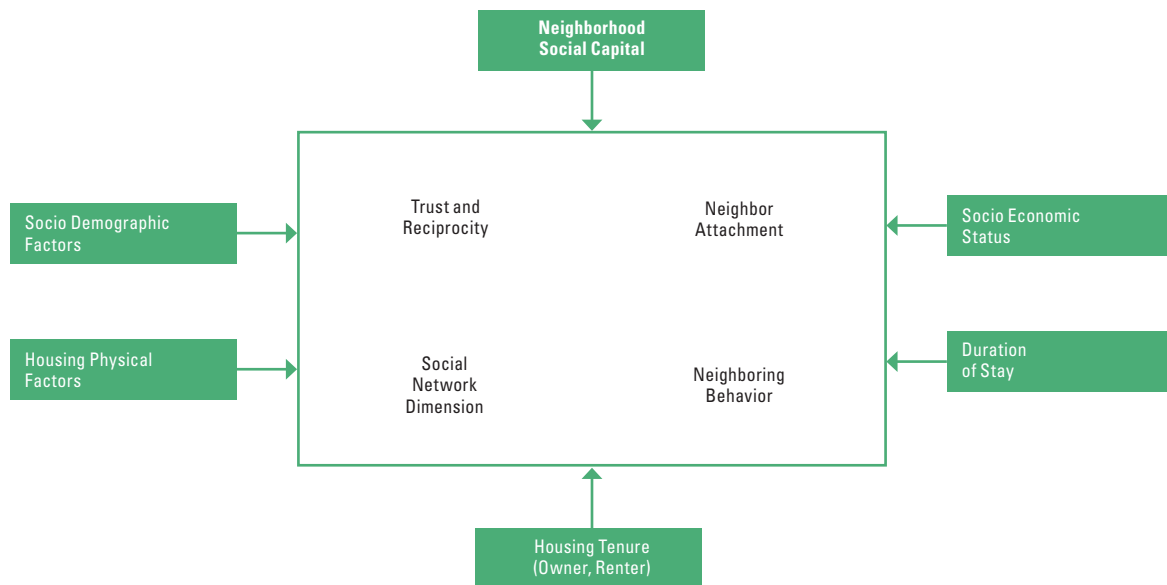
Previous studies investigated neighbourhood social capital with its varieties of strands like healthy community, sense of community, social cohesion, neighbourhood cohesion, community solidarity, social integration, social interaction, and neighbourhood ties. Forest and Kearns (2001); Gracia and Herrero

(2004); Guest et.al, (2006); Schweitzer (2010); and Williams (2005, 2008) have identified a number of factors as significant determinants of neighbourhood social capital. These factors can be grouped into two: neighbourhood residents’ characteristics and neighbourhood physical design factors.

Factors related to residents’ characteristics can be grouped further into two: psychological factors and social factors. Gracia and Herrero (2004) have, for instance, identified personality, self-esteem, distress, and cognitive process, loss of control, community participants’ perceptions and personal attitude. In relation to social factors, Wilkinson (2008) has also identified level of education, level of income, presence of children, age, being born in the community and years spent in the community as significant determinants of social integration in rural Canada.

Figure 1

Conceptual framework of determinants of Neighborhood social capital (adopted from Dekker, 2007; Guest et.al, 2006 & Wilkinson, 2008)



Guest et.al. (2006) identify home ownership as determining the level of social integration whereas Ha (2009) indicates that housing tenure (being an owner, short term and long term renter) has a significant correlation with social capital of residents. The authors also indicate that long term tenants (those who rent a house from social housing department in Korea) were better in terms of social capital as compared to short term.

The role of neighbourhood housing design in determining social capital is, however, inconclusive. On the one hand, promoters of new urbanism in western countries believe that neighbourhood designs that promote social interaction through pedestrian-oriented design would increase the social capital of residents. In line with this contention Skolarantanamettee (2006) has found out that pedestrian-oriented neighbourhoods were better in term of social capital as compared to non-pedestrian neighbourhoods. ♦

PART 3

METHODS AND TOOLS

Study Design

This study used a mixed methods research design. Since social capital is a concept that can be measured quantitatively. However, as social capital is also embodied in the context of the neighbourhood, it is hardly difficult to get a comprehensive understanding of social capital by only applying either quantitative or qualitative method. Bryman (2007, P.9) argues that bringing quantitative and qualitative findings together have the potential to offer insights that could not otherwise be gleaned. Dudwick, Kuehnast, Jones and Woolcock (2006) argue that social capital is a multi-dimension concept forces it to “lend itself to a mixed-methods research approach” (p. 5). They argue that in line with these suggestions, the study employed mixed methods to study social capital of residents in three selected neighbourhood of Gondar, Ethiopia.

In the present study, a mixed method was drawn on. Quantitative method was employed to identify factors associated with and explain the social capital of residents. On the other hand, qualitative method was used to analyze the perspectives of residents regarding social capital in their neighbourhood. The qualitative data was used dominantly to understand how the unique features of the condominium houses affected the social capital of residents.

Study Sites

The study was conducted in three neighbourhoods in Gondar, Ethiopia: Enkoye Mesk, Genfo Kuch and Aba Samuel condominiums. Enkoye Mesk is an inner city slum neighbourhood. Genfo Kuch is a newly emerged outskirts squatter settlement neighbourhood that has almost comparable age as Aba Samuel Condominium.

On the other hand, Aba Samuel Condominium houses are vertical buildings built recently by the government for densely populated in comparison with other neighbourhoods. While the socio-demographic characteristics of residents in these neighbourhoods were not known, our preliminary observations indicated that these neighbourhoods were occupied by lower socio-economic classes.

Data Collection Methods

Two methods of data collection were employed in the study. The first method, survey, was intended to measure the stock of social capital in each of these neighbourhoods and their residents. The survey questionnaire was developed by the researcher (See Appendix 2). The second data collection method, interview, was intended to gather qualitative data about the neighbourhood and factors that affect the stock of social capital in each neighbourhood. The interview questions were developed based on the literature review presented earlier (See Appendix 1).
Samples and Sampling

Respondents of the survey were household heads/ or their partners in Enkoye Mesk, Genfo Kuch and Aba Samuel condominium neighbourhoods. The decision to limit the respondents to household heads was to minimize the complexity of administering the survey. As anyone who stayed less than a year in a neighbourhood might not get enough time to connect and form opinions about their neighbourhood, they were excluded from this survey and interview. An average of 40 (forty) households in each neighbourhood (total 120) was selected for the survey using a simple random sampling technique and the survey was conducted on July 2018.

Data for the quantitative strand were collected through the questionnaire. The contents of the questionnaire items were drawn on and adopted from previous studies on neighbourhood social capital (Williams, 2006; Dekker, 2007). The questionnaire items passed through a double review of validity and reliability. The first stage involved seeking comment from experts. The second stage involved pre-testing the items on 30 respondents. Cronpach's alpha was calculated to test the reliability and validity of the instrument. Factor analysis was also conducted to see the multidimensional aspects of the questionnaire. Modification based on the results of pre-test was made. This included, for instance, reduction of dimensions of variables or rewriting of questions and statements.

The qualitative data was collected through in-depth interview using semi-structured questions. Interview respondents were selected purposively to ensure diversity of opinions and representation of sub-groups within neighbourhoods. Fifteen (15) interviews were held in each neighbourhood (total 45) in which the final number was decided based on the extent of data saturation.

Description of Variables

Independent variables: The study considered different independent variables. The first independent variable was a neighbourhood level related variable representing each study site: a condominium neighbourhood, inner city slum or outskirts squatter settlement. The second group of independent variables were socio-economic status related variables which include household income, level of education, and employment history. Income was a continuous variable in terms of monthly income. Level of education was categorized into low, medium and high based on cluster factoring in SPSS. Employment history refers to a dichotomous category of being currently employed or not employed.

Another group of independent variables were socio-demographic variables which include gender

(dichotomous: male /female), household composition (dichotomous with children under 18 years old or without children) and residents' age (continuous variable). Housing tenure was another independent variable to be described in terms of either owner or renter. Time of residence was a continuous variable to be obtained from the question: "for how many years have you been residing in this area?"

Dependent Variable: Social capital of residents was the dependent variable of the study. Social capital has got a total of four dimensions. The first was social network dimension measured by asking the respondents to report whether they were: having a family member residing in another house in the neighbourhood, or having at least half of your friends in the neighbourhood, or being a member of neighbourhood organizations (*Iddir* and *Ikub*).

The second dimension was trust and reciprocity. Trust in neighbours was measured through two questions: "Do you think that your next-door neighbour can be trusted?" ("Yes/no) and "Do you think most people in this neighbourhood can be trusted?" ("Yes/ no). Reciprocity was also measured through two questions: "to what extent people in this neighbourhood are willing to help each other", and "how often people provide support to each other?"

The third dimension was neighbour's behaviour. This refers to (a) chatting with residents in the neighbourhood; (b) informal social control (likelihood neighbours would take action to stop a burglary, drug sale to children, an assault, or children getting into trouble; (c) residents' sociability measured through knowing other respondents; how well other residents know the respondent, to what extent people in this neighbourhood get along each other, how much time neighbours gather for social events, and number of residents who are active in this neighbourhood (See Williams (2006); & Dekker (2007) for a detailed description of the above dimensions of social capital).

The fourth dimension of social capital was neighbourhood attachment measured through two continuous variables: social neighbourhood attachments and spatial emotional attachment. Social neighbourhood attachment refers to communal feelings on how to act, feel and think within a certain social setting. Spatial emotional attachment refers to feelings of pride in the neighbourhood and identification with its physical aspects. The study used five point Likert scale to measure the social capitals of the three neighbourhoods through its different dimension.

Data Analysis

The quantitative data were analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) version 17.0. The analysis began with a presentation of descriptive statistics to give an overview of the characteristics of the population. Then, the association between the dependent and independent variables was presented to identify variables that should be included for further analysis. Variables that demonstrated a significant correlation with the social capital of residents were included for the Analysis of variance (ANOVA). Then regression was employed to see the ability of each of the independent variables to explain residents' social capital. To conduct the regression

with the categorical variable dummy variables were used whereas the continuous variables were entered directly into the model.

The qualitative data were analyzed thematically and using content analysis. After a separate presentation of the findings from the quantitative and qualitative data, the findings were discussed in an integrative manner in the view of the implication of the two data sets together to the research questions posed.

Ethical Considerations

Written consent was received from each respondent in line with the objective of the study; their right to reject answering questions and/or terminate the participation in the study whenever they want to do so was clearly expressed. In addition, maximum care was taken to ensure the confidentiality of information collected from each respondent. To this end, on the moment of collecting the survey questionnaires, a code was given to each respondent that would be used to identify the respondent in the process of data analysis. Similarly, interview sessions held with respondents were recorded but no identifier was presented in the report to ensure the confidentiality of the information. ♦

PART 4 FINDINGS

Demographic Characteristics of the Residents

Table 2

Tenure status of the residents in the study areas

SITE	RENTED		OWN		MISSING/OTHER	
	Number	Percentage (%)	Number	Percentage (%)	Number	Percentage (%)
Enkoye Mesk	20	50%	19	47.5%	1	2.5%
Genfo Kuch	26	65%	14	35%	0	0
Aba Samuel	25	62.5%	11	27.5%	4	10%

Demographic characteristics are one of the intermediate variables that affect the social capitals of neighbourhoods. Tenure status, having children or not and level of educations were among the demographic characteristics that the study examined in the three study sites (i.e. inner city slum (*Enkoye Mesk*), outskirts squatter settlement (*Genfo Kuch*) and condominium houses (*Aba Samuel* condominium)). The following table shows the tenure status of the residents in the three study areas.

As can be seen in the table, in terms of tenure status, the majority of residents in Genfo Kuch (65%), an outskirts squatter settlement neighbourhood, and Aba Samuel (62.5%), a condominium neighbourhood, were renters. In Enkoye Mesk, the number of renters (50%) and owner residents (47.5%) was of almost equal proportion. Thus, there was no as such major difference in terms of tenure status among the three neighbourhoods.

Similarly, the in-depth interview conducted with participants from *Genfo Kuch* and *Aba Samuel* indicated that most of the residents rented houses

and were facing challenges of building sustained social ties with their neighbours. For instance, a female interviewee, aged forty-three (43), from *Genfo Kuch* explained about the tenure status of her neighbours and stressed that most of her immediate neighbours were individuals rented a house around the village. She believed that though she had good relationships with them for the time being, she had no idea about the future status of their neighbourhood. Likewise, eighteen (18) years old female interviewee from *Aba Samuel* stated that living in condominium indeed affected the peoples' social life adversely. The interviewee claimed that high turnover of rentees in condominiums made her establishing a longer and deeper social relationship with these residents very difficult. As most of the residents were not owners, they would be forced to change their residence periodically. This, as revealed in the in-depth interviews, made establishing a long live social relationship among condominium residents difficult. In *Enkoye Mesk*, the inner city slum, even though house owner residents were higher in number, they had complained about their social relationships.

As explained in the conceptual framework (Figure 1), another important factor in social capital among neighbours is whether they have children or not. Thus, before comparing the social capital of the

three neighbourhoods, we need to examine if there is a significant variation among residents in terms of having children or not. The table below displays the residents' status of having children or not.

Table 3

Residents' status of having children or not in the study areas

SITE	YES		NO		MISSING	
	Number	Percentage (%)	Number	Percentage (%)	Number	Percentage (%)
Enkoye Mesk	18	45	22	55	0	0
Genfo Kuch	16	40	24	60	0	0
Aba Samuel	13	32.5	26	65.0	1	2.5

Despite the small variation in the proportion of families with children or not, the commonality in all three neighborhoods was that the majority of the residents (65 % in Aba Samuel condominium,

60 % in Genfo Kuch and 55 % in Enkoye Mesk) did not have children. The following table presents the educational level of residents in the study sites.

Table 4

Educational levels of respondents across the three study sites

Crosstab			Primary school or below	Secondary school	Diploma	First degree	Masters and above	Missing	Total
Site	Enkoyemesk	Count	3	10	19	3	5	0	4
		% within Site	7.5%	25.0%	47.5%	7.5%	12.5%	0.0%	100.0%
	Genfokuch	Count	2	12	2	8	10	6	4
		% within Site	5.0%	30.0%	5.0%	20.0%	25.0%	15.0%	100.0%
	Aba Samuel	Count	2	2	3	6	17	10	4
		% within	5.0%	5.0%	7.5%	15.0%	42.5%	25.0%	100.0%

As it can be seen in the table, there appeared variation in the percentage of residents in terms of their level of education. For instance, the percentage of residents in the primary school or below was highest for *Enkoye Mesk* residents (7.5%) whereas those of *Genfo Kuch* and *Aba Samuel* were lowest, (5%) for

each. On the other hand, for the secondary school, the highest percentage (30%) was registered for residents of *Genfo Kuch* followed by *Enkoye Mesk* (25%) and *Aba Samuel* condominium (5%). In the diploma level of education, 47.5% of the *Enkoye Mesk* residents had diploma certificates followed by

Aba Samuel condominium (7.5%) and *Genfo Kuch* (5%) residents. In the first degree level of education, a figure of 20%, 15% and 7.5% were found for residents of *Genfo Kuch*, *Aba Samuel* condominium and *Enkoye Mesk* respectively. Finally, 42.5% of *Aba Samuel* condominium residents had Master's degree and above followed by 25% for *Genfo Kuch* and 12.5% for *Enkoye Mesk*. The statistical figure shows that the condominium residents have a higher level of education, masters and above, than the residents in the squatter and inner slum cities.

Perspectives about Good Neighbourhood

Using qualitative data collection approach, the target site residents' views and perspectives about good neighbourhood were gleaned. The data revealed that good neighbourhood involved a process of managing collective social life across different life conditions. For instance, data generated from participants of *Genfo Kuch* indicated that good neighbours were those who support, help, collaborate and tolerate each other at good and bad times. Participants also indicated that good neighbours can live together through overcoming various challenges they may face. One of the comprehensive descriptions of the good community was given by a 36 years old participant as: "Good neighbourhood is the establishment of the peaceful social life of humankind in a given small territory what we call village".

Similarly, participants from *Enkoye Mesk* reflected that good neighbourhood is the process in which the people in a given neighbourhood interact and support each other to overcome challenges and improve social life for the residents. According to them, good neighbours spend their good and bad times together. One of the participants, aged 67, used Ethiopian's proverb to describe a good neighbourhood as follows:

"We Ethiopians have a saying: (ከሩቅ ሀገር ዘመድ፣ የቅርብ ጎረቤት!) [Meaning: it is better to live together with neighbours than your relative who lives far from you]. This shows how much good neighbourhood is important in our lives than blood relatives who live away from us."

Likewise, the data generated from the participants of *Aba Samuel* condominium indicated that good neighbours are those who are committed to living collectively with other such as who can share costs for common life, collaborate in good and bad times, and celebrate a holiday together with people around them. Participants from this neighbourhood uniquely stressed on the importance of effective communication and discussing on matters frankly. One of the participants reflected this as follows: "good neighbourhood discusses matters frankly and makes effective communication collectively to blissfully live together whatever situations they are facing with". Another participant, aged 38, described it as "good neighbourhoods are those who trusted each other; care for your privacies; support in the time of crisis; enjoy good times with people around him/her and involve in social life".

The qualitative data generated across the three different settlement areas indicate that there was no difference in perspectives and views across the three different settlement areas i.e. inner city slum, outskirts squatter settlement and condominium houses in Gondar. Though the natures and types of settlements were diversified, the residents view about good neighbourhood across various settlement areas were similar. This can show us that the nature and type of settlement could not affect the residents view about the issue of good neighbours. Congruent with this, Charles and Kline (2001) demonstrate the universal understanding social capital across different levels such as individuals, families, neighborhoods, communities and universe at large. ♦

PART 5

FOUR DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Memberships and Participations in Social Networks

Membership in social networks is one of the four dimensions of social capital. The questionnaire assessed residents' membership to three indigenous social networks: *Iddir*, *Ikub*, and *Mahber*. To give hint about these terms; *Iddir* is a stable traditional association in Ethiopia to facilitate funeral programs and provide support for grievant when neighbours lose member of their families or beloved

ones. On the other hand, *Ikub* is a temporary traditional association established by the neighbours for the purpose of facilitating financial saving. Lastly, *Mahber* can be defined as a religious based association of neighbours, mostly for Orthodox Christians, to gather together on the name of Jesus, Saint Merry and Angels on a monthly base. The table below shows the proportion of residents who were members on one or more of the three social networks described above.

Table 4

Social Network cross-tabulation table (0= none, 1= Iddir, 2= Ikub, 3= Mahber)

		Socialnetworks				Total	
		.00	1.00	2.00	3.00		
Site	Enkoye Mesk	Count	6	3	11	11	31
		% within Site	19.4%	9.7%	35.5%	35.5%	100.0%
	Genfo KuCh	Count	10	3	20	2	35
		% within Site	28.6%	8.6%	57.1%	5.7%	100.0%
	Aba Samual	Count	1	0	25	4	30
		% within Site	3.3%	0.0%	83.3%	13.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	17	6	56	17	96
		% within Site	17.7%	6.3%	58.3%	17.7%	100.0%

As the table shows, a large proportion of residents in all three sites (more than 75%) were members in at least one of the social networks. *Ikub* is the most common type of social network in all three neighbourhoods. Another notable observation was that none of the residents in *Aba Smaule* condominium reported membership in *Iddir*. Given the almost lifetime commitment an *Iddir* membership requires, this is not surprising in light of the lower number of owner residents in *Aba Samuel* condominium.

Although it is not significant, in *Aba Samuel* condominium residents, the lowest proportion for membership in at least one of the three social networks was observed from the table.

On the contrary, *Ikub* is the most prevalent social network (83.3%) in *Aba Samuel* condominium residents. The in-depth interview participants from *Aba Samuel* condominium also reported that *Ikub* is the most frequently used social event to strengthen

their social bond. According to the participants, even though they were participating in different social associations and events, the most common one was *Ikub*. However, by its nature *Ikub* is not limited to residential neighbourhood. Rather, it is highly prevalent in business areas and work places such as market paces and offices. Hence, it has little impact in showing the social capital of residents in *Aba Samuel* condominium.

The in-depth interview participants from *Genfo Kuch* identified a number of social events and activities that they were participating in and engaged to strengthen the social bond among themselves. Some of these social events and activities were *Ikub*, *Iddir*, coffee ceremonies, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, *Ginbot Lideta* (memory for the birthday of Saint-Merry). In line with table 4, participants also reported their celebration of different religious gatherings, *Mahber*, such as rallies on the name of Saint Michal, Jesus and Saint Mary on the monthly bases. A 47 years old female in-depth participant stated that she was involved in a number of social events that held neighbours together. She stressed that both Muslim and Christian religious ceremonies were celebrated together in the neighbourhood magnificently. Another male participant, aged 36, indicated that different social events he was participating at in the neighbourhood.

Qualitative data generated from *Enkoye Mesk* also indicated that participants were involved in different social activities to demonstrate their neighbourhood's togetherness. The participants have involved in different kinds of social events such as *Ikub*, *Iddir* and other dimensions of an association like that of *Genfo Kuch*. A male participant aged 40 stated his involvement in different social activities in *Enkoye Mesk* as:

“I am involving in the different social events such as *Ikub*, *Iddir* and associations. What I am benefited most from such social events is just building

a good social bond with others around me. We also help each other in wedding ceremony and other personal engagements and involvements. In funeral ceremonies, we also spent a day together with people who lost their beloveds.”

The finding of the study shows that, in *Aba Samuel* condominium, most of the residents were not house owners and did not have children. They were also not members of durable, life time commitment, social networks such as *Iddir*. Congruent to this finding, Guest et.al. (2006); Ha (2009); (2008) and community limited liability perspective (Chaskin, 1997; Guest et.al., 2006; Bottermann, Hooghe & Reeskens; 2011) indicated that instrumental values such as tenure status and childbearing practices have significant correlation with social capital of residents. However, residents in *Aba Samuel* condominium highly participated in social networks that are not limited to residential neighbourhoods such as *Ikub*, which can be highly practiced in business areas and work places.

Social Connections among Immediate Neighbours Social capital in its three dimensions (neighbourhoods' behaviour, trust and neighbourhoods' attachment) was also analyzed in the three different settlement areas using mean comparison. The overall mean comparison can be stated as ($\chi^2=23.34$ $\alpha=0.001$). The table below shows the mean comparison in the three study sites.

Table 5
Mean comparison of the three dimensions of social capital among the study sites

SITE	MEAN		
	Neighbourhood Behavior	Trust	Neighbourhood Attachment
Enkoye Mesk	3.7650	3.7663	3.1998
Genfo Kuch	3.6000	3.9758	3.4845
Aba Samuel	2.8775	2.8500	2.8415

Table 7

ANOVA table

	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIG.		
neighbourhood behavior* Site	Between Groups	(Combined)	17.825	2	8.913	26.806	.001
	Within Groups	38.901	117	.332			
	Total	56.726	119				
Trust * Site	Between Groups	(Combined)	28.676	2	14.338	21.779	.001
	Within Groups	77.027	117	.658			
	Total	105.704	119				
Neighbour	Between	(Combined)	8.305	2	4.152	16.962	.001

The mean comparison by the three dimensions of social capital across the three study site shows that, though it is not significant, *Aba Samuel* has registered the lowest mean in all three dimensions of social capital. In *Aba Samuel* condominium, the mean for three dimensions of social capital accounted as neighbourhood's behaviour (2.8775), trust (2.8500) and neighbourhood's attachment (2.8415). The registered and compared mean in *Aba Samuel* condominium shows that there was a weaker social bond among the condominium residents in Gondar. The mean for three dimensions of social capital registered in *Enkoye Mesk*; neighbourhood behavior (3.7650), trust (3.7663) and neighbourhood attachment (3.1998) and in *Genfo Kuch*; neighbourhood behavior (3.6000), trust (3.9758) and neighbourhood attachment (3.4845) showed the presence of strong social connection among the neighbourhoods. Hence, compared to the inner slum cities and outskirts squatter settlement residents, condominium house residents have weak social bonds and connection among themselves.

The ANOVA table above shows statistically significant difference in mean comparison. The ANOVA table was basically used to report if the mean differences were statistically significant or not. As can be seen in the last column in the above table, the mean differences are significant at 99.9 %. The ANOVA comparison of means has showed the difference to be statistically significant at 99.9%.

That would mean that the difference in means did not happen randomly but patterned the difference which corresponds to the finding mentioned above that residents of *Aba Samuel* condominium have the lowest social capital. As a result, using various aspects of social capitals identified by different authors (Alaimo, Reischl & Allen, 2010; Dekker, 2007; Harries, 2001; Mesfin Setarge, 2011; Power & Wilmot, 2007), condominium residents have poor social capital compared to the inner slum city and outskirts squatter settlement.

Likewise, the qualitative data indicated that participants from the inner slum city (*Enkoye Mesk*) and outskirts squatter (*Genfo Kuch*) engaged in social life than condominium (*Aba Samuel*) residents. According to the qualitative data, in *Genfo Kuch*, the relationship among the participants became a recent phenomenon and improved a lot over time. The participants stipulated that most of the residents in the *Genfo Kuch* neighbour came from different areas, particularly from the rural areas with divergent background, and failed to develop relationship easily. However, over time the residents started to develop a strong social relationship. A 47 years old woman who lived in the area for about seven years described the relationship she had with her immediate neighbours as:

“When we come to this area, I think we were the first family. There was no one who we could share what we were facing. Almost all the newly built houses were empty. Later on, people started

to come to the neighbor and we started to have neighbours. Initially, we were facing challenges to create a good relationship with people around us since all were coming from different backgrounds. Right now, it is improved a lot and we have started to have a good relationship with our immediate neighbours, especially people who are rented here with me”.

A similar idea was also reflected by another participant. He indicated that the people who came to the newly emerging neighbourhood of *Genfo Kuch* faced a challenge of establishing good relationships with their immediate neighbours. A 51 years old participant stated that while he joined the neighbourhood before six years, it was not easy to find neighbours who share their way of life. He recited his experiences as follows:

“When we came to this neighbourhood first, we did not have neighbours because we were afraid to approach others since we did not know each other.”

Qualitative data generated from *Enkoye Mesk* also reflected that they had strong relationship with their immediate neighbours. There were participants from *Enkoye Mesk* who had strong social relationships with their immediate neighbours. Moreover, participants in *Enkoye Mesk* stressed that there was mutual respect and sharing what each of the neighbours has. One of the participants, aged 24, who lived in the neighbourhood for the last eight years described their strong social ties as:

“The relation among the neighbourhood is better than another neighbor by far. Because most of the families in this neighbor are from the low socio-economic background. To survive over this life situation, people around the neighbor involved in shared livelihood. Let me share some of the experiences. If you have prepared food, it can serve at least for about three household members around you. This shows the common and shared life around the village, which is the quality of a good neighbourhood”.

Both the quantitative and qualitative findings show that there is a strong social tie and relationships among the immediate neighbours in the inners slum city (*Enkoye Mesk*) and outskirts squatter settlement (*Genfo Kuch*). On the contrary, data generated from *Aba Samuel* condominium indicated that there was poor social ties and relationship among the immediate neighbours. Correspondingly, previous studies such as Abebe et.al. (2011); and Ingwani, Gondo, Gumbo Mazhindu (2010) argued that condominium residents have weak social interactions among themselves that can be caused by various factors.

Factors Affecting Good Neighbourhoods

The study participants from the three villages i.e. *Genfo Kuch*, *Enkoye Mesk* and *Aba Samuel* condominium, identified different factors that affect the development and maintenance social capital among the neighbours. Some of the most commonly reported factors were illegal weapon trafficking, gangsters, corruption and others. For instance, a participant from *Genfo Kuch* stated some of the factors that affected the relationship among the neighbourhood as:

“Irregular weapon trafficking and gangster can make life difficult for those who work hard to improve their life. I can tell you that all these factors are affecting the relation of residents in the village. In some parts of the village, it is a challenge to move around particularly at night as there are gangsters have irregular weapons on their hand. There are also irregular housings which are part and resulted from corruption and lack of good governance. Corruption and lack of good governance also badly influence the relation among the neighbourhoods”.

Participants from *Enkoye Mesk* neighbourhood identified hoodlum, theft and lack of integrity as the most common factors that affected the relationship among the community members. Some of the participants also considered intoxication, theft, miss information, back betting and gossiping

as factors that affected good relation among the neighbours. One of the participants from *Enkoye Mesk* categorized factors that affected their good neighbourhood as:

“Intolerance is one of the main factors that affect the good relationship among the neighbours. However, there are people who involve in conflicts and hostilities for some nonsense reasons such as electric wires, the toilet rooms or because of the underage children’s conduct. This all in dimensions the problem-related tolerance that really disturbs good social life among neighbourhoods. Misconducts from a family member can also affect the good neighborhood. For instance, theft and denials of shared materials form one of the family members can be a source of conflict. Speculations and gossips around the neighbor can be the other factor that affects the good neighbourhood. I think all those factors are demonstrated in the neighbor significantly. Because most of the residents in this neighbor are females who involved in commercial sex work activities and verified to these factors to establishing good neighbourhood”.

Participants from *Aba Samuel* condominium also identified factors such as intolerance, selfishness, gossips, and conflict via the disputes of minors as major factors. For condominium residents, problems related to socialization were also identified as one of the main factors that affected the social relationship in the neighbourhood. Moreover, the disputes tended to relate to intolerance among the residents. Similar to factors identified in the three neighbourhoods (*Enkoye Mesk*, *Genfo Kuch* and *Aba Samuel*), previous studies such as Forest and Kearns (2001); Gracia and Herrero (2004); Guest et.al, (2006); Schweitzer (2010); and Williams (2005, 2008) have identified a number of psychological and social factors that affect social capitals among neighbours.

However, *Aba Samuel* condominium residents identified the unique factors that determine the relationship among the residents. According to the participants the vertical physical nature of the buildings hindered the residents’ movement and thereby affected their social relationship. One of the participant, a 70 years old widow, reported her challenge to build social relationship with her neighbors as:

“I am interacting only with these who come and visit me since I can’t lift to the upper floors of the buildings. Sometimes, some of the residents invited me to participate in social gathering. In many instance, I have forced to cancel the invitations since I find it difficult to lift over the upper floors. In general, I don’t have the clue about how others around this condominium are interacted each other and develop sense of belongingness. I spent most of my time here in the ground floor inside my house.”

Participants in the condominium also uniquely revealed that many of the residents involved in the disputes as a result of the removal of wasteful disposal, particularly from the upper floor of the buildings. According to the participant, residents of the upper floors throw garbage to the lower and ground floors. Congruently, Abebe et.al. (2011); and Ingwani, Gondo, Gumbo Mazhindu (2010) also claimed that the design of condominium housed, particularly its vertical nature and densely populated affect social interaction among the neighbours in comparison with other neighbourhoods. ♦

PART 6 CONCLUSION

The study aimed to compare social capital of residents in selected neighbourhoods of Gondar. Specifically, the study intended to explore the perspectives of residents about the social capital; to compare different dimension of social capital; and identify the factors that affect the social capital residents in the selected neighbourhoods of Gondar, Ethiopia. To attain these objectives, qualitative dominant mixed research approach was employed.

The finding of the study shows that there was no difference in perspectives and views relating to good neighbourhood across the three different study sites (i.e. inner slum cities (*Enkoye Mesk*); outskirts squatter settlement (*Genfokuch*); and condominium houses (*Aba Samuel Condominium*)) in Gondar. Though the natures and types of settlements were diversified, the residents' view about good neighbourhood across the three settlement areas were similar. This shows us the nature and types of settlements have little impact on the residents' view about good neighbourhood. On the other hand, the finding of the study highly implied the value of common life that Ethiopians have irrespective of the various types of settlements including newly constructed condominium house settlements.

However, the social capital in the study sites was measured through its four dimensions, particularly via social network, neighbourhoods' behaviours, trust and neighbourhoods' attachments. The finding indicates that condominium residents are mostly participating in a single social network *Ikub*, temporary traditional saving association.

Likewise, the mean comparison in the three dimensions of social capital, i.e. in neighbourhoods' behaviour, trust and attachment, shows that condominium house residents have the lowest social bond among themselves than inner slum cities and outskirts squatter settlements.

Generally, residents of condominium neighbourhoods have the lowest social capital compared to residents in the other neighbourhoods. In all four dimensions of social capital, condominium residents' social capital is found to be the lowest. Even though they participated in a single social network, *Ikub*, it tended to be one that is temporary and mainly conducted in the workplaces. Since the membership is of temporal nature, it cannot demonstrate the overall presence of social capital among the condominium house residents. Perhaps this is because of the lack of interest in establishing such networks due to the uncertainty and threat of eviction. Nevertheless, this result needs to be confirmed with a larger dataset, controlling all intervening factors (income level, age, gender).

On the other hand, the unique features of condominium houses also contributed to the poor social bond among the condominium residents. Some of the unique features of condominium houses that affect the process of the establishing good neighbourhood include the vertical feature of the condominium houses, the divergent background of the residents and job-related factor (e.g., being an employee that spends most of their times in the work places). It can thus be inferred that the nature of condominium houses and its residents hinder the establishment of social capital,

though the strategies and housing programs of the Ethiopian government seek to promote it. In the study, various social and psychological factors that affect the process of building social relationship among the residents in the neighbourhood were also identified irrespective of the types of settlement and neighbourhood that the residents were living in. ♦

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