Of networks, norms, and trust
The role of social capital in reinforcing community resilience

International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

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Abbreviations

BPI	Better Programming Initiative
CBDRR	Community-based disaster risk reduction
CBFA	Community-based first aid
CBHFA	Community-based health and first aid in action
CFDIP	Child-focussed development initiative programme
CNY	Chinese Yuan Renminbi
DMRD	Disaster management in rural development
DR	Disaster response
DRR	Disaster risk reduction
HFA	Hyogo Framework for Action
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
MMK	Myanmar Kyat
MRCS	Myanmar Red Cross Society
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NPR	Nepalese Rupee
NRCS	Nepal Red Cross Society
PASSA	Participatory approach for safe shelter awareness
PHAST	Participatory hygiene and sanitation transformation
RCSC	Red Cross Society of China
ToR	Terms of reference
USD	US Dollar
VCA	Vulnerability and capacity assessment
VDC	Village development committee

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Executive summary

Over recent years, the concept of community resilience has gained prominence in the humanitarian and development context, and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) has promoted it through guidelines and practical work, defining it as "the ability of communities exposed to disasters and crises and the underlying vulnerabilities to anticipate, reduce the impact of, cope with, and recover from the effects of adversity without compromising their long-term prospects" (IFRC 2012:7).

The discussion of the elements of community resilience - the question as to what characteristics a community needs to a have - is almost as old as the concept of community resilience itself. This study aims to contribute to this discussion by analysing the role of a particular aspect: social capital.

Social capital is understood as "features of social organisation, such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam 1995:67). The paper bases its analysis on recent literature and on case studies from nine communities in Nepal, China and Myanmar. A household survey amongst 888 respondents and workshops with communities and Red Cross branches represent the underlying research approach.

"Of norms, networks, and trust" finds that social capital plays a much more fundamental role than is commonly acknowledged. Cognitive aspects such as social embeddedness, trust and propensity to civic engagement appear to be the critical foundation on which overall resilience depends. The case of Bingalar, a Myanmar village severely affected by the 2008 Cyclone Nargis, where villagers supported each other through the first days of hardship and recovery, illustrates how social capital can make a tremendous difference to resilience and overall outcomes. Several other case studies point to a particular aspect - linking social capital - as being of significance to communities' resilience.

The report finds that field observations support the view of authors such as Norris et al. (2008), Mayunga (2008) and Aldrich (2010) of social capital as being one of the key driving forces behind community resilience - the others being economic, human, physical and natural capital.

What does this mean for the practical work of the IFRC and the wider Red Cross/ Red Crescent Movement?

The study finds that while social capital has always played an implicit role in the community-based work of the Red Cross/Red Crescent Movement - the volunteerism at its core, as well as the community-based committees and action teams that it promotes, represent social capital. The community-based projects it implements also foster aspects of social capital such as collective action and, less directly, the sense of community and social trust.

Yet, in the work of the Red Cross/Red Crescent Movement, social capital has thus far been on the unacknowledged sidelines, and a more systematic approach towards assessing and reinforcing social capital is desirable.

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To this end, this report reviews the ability of the current IFRC toolkit to capture social capital and recommends adaptations. In general, it is found that existing tools can be used to assess structural aspects of social capital if they are properly understood and used. The recommendations are therefore centred around the addition of better guidance to users in the field rather than a complete re-vamping of the toolkit.

In two ways however, the recommendations go beyond minor modifications: First, the baseline survey tool (part of the VCA toolkit) needs to be complemented with a component that can capture cognitive social capital. This is because cognitive social capital (which encapsulates aspects such as social embeddedness, trust, and propensity towards civic engagement) is seen as a particularly crucial aspect that cannot be assessed with currently available tools. The report suggests a set of 17 questions and an associated cognitive social capital index that can guide further programming (e.g. to what extent community mobilisation efforts must be planned for, community selection).

The second recommendation that goes beyond minor modifications concerns the long-term streamlining of the many IFRC tools (created by the various IFRC departments) into just one. While it is acknowledged that the production of such a single tool will be difficult, its is seen as the most promising way to overcome the current complexity of the toolset, which is in part to blame for the challenges faced in the field when designing and implementing comprehensive programmes geared to reinforce community resilience. The development of a smartphone application, able to guide field users through all phases of the implementation cycle, may yield even better results in reinforcing the resilience of communities at risk.

List of recommendations

Recommendation 1
Sensitize staff and volunteers on the importance of social capital

Volunteers and staff members on all levels should be introduced to the concept of social capital and its role in community resilience. It is a vital precursor to all following steps that practitioners fully understand why social capital is important when implementing programmes that are set to enhance community resilience. To create this awareness, a short background paper should be prepared that summarizes the lessons and recommendations of this report, geared to achieve three objectives:

First, that the terms 'social capital' and 'community resilience' are understood - to this end, the paper needs to provide definitions and practical examples. *Second*, it should describe the different components of community resilience and highlight the strong role that social capital plays therein. Promoting an understanding of the important role of social capital is key to further action and change amongst volunteers and staff. *Third*, the background paper should suggest instruments as to how volunteers and staff can better assess and build on social capital in the future (see fig. 21, 22, 24).

Recommendation 2
Ensure that VCAs are conducted more thoroughly

Many tools of the VCA toolkit can be used to assess structural aspects of social capital. In practice, however, many of the tools - especially the particularly useful tools 11 - 14 - are rarely applied. Project managers should allow for sufficient time - at least three days - to conduct a more thorough assessment of organizational capacities and local coping mechanisms. Figure 21 provides suggested modifications to the VCA toolkit.

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Recommendation 3
Enhance the baseline survey tool and its use

Amongst the VCA tools, the baseline survey is both the weakest in its current shape and both the potentially most potent to systematically capture cognitive social capital. Three steps need to be taken to transform the baseline tool from the former to the latter.

First, guidance to implement a survey ought to be improved drastically: It needs to contain concrete advice on sampling, enumerator conduct, documentation, and analysis. Critically, the survey tool should provide a standard template for survey questionnaires and guidance for adaptation to specific local contexts. *Second*, such a questionnaire template should include a section on cognitive social capital that covers the aspects of social trust, embeddedness, and civic engagement. A suggested cognitive social capital index should be used both to inform programming choices and to monitor the effect of an intervention on cognitive social capital. *Third*, the use of the newly adapted tool should be widely promoted for standard use.

When revising and expanding the baseline survey tool, it is suggested to take the very sophisticated guidelines and templates contained in the CBHFA PMER toolkit as a basis. This toolkit gives very concrete guidance and offers advice on sampling as well as questions and related indicators for health-related issues. However, the current CBHFA survey tool appears to be too complex to be handled by volunteers and staff without degrees in public health or social science. Therefore, building a new VCA baseline survey tool should not merely be based on a hook-up of non-health questions and indicators to the existing CBHFA tool, but should be more radical in that it produces an easy-to-use yet comprehensive baseline survey tool.

Recommendation 4
Over the long term, streamline the IFRC toolkit

The overall IFRC toolkit is substantial and comprehensive, but largely structured along sectoral lines. Although several tools and guidelines refer to the VCA as an integral or supplementary tool, this sector-structured toolbox is unwieldy at best for the practical implementation of community resilience programmes. The toolkit should therefore be streamlined into one comprehensive tool that can guide the users through all stages of project implementation.

Recommendation 5
Ensure the recruitment of well-qualified community facilitators

Two key issues that are crucial for the successful overall outcome of a community-based project as well as the reinforcement of social capital are a relationship of trust between the Red Cross/Red Crescent and a high sense of local ownership. Community facilitators bear a particular responsibility to gain and maintain the trust of community members, as well as to foster a strong sense of local ownership. Ensuring that suitably qualified individuals with necessary hard and soft skills are recruited for such positions is therefore deemed pivotal for the reinforcement of social capita and community resiliencel.

Recommendation 6
In communities with low social capital, focus on mobilization

Low levels of cognitive aspects pose a major challenge for the reinforcement of community resilience and the achievement of project objectives. In such a case, project managers need to allow for substantial time to mobilize the community, convince leaders, and strengthen the sense of community before embarking on full-fledged implementation.

Recommendation 7
In communities with high levels of exclusion or a conflictive past, build up bridging capital

A particular difficult case concerns communities with a high degree of exclusion or segregation - especially in the context of ongoing or past conflicts. Operating under such conditions is extremely sensitive. But while one needs to tread carefully, the principles of the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement give it an often unique opportunity to build up bridging capital between groups. The lessons learnt from the Better Programming Initiative (see fig. 25) should be followed through in this context, and advice from the ICRC should be sought.

Recommendation 8
Reiterate baseline-type surveys every two years

To monitor changes in social capital, surveys used for the baseline should be repeated every two years. In between major surveys, observations should also be recorded that can also give some indication on the state of social capital, for instance changes in the level of participation in collective activities and meetings or the way a community cares for its vulnerable members.

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Introduction

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> *"Robust grass-roots institutions can achieve much that money can't buy."*
> *Jairam Ramesh, Minister for Rural Development, India*

Over the past two decades, the Red Cross/Red Crescent Movement has been shifting its main paradigm from *reactive* disaster response to *proactive* disaster risk reduction (DRR). The old wisdom that prevention is better than cure holds true for the disaster risk management context, as several studies have shown that risk reduction is more effective and efficient than response. Yet, this paradigm shift necessitated a change of the implementation logic: whereas the traditional disaster response approach is rather top-down and hierarchical in nature (stressing the importance of fast and efficient delivery of relief items and services), the implementation logic of DRR is bottom-up (stressing the importance of community involvement and sustainability). While DRR emanated from the humanitarian relief context, it thus functions along the lines of a rather developmental approach.

A central conceptual goal of this approach is community resilience, an idea that villages and wards have the ability to swiftly bounce back after they have been exposed to a harmful event like a natural hazard and that extends to issues in health, livelihood and other fields. With community resilience being the center stage of Red Cross/Red Crescent work, the question is: what makes a community?

In the practical work of the Red Cross/Red Crescent, a community is spatially defined - it concerns a village or a ward. This definition is handy and sensible, as natural hazards are similarly bound by geography. Yet, a community is so much more than just individuals residing beneath each other. It includes intangibles such as a sense of belonging, relations between these individuals, organisation, support and trust. This report is about the "so much more": social capital - the 'glue that holds people together'.

The report addresses three overarching questions: *First*, to what extent does social capital matter in reinforcing resilience? *Second*, how can social capital be assessed? *Third*, what are the implications for the community-based work of the Red Cross/Red Crescent Movement? The terms of reference posit five specific questions regarding these practical implications: (a) To what extent has social capital already been assessed and been built upon in the past? (b) In how far do existing tools of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) already capture levels of social capital? (c) In which way - if at all - do they need to be amended? (d) How can Red Cross/Red Crescent programmes reinforce social capital? And (e) how can social capital be monitored?

This report is the result of a study commissioned to answer the above questions. It was carried out in two stages: First, an extensive literature review looked at the role of social capital in community resilience and at existing IFRC tools. Based on this review, the research framework for the second stage - field research in Nepal, China and Myanmar - was prepared.

This paper is structured in three main sections: **Section A** (Background) contains the results of the literature review; it discusses the concepts of community resilience

(chapter one), social capital (chapter two), the role of social capital in community resilience (chapter three) and the extent to which IFRC tools and approaches are principally designed to capture social capital (chapter four).

Section B presents the methodology and findings of the field research. The section begins with a description of the research framework (chapter five), proceeds with the analysis from Nepal (chapter six), China (chapter seven) and Myanmar (chapter eight), and concludes with a comparative and summative overview (chapter nine).

Building on the results from the literature review and field research, **Section C** addresses the 'so what?' question: It lists several strategic and practical recommendations (chapter ten) and winds up the report in the conclusion (chapter eleven). The appendix contains additional details, in particular the results of the household survey.

Guided by terms of reference as well as input from the study reference group, research has been carried out by Dr Dennis Eucker (Nepal field research, August 12-25, 2012) and Patrick Bolte (China, August 12-21, 2012; Myanmar August 22-30, 2012). The two consultants were superbly supported in the field by local teams (see appendix V: acknowledgements) and M. Fitri Rahmadana, who ran the statistical analysis of survey data.

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Section A

Literature review

Symbol of resilience: bamboo

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The two key concepts of this study - community resilience and social capital - share three key features: (a) they are abstract and intangible, (b) they have gained enormous popularity over recent years, and (c) they have no broadly accepted definitions. Against this background, it is crucial that both terms be discussed and defined for further use throughout the remainder of this study. Following the reviews of the two concepts (chapter one and two), chapter three reviews the role various authors ascribe to social capital in reinforcing community resilience. Finally, chapter four analyzes IFRC tools and approaches to see to what extent they explicitly or implicitly assess and address social capital.

1. What is community resilience?

A good starting point to discuss community resilience is to dissect the term into its two components: community and resilience. The term community has many different meanings and can refer to groups of people linked by common identity, geography, commitment, interests or concern (Kirmayer et al. 2009: 65; Twigg 2009:9). In the context of Red Cross Red Crescent work, the term is spatially defined: the residents of one village or ward are seen as "the community". Against the background of disaster risk reduction and health programmes, such a somewhat reductionist definition makes sense, since hazards are often bound by geography. Throughout this study, we will therefore follow this definition. At the same time, we are fully aware that several types of communities overlap, and that even a spatially defined community has usually other features referring to identity and social bonds. Moreover, it is important to note that communities are complex and at times disunited - it is crucial to keep in mind the social dynamics within as well as beyond a community.

The term resilience is based on the Latin verb *resilire* (to rebound or recoil) and was first used in the 19th century to describe a property of timber, and to explain why some types of wood were able to withstand sudden and severe loads without breaking (Mc Aslan 2010:2). A practical showcase for such resilience is bamboo, which is able to absorb enormous pressures and then to rebound to its original form.

Today it is used widely across many disciplines to describe characteristics of materials, plants, ecosystems, persons, communities and nations. Walker and Salt define resilience as "the ability of a system to absorb disturbance and still retain its basic function and structure." (Walker/Salt 2005:1) Put simply, resilience can be seen as the "ability to bounce back" (Wu et al. 2002). There is a wide array of definitions of the term resilience; as a comprehensive overview by Norris et al. shows (Norris et al. 2008:129). In a recent discussion paper, IFRC proposed a detailed definition: "For the IFRC, resilience is defined as the ability of individuals, communities, organizations and countries exposed to disasters and crises and underlying vulnerabilities to anticipate, reduce the impact of, cope with, and recover from the effects of adversity without compromising their long-term prospects." (IFRC 2012:7)

In the remainder of this study we will focus on the resilience of spatially defined communities, knowing however that the resilience of individuals, families, communities, regions and countries are related to each other.

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Figure 1 | **Three perspectives of community resilience**

Instrumental perspective		Functional perspective		Outcome perspective
What characteristics does a community need to have to be resilient?	**+**	**How does a community need to behave to be resilient?**	**→**	**How quickly and completely does a community recover from a stressor?**

Community resilience can be conceived of in three different ways, focussing on either instruments, functions, and outcomes.

The instrumental perspective focuses on the 'ingredients' of community resilience: what features does a community need to have to be resilient? Two recent papers define such characteristics (see Twigg 2009, IFRC 2011). They highlight numerous factors such as knowledge and health, the level of organisation and connectedness, infrastructure and services, economic opportunities and natural asset management (IFRC 2011:iv). The equivalent in the bamboo analogy would be the way bamboo plants are made up.

The second perspective highlights the functions of community resilience: how does a community behave in relation to the stressor? What are the processes of responding and adapting to it? Adaptive capacity is a key term in this context.

The outcome perspective looks at the effects of resilience: it stresses that a community which is highly resilient will suffer less damage and recover more rapidly from a stressor than one which is not. In other words, the stressor-induced downward curve experienced by a resilient community is comparatively shallow and narrow, and the deviation from a normal development trajectory relatively minor (see figure 2 overleaf).

The three perspectives are closely related and basically represent inputs, outputs and outcomes of community resilience. While it would be invigorating to research community resilience from an outcome perspective, in the absence of *ceteris paribus* conditions[1] in the real world it is extremely difficult to robustly attribute certain outcomes (e.g. the level of disaster-induced losses and the speed and extent of recovery) to the underlying (instrumental and functional) elements of resilience.
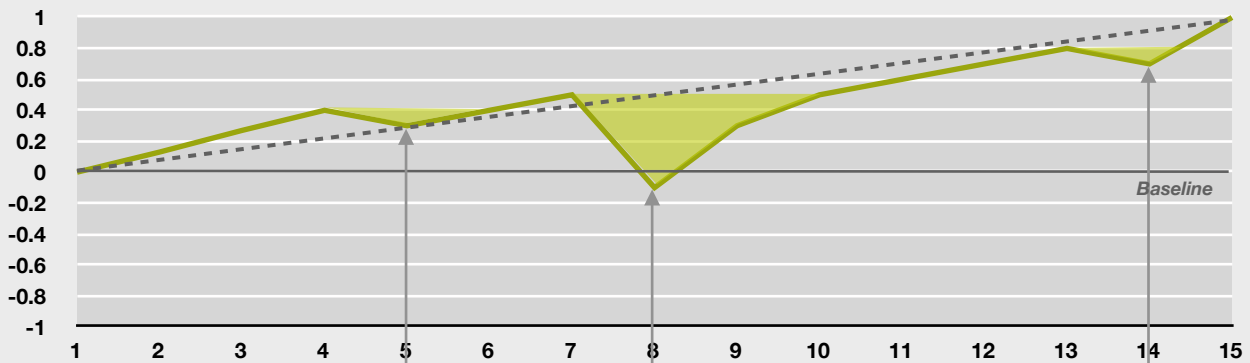
Most attempts to operationalize and measure community resilience thus confine themselves to the instrumental and functional perspectives (see Mc Aslan 2011) - rather than measuring *actual* community resilience, the *enablers* are thus measured or operationalized as proxies. The key question remains: what makes a community resilient?

The consensus appears to be that adaptive capacities are key to community resilience. Adger et al. identify three such capacities: First, to reduce the *sensitivity* of a given system (by, for example, increased reservoir storage capacity, planting hardier crops that can withstand more climate variability, or ensuring that new buildings in flood plains are constrained with a floodable ground floor); second, to alter the *exposure* of the system (by, for example, investing in hazard preparedness such as constructing sea defences in coastal communities); and, third, to increase the *resilience of the system* to cope with changes (e.g. by implementing generic actions which not only aim to enhance

1. Ceteris paribus means that all other variables - except for independent and the dependent ones - are equal or held constant.

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Figure 2 | **Illustrating community resilience: the fictional case of Rangamati and Rungumati**
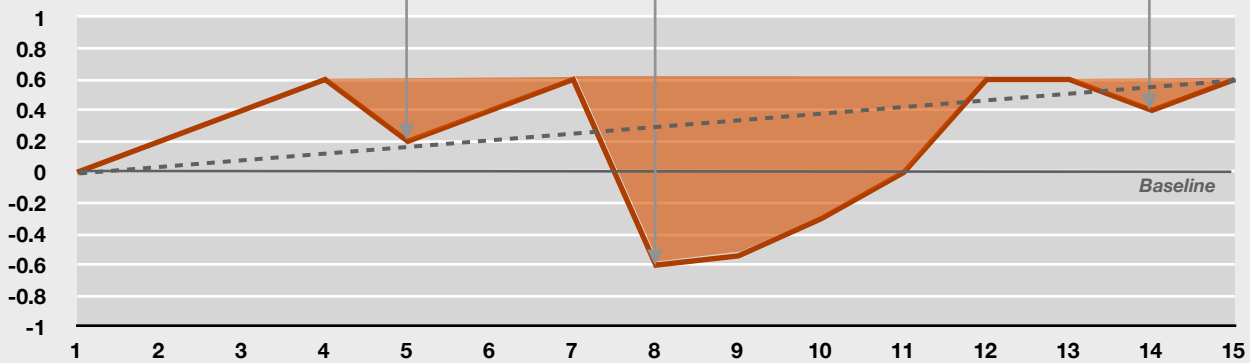
To illustrate what community resilience means in practice, let us think of two fictional villages: Rangamati and Rungumati are adjacent to each other, separated only by a river. The villages are almost the same in size and social structure, and both are regularly affected by floods and cyclones.

But there is a difference: whereas Rungumati has continued with its usual activities practices, the villagers in Rangamati had enough of bearing the brunt of regular disasters and were ready for change. When the local Red Crescent came to conduct an assessment for a project, the villagers shared their concerns, needs and capacities. Through the ensuing community-based disaster risk management project, a village committee was formed that henceforth planned several steps to reduce disaster risk. Through the project, an early warning system was established, disaster response teams formed, an evacuation centre constructed, houses reinforced and a disaster fund established.

A local NGO also provided additional support in health, sanitation and livelihood. Paddy farmers recognized that it was dangerous to have "all eggs in one basket" - depending almost fully on income from paddy fields. With the support of the NGO, they made their income from paddy fields safer (by introducing more flood-resistant crops, building small reservoirs, adding dry-season crops). They also diversified their overall income sources by adding small-scale manufacturing and services.

The above charts show how the two communities have performed over the past fifteen years since the projects in Rangamati ended - the green and red lines indicating economic output.

In the first four years, Rungumati's local economy grew slightly faster, as villagers in Rangamati were still getting familiar with the new crops and income sources. Then, five years after the end of the project in Rangamati, both communities were affected by a drought. Due to the several steps taken (reservoirs, dry-season crops, diversification), Rangamati suffered less losses and also recovered more quickly than Rungumati.

Eight years after the projects, a devastating cyclone hit both villages. The immediate impact was severe in both communities - however, in Rangamati, less people were killed or injured (due to the EWS, evacuation centres, reinforced houses). All paddy fields were destroyed - but due to the greater diversification in Rangamati, the community could recover more quickly. In addition, Rangamati had accumulated enough savings in its disaster fund to buy seeds for the next season and to repair some of the damage. As a result, Rangamati recovered to the pre-cyclone level in just two years - against four years in Rungumati.

The fictional case of Rangamati and Rungumati shows that resilience matters not just for the recovery from individual hazards - it also brings about a more positive development outlook (dotted lines).

[Story: P.Bolte]

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well-being and increase access to resources or insurance, but also include specific measures to enable specific populations to recover from loss) (Adger et al. 2005: 79).

Norris et al. have developed a set of four adaptive capacities, referring to (1) economic development, (2) community competence, (3) social capital, and (4) information and communication (Norris et al. 2008: 136). Each of these capacities have underlying sets of characteristics (see figure 4 on page 11).

Twigg has produced a comprehensive list, grouping 167 characteristics in 27 resilience components and the five thematic areas of (1) governance, (2) risk assessment, (3) knowledge and education, (4) risk management and vulnerability reduction, and (5) disaster preparedness and response (Twigg 2009).

An IFRC study synthesized six key characteristics of a "safe and resilient community"[2] out of 19 characteristics based on literature review and 70 identified during field research in four countries affected by the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami (see figure 3, IFRC 2011: iv).

Figure 3 | **Characteristics of a resilient community** (IFRC 2011:iv)
Resilient communities:
1 can adapt to, withstand and recover from external and internal shocks
2 can initiate, plan and implement activities relevant to them
3 are secure, free from conflict, and free from fear (crime, violence)
4 have equal access to required services
5 have safe and diverse sources of livelihood
6 are able to communicate with others outside of their community and are not socially isolated

The large number of characteristics and many theoretical models for community resilience indicates the complexity of the issue. Assessing community resilience in practice is made especially difficult since it involves the interaction of individuals, families, groups and both the natural and the built environment. But while measuring community resilience may be complex and challenging, the characteristics or enablers may be used as a benchmark to guide community-based programming.

Following the discussion of social capital in the next chapter we will return to the issue of community resilience in chapter three, which analyzes the particular role of social capital in community resilience.

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2. It is noted that the term "community safety and resilience", which has already become ubiquitous in IFRC documents, is tautological: a resilient community is by definition safe as well.

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2. What is social capital?

While there is an abundance of definitions of social capital, most of them share a focus on social relations that have productive benefits. Robert Putnam, who is one of the key authors associated with promoting the concept of social capital, defines it as "features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam 1995:67). He proposes five components of social capital:

1. **Community networks**: number and density of voluntary, state and personal networks
2. **Civic engagement**: participation and use of civic networks
3. **Local civic identity**: sense of belonging, of solidarity and of equality with other members of the community
4. **Reciprocity and norms of cooperation**: a sense of obligation to help others, along with a confidence that such assistance will be returned
5. **Trust** in the community.

Many authors distinguish between sub-types of social capital, the two most important of which are between structural and cognitive on the one hand, and bonding, bridging and linking social capital on the other.

Structural social capital refers to social networks and their rules and procedures, their extent, density and quality (Hitt et al 2002). An important question in regard to these networks is to what extent they are open or closed to outsiders. **Cognitive** social capital includes shared norms and values, attitudes and beliefs – it predisposes people towards mutually beneficial collective action.

Bonding social capital refers to the linkages between equal members of a particular community, while bridging capital describes linkages between different communities or groups within a community. Bonding capital is associated with high levels of social trust (usually *amongst* groups), whereas **bridging** capital refers to linkages *between* groups or communities with low levels of social trust. While both categories mainly capture horizontal relations, a third category – **linking** capital – refers to vertical linkages to groups or organizations outside communities, e.g. government agencies.

Social capital is associated with significant **benefits**; amongst those identified are facilitation of higher levels of, and growth in, gross domestic product (GDP); facilitation of more efficient functioning of labor markets; lower levels of crime; and improvements in the effectiveness of institutions of government (Aldridge et al. 2002; Halpern 2001; Kawachi et al. 1999; Putnam et al. 1993). Social capital is an important variable in educational attainment (Aldridge et al. 2002; Israel et al. 2001), public health (Coulthard et al. 2001; Subramanian et al. 2003), community governance, and economic problems (Bowles and Gintis 2002), and is also an important element in production (Day 2002).

Economic and business performance at both the national and sub-national level is also affected by social capital (Aldridge et al. 2002). Others have emphasized the importance of social capital for problem-solving and how only certain types of social capital contribute to this (Boyte, 1995).

Meanwhile, potential **downsides** of social capital include: fostering behavior that worsens rather than improves economic performance; acting as a barrier to social

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inclusion and social mobility; dividing rather than uniting communities or societies; facilitating rather than reducing crime, education underachievement and health-damaging behaviour (Aldridge et al. 2002). The groups or networks that can bring about productive social capital can also generate perverse forms thereof, for instance in the shape of sectarianism,[3] nepotism or corruption through patron-client networks[4].

Two important questions discussed in literature and highly relevant for our study are (a) whether social capital can be built and (b) whether and how social capital can be measured.

The answer to the *first* question depends on the view as to what determines or causes social capital. Whereas Putnam argued that social capital is largely determined by historical evolution, his view has been challenged, and many authors argue that social capital can indeed be increased in the short term. For instance, raising social capital may occur as a by-product of community-based projects in which active and willing participants collaborate to reach a shared goal. Raising structural social capital – establishing networks, rules and procedures is indeed relatively easy compared to raising capital on the cognitive side. Changes in behaviours, attitudes, norms and trust will always take more time and can develop only incrementally. Falk and Harrison (1998) equate social capital building with capacity-building in terms of community development.

Regarding the *second* question, there is considerable debate as to whether social capital can and should be measured. Many attempts are flawed, as they fail to distinguish between the sources, the form, and the consequences of social capital. Collier (2002) identified that social capital is difficult, if not impossible to measure directly, and that for empirical purposes the use of proxy indicators is necessary. Social capital has constructs that are inherently abstract and require subjective interpretation in their translation into operational measures that are invariably indirect surrogates of their associated constructs (Grootaert et al. 2002).

The most comprehensive attempt to measure social capital has been pursued by the World Bank, who uses the following five proxy indicators of social capital:

- **Groups and networks**: The effectiveness with which groups and networks fulfill their roles depends on many aspects of these groups, reflecting their structure, membership and the way they function. Key characteristics of formal groups that need to be measured include: density of membership, diversity of membership, extent of democratic functioning, extent of connections to other groups.
- **Trust**: There are several types of trust: within established relationships and social networks; trust extended to strangers (often on the basis of expectations of behavior or a sense of shared norms); trust in the institutions of governance (including fairness of rules, official procedures, dispute resolution and resource allocation).
- **Collective action**: The extent of collective action can, when it is not imposed by an external force, be measured and used as a proxy indicator of underlying social capital.
- **Social inclusion**: Questions on this dimension of social capital are intended to find out who in the community is included in collective action, decision-making, and access to services. The section ranges from general questions on perceptions of social unity and togetherness in the community to specific experiences with exclusion from decision-making processes and/or services/project benefits.
- **Information and communication**: Maintaining and enhancing social capital depends critically on the ability of the members of a community to communicate among each other, with other communities and with members of their networks that live outside the community (World Bank 2001).

3. The dominance of bonding social capital amongst warring factions and the lack of bridging social capital between such groups in conflict and post-conflict settings is a clear example for the perverse form of social capital. During the post-conflict phase, it is crucial that bridging social capital is being built up.

4. A case in point is guanxi, the Chinese concept of patron-client linkages. While firmly embedded into traditional Chinese social structures, today it is often associated with nepotism and corruption (see Gold et al. 2002).

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The World Bank has developed a Social Capital Assessment Tool (SOCAT), which sensibly combines qualitative and quantitative research tools (World Bank 2001). For the field research of our study, we used SOCAT as a starting point and adapted it according to specific requirements (see chapter five).

Before moving to the role of social capital in community resilience, we would like to address one of the questions posited in the terms of reference for this study: to what extent do other organizations refer to and use social capital? An extensive search amongst websites of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) show that they make only infrequent and no substantial reference to the term. The "characteristics of a disaster-resilient community" paper (Twigg 2009), which was created with the input of numerous NGOs, takes only little note of social capital and mainly focuses on structural elements as well as linking capital (ibid: 38). It hardly addresses issues such as trust and reciprocity despite its large number of characteristics.

3. The role of social capital in community resilience

The two overviews of community resilience and social capital show that both concepts are complex and multi-dimensional. Various differences in definitions and conceptualisations necessitate the selection of specific definitions and operationa-lizations of the two concepts.

Regarding the definition of community resilience, we follow the IFRC's concept of resilience and reduce it to the community level. As such, community resilience is

> "the ability of communities exposed to disasters and crises and the underlying vulnerabilities to anticipate, reduce the impact of, cope with, and recover from the effects of adversity without compromising their long-term prospects" (IFRC 2011:iv).

Concerning social capital, we follow Putnam's definition of social capital as

> "features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam 1995:67).

What importance is assigned to social capital as part of community resilience? Below we review five papers dealing with this matter.

Twigg subsumes social capital under social protection (as one of 27 components of community resilience) and lists characteristics such as social networks, mutual support systems, established communication and information channels and collective knowledge of previous hazardous events as characteristics of a disaster-resilient community (Twigg 2009:38).

Kirmayer et al. assign a greater role to social capital and extend from Twigg's rather structural focus on to cognitive elements such as trust and reciprocity - distinguishing several key elements into bonding, bridging and linking social capital (Kirmayer et al. 2009:89).

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Figure 4 | **Community resilience as a set of networked adaptive capacities** (Norris et al. 2008:136)
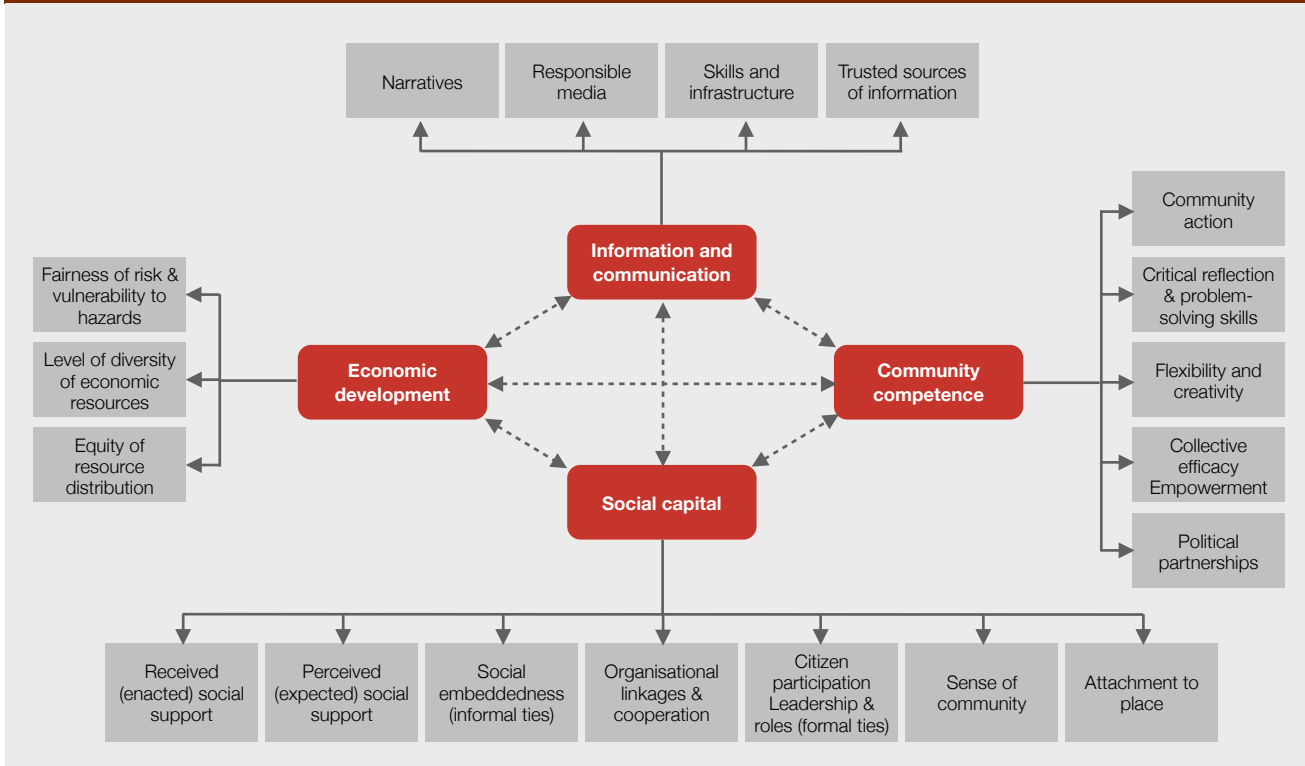
Aldrich attributes an even greater role to social capital: based on a comparative analysis of recovery processes in Kobe, Japan (1995 earthquake), Tamil Nadu, India (2004 Tsunami) and New Orleans, USA (2005 Hurricane Katrina), he asserts that "social capital - the bonds that tie citizens together - functions as the main engine of long-term recovery" (Aldrich 2010:1). He posits that social capital has three functions in regard to resilience: *First*, it serves as an informal insurance, providing affected families with information, financial help and physical assistance. *Second*, organised communities can better mobilise and overcome barriers to collective action. *Third*, strong social networks, links and norms raise the cost of exit (leaving the community after a disaster) and increases the probability of raising voice to rejoin rebuilding efforts (ibid: 5-7).[5]

Mayunga views social capital as one of five forms of a community's capital (social, economic, human, physical and natural), each of which is assigned with three resilience indicators - trust, norms and networks in the case of social capital (Mayunga 2008:6). While discussing the importance to assign weightings to each indicator to avoid cancellation effects, he refrains from actually assigning a particular weighting to capital forms and indicators.

Amongst the few articles that discuss the role of social capital in community resilience, the one of Norris et al. (2008) stands out for its comprehensiveness. Norris et al. regard social capital as one of four networked adaptive capacities - the other three being community competence, economic development and information and communication (ibid:136; see figure 4).

The seven indicators of social capital proposed by Norris et al. consider both structural (informal and formal ties, organisational linkages) and cognitive (enacted and expected social support , attachment to place, sense of community) forms of social capital.

5. Aldrich refers to political economist Albert Hirshman, who described three possible responses of citizens or customers to decline in polities or firms: They can exit (i.e. move away from a disaster-affected community) or raise their voice (i.e. contribute to the planning of reconstruction efforts). If there is continuously positive engagement, loyalty may emerge, making the chance of an exit less likely (see Hirshman 1970).

Based on the literature review, we conclude that social capital plays a significant role in community resilience - one that may often be overlooked in external interventions that aim to raise the level of community resilience. We will return to this point when discussing the framework for field research.

4. IFRC tools and social capital

If social capital is indeed one of the key components of community resilience, as argued above, what does this imply for the Red Cross Red Crescent work? In this chapter, we look at the extent to which social capital is already featured in current tools and guidelines - implicitly or explicitly.

Our analysis is based on a review of the following documents:

Vulnerability and Capacity Assessment
- IFRC (2007):   What is a VCA? An introduction to vulnerability and capacity assessments.
- IFRC (2007a): How to do a VCA. A practical step-by-step guide for Red Cross Red Crescent staff and volunteers.
- IFRC (2007b): VCA toolbox with reference sheets.
- IFRC (2007c): VCA training guide. Classroom training and learning-by-doing
- IFRC, South-East Asia Delegation (2009): A practical step by step VCA guide for Red Cross and Red Crescent field practitioners and volunteers.

Health
- IFRC (2009a): Implementation guide for community-based health and first aid in action (CBHFA)
- IFRC (2009b): Volunteer manual for community-based health and first aid in action (CBHFA)
- IFRC (2009c): Facilitator guide for community-based health and first aid in action (CBHFA)
- IFRC (2009d): Behaviour change communication (BCC) for community-based volunteers. Trainer's manual
- IFRC (2009e): Behaviour change communication (BCC) for community-based volunteers. Volunteer toolkit

PHAST
- WHO (2000): Participatory Hygiene and Sanitation Transformation. A new way to working with communities.

PASSA
- IFRC (2011): PASSA. Participatory approach for safe shelter awareness

Livelihood
- IFRC (2011a): IFRC guidelines for livelihood programming.

Other documents:
- IFRC (2003): Aid: supporting or undermining recovery. Lessons from the Better Programming Initiative (BPI)
- IFRC (2012): Recovery Programming Guidance
- IFRC(2011): Key determinants of a successful CBDRR programme. Community-based disaster risk reduction study
- IFRC (2010): A practical guide to gender-sensitive approaches to disaster management

We made three general observations:

First, none of the tools make explicit reference to social capital.[6]

Second, several of the tools implicitly cover structural aspects of social capital. The VCA toolbox for instance has three tools that aim to measure the extent of structural social capital (tools 12-14, see figure 5).[7] These tools include the analysis of 'linking social capital' – the relations a community has with external agencies and organizations.

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6. The Livelihood programming guideline however lists "social assets" amongst the five asset types of a community (IFRC 2011b:17).

7. These tools are: Tool 12 'Institutional and social network analysis', Tool 13 'Assessing the capacities of people's organizations', and Tool 14 'Venn diagramme').

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Furthermore, tool 11 (the livelihood and coping strategy analysis) aims to identify social assets as one of the five assets a household or community has (the other being human, physical, financial and natural). Especially in the context of the coping strategy analysis, the use of which is recommended in the livelihood programming guideline, social capital is already featured (See IFRC 2007b: 109-119, IFRC 2011b: 17, 46). Meanwhile, the health-related tools (IFRC 2009a,b,c,d,e) neither implicitly nor explicitly refer to any form of social capital. The reference to household or community action groups concerns networks that are to be established through CBHFA programmes rather than any networks that have been existent prior to the programme - in a way, CBHFA programmes thus seek to build up, rather than build on, social capital (IFRC 2009a: 20,23).

Third, most of the sighted documents cover few if any cognitive aspects of social capital such as social trust, norms, values, reciprocity or social bonding. Some documents merely mention that programmes should aim for social cohesiveness - without going into further detail. Many tools point out that the Red Cross Red Crescent teams need to gain and maintain the trust of local communities in order to be able to work with them[8], and the crucial role of Red Cross Red Crescent community mobilizers is highlighted in this context. The issue of trust *amongst* community members, however, is dealt with substantially only by the Better Programming Initiative, or BPI (IFRC 2003), which is referred to in the VCA toolkit. Being born out of research in conflict or post-conflict settings, the BPI stresses that the loss of trust between former neighbours and communities due to a conflict was seen as one of the two biggest obstacles to community-based work (the other being the destruction of National Societies):

> "In communities affected by internal conflict, it has been observed that severe trauma as a result of violent conflict destroys the individual and collective capacity to create a normal communal life of relatively peaceful co-existence with other groups. [...] Normal social interaction is replaced by distrust, demonization and apprehension. Reconciliation is therefore a critical element in the rehabilitation process, without which long-term recovery will be undermined and delayed" (IFRC 2003:12).

The PASSA guideline implicitly acknowledges the role of another element of cognitive social capital, pointing out that work in urban or semi-urban areas may be more difficult because of a missing 'sense of community' (IFRC 2011:21).

What does all this mean for the community-based work of Red Cross Red Crescent Societies?

First of all, we point out that the way assessments, planning and implementation are carried out depend largely on the people in the field (staff, volunteers, community members) – so even if 'perfect' tools exist, this does not necessarily mean that 'perfect' programmes are implemented. Given the sheer amount of available tools, it is unlikely that all programme staff will know and apply the entire toolkit.[9] In addition, limited time and resources often lead to shortened and reduced VCA processes. At the same time, it is worth pointing out that despite the under-representation of cognitive social capital aspects in most IFRC tools, such findings may emerge regardless, for instance in discussions with community members.

However, if we take the corpus of IFRC tools as a basis for implementation, we would argue that some elements of social capital – and indeed community resilience – are being ignored or bypassed. The tools are not well suited to capture rather informal ties (i.e friendship circles, any networks without a name and formal structure). They do not

8. The PASSA guideline for instance recommends that "the same volunteers should stay with each PASSA group to build a relationship of trust and understanding" (IFRC 2011:87).

9. The fact that the corpus of IFRC tools is not particularly well integrated (separate tools for DRR, health, livelihood, shelter, watsan) renders their combination cumbersome, in particular since many tools cover similar basics. It may be worth investigating how a comprehensive toolkit for community-based work could be developed (e.g. with a basic module and various optional sections for specific sectors). This may facilitate better-integrated programmes that address various aspects of community resilience rather than just individual aspects thereof.

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Figure 5	**VCA tools and their ability to capture levels and forms of social capital**		
Tool	**Structural SC**	**Cognitive SC**	**Remarks**
RRS1 Review of secondary resources	+	+	Information usually limited to quantitative data (e.g. population figures, economic data). In many contexts unreliable data.
RRS 2 Baseline survey	+	-	Guidance for baseline survey not specific enough; some information regarding local organizations' capacity can be unearthed
RRS 3 Semi-structured interview	++	++	
RRS 4 Focus group discussion	++	++	
RRS 5 Direct observation	++	++	
RRS 6 Mapping	+	+	While these tools can principally be used to reveal information related to social capital, there is no guidance towards unearthing such information
RRS 7 Transect walk	+	+	
RRS 8 Seasonal calendar	++	+	
RRS 9 Historical profile	+	+	
RRS 10 Household/neighbourhood vulnerability assessment	+	+	
RRS 11 Livelihood and coping strategy analysis	+++	++	Tool describes how to gather information on social assets
RRS 12 Institutional and social network analysis	+++	+	
RRS 13 Assessing the capacity of people's organisations	+++	-	These tools are well-suited to unearth structural social capital
RRS 14 Venn diagramme	+++	-	

Legend	-.........Does not reveal social capital-related information
	+........Has low potential to reveal social capital-related information
	++......Has moderate potential to reveal social capital-related information
	+++....Has high potential to reveal social capital-related information

sufficiently address the issue of social trust, which serves both as an antecedent and as an outcome of social relations and which is likely to be a major factor in any type of community development work. They also do not capture the various underlying norms on which the community members operate. In particular, they do not address norms of reciprocity.

Without such information, even the thorough application of the IFRC tools fails to generate the "whole picture" of a given community: the social dynamics are arguably less bound by formal structures than by cognitive elements of social capital. Missing such information may lead to problems throughout programme implementation – for instance, if latent conflicts turn manifest, or if beneficiary selection falls victim to internal tensions and takes sides with a particular group. In this regard, the very sensible recommendations of the BPI ("Do No Harm") deserve a more prominent place in the overall IFRC toolkit.[10]

10. One of the key points the Better Programming Initiative stresses is the need for a thorough analysis of social dynamics to avoid inadvertent bias in beneficiary selection. For details, see IFRC 2003:17-21

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There is another fundamental consequence whose severity is likely to be amplified in the field: the under-representation of 'haves' and the over-representation of 'needs'. Most of the tools devote their attention to 'needs', while the minority is designed to capture the 'haves' (albeit incompletely, as pointed out above). This needs-sided bias of the tools is likely to be reinforced in practice due to the obvious conflict of interest communities and field practitioners find themselves in: During assessments, community members may be inclined to overstate their needs to ensure that their community or households will be chosen for external support (at times, such a trend may be led by community leaders). Field practitioners, meanwhile, need 'needs' to justify a planned intervention. In a study of the response operation to the 2009 West Sumatra earthquake ("Not so helpless victims") Vanhoebrouck and Sagala forcefully demonstrate the several coping strategies of the local population that had neither been fully assessed nor integrated into operational planning (Vanhoebrouck and Sagala 2010).

Ideally, the Red Cross Red Crescent work should reinforce, rather than replace, native coping mechanisms. By better incorporating social capital into assessments, planning, and implementation, Red Cross Red Crescent programmes could (a) reduce the risk emanating from adverse social dynamics, (b) increase effectiveness and efficiency (because much of the foundation may already be there, resources can be freed up for other activities), and (c) raise the level of sustainability of an intervention if the foundation (i.e. local networks) is organic rather then externally induced.[11] As Isham and Kähkönen have shown in a study of community-based water systems in 44 villages of Central Java, Indonesia, the level of social capital positively correlates with the long-term sustainability of water systems (Isham and Kähkönen 1999).[12]

This chapter has discussed the extent to which IFRC tools and approaches can be used to assess levels of social capital - it has found that many structural aspects can be assessed through existing tools. However, four shortcomings are identified: *first*, cognitive aspects of social capital tend to be underrepresented. *Second*, guidance towards unearthing social capital-related information is not sufficiently specific - a particular case in point is VCA baseline survey. *Third*, little information is provided as to how social capital can be built up. *Finally*, the overall corpus of tools is not sufficiently integrated - very few delegates or staff would feel familiar with the numerous guidelines.

Before discussing as to how tools may need to be tweaked, it is now time to leave the desk and go to the field. In the next section we will travel to Nepal, China and Myanmar to see how actual projects have made use of the tools and how they have been able to identify, assess and build up social capital and community resilience.

11. A recent evaluation of a CBDRR programme in Sri Lanka showed that although a village development committee (with a community development fund) had been in existence for more than 50 years, the programme nonetheless initiated the establishment of a new committee (village disaster management committee) with its own, separate fund. Programme staff cited the CBDRR approach as one of its underlying reasons. Building a CBDRR programme on existing organizations had not been considered.

12. Isham and Kähkönen conclude from their study that an initial assessment of social capital should be used to make informed choices about project design: where social capital is high, water pipe systems (which generally require more maintenance and collective action) can be installed. If there is a low level of social capital, wells may be the more sustainable option.

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Section B
Field research

Hut near Kyontthutanyi, Myanmar

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5. Research methodology

Having analyzed the extent to which social capital *can* be assessed and built upon through existing IFRC tools and approaches is just one side of the coin - the other side is to review how actual programmes *have* assessed, incorporated and built up social capital in practice. It is crucial to look at both sides of the coin before being able to give recommendations as to how tools and approaches may need to be revised in order to better reinforce community resilience.

The terms of reference for this study wisely included a field research phase - in particular, the field research would allow (a) to analyze how community-based programmes have assessed, incorporated and built upon social capital, (b) to gain practical insights on the usefulness of IFRC tools in this context, and (c) to measure social capital and identify local coping capacities.

Community selection

Following discussions with several country teams and National Societies, the IFRC Asia-Pacific Zone Office determined three countries for field-level investigations: Nepal, the People's Republic of China, and Myanmar. In each country, three communities were to be visited, one of which was to be in an urban setting.[13] These communities had to be affected by some form of disaster in recent years and been subject to a community-based intervention of the Red Cross/Red Crescent. Based on these requirements, the IFRC country delegations selected the communities listed in figure 6 overleaf and provided basic information on locations and interventions. Dennis Eucker visited the communities in Nepal (August 12th and 25th), while Patrick Bolte travelled to China (August 12th-21st) and Myanmar (August 22nd - 30th).

The schedule was arranged to allow for two full days in each of the communities, plus some days for interviews with National Societies and IFRC country delegations. In the case of China, some last-minute changes had to be made, as the Red Cross branch of Sichuan (where a major earthquake had occurred in 2008) became unavailable. While Yunnan province was swiftly selected as a replacement, this somewhat reduced the research value for this study, as the province had neither been affected by major disasters in the recent past, nor had it witnessed the implementation of community-based programmes.

13. The reasoning behind this requirement of urban communities relates to the presumed lower level of social capital in urban contexts (due to greater migration flows and diversity) - by comparing rural and urban findings and presumedly different levels of social capital, inferences may be made on its role in community resilience, and implications drawn on the modus operandi of community-based work in different contexts.

Research framework

Having the communities selected for field visits, another crucial step was the development of a suitable and realistic research framework through which the key questions could be addressed. Following discussion with the study reference group, it was agreed that this framework should be centered around three main tools: a household survey, interviews with local Red Cross staff and volunteers, and community workshops (see figure 7 on page 21).

The main purpose of the *household survey* was to measure the level of social capital in the communities. For the development of the survey questionnaire, the World Bank's SOCAT tool was used as a starting point. It is worth noting that many SOCAT questions proved too complex or unfeasible - and numerous adaptations were made to render the

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Figure 6 | Overview of visited communities

	Region	South Asia			East Asia			South-East Asia		
	Country	Nepal			China			Myanmar		
Community code		1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2	3.3
Setting		Urban	Rural	Rural	Urban	Rural	Rural	Urban	Rural	Rural
Community name		**Chittapol** VDC (wards 1,2,3 - Simaltar, Deuta Gaun)	**Laxmibazar**	**Daduwa**	**Longtan**	**Weige** village (Dapo township)	**Tuqiao** village (Dapo township)	**Ward 21** (Dagon South township)	**Kyontthutanyi** (Pyapon township)	**Bingalar** (Bogale township)
District		Bhaktapur	Lamjung	Lamjung	Qi Ling, Qu Jing prefecture	Zhanyi county, Qu Jing prefecture	Zhanyi county, Qu Jing prefecture	Yangon (East)	Pyapon	Pyapon
Province/state/zone		Bagmati	Gandaki	Gandaki	Yunnan	Yunnan	Yunnan	Yangon	Ayeyarwaddy	Ayeyarwaddy
Population data										
Population		5,000	489	817	4,300	1,512	2,236	11,425	2,800	735
Number of households		300	86	125	1,549	380	750	2,576	711	193
Survey sample size		116	60	76	127	102	110	132	85	80
Disaster history										
Hazard 1		Earthquake (2011)	Flash floods	Landslides	Drought (2009-12)	Drought (2009-12)	Drought (2009-12)	Regular floods and fires	Cyclone Nargis (2008)	Cyclone Nargis (2008)
Hazard 2		Epidemic	Landslides	Health and hygiene	Snow storm (2008)	Snow storm (2008)	Snow storm (2008)	Cyclone Nargis (2008)	Floods	Tsunami (2004)
Hazard 3		Fire (2012)	Heath and hygiene	Water and sanitation					Fires	Flood (2002)
Hazard 4			Domestic fires	Domestic fires					Diarrhoea	Diarrhoea outbreak (2003)
Red Cross capacities and involvement										
		Red Cross has many volunteers and has been carrying out many CB activities for a long time (DRR, DR, Health)	Red Cross has many volunteers and has been carrying out many CB activities for a long time (DRR, DR, Health, Livelihood)	Red Cross has many volunteers and has been carrying out many CB activities for a long time (DRR, DR, Health, Livelihood)	Red Cross has limited number of local volunteers who focus on social services	Red Cross has limited number of local volunteers who focus on hygiene promotion and blood donor recruitment	Red Cross has no local volunteers. The Red Cross has provided support to the village, however (communal water system)	Red Cross has 10 local volunteers; activities have started in 2012 as part of an urban DRR project	Red Cross has 30 local volunteers and has been carrying out many CB activities, inparticular after Cyclone Nargis	Red Cross has 20 local volunteers and has been carrying out many CB activities, inparticular after Cyclone Nargis

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Figure 7 | **Research framework**					Tool 2: Branch interview	Tool 3: Community workshop
	Tool 1: Household survey					
A	**Social capital**					
	Component		Indicator	Related questionnaire questions	Aspect to be addressed (+/++) or not (-)	
1	Sense of community	1.1	Attachment to place	A.1 - A.3	-	-
		1.2	Social cohesiveness	A.4 - A.9	+	+
		1.3	Social inclusion	A.10 - A.13	+	+
		1.4	Social embeddedness	A.14	+	+
2	Trust	2.1	Trust amongst community members	B.1	+	-
		2.2	Trust in public institutions and external actors	B.2, E.2	+	-
3	Community networks	3.1	Density of membership	C.1 - C.2	+	+
		3.2	Diversity of membership, openness	C.4	+	+
		3.3	Members' participation	C.3	+	+
		3.4	Network effectiveness	C.5 - C.6	+	+
		3.5	Inter-organisational ties	C.8	++	++
4	Information and communication	4.1	Community knowledge		++	++
		4.2	Internal communication	-		
		4.3	External communication			
5	Collective action	5.1	Previous collective action	E.1 - E.2	+	+
		5.2	Participativeness	E.3 - E.5	+	+
		5.3	Collective engagement	E.6	+	+
6	Support	6.1	Mutual support	A.14.6, C.7, F.1 - F.3	+	+ (Discuss norms)
		6.2	External support	F.4 - F.6	+	++
B	**The role of the Red Cross intervention**					
	Background		Background of community, disaster history, background of RC intervention(s)	-	++	-
	Use of IFRC tools		To what extent are IFRC tools known? To what extent were they deployed?	-	++	-
	Use of social capital		To what extent was social capital assessed and incorporated into project design?	-	++	-
	Project outcomes		To what extent did the project achieve results? What are the underlying reasons for success or failure?	-	++	+
	Tool adaptation		How (if at all) should IFRC tools be adapted to a) become more user-friendly, b) become more effective, and c) better capture and monitor social capital?	-	++	-
C	**Overall community resilience**					
	Inputs/adaptive capacity		Other factors of community resilience (e.g. resilient livelihoods, health, sanitation, DP), changes over past five years	-	++	++
	(Expected) outcomes		Expected change in disaster losses, change in the speed of recovery	F.5 (points 6 and 7)	+	+

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questionnaire practical and relevant to the Red Cross/Red Crescent context. Once a final English version of the questionnaire was agreed upon (see appendix B), the country teams arranged the translation into Nepalese, Myanmar and Chinese. All versions were cross-checked and slightly revised following test runs. While great care was taken that the three versions would be as similar as possible, it cannot be guaranteed that the exact wording is identical - some caution is therefore due when comparing results between countries.

The sampling was based on stratification by community, taking the overall number of households as a basis - the results for each community are therefore representative. However, it needs to be taken into account that due to limited resources and time, the confidence level was set at 90%. The margin of error was set at six, however, in China and Myanmar it had to be revised to seven for operational reasons.[14] Overall, 888 persons were interviewed by local teams of specially trained enumerators (six in each country). The respondent profile was roughly gender-balanced; only in two communities did it fall outside the 40-60% bracket (see figure 8 below). Enumerators followed a micro-sampling protocol and kept set intervals between each households to ensure that all geographical areas of the communities are proportionally represented by the sample.

Figure 8 | **Sampling framework**										
Country	**Nepal**			**China**			**Myanmar**			**Total**
Code	1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2	3.3	
Setting	Urban	Rural	Rural	Urban	Rural	Rural	Urban	Rural	Rural	
Population	5,000	489	817	4,300	1,610	2,236	11,425	2,800	735	
Households	300	86	125	1,500	380	750	2,576	711	193	
Sample size	116	60	76	127	102	110	132	85	80	
Subtotal	**252**			**339**			**297**			**888**
% Female	48.3	61.7	56.6	52.8	49.0	46.4	66.7	51.8	50.0	53.6
% Male	51.7	36.7	43.4	47.2	51.0	53.6	33.3	48.2	50.0	46.4
Error margin	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	7	

Concerning the analysis of survey results, descriptive statistics and selected cross-tabulations were produced through the use of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Furthermore, to make sense of responses to the 95 questions, responses were aggregated to indices for each of the indicators (see figure 7 for the list of indicators and refer to appendix C for the underlying methodology of indices).

The *second tool* consisted of focus group discussions with staff and volunteers of local Red Cross units. While some additional information on social capital could be gathered in these discussions, the main purpose was to gain insights about the community-based work the Red Cross had implemented, to assess the knowledge and use of IFRC tools and to identify possible needs for adaptation. The discussions were guided by an interview guideline (see appendix B).

The *third tool* consisted of community workshops, each of which was to be attended by 20-25 local residents. The local Red Cross units were asked to invite participants, urging them that participant groups should reflect the overall composition of the community.[15] During the workshop, participants were encouraged to reflect as to how different aspects of their living conditions had altered over the past five years. In four steps, they were asked to (a) indicate a general trend of their overall conditions, (b) assign ratings to

14. In China, the Red Cross branch insisted that survey interviews in the two rural communities be completed within one day. In Myanmar, the distances to communities and between households constrained reaching a higher sample size.

15. The selection criteria for participants were (a) gender-balanced participation (roughly 50/50), (b) a mix of direct beneficiaries of Red Cross projects and non-beneficiaries, (c) different backgrounds (age, livelihood, religion, ethnicity). Also, (d) at least half of participants should be literate.

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specific aspects of their conditions (e.g. livelihood, water, sanitation, health), (c) list and review different activities or interventions carried out over the past five years, and (d) cross-tabulate the impact of these interventions on the aspects of their living conditions. For the detailed concept of the community workshops, see appendix B.

Derived from the Methodology for the Impact Assessment of Programmes and Projects (MAPP)[16], the underlying reasoning was to capture qualitative information regarding information and communication, collective action and mutual support (as well as underlying norms), and to assess the role the Red Cross has played in reinforcing social capital and overall community resilience.

Aside from the three main tools, several key informant interviews were conducted with project staff - the IFRC and National Society staff who joined the field trips proved to be a particularly valuable resource.

Constraints and limitations

While the research framework was constructed in such a way that all research questions could be adequately addressed, several constraints and limitations were encountered in practice. The most severe constraints were faced in China: due to the last-minute changes of the province and communities, preparations could not be as thorough. None of the three communities had been affected by a major disaster or seen the implementation of a community-based Red Cross programme. The urban community of Longtan proved to be comparatively well-off and settled (and did not show major in- or out-migration as anticipated). A key issue affecting research in all communities was the extensive time needed for transport (up to seven hours return by boat in the case of one rural community in Myanmar), which significantly reduced the actual time available for research. It is due to the excellent facilitation and dedication of local teams, volunteers and enumerators that meaningful results were unearthed in spite of these constraints.

6. Nepal

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Nepal proved an excellent showcase for community-based Red Cross work: Nepal Red Cross Society (NRCS) is a strong National Society with a long history of community engagement across the country. As such, it has communal sub-branches (locally referred to as sub-chapters) with many active volunteers in each of the visited communities. Since 2010, the two rural communities of Laxmibazar and Daduwa in the district of Lamjung (a five-hour overland trip from Kathmandu) have been supported through the "Disaster Management in Rural Development" project (DMRD, funded by Danish Red Cross), while the semi-urban community of Chittapol on Kathmandu's eastern fringe has seen the implementation of the "Child-Focussed Development Initiative Programme" (CFDIP, funded by Norwegian Red Cross).

16. The original MAPP tool was developed by the German Development Institute (GDI); for details, see Neubert 2005.

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Community-based programming

Nepal Red Cross Society works "quite easily" and closely with communities, many staff members and volunteers pointed out. All respondents shared the view that the community-based approach was effective, as it helped building trust between community and NRCS, as well as a strong sense of local ownership. Nonetheless, many volunteers and field staff see challenges in the short implementation timeframes of most projects (which restrains greater long-term impacts), the focus on the most vulnerable (which necessitates difficult assessments), and in the case of Laxmibazar and Daduwa the difficult topographic conditions and remoteness.

Further challenges were posed by the fact that in times of disasters and hardship, communities *demanded* NRCS support (which was often taken for granted and also made the timely implementation of scheduled project activities difficult) as well as a lack of financial resources and training for field staff and volunteers. But in spite of these odds, volunteers and field staff stated that community-based programming in general and community-based disaster risk reduction (CBDRR) in particular were the most effective tool to empower communities, enhance preparedness, and thereby reduce hazard-related risks. The two district chapters visited in Lamjung and Bhaktapur were well-organized, professionally structured and highly experienced in community-based work.

The use of IFRC tools

The interviewed volunteers and staff members feel confident and have experience in a great variety of tools. Amongst these, the VCA toolkit takes a prominent role. Extensive VCA processes have been carried out at the beginning of the DMRD project in Laxmibazar and Daduwa, and the facilitators feel secure in its application. The results of risk mapping, seasonal calendar, baseline survey, livelihood and coping strategy analysis and Venn diagramme have been subsequently used to inform overall programming as well as the communities' disaster risk management plans. In addition, livelihood assessments as well as logistical and institutional capacity assessments of

Figure 9 | **Map of visited communities in Nepal**

communal sub-branches were also carried out. Several staff members and volunteers also feel confident in the PHAST process, as well as Knowledge, Attitude, Practice and Behaviour (KAPB) surveys and People with Disabilities (PWD) assessments.

The understanding of social capital in community resilience

Out of five flagships of the Nepal Risk Reduction Consortium (an inter-agency network), flagship 4 deals exclusively with community-based disaster risk reduction (CBDRR). It aims to develop a common approach among the many organizations contributing to CBDRR across the country towards achieving national targets and encouraging greater investment in CBDRR. The target of flagship 4 is the completion of 1,000 CBDRR projects at the Village Development Committee (VDC) level within five years.

Flagship 4 defines minimum characteristics that are the agreed indicators for a disaster-resilient community in Nepal - these should be adhered to as a minimum component in all flagship 4 CBDRR projects. They were developed through a consultative process involving the Government of Nepal, international and local NGOs, UN, donors and the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement. By taking a look at the underlying characteristics of disaster-resilient communities[17], it becomes evident that most of these characteristics can be related to various aspects of social capital, even though the concept is not explicitly mentioned.

Correspondingly, the term social capital led to lively discussions in the meetings that were held with district branch staff and volunteers. After coming to a joint understanding as to what the notion of social capital entails - and what it describes in relation to community resilience - it became clear that the understanding that has come closest so far in the work of the NRCS is "social harmony" (which is a very important concept in the Nepalese context, both in terms of cultural as well as recent political developments in the country).

The term social capital, though having been considered only implicitly in day-to-day project activities, is what most of the conceptual approaches of community engagement should strive for. Social capital – or *samajik pusi*, as it would be translated into Nepalese – is a term not commonly used in the terminology of the work context. But Red Cross staff and volunteers agreed that the term captures a concept that extends beyond the common understanding of social harmony.

One specific aspect that was identified during the meetings was the question as to how the complex concept of social capital could be broken down to something that can be assessed by volunteers in the field. Although there is an understanding that most of the community-related activities have "definitely improved social harmony", thus far, social capital had not been assessed in a systematic way. Yet it was made clear that many existing tools already implicitly include aspects of social capital (i.e. by reinforcing communities' resilience through making them more aware of risks, better organized and equipped, and through providing them with higher levels of knowledge to deal with risks autonomously).

When asked about an example as to where and how activities in the past have strengthened social capital, district branch staff mentioned the introduction of community emergency funds that had helped to build the sense of a "joint" community, community networks and mutual support. People with disabilities also appear to have become more integrated into community life as a result of these funds: "They are less discriminated against, and sit together in meetings". Yet it was also considered that it

17. These characteristics include:
   1. Organizational base at Village Development Committee (VDC)/ ward and community level
   2. Access to Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) information
   3. Multi-hazard risk and capacity assessments
   4. Community preparedness/ response teams
   5. DRR/ management plan at VDC/ municipality level
   6. DRR funds
   7. Access to community managed DRR resources
   8. Local level risk/ vulnerability reduction measures
   9. Community based early warning systems

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takes a long time to fully overcome stigma in community life, and even though people with disabilities appear to have become more "tolerated", this does not mean they are fully "respected" yet.

Chittapol

The (semi-) urban area that was selected for the study is located in Bhaktapur district, a 45 minute drive from Kathmandu. The selected wards 1, 2 and 3 in Chittapol have a population of approximately 5,000, living in just 300 households.

An earthquake in 2011 damaged or destroyed several houses in Chittapol - however, the bulk of damages occurred in poorer parts of the community (wards 8 and 9) that were not covered by this study. Wards 1, 2 and 3 suffered rather minor damages, resulting in very low levels of external support.

NRCS has carried out various activities in the community in recent years that either fall into the area of work of the various units under the NRCS Bhaktapur district branch or are related to the CFDIP. Disaster Risk Reduction Training is an integral part of the work of the district branch. For programming purposes, different assessment tools have been applied, with VCA and PHAST being the most important ones.

Concerning the overall situation in the community, workshop participants reported that it had declined from "good" to "bad" over the past five years (see figure 10). While the years 2008 and 2009 were seen as "good" due to newly constructed roads and good harvests), this rapidly worsened due to challenges faced with water supply and the existing irrigation scheme (like in most Nepalese communities, irrigation is based on the use of surface water).

While the community members attempted to manage these problems on their own (by collecting funds), they were unable to fully address these challenges as they lacked the necessary technical expertise. As a consequence, they had to drink polluted water and experienced a shortage of water from the irrigation system on most of their fields. Participants reported that this trend has also resulted in some political and social tensions, with rumors alleging that a number of community members had tried to gain some personal advantage and benefit from the unclear situation.

Chittapol workshop participants noted a slight improvement of living conditions in 2011 due to the construction of a new health center by the local government. However, the lack of fertilizers that the government normally supplies but has failed to do this year has overshadowed this gain since. As the government had not provided any information as to whether it would supply fertilizers, only very few farmers had purchased fertilizers on their own.

Chittapol	
Cognitive social capital index	**0.43**
Sense of community	
Attachment to place	0.35
Differences, inequalities	0.67
Social harmony	0.55
Social inclusion	0.98
Social embeddedness	0.55
Trust	
Social trust	0.17
Trust in institutions	0.47
Community networks	
Membership density	0.09
Membership diversity	0.49
Members' participation	0.48
Network effectiveness	0.71
Inter-organizational ties	0.57
Collective action	
Civic engagement	0.56

The description of each community is accompanied by a social capital scorecard, which provides the index scores for the various aspects analyzed by the survey. They are colour-coded in red (low rating), yellow (medium) and green (high). For further details, see appendix C.
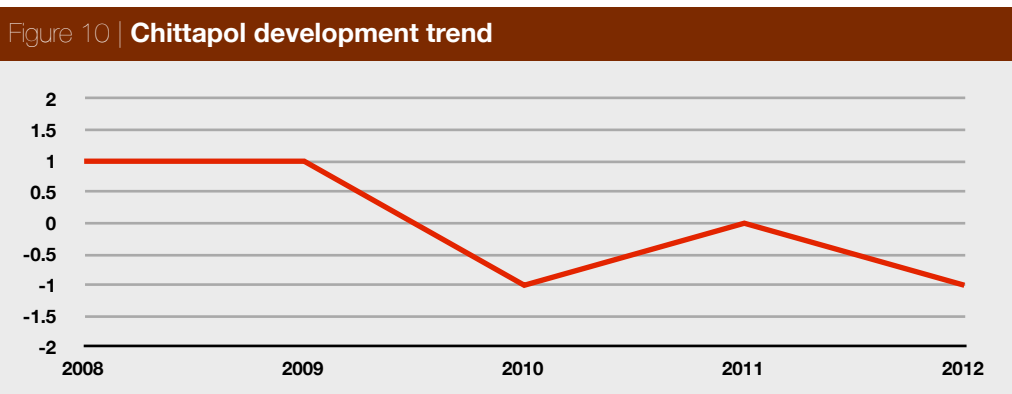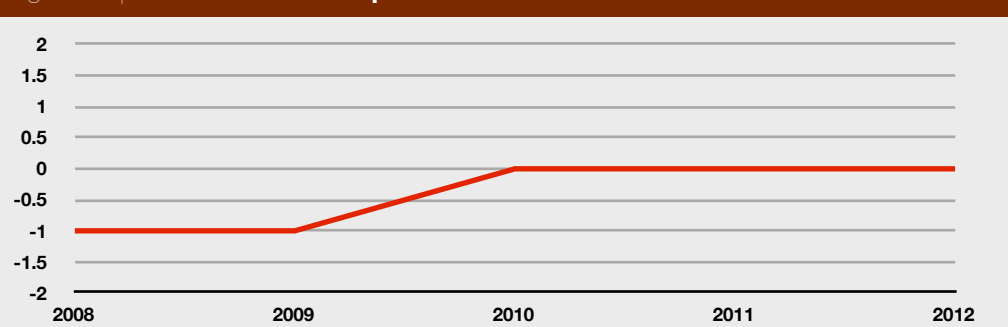

Figure 10 | **Chittapol development trend**

Figure 11 | **Laxmibazar development trend**

Laxmibazar	
Cognitive social capital index	**0.52**
Sense of community	
Attachment to place	0.38
Differences, inequalities	0.64
Social harmony	0.64
Social inclusion	1.00
Social embeddedness	0.62
Trust	
Social trust	0.31
Trust in institutions	0.63
Community networks	
Membership density	0.34
Membership diversity	0.39
Members' participation	0.53
Network effectiveness	0.60
Inter-organizational ties	0.60
Collective action	
Civic engagement	0.63

Laxmibazar

Laxmibazar is home to 489 people and located 40 km outside Lamjung's district capital. In terms of disasters, Laxmibazar is highly vulnerable to landslides and flash floods. In 2002, a major landslide destroyed large parts of the community. The fertile agricultural soils adjacent to a river are frequently flooded, and soil erosion due to flash floods poses a significant challenge.

NRCS has been active in the community for a number of years; as a result, there is a Laxmibazar sub-branch. The Red Cross is engaged in various community support activities aside from the DMRP, which supports landslide preparedness and prevention. However, much more engagement and support is urgently needed, and NRCS should explore the feasibility of additional support. The study visit has shown that the project has had a positive effect on hazard preparedness - however, these gains have yet to consolidate and may be short-lived without more long-term support.
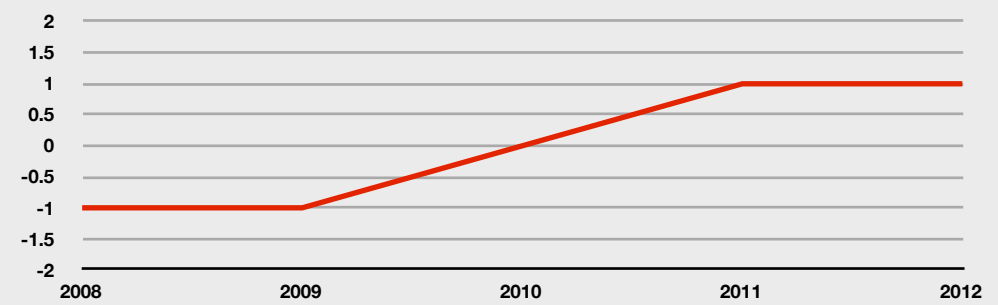
According to workshop participants, over the past five years overall living conditions had slightly improved from "bad" to "normal". Yet, this positive trend is highly volatile and may be put into reverse by a future landslide or flood. "We live at the mercy of the hazards", as one community member describes. Between 2008 and 2012, the community experienced two flash floods (in 2008 and 2009) and a major landslide (2012). The main impact of these hazards was seen on livelihood (crops flooded) and transport (connecting roads destroyed by landslides).

In terms of other basic infrastructure services, though, the situation has been improved due to government programmes. Yet no solution has been found so far on how to deal with the landslides and river floods. While the impact from landslides can potentially be reduced by "cabin boxes" - two-meter blocks filled with rocks and fixed with strong wire) - Laxmibazar is dependent on external funding sources and transport for advancing in this area.

Daduwa

Daduwa is nestled amongst remote hills four hours away from the capital of Lamjung district. Most people here belong to the Garung ethnic group. Landslides and droughts are the biggest disaster risks. Water is scarce in general, and the nearest water source is a steep half-hour walk away. Several people have died in the past as they lost grip on the narrow path leading to the water source. The DMRD project supported the construction of handrails along the path, which has improved the safety of water-carriers. NRCS also promoted better hygiene practices and supported the construction of household latrines.

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Figure 12 | **Daduwa development trend**

Workshop participants stated that the overall living situation had improved from "bad" to "good" between 2008 and today (see figure 12), and assigned this change mainly to the initial NRCS project activities.

Before the arrival of NRCS, there had been almost no external support to Daduwa from either the government or development organizations. People in Daduwa now feel much more optimistic about the future - but also view that at present, basic services such as water and electricity are not available yet in the community. Since the PHAST process, the community is much cleaner now. Some villagers have plans to open up home stays and attract tourists. Meanwhile, the government plans to build a water gravity system for Daduwa, which stimulated people's optimism.

Concerning livelihood, workshop participants stated that due to the lack of jobs in the village, many young people had seasonally or permanently left for work in the district capital or Kathmandu. For some years, Daduwa has had a secondary school, and workshop participants are glad about better education opportunities. At the same time, they fear that in future, even more youngsters will be leaving for the city. Survey results confirm their fear, with 46.2% of the 18-25 year old saying they would 'probably' or 'certainly' leave Daduwa if they were offered a better job elsewhere.

Daduwa	
Cognitive social capital index	**0.51**
Sense of community	
Attachment to place	0.51
Differences, inequalities	0.68
Social harmony	0.69
Social inclusion	1.00
Social embeddedness	0.65
Trust	
Social trust	0.33
Trust in institutions	0.50
Community networks	
Membership density	0.38
Membership diversity	0.39
Members' participation	0.51
Network effectiveness	0.61
Inter-organizational ties	0.66
Collective action	
Civic engagement	0.56

Community workshop in Daduwa

Social capital and community resilience in the three communities

Workshop participants in the two rural communities described the way community members cooperated as 'good' or 'very good', whereas those in semi-urban Chittapol stated that such collaboration had been in decline over recent years, as 'social harmony' had been put at risk by recent socio-political disputes over allocation of funds for the repairs of the irrigation network and other public works. The workshop results are supported by those of the survey, as Chittapol ranks lower in social trust (social trust index score of 0.64 against 0.71 in both rural areas) and civic engagement (0.70 against 0.78 in Laxmibazar and 0.75 in Daduwa). However, the dispute is unlikely to be the only factor behind this difference: respondents in the urban community are also less embedded (0.88 against 0.93 and 0.97), and significantly fewer people belong to a community organization (0.09 against 0.34 and 0.37).

Social harmony is a powerful norm for Nepalese community life. Yet, the concept of social capital goes beyond an harmonious understanding, but in itself also provides for some challenges when capturing community dynamics and processes in times of socio-political conflict, such as the one experienced in Chittapol. In terms of differences and inequalities, the population seems to suffer from a "blind spot" when it comes to realize that these differences and inequalities do actually exist and potentially may lead to an undermining of "social harmony" over time. Differences and inequalities are mainly felt by the rather marginalized parts of the population rather than by the higher-income groups. This became apparent when cross-checking the overall survey results from the different neighborhoods in the communities: poor and marginalized population groups appear to live in more vulnerable community areas.

Concerning resilience, five observations are made: *First*, people in the three communities rely and trust, to slightly varying degrees, on mutual support in times of hardship. *Second*, trust towards public authorities is described as rather low (although it compares favourably with China and Myanmar). *Third*, most people feel they have very little influence in political decision-making. *Fourth*, the first three observation appear to be behind a comparatively high level of community-based organizational and collective activities, in which initiative can be best described as "issue-based". In sum, *fifth*, communities can deal effectively with day-to-day challenges, but need external support in case of major infrastructure works (roads, landslide protection, flood protection, water supply systems and irrigation schemes) or natural hazards. In the terminology of this study, aside from bonding and bridging social capital, linking social capital is also crucial.

Given the communities' strong dependence on wet crops, the significant variability in precipitation over recent years, the regular occurrence of flash floods and landslides, and often insufficient external support, the overall resilience of communities remains limited. In Daduwa in particular, the unstable agricultural income and the lack of alternative jobs has caused a high level of labour migration.

Thus, while volunteers and staff members of NRCS were very interested in the concept of social capital and keen to see practicable tools - enabling them to better assess and build on social capital - many needs in the areas of disaster risks and livelihood remain at the same time. In this context, a longer project timeframe would be advisable to raise sustainability of gains in disaster preparedness.

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7. China

The second country visit produced meaningful insights on the role of social capital in community resilience. At the same time, the visit proved difficult for three reasons: *first*, due to the last-minute changes from Sichuan to Yunnan province, local preparations and availabilities were limited. *Second*, no community-based programmes have been implemented in any of the three communities studied. *Third*, none of the Red Cross units at different levels were familiar with any of the IFRC tools presented in the literature review.

All three visited communities are located in Qujing prefecture in the eastern part of Yunnan province (see map below). Longtan is an inner-city suburb of Qujing City, 130 km east of the provincial capital Kunming. The two rural communities of Weige and Tuqiao are one and two hours respectively north of Qujing. The entire prefecture has endured a three-year drought; only in May 2012 did rainfall return to usual levels.

The prefecture branch of the Red Cross Society of China (RCSC) explains that the drought had challenged branch capacities, as the number of vulnerable and drought affected people requesting Red Cross support had increased tremendously - with an average of three staff members in each of the nine county sub-branches and merely 197 trained community volunteers (in a prefecture of 6.6 Mio people), the requests had exceeded what RCSC was able to deliver. The prefecture branch had however been able to raise CNY 5.69 Mio (USD 910,000) for new water facilities. While the construction of these facilities (wells, water piping systems, reservoirs) was usually carried out together with the government, the branch was keen to deliver more comprehensive solutions and build up more capacity in disaster risk reduction.

For the time being, its main activities are centered around disaster management, social support services and first aid training. For its operations, the branch uses a handbook published by the RCSC Yunnan chapter, but is not aware of any tools for community-based work.

Figure 13 | **Map of visited communities in China**

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Longtan	
Cognitive social capital index	**0.32**
Sense of community	
Attachment to place	0.60
Differences, inequalities	0.44
Social harmony	0.72
Social inclusion	0.57
Social embeddedness	0.33
Trust	
Social trust	0.15
Trust in institutions	0.27
Community networks	
Membership density	0.29
Membership diversity	0.51
Members' participation	0.42
Network effectiveness	0.74
Inter-organizational ties	0.60
Collective action	
Civic engagement	0.49
Support	
Mutual support	0.55
External support	0.28

Longtan

Longtan is an inner-city ward of Qujing City, most of its 4,300 residents live in modest multi-level apartment blocks. The ward has not been greatly affected by any hazards; a snow storm in 2008 caused limited damage, and the drought made the government launch a water-saving campaign and impose water restrictions (public pools were closed and car-washing prohibited).

Overall, workshop participants described a very positive trend in living conditions over the past five years. Health services and education in particular had improved due to new government initiatives. Economic opportunities also improved - however, the cost of living had risen faster than wages. As a result, some people, especially the elderly, have become poorer.

Unlike the newly constructed suburbs on the city's fringes, Longtan is well-established. While 40.9% of survey respondents have grown up elsewhere and have spent a median time of just 6.6 years in Longtan, most of these 'migrants' have moved here from other suburbs of Qujing City rather than from rural areas.[18] Concerning the level of social capital, social embeddedness and social trust are almost the same as in the two rural communities, while attachment to the community and organizational density are even higher. Only in civic engagement does Longtan fall behind the rural villages (a score of 0.71 against 0.85 and 0.87 for Weige and Tuqiao respectively).

Survey results for Longtan are somewhat unsurprising; however, workshop participants presented an interesting way to channel social capital: After small neighbourhood associations had been caring for elderly, poor and disabled for several years, in 2007 they began collaborating more systematically with the Women's Union, Youth Union and the Red Cross. With the support of the local government, a 'volunteer bank' was eventually set up: all participating organizations have enlisted their volunteers in a central database. People that need help can come by or call in and request support - for instance for help with grocery shopping or support for the care of sick or disabled. The clerks of the volunteer bank then look for a suitably skilled and available volunteer and assign him or her to the task.
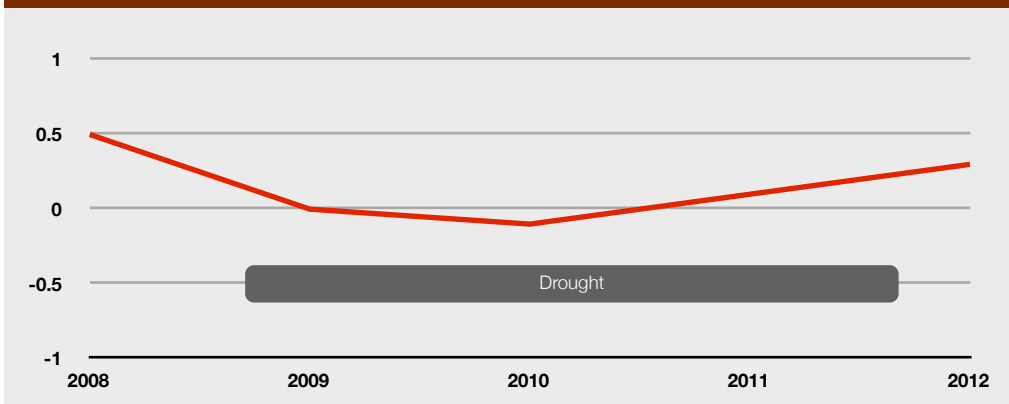
"We initiated the volunteer bank to reduce vulnerability. The social needs in the community have to be addressed", says Wu Fen Ju, one of the initiators. "We don't discriminate against anyone, including (unregistered) outsiders, and are helping hundreds of people", she adds proudly. For the Red Cross, the establishment of the volunteer bank proved a great opportunity: it set up a Red Cross post at the bank and now has several volunteers in Longtan, active in social services and first aid. The Chinese government has mandated the establishment of similar 'volunteer banks' across the country.

Weige

One hour north of Qujing City, Weige is nestled across hilly countryside; its five hamlets are home to 1,500 people. The villagers have traditionally lived off paddy and tobacco farming as well as brick-making - however, over the course of the drought, most paddy farmers have shifted towards dry-crop farming (potatoes, flowers, corn, tobacco). In doing so, they followed the advice of the local government, which had also offered incentives for the adaptation process (subsidies for machines in particular). All but two low-lying hamlets have been affected by the drought; at particularly hard times, a tourist resort organized water trucks to ensure that people and animals had enough

18. Rural migrants to urban areas cannot officially register for residency unless they marry somebody from the city; according to workshop participants, very few people had moved to Longtan from the countryside.

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Figure 14 | **Weige development trend**

water for drinking and washing. In early 2012, two brick-making companies built a pipeline from a water source in the valley to a central mid-level location in Weige. In 2010, the Red Cross constructed a well and small water supply system for the local primary school. Thirty volunteers were also trained, who have subsequently delivered hygiene promotion sessions, recruited blood donors and provided social services.

Workshop participants in Weige say that despite the external support (which also included improvements in health services and education), their living conditions had yet to return to pre-drought levels. Not only was the adaptation to dry crops difficult in general, a recent hailstorm had also destroyed or degraded much of this year's tobacco harvest. "If we had known earlier about the upcoming hailstorm, we would have hired more people for a speedier harvest", one tobacco farmer says. Insurance schemes for weather-related crop damage exist, but compensation was low, and only a few big tobacco farmers had been convinced to take up such insurance.

Concerning social capital, all major organizations (such as Women's Union, Youth Union) exist in Weige, but they appear to be filled with little life, and most groups meet infrequently. There are few cooperatives that go beyond the standard list of regular mass organizations. Levels of cognitive social capital (embeddedness, social trust, civic engagement) are similar to Tuqiao, the other rural community visited in China.

As we will see below, another factor must have been at play for the comparatively poor outcome of the adaptation process in Weige. With the continuously difficult situation in this village, more people plan to move to the cities to work as labourers. Three hundred people - one fifth of Weige's population - have already done so during the drought.

Weige	
Cognitive social capital index	**0.38**
Sense of community	
Attachment to place	0.30
Differences, inequalities	0.69
Social harmony	0.68
Social inclusion	0.73
Social embeddedness	0.33
Trust	
Social trust	0.24
Trust in institutions	0.42
Community networks	
Membership density	0.21
Membership diversity	0.70
Members' participation	0.37
Network effectiveness	0.63
Inter-organizational ties	0.53
Collective action	
Civic engagement	0.58
Support	
Mutual support	0.68
External support	0.24

Tuqiao

From Weige, we travel another hour north to reach our third Chinese community. With more than 2,200 residents, Tuqiao is bigger than Weige but otherwise comparable in its socio-economic structure. And yet, there are two significant differences: On the one hand, Tuqiao was more severely affected by the drought than Weige, as its own water sources ran completely dry during the drought (whereas Weige still had sources in a valley that allowed for continuous paddy farming in the two valley hamlets). On the other hand, workshop participants see their overall living conditions far better off now than before the drought (see figure 15 overleaf). What explains this difference?

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Tuqiao: migrant labour as a coping strategy

At the time of the study visit, Tien Ja Kang had just returned to Tuqiao from Kunming the day before. The 46-year old farmer and his wife Zhou Guan Mei had been planting rice for two decades, but when the drought hit Tuqiao, "there was simply not enough water." They shifted to corn, beans and potatoes in 2010, but the income was not that great. While he had been reluctant to leave his home village as many younger villagers had done before him, in early 2012 he joined a group of friends and relatives to Kunming to make ends meet. He soon found a job, fixing electricity poles. "A dangerous job", he points out. "Once I fell off and spent ten days in hospital." But to him, it was worth the risk: he made CNY 85 (USD 14) a day and had his meals covered.

During his absence, his wife Zhou Guan Mei looked after the fields. She could not rely on her two children - both of them had long since left for the city. But whenever she needed help, friends would support her, just as she would support them. "We work together very well", she says, adding that she was fortunate to live in such a supportive hamlet.

Asked about financial resources and lending, her husband says that there was neither a savings group nor a calamity funds available - in fact calamity funds had been prohibited by the government after many cases of embezzlement. But a credit union exists, and friends often bond for each other. The couple had however survived the drought without needing a loan, and the money Tien Ja Kang earned in Kunming will provide them with some buffer for hard times.

Tien Ja Kang and his wife Zhou Guan Mei

Now that he is back, Tien Ja Kang will be able to help his wife again in the field - and he will roast the tobacco that his sister-in-law has harvested, as his brother is still in Kunming. He is glad to be back and to see his granddaughter again, who lives with her grandparents.
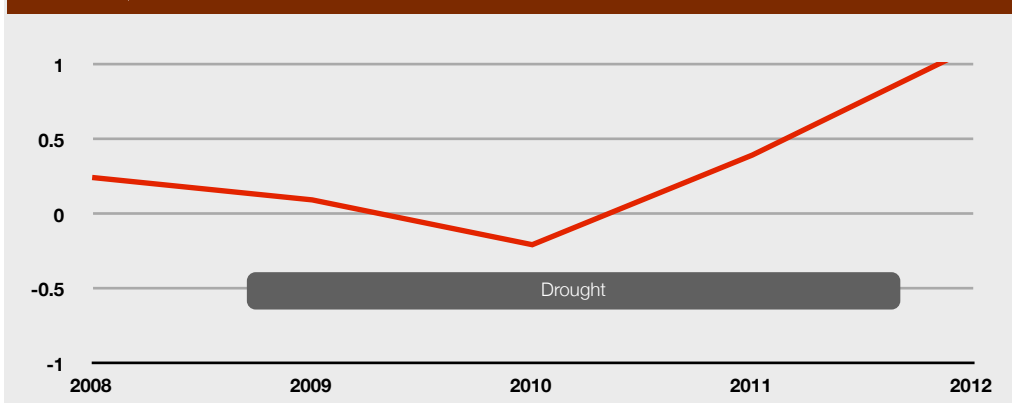
"Next year", he says, "I will stay at home if the situation allows." He is happy to see the functioning water piping system that his wife had told him about. "This makes a real difference. Reliable water and good roads are really the basic conditions needed for work in the countryside."

There are several observations that can explain the different outcome. *First*, while cognitive social capital is similar to Weige, structural capital appears to be significantly higher. Mass organizations, the Women's Union in particular, are much more active and effective. The Village Development Committee also took a more proactive stance; it established new committees to address new challenges: a water committee was set up in 2010, and new cooperatives followed in 2012 for farmers engaged in the cultivation of silkworms, flowers and animal husbandry. Workshop participants said that overall cooperation amongst community members had improved from 'good' to 'very good'. The Village Development Committee also lobbied higher government levels for more substantial support.

Second, and most likely as a result of Tuqiao's strong lobbying, the government assigned a comparatively senior "staff on loan" to Tuqiao. For many years, it has been Chinese government policy to send "staff on loan" from higher administrative levels to communities in order to support them and receive feedback on policy implementation. Whereas Weige has been content with its staff on loan (he stems from Zhanyi county's construction department), the government eventually responded to Tuqiao's support calls by assigning a staff member not just from the higher prefecture level, but also from the particularly powerful human resources department.

Third, and likely as a result of the first two factors, the government provided substantial support to Tuqiao - more than ten times the amount given to Weige: Since 2008, the government has upgraded and extended the electricity grid - hitherto very unreliable - ,

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Figure 15 | **Tuqiao development trend**

constructed two water reservoirs, improved the irrigation system, upgraded roads, and terraced slopes to provide more arable land.

Indeed, the role of the seniority of the staff on loan, and the effective way he and the community collaborate, appears to have been crucial for the more positive outcome in Tuqiao. Problems identified by the community are shared with the staff on loan, who advises on and supports possible solutions. For instance, the new farmer cooperatives were initiated by the community to help with the adaptation from wet crops to dry crops and other income sources - the staff on loan helped arrange statutes and other administrative requirements. As a result, the government-supported conversion from wet to dry crops has been more effective than in Weige.

Aside from the factors identified above, one particular intervention made a huge difference: a newly-constructed water piping system. As the water sources in Tuqiao were running dry, the search for alternative sources began. Eventually, a well six kilometres away from Tuqiao was built and connected to Tuqiao through a water piping system. Although it was completed only in March 2012 - just before the drought subsided - community members regard the new system as a huge advantage, as water access is now more convenient and reliable - Tuqiao is better prepared for future droughts. "It completely changed our situation", one workshop participant says.

The prefecture government had obtained the necessary funding of CNY 600,000 (USD 95,000) through donations from a coal mining magnate. Funds were then channeled through the Red Cross. The prefecture branch staff say that a project of this scale had been unique for them, and proudly stress that the evaluation of the project had been very positive. Although Tuqiao community was involved in the construction of the piping system and now pays for water usage, staff at the prefecture branch say that local involvement could have been greater: in future, they would use a similar project as a basis for a more comprehensive solution that could, for instance, include hygiene promotion.

Since the end of the drought, some of the villagers who had left for Kunming to work as labourer have returned to Tuqiao to find it in a better condition (see box on previous page). But despite the progress, the situation is far from perfect. In future, villagers would like to diversify their income sources further - not only advancing the move to dry-season crops, but also to non-agricultural livelihoods: "In agriculture, there are low profits but huge risks", one community member explains.

Tuqiao	
Cognitive social capital index	**0.42**
Sense of community	
Attachment to place	0.22
Differences, inequalities	0.64
Social harmony	0.67
Social inclusion	0.76
Social embeddedness	0.41
Trust	
Social trust	0.27
Trust in institutions	0.39
Community networks	
Membership density	0.15
Membership diversity	0.62
Members' participation	0.42
Network effectiveness	0.67
Inter-organizational ties	0.70
Collective action	
Civic engagement	0.57
Support	
Mutual support	0.69
External support	0.30

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Conclusion: China

Social capital in general, and linking social capital in particular, play a crucial role for the resilience of Chinese communities. As government tends to dominate all realms of public life, the links between a community and authorities - its enabling environment - are especially important, as the comparison between Tuqiao and Weige has demonstrated. In this context, the concept of *guanxi* (literally "connection") comes to mind, the Chinese version of patron-client relations that nowadays often carries negative connotations.[19] The villagers and leadership in Tuqiao have been apt at organizing their affairs, voicing their concerns, and building up a strong relation with the assigned staff on loan.

As many aspects of public life are covered by government institutions, the Red Cross in Qujing prefecture has yet to define and develop its role in the communities. While its role in the projects carried out in Weige and Tuqiao, and particularly in Longtan's 'volunteer bank' is a good start, it remains to be seen to what extent it can become a more independent and volunteer- rather than staff-based organization. At present it is evident that the Red Cross in Yunnan is associated more closely with the government rather than with communities.

According to a proactive staff member of the Yunnan chapter, many Red Cross leaders still need to open up from a bureaucratic mindset. Many were not interested in community-based work - however, he also sees positive trends, such as the government's encouragement of community-based work by the Red Cross. He himself manages a 560-strong volunteer team in Kunming and promotes school-based activities to branches - both to recruit more volunteers and to become more engaged in surrounding communities. In this context, more guidance and tools may be appropriate.

19. For a thorough discussion of *guanxi*, see Gold et al. 2002. Many cases of embezzlement, corruption and nepotism somewhat discredited the concept - yet, it remains a vital tool in public and social affairs.

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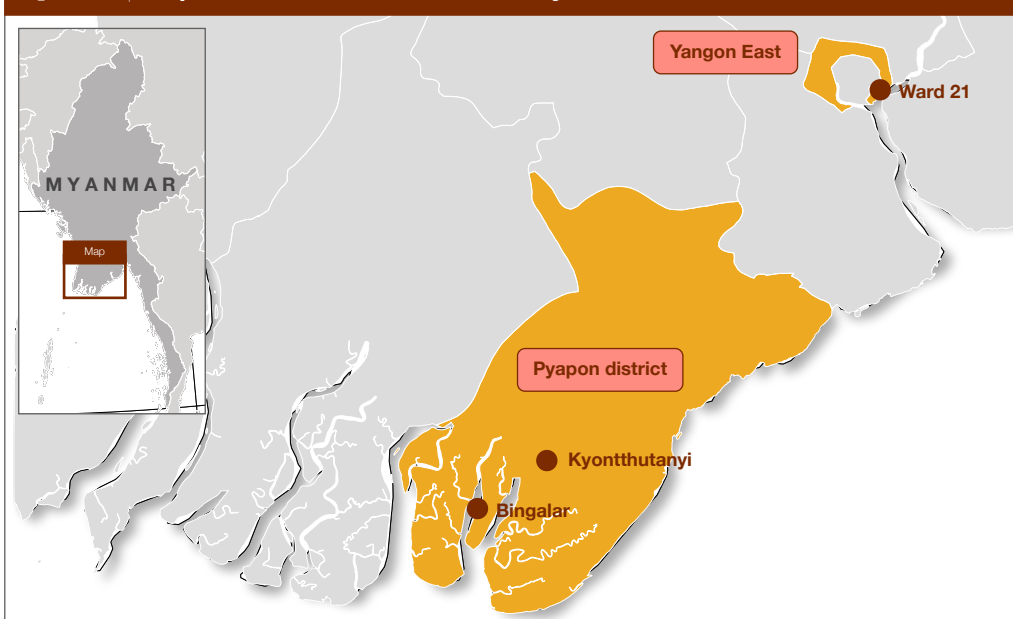Social capital and community resilience - December 2012

8. Myanmar

The final country visited for this study proved an ideal case for the research purpose: Myanmar's Ayeyarwaddy Region and adjoining areas had been devastated by Cyclone Nargis in May 2008, and have since seen substantial relief and recovery efforts by the Red Cross/Red Crescent Movement and other humanitarian actors. The two rural communities visited for this study - Kyontthutanyi and Bingalar - were severely affected by the cyclone and have seen large-scale community-based programming by the Myanmar Red Cross Society (MRCS) and the IFRC. The urban community - Ward 21 - experienced less destructive impact from Cyclone Nargis but is exposed to regular floods and domestic fires. In early 2012, Ward 21 was selected as one of the target communities of an Urban Disaster Risk Reduction project. We will look at each of the three communities first before concluding with a comparative analysis.

Ward 21

Ward 21 is one of 32 wards of Dagon South township, a satellite town on Yangon's southeastern fringe that was established by the government in 1989. Since then, the land has been transformed from a village of paddy farmers to a residential area with a population of more than 11,000. Over the past five years, 1,000 new settlers arrived in the ward. While most people live in small brick houses, many recent migrants live in bamboo huts, often precariously built on flood plains adjacent to the two creeks flowing through the ward. A walk through the ward shows that most streets are unsealed; the few that are concretized have been upgraded at the initiative and expense of neighbourhood groups. People in Ward 21 work in construction (e.g. as carpenters or painters), labourers, small traders; some are engaged in pig and chicken breeding. The ward was affected by Cyclone Nargis only to a minor extent - the major hazards are regular floods and house fires, which, due to the high housing density, bear the potential of spreading to entire neighbourhoods.

Figure 16 | **Map of visited communities in Myanmar**

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Ward 21	
Cognitive social capital index	**0.30**
Sense of community	
Attachment to place	0.07
Differences, inequalities	0.74
Social harmony	0.67
Social inclusion	0.99
Social embeddedness	0.31
Trust	
Social trust	0.07
Trust in institutions	0.27
Community networks	
Membership density	0.35
Membership diversity	0.10
Members' participation	0.34
Network effectiveness	0.78
Inter-organizational ties	0.24
Collective action	
Civic engagement	0.51
Support	
Mutual support	n.a.
External support	0.13

During the community workshop, the 25 participants described a slightly positive trend of their living conditions over the past five years: In health and sanitation, conditions had improved from 'bad' to 'good' mainly due to the efforts of a local NGO (hygiene promotion, dengue and larvae control). Cooperation amongst community members had also improved, and several new groups were formed during this time (e.g. women's group, health committee, funeral association, bridge maintenance committee, disaster preparedness committee). Although coming from different ethnic and backgrounds, people in the ward arrived here with the "cooperative spirit of villages", one participant explained. The main challenge the community members face today concern their livelihoods: the lack of a local market (now planned by the government), inflation, and the influx of jobless new migrants, were named as reasons for their 'bad' livelihood rating. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the police chief in charge of the area testified that crime rates in Ward 21 were above the average of Dagon South township.

MRCS selected Dagon South township for its new Urban DRR project because of a comparatively high number of volunteers and the exposure to floods - the selection of the actual ward however was left to the township government. At the time of the study visit, a very basic assessment had been completed (mainly based on secondary data review), but any further tools had not yet been deployed. In particular, none of the volunteers in the township had been trained in the use of VCAs.

While the workshop results indicate a rather positive state of social capital in Ward 21, survey results reveal that out of the three communities in Myanmar, the urban Ward 21 has a significantly lower score in social embeddedness, attachment to place, social trust, and civic engagement, as well as a slightly lower score in organizational density.

A close look at the survey results shows that the percentage of migrants in Ward 21 (48.5%) is significantly higher than in any other community visited. Migrants are less attached to the community (they are twice as likely to leave for a better job elsewhere), less socially embedded (they have an embeddedness index score of 0.64, against 0.86 for native residents), show a slightly lower level of social trust (0.54 against 0.58) and are less involved in collective action and civic engagement. Anecdotal evidence from enumerators illustrate these findings: several recent migrants did not even know their neighbours.

There are three overall observations and one conclusion that can be drawn from Ward 21: *First*, the organizational density is high when considering the urban setting - with 35% of Ward 21 respondents being part of an organization, organizational membership is considerably higher than in the Nepalese and Chinese wards (but still lower than in Myanmar's rural communities). To a considerable extent, this appears to be due to the work of local NGOs, who have instigated the set-up of community-based organizations. *Second*, civic engagement and collective action are often based on neighbourhoods or streets, rather than the entire community. The concretization of roads at the initiative of informal neighbourhood groups is a case in point. *Third*, recent migrants to Ward 21 are less embedded and engaged than native residents, with some of them appearing to be rather marginalized.

The conclusion for the future work of MRCS in the Urban DRR is that volunteers will need to be sensitized to this relative marginalization of migrants. Given their lower social capital and considering their precarious living conditions, they are most likely to be amongst the most vulnerable - at the same time, they are the least likely to be invited to workshops that are part of the VCA process (because they are less socially

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embedded than native residents). The small household groups approach of the CBDRR implementation guideline is a sound tool to engage the entire community; where possible, existing informal neighbourhood groups could be used as a basis.

On a wider scale, the study shows the importance of quantitative tools such as a baseline survey to generate a broader and more inclusive picture than can be obtained through qualitative workshops. At the same time, it is worth noting that neither does the IFRC toolkit provide much specific guidance as to how such surveys can be carried out and analyzed, nor is there usually sufficient expertise amongst local Red Cross units. We will return to this dilemma in the next two chapters.

Kyontthutanyi

Kyontthutanyi is a long-stretched community on the banks of a canal amidst paddy fields; it can be reached after a 20-minute boat ride from the main through the Ayeyarwaddy delta and is only an hour travel away from the district capital of Pyapon. The overwhelming majority of the 2,800 residents live from paddy farming, many have chicken and ducks and are involved in fishing for subsistence and additional income. In 2008, Cyclone Nargis caused widespread damage to physical assets (school, 140 houses destroyed) and paddy fields - but fortunately, nobody was killed in the event.

With the support of MRCS and the IFRC as well as six other organizations[20], Kyontthutanyi managed to recover quickly (94.1% of survey respondents attribute a strong role of external support in the swift recovery. Workshop participants stated that within a year, overall living conditions were similar to the pre-Nargis situation - however, it took three full years in livelihood and housing to recover.[21] Today, Kyointthutanyi is far better off than before Nargis - in particular in the areas of health, water and sanitation, and to a lesser extent in disaster preparedness, transportation and livelihood. Significantly, almost three quarters (71.8%) of survey respondents think that Kyontthutanyi would suffer less damages today from another cyclone similar in force to Nargis.

What about its social capital? Around three quarters (74.1%) of respondents say that the interventions have helped the way the community organizes itself, however, there are few formal networks in the community: aside from the Buddhist Board of Trustees, the only formal networks are the Red Cross brigade (set up in 2009) and two committees established by the government in 2012 (on village development and education support).

The level of cognitive social capital (especially trust and civic engagement) is significantly lower than in the other rural community visited in Myanmar. Looking at the narrative comments from survey respondents - 14.1% of whom state that the external interventions had negative effects - it becomes obvious that alleged cases of nepotism and corruption have somewhat contributed to the erosion of trust. According to these comments, those in power managed to direct allocations of new houses, latrines and equipment to their friends and extended families. Furthermore, the overall support had reduced people's own initiative at recovery - in the words of one respondent, "people have become lazy."

Thus, while the overall support by MRCS and other players is seen as a success, to some extent it has come at the cost of social capital. The large number of players and interventions, and lack of coordination, appears to be at fault for residents getting used

Kyontthutanyi	
Cognitive social capital index	**0.51**
Sense of community	
Attachment to place	0.39
Differences, inequalities	0.74
Social harmony	0.73
Social inclusion	0.99
Social embeddedness	0.69
Trust	
Social trust	0.13
Trust in institutions	0.40
Community networks	
Membership density	0.50
Membership diversity	0.23
Members' participation	0.50
Network effectiveness	0.82
Inter-organizational ties	0.58
Collective action	
Civic engagement	0.71
Support	
Mutual support	0.82
External support	0.53

20. Aside from MRCS/IFRC, Save the Children, ActionAid, WFP, PACT, IDE and NAG also provided post-Nargis support to Kyontthutanyi.

21. Concerning livelihood, two reasons were mentioned for the slower recovery: lack of funds allowed many farmers over the first three years after Nargis to only plant once (instead of twice) a year. Marketing and transport was also difficult due to the lack of boats. Concerning housing, many of the people with damaged houses who were not supported by MRCS struggled to find the necessary funding.

Figure 17 | **Kyontthutanyi development trend**
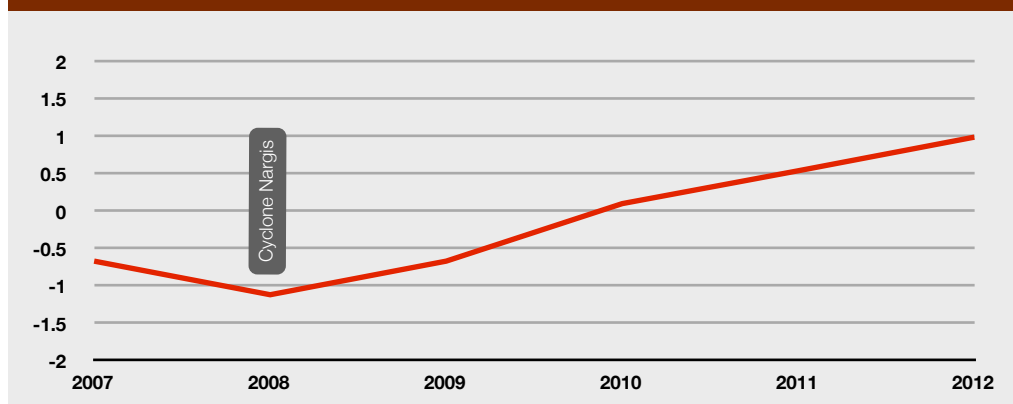
to sit through assessments and trainings.[22] In the words of the chairman of the Pyapon township branch, Pyapon's convenient location (being on main road and close to Yangon) explains why no less than 42 organizations operated in the township after Nargis.

The case of Kyontthutanyi serves as a reminder that relief and recovery efforts can do much good but also harm - better inter-agency coordination and better assessment and reinforcement of social capital is thus necessary. In Kyontthutanyi, social capital was not assessed - there was no CBDRM project (and thus no VCA) but instead a CBFA project (which has no tools for assessing social capital).

Volunteers at the nearby Pyapon township branch however can give some insight into the use of VCA tools: They implemented CBDRM projects in five villages closer to the sea (which were more severely affected by Nargis than Kyontthutanyi), followed the CBDRM implementation guideline and used focus group discussions, hazard mapping, seasonal calendars, Venn diagrammes, vulnerability assessments and transect walks during three-day VCA processes. The volunteers expressed confidence in using these tools and - after some discussion about the meaning of social capital - stated that they were able to assess social capital through the VCA process. For them, the more difficult question is how to proceed in a community with low levels of social trust and civic engagement. According to them, this presented the greatest challenge to community facilitators.

Bingalar

Bingalar is a community of 735 people close to the Bay of Bengal - from Yangon, it takes a five-hour trip to Bogale township and then another three hours by boat to get there. The village lies amidst paddy fields barely above sea level; two rivers separate it into three parts. Conditions are very basic - there is no electricity (outside a few houses with generators and the solar panel-equipped Red Cross post), there are almost no sealed roads and there is no bridge linking the two parts of the village. Almost all transport to other communities and within Bingalar is by boat.

Cyclone Nargis devastated Bingalar: more than 300 people died - one third of its pre-Nargis population. Livestock vanished, paddy fields were destroyed, houses blown apart. And yet, four years after this tremendous loss, the community stands recovered and better off than pre-Nargis (see figure 18).

22. Workshop participants listed the following interventions in Kyontthutanyi:

Shelter
- MRCS
- 38 houses (out of 140 damaged/destroyed)

Livelihood
- MRCS
- Cash for Work
- Fishing boats/nets
- Fertilizers
- Chicken, ducks, pigs
- Others
- Fishing boats/nets
- Micro-loans
- Tractors
- Fishery training
- Irrigation canals

Education
- Others
- Child-friendly schooling
- DRR in schools

Infrastructure
- Others
- Roads, bridges
- cash contribution for road works

Health/Watsan
- MRCS
- Ponds reconstruction
- Ponds fencing
- Rainwater harvesting
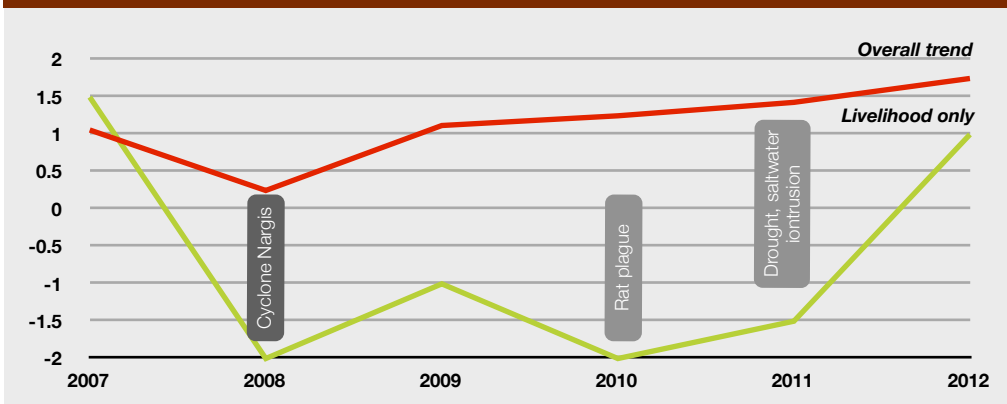- Latrine construction
- CBFA
- Health center
- Others
- Ponds fencing
- Latrine construction

DRM
- MRCS
- Red Cross post

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Figure 18 | **Bingalar development trend**

Overall trend

Livelihood only

Cyclone Nargis

Rat plague

Drought, saltwater iontrusion

Social capital played a crucial role: first, in the initial days after Nargis the people helped each other (see story overleaf). Then, when external organizations arrived in the isolated village, the pre-existing high level of social capital was captured, channeled into structures such as the 110-strong Red Cross brigade, and reinforced. In a way, this happened by accident: Neither had anyone heard of the term 'social capital', nor was the assessment particularly thorough. The VCA was conducted over just one day and was thus limited to three tools (hazard mapping, seasonal calendar and a transect walk[23]). But the Red Cross listened to the concerns of the villagers and had effective community facilitators working with Bingalar community.

As a result of the CBDRM process, the village now has a 30-strong CBDRM committee, a strong Red Cross brigade, an Early Warning System, a Red Cross post that serves as a hub for all activities and that is used daily, and regularly updated DRM plans. Further interventions by the Red Cross and three NGOs helped with the swift recovery.[24] In terms of livelihood however, Bingalar suffered two setbacks: in 2010 a rat plague destroyed much of the crops, a year later the combined effects of a drought and unusually strong saltwater intrusion to the paddy fields caused a poor harvest. In 2012,

Community workshop in Bingalar

23. The volunteers from Bogale township branch said they were familiar with other tools as well, but did not have enough time for a longer VCA process.

24. Workshop participants listed the following recovery-related interventions:

Shelter
- MRCS
- Houses
- Others
- Houses (IOM)

Livelihood
- MRCS:
- Boats
- Others:
- Fertilisers, farm tools, seeds, cattle, training (Loca Alem)
- Tractors (government)

Health, water, sanitation
- MRCS
- Latrines
- Others
- Latrines (MSF)
- Wells (Loca Alem)
- Boat for midwife

DRM
- MRCS
- CBDRM, including Early Warning, training, equipment, Red Cross post

Bingalar: strong mutual support, weak external linkages the missing link to greater resilience

"Everything was lost or damaged", recalls U Than Win the days after Cyclone Nargis had hit his village of Bingalar. "Many dead people and animals were floating in the river." We started off by rescuing as much as possible. We slaughtered and cooked dead pigs and collected usable rice in the brick house of one of my neighbours. We shared the food amongst all the people that had survived. We looked after the ones that were injured."

Three days after Nargis, the first relief teams from the military and the Red Cross arrived. They delivered some food and took the injured to Bogale, and over the next days, almost all villagers were moved to a camp - the village elders selected 30 people who should stay in Bingalar.

These 30 people collected wood and timber for reconstruction. Two weeks later, when the first people returned from the camp, some temporary shelters were already up. By the time NGOs arrived eight months later to build permanent houses, the community had completed temporary shelters for every household, U Than Win says not without pride.

The people of Bingalar had always helped each other, he continues. In his view, the joint experience of Nargis strengthened this mutual support - people look after each other very well. The CBDRM project in Bingalar built on and reinforced this mutual support. "Now we are all mobilised", says U Than Win. Indeed, with 30 members in the CBDRM committee and 110 in the Red Cross brigade, almost one fifth of the community is involved in the Red Cross. "We have learned a lot", he says. He estimates that if another "Nargis" happened in the future, the damages to houses and crops would be the same. But due to greater preparedness and an early warning system, the people would be safe - because they would either stay in the evacuation centre or evacuate to Bogale if time allows. Nowadays people would also be able to secure valuable and some livestock, he adds.

U Than Win, one of Bingalar's village elders.

While feeling more confident about the future, U Than Win says there are still many problems - saltwater intrusion to the paddy fields in particular is a recurring issue to which the community has no solution yet.

There is another issue the people of Bingalar have identified: the lack of a bridge between the two main parts of the village. "It happens yet and again that schoolchildren drown in the river - just last year, one boy drowned." The bridge is also vital as an route to the evacuation centre. None of the NGOs however had funding for this bridge.

Last years, the villagers have therefore started to collect money amongst themselves - after two years, they have gathered 2.8 Mio Kyat. But with an estimated price of 18 Mio Kyat, the bridge is still a long way off. While the social capital in Bingalar is strong, the village's linkages to external organizations are still weak - and external support may be needed to build the bridge.

the livelihood situation returned almost to pre-Nargis levels, thanks to new farming equipment and new techniques provided by a local NGO. Saltwater intrusion, however, appears to be a problem that continues to hamper harvest income.

The survey results for Bingalar correspond with qualitative findings; it has the highest level of social capital amongst all nine communities studied and clearly stands out for particularly high scores in social trust (0.87) and civic engagement (0.98). Aside from lots of informal mutual support, the community features formal networks for religious affairs, education, women's affairs, tube well maintenance, health and disaster risk management (the latter three were set up in 2009 with external support). In 2011, the villagers set up another committee at their own initiative to build a much-needed bridge between the two main parts of the village (see box above). They started collecting and saving money, however, without external support it will take several years for the bridge to materialize.

While social capital in Bingalar is very strong - and has been channeled and reinforced with the support of MRCS and others - , the cases of the bridge and the ongoing problem

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of saltwater intrusion indicate that the link to external agencies such as the government is yet to be developed further. The community has a strong social foundation and is now more knowledgable and better prepared for natural hazards.

At the same time, it is very poor and lacks the access to more substantial resources needed for the structural measures that may be required to make it even safer and more resilient, particularly against long-term challenges associated with climate change.

Conclusion: Myanmar

The three communities in Myanmar are distinct from each other and all hold valuable lessons for this study of social capital and community resilience. The experience of the urban Ward 21 shows a comparatively low level of social capital, and highlights the fact that new migrants in particular are on the fringe of existing social networks. Such an urban setting does not only make the implementation of community-based programmes more difficult, but also points to the need to sensitize volunteers and reach out to marginalized migrants. Quantitative tools such as a baseline survey should thus be deployed in addition to the more frequently used qualitative VCA tools in order to obtain a broader picture of overall conditions, needs and capacities.

The case of Kyontthutanyi reiterates the need for better coordination amongst humanitarian players during the post-disaster recovery phase: too much, and not sufficiently coordinated, support can undermine local coping mechanisms, which should be reinforced rather than replaced. To this end, these coping mechanisms, and social capital in general, need to be better analyzed.

Bingalar community is a showcase for strong social capital that was sensibly channeled and reinforced - for instance, the Red Cross posts gave many social activities a home. Furthermore, the case demonstrates that bonding social capital on its own is not enough to elevate a community to a greater level of resilience - without external linkages and support, highly natural resource-dependent Bingalar will find it difficult at best to shed its livelihood volatility related to natural events.

Concerning IFRC tools, the VCA toolkit and the CBDRR implementation guideline are well known by many MRCS volunteers, and those interviewed feel confident in their use. However, VCAs are often done in a hurry, and the full breadth of tools is rarely applied. In particular, tools 11-13 (livelihood and coping strategy analysis, institutional and social network analysis, and assessing the capacities of people's organizations) should be used more broadly to better capture and build on pre-existing social capital. Whenever local capacity allows, baseline surveys should also be used - particularly in large urban communities - to capture a broader and more representative picture than can be provided through workshops.

A general question that was raised by both volunteers and the MRCS leadership concerns practical steps that can be taken if aspects of social capital such as social trust and civic engagement are found to be low. We will return to this issue shortly when presenting lessons learnt and recommendations.

Bingalar	
Cognitive social capital index	**0.51**
Sense of community	
Attachment to place	0.55
Differences, inequalities	0.80
Social harmony	0.84
Social inclusion	1.00
Social embeddedness	0.56
Trust	
Social trust	0.24
Trust in institutions	0.24
Community networks	
Membership density	0.45
Membership diversity	0.32
Members' participation	0.60
Network effectiveness	0.76
Inter-organizational ties	0.63
Collective action	
Civic engagement	0.71
Support	
Mutual support	n.a.
External support	0.52

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9. Summary of findings

Based on the results of literature review and field research, this chapter answers those of the ToR questions that consider *past* experience related to social capital and community resilience. The subsequent chapter ten will use this as a basis when addressing questions concerning the *future* - how shall the Red Cross Red Crescent adapt its approach and its tools?

In this chapter we focus on the questions concerning the role of social capital in reinforcing community resilience, ways to assess social capital, the ability of existing IFRC tools to capture social capital, and the past experience in capturing and building on social capital.

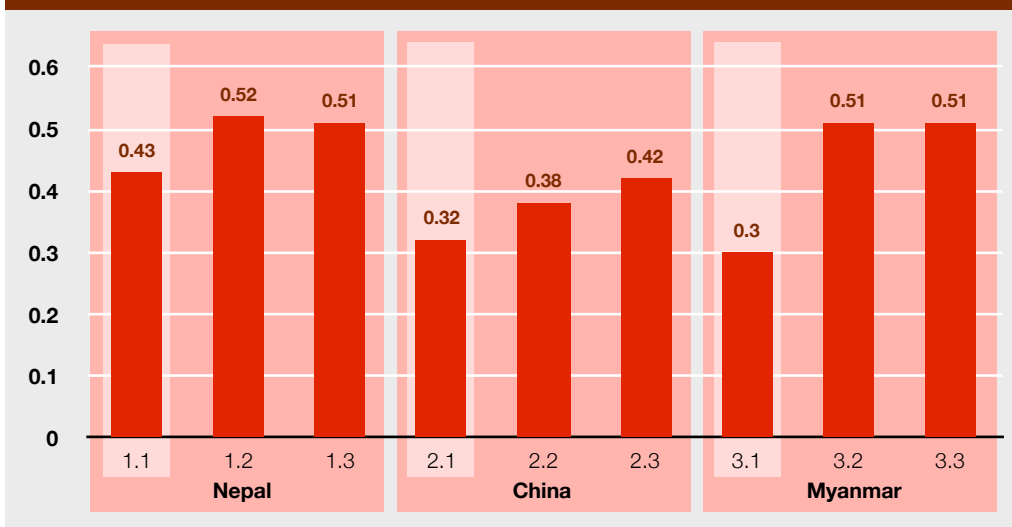### To what extent does social capital matter in reinforcing community resilience?

When answering this question, we should begin with the expression of a caveat: neither any of the reviewed articles nor any of the field case studies were able to safely attribute a particular level of social capital to a particular level of community resilience. This is due to two factors - the difficulties in operationalizing and safely measuring social capital and actual community resilience on the one hand, and the existence of many other variables that cannot be easily controlled on the other. The analysis of the role of social capital in community resilience - both in literature and field research - thus rests on logical inferences, anecdotal evidence, and correlations.

Having made this caveat explicit, our field research appears to confirm the attribution of a very strong role of social capital in overall community resilience that authors such as Mayunga, Aldrich and Norris et al. assign to it. Bingalar community in **Myanmar** is an ideal showcase for the importance of social capital. Through very strong mutual support, the villagers managed to sustain themselves over the days after Cyclone Nargis had hit and to recover from the worst, as villagers joined forces to construct temporary shelter for all of Bingalar's households. As the support from the Red Cross and others channeled and reinforced social capital, the village's level of organization improved even further - and the villagers took the initiative to address one of its key challenges, the lack of a bridge that would link its two main areas.

Bingalar also shows that high levels of social trust, embeddedness, and civic engagement are a crucial foundation for community resilience, yet, these factors are insufficient on their own: Linking capital is also required to address more difficult and complex issues. With its presently low levels of such linkages (to external government agencies and organizations), it will take many years for Bingalar to save enough funds for the construction of the planned bridge.

Furthermore, despite its high level of organization, Bingalar cannot be seen as particularly resilient: its strong dependence on natural resources, along with the high exposure of its paddy fields to storms, droughts, floods (and resulting saltwater intrusion) mean that the villagers' livelihood will remain volatile. The houses reconstructed after Nargis are unlikely to withstand a similar cyclone, and the villagers estimate that material damage after a future Nargis-like storm would be almost the same as in 2008. Due to the reinforced social capital and preparedness measures, Bingalar is safer today (in terms of human casualties) but remains economically vulnerable.

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Figure 19 | **Simplified index of cognitive social capital**

The simplified index of cognitive social capital summarizes survey results relating to social embeddedness, social trust, and civic engagement. It illustrates the consistently lower level of cognitive social capital in urban communities (highlighted). Note that possible scores range from a minimum of -0.75 to a maximum of +1.0. For the underlying method of the index, see appendix C.
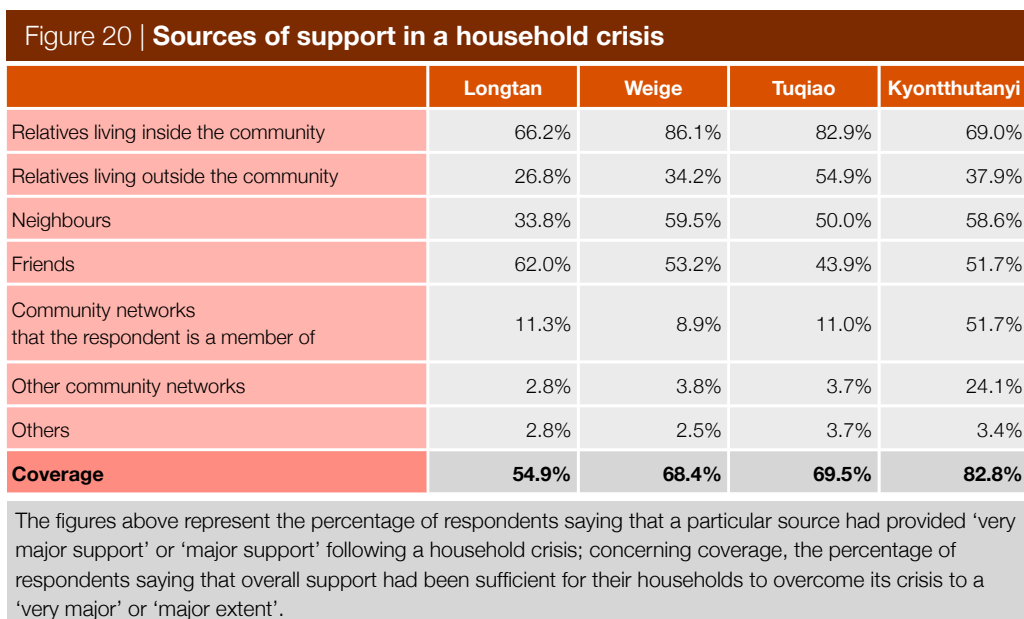
The comparison of the two rural communities in **China** highlights the relevance of linking social capital. While Tuqiao community was more severely affected by a three-year drought than nearby Weige, workshop participants in Tuqiao saw the overall situation greatly improved compared to pre-drought levels - meanwhile, their counterparts in Weige are yet to return to pre-drought levels. The key reason for this difference is seen in the far greater government support provided to Tuqiao, which in turn was facilitated by a higher level of village organization and lobbying to higher administrative levels. Given the dominant role the government plays in China's public and social affairs, the importance of linking capital in China appears to be particularly pronounced.

The three communities in **Nepal** illustrate the importance of civic engagement: with trust in the local government being rather low[25], communities and community-based organizations take matters into their own hands to solve the problems they have identified. The NRCS-facilitated creation of community-based disaster risk management bodies in the two rural communities appears to have reinforced the way the communities organize themselves. Yet, without external support, communities are unable to solve major issues, solutions to which require significant expertise or funds. The much-needed construction of handrails in Daduwa is a case in point.

The household survey was able to capture a close-up picture of social capital. It robustly confirms the assumed difference in the level of cognitive social capital between urban and rural communities. An index of cognitive social capital (see figure 19), which aggregates social embeddedness (friends, informal networking and support), trust amongst community members, and civic engagement, shows that rural communities have a significantly higher score (0.45) than their urban counterparts (0.32). The survey results provide many other intriguing observations; appendix C contains a comprehensive listing.

Regarding the role of social capital on resilience, the survey asked whether respondents' households had experienced a crisis, who had helped them how much, and to what

25. Workshop participants in Nepal pointed to a low level of trust in the government as part of their engagement. Survey results however show that such trust is higher than in Nepal and China.

Figure 20 | **Sources of support in a household crisis**				
	Longtan	**Weige**	**Tuqiao**	**Kyontthutanyi**
Relatives living inside the community	66.2%	86.1%	82.9%	69.0%
Relatives living outside the community	26.8%	34.2%	54.9%	37.9%
Neighbours	33.8%	59.5%	50.0%	58.6%
Friends	62.0%	53.2%	43.9%	51.7%
Community networks that the respondent is a member of	11.3%	8.9%	11.0%	51.7%
Other community networks	2.8%	3.8%	3.7%	24.1%
Others	2.8%	2.5%	3.7%	3.4%
Coverage	**54.9%**	**68.4%**	**69.5%**	**82.8%**

The figures above represent the percentage of respondents saying that a particular source had provided 'very major support' or 'major support' following a household crisis; concerning coverage, the percentage of respondents saying that overall support had been sufficient for their households to overcome its crisis to a 'very major' or 'major extent'.

extent the overall support had helped the household to overcome the crisis. Surprisingly, less than 15% of respondents in Nepal and Ward 21 and Bingalar in Myanmar said their households had experienced a crisis[26] - the analysis of these questions therefore had to be limited to the three Chinese communities and Kyontthutanyi in Myanmar (see figure 20 above).

The results show that a) local relatives are by far the greatest source of support, b) that informal associations (relatives, friends, neighbours) are a source of significantly greater support than formal networks, c) that in the overwhelming majority, respondent households had been able to recover with the support received, and d) that most support is local. The latter observation means that in times of a major hazard, the support mechanism is likely to be over-stretched, as all or most of possible sources of support are affected.

Regarding the external support a community received during or after a hazard, the survey finds that the level of external support positively correlates with the level of inter-organizational linkages - although no causality can be inferred, this observation falls in line with the point made earlier about the importance of linking capital.

The analysis of community networks was somewhat constrained by the low percentage of respondents who are part of any such group (between 9% and 50%); with the accordingly low sample, the meaningfulness of such an analysis is greatly reduced. Against this background, organizational features such as inclusiveness and effectiveness should be better analyzed through qualitative means in future.

The great merit of a survey is its breadth - it can verify whether findings obtained through qualitative means hold true amongst a greater sample than a group of workshop participants. While in most cases, qualitative and quantitative results support each other, the case of Ward 21 powerfully showcases the usefulness of the survey: based on workshop results alone, the ward was characterized as inclusive and well-organised - but whereas this may be true from the perspective of the obviously well-connected and socially embedded workshop participants, survey results show that many migrants remain on the fringe of this well-connected community life.

26. The low percentage of respondents who say they experienced a household crisis may reflect either a view that although a household experienced hardship, the support it received prevented hardship turning into a crisis, or that a collective trauma (such as incurred by Cyclone Nargis in Bingalar) does not count as household crisis. Either way, the low percentage of respondents saying they experienced a household crisis in severely cyclone-hit Bingalar (12.5%) is staggering.

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Based on literature review and field experiences, we conclude that social capital matters greatly for overall community resilience. Aspects such as trust, civic engagement, mutual support, community networking and organization enable communities to address and often solve many of the challenges they face. For major challenges that exceed communities' capacities, linking capital to external organizations is crucial.

We conclude that bonding, bridging and linking social capital are necessary 'ingredients' of community resilience. While research results do not enable us to assign an exact weighting to the role of social capital in community resilience, we draw the conclusion that social capital serves as an important foundation to community resilience.

How can social capital be assessed?

Social capital cannot be assessed directly - it needs to be operationalized and broken down into its components, each of which can then be measured through a number of proxy indicators. In this study, social capital has been divided into the six components of (a) sense of community, (b) trust, (c) community networks, (d) information and communication, (e) collective action, and (f) support. Each component has been broken down further into a total of 20 indicators, and every indicator is assessed through several corresponding questions in the questionnaire. All answers relating to a particular indicator were then aggregated into an index. For the full analytical procedure and comprehensive survey results, see appendix C.

As our research experience has shown, a thorough assessment of social capital is complex and time-intensive. While we have already shortened, simplified and in some aspects enhanced the research approach proposed by the World Bank's SOCAT, it is obvious that even this somewhat streamlined approach cannot be easily incorporated into the regular programme work of the Red Cross Red Crescent, or that volunteers can be expected to conduct and analyze a survey similar to the one conducted for this study. Since social capital is seen as a foundation to community resilience - and should therefore be assessed, monitored and reinforced, we face a dilemma. We will return to this dilemma in the next chapter and propose a solution.

In how far do existing tools already capture levels of social capital?

As shown in chapter four, many existing IFRC tools for community-based work already cover aspects of social capital, although not referring to it explicitly. In the VCA toolkit, tools 12-14 (institutional and social network analysis, assessing the capacity of people's organisations, Venn diagramme) are well-suited to assess structural aspects of social capital. These tools bear high potential to cover structural capital more thoroughly and comprehensively than through a household survey - especially when membership in organisations is low as has been the case many of the studied communities. Tool 11 (livelihood and coping strategy analysis) can cover aspects of mutual support mechanisms if applied thoroughly. Several other tools (e.g. focus group discussion, semi-structured interviews) have the potential to reveal information on social capital, provided that facilitators have an eye for such aspects and ask the right questions.

There are three shortcomings of the reviewed tools: *First*, guidance is often not specific enough. A case in point is tool 2 (baseline survey): the toolkit merely suggests different issues that may need to be covered by such a survey, but does not contain any information about necessary sample sizes (to ensure representativeness), sampling approaches, enumerator conduct, or recording, analyzing and using the acquired data.

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The lack of such guidance may to some extent explain why in practice baseline surveys are often either omitted or carried out in a quality insufficient to render results usable for comparison with an endline survey.

The *second* shortcoming of current IFRC tools is its inability to systematically capture cognitive social capital: aspects such as social embeddedness, trust and propensity to civic engagement cannot be assessed through the toolkit. While in practice, many community facilitators will often develop a sense of the level of cognitive social capital, mere reliance on 'gut feeling' should be replaced by a more systematic approach, especially since different programming choices may need to be made in communities with different levels of social capital.

A *final* shortcoming of the overall IFRC toolkit is seen in its complexity and its sector-bound orientation. Tools and guidelines abound to such an extent that few volunteers, local staff members or delegates can have a comprehensive overview. Community resilience rests on many factors - social capital, risk management, resilient livelihoods, safe shelter and others. The toolkit necessary to reinforce resilience should therefore address these aspects in a more integrated manner.

To what extent has social capital already been assessed and been built upon in the past?

In all studied communities in which community-based activities were implemented - those in Nepal and Myanmar - social capital has implicitly been assessed to some extent. In Nepal, where many volunteers are very experienced in the facilitation of VCAs and the overall CBDRR approach, and to some extent in livelihood assessments and PHAST, structural social capital was assessed through relatively comprehensive VCA processes. The set-up of local disaster risk management committees and the strengthening of local NRCS branch capacities - we should not forget that the communal Red Cross and its volunteers are part of social capital - helped to build up communities' social capital: as a result of the projects, communities see themselves better organized and prepared.
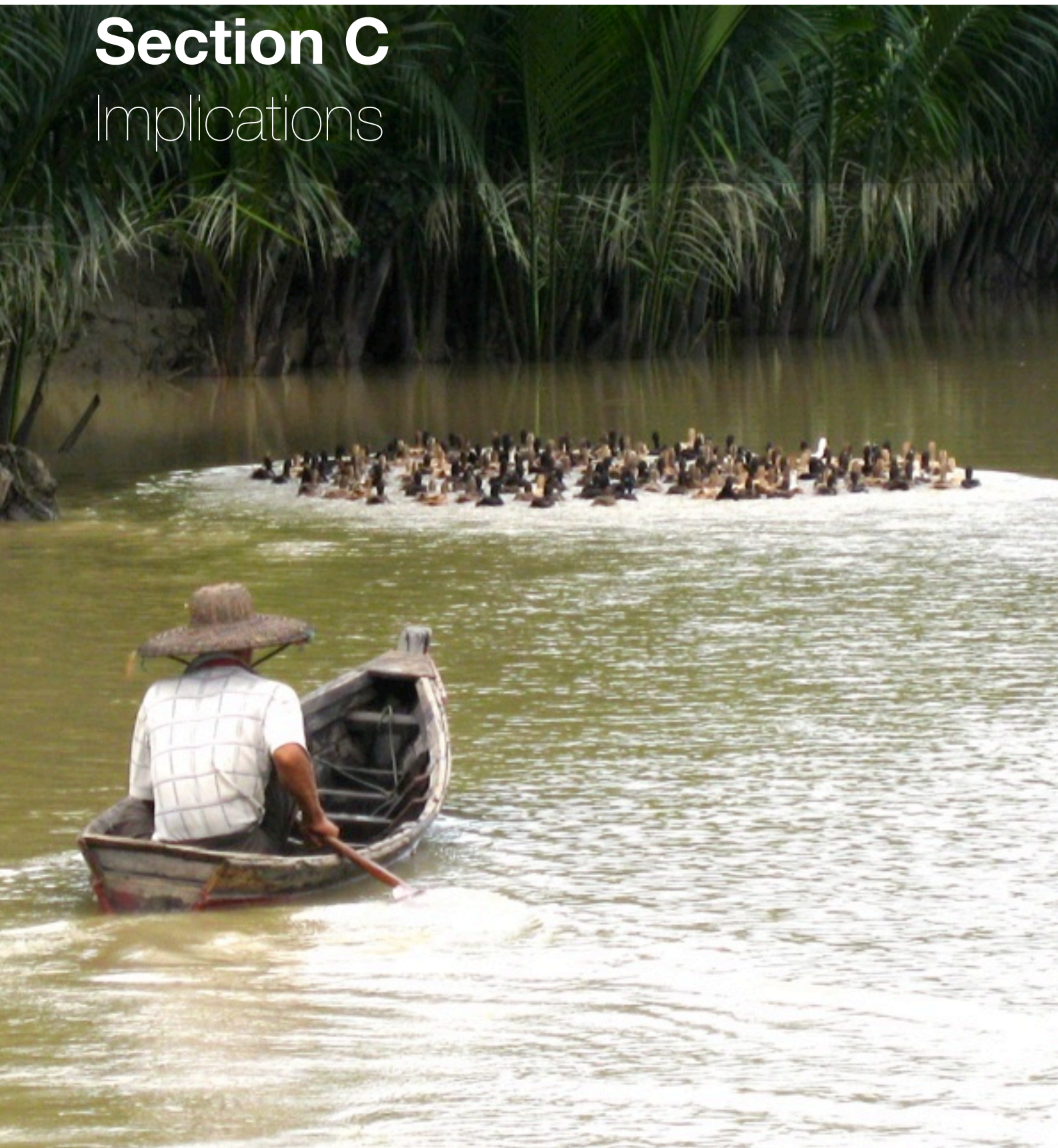
In Myanmar, the VCA process was much shorter; within one day, three tools were deployed: seasonal calendar, hazard risk mapping and transect walk.[27] With such a brief analysis, not much information on social capital could be obtained. But despite this limitation, the Red Cross intervention in Bingalar was able to channel and reinforce a high level of pre-existing social capital: the highly motivated 110-strong Red Cross brigade (every seventh resident belongs to the brigade) is a powerful showcase not just of the effect the Red Cross can have, but also of the difference a high level of pre-existing social capital (cognitive aspects in particular) can have on project outcomes.

Kyontthutanyi, meanwhile, has also seen some advancement in social capital in the shape of community health teams (set up through the CBFA project), which enjoy a high reputation amongst community members. While this is one of the many positive results of the several interventions carried out in the community, alleged cases of nepotism and corruption have also led to an erosion of social trust. The case of Kyontthutanyi serves as a reminder that too much intervention, especially if delivered in an uncoordinated manner by several agencies, can have negative effects. In extreme cases, it can increase the dependence on external support - pretty much the opposite of community resilience. After all, externally supported community-based work should reinforce, rather than replace, local coping mechanisms.

27. In Myanmar's urban community, Ward 21, the VCA process was yet to start by the time of the field visit.

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Section C
Implications

Farmer in Myanmar's Ayuyarweddy delta

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10. Recommendations

What are the implications of the study findings for future community-based programming of the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement? How can its work generate an even more sustainable and effective impact by building on local communities' social capital? In answering three questions posited in the terms of reference - concerning tool amendment, reinforcement of social capital, as well as monitoring thereof - this report gives eight concrete recommendations to move forward.

In which way may IFRC tools need to be amended?
As this report has argued, many of the IFRC tools already capture aspects of *structural* social capital (e.g formal networks) - in practice however, the full capabilities of the toolkit are rarely used due to time constraints, lack of tool knowledge or awareness of their added value, or insufficient capacities of local branches. Regarding *cognitive* social capital (trust, embeddedness, civic engagement), the tools are not able to reveal much information and should therefore be modified. Below is a set of four concrete recommendations in this regard.

Recommendation 1: **Sensitize volunteers and staff on the importance of social capital**
Volunteers and staff members on all levels should be introduced to the concept of social capital and its role in community resilience. It is a vital precursor to all following steps that practitioners fully understand why social capital is important when implementing programmes that are set to enhance community resilience. To create this awareness, a short background paper could be prepared that summarizes the lessons and recommendations of this report.

Such a background paper should be directed at volunteers and staff of all Red Cross/Red Crescent levels and be geared to achieve three objectives: *First*, that the terms 'social capital' and 'community resilience' are understood - to this end, the paper needs to provide definitions and practical examples (see figure 2 for an illustration of community resilience). *Second*, it should describe the different components of community resilience and highlight the strong role that social capital plays therein. Promoting an understanding of the important role of social capital is key to further action and change amongst volunteers and staff. *Third*, the background paper should suggest instruments as to how volunteers and staff can better assess and build on social capital in the future (see figures 21, 22, 24).

The background paper should be complemented by a short video that reinforces key messages and that can be shown during volunteer gatherings and training courses. The background paper and video will need to be translated to local languages of countries in which community-based work is carried out.

Recommendation 2: **Ensure that VCAs are conducted more thoroughly**
As the analysis in this report has shown, many tools of the VCA toolkit can be used to assess structural aspects of social capital. In practice, however, many of the tools - especially the particularly useful tools 11 - 14 - are rarely applied. Project managers should allow for sufficient time - at least three days - to conduct a more thorough assessment of organizational capacities and local coping mechanisms. This added analysis should not be seen as a burden, but as the basis for a more locally adapted

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approach that incorporates and strengthens local mechanisms. In this context, it is advisable to show some flexibility in the CBDRR and CBHFA approaches. For instance, it may not be necessary to establish an entirely new entity such as a CBDRR committee if a suitable community-based organization already exists. After all, it may be more sustainable and effective to assign certain tasks to a native entity such as a village development committee and to enhance its capacity, than to establish a new entity. A concrete example would be the use of informal neighbourhood groups in Yangon's Ward 21 as a basis for small household groups.

To facilitate a more thorough VCA process and better capturing of social capital, the VCA toolkit should be adapted. Figure 21 below suggests concrete changes.

Figure 21 | **Suggested changes to the VCA toolkit**
RRS 1 | Review of secondary resources
Use should be mandatory • Important tool needed at the beginning of the overall assessment process. • Not suited to directly reveal information on social capital, but important to understand the context • More concrete guidance should be included as to how gathered information can be collated and triangulated with other sources of information, for instance through provision of templates that feature all areas for which information is required.
RRS 2 | Baseline survey
Use should be mandatory • Crucial tool not just for planning but also for monitoring and evaluation • Currently lacks specific guidance; as a result, sound baseline surveys are the exception rather than the rule in practice. • Needs to be expanded in five ways: Provide concrete guidance for a) sampling, b) enumerator conduct, c) documentation, d) analysis, and e) questionnaire design. The development and use of a smartphone application would be particularly helpful in this context. • The process of building a better and more integrated baseline tool should use the CBHFA PMER baseline survey tool as a basis while ensuring that the tool can be managed by Red Cross/Red Crescent staff and volunteers. • It is worth considering a modular system for survey questionnaires: From a comprehensive list of questions (and corresponding indicators) on disaster risks, health, water, sanitation, livelihood, shelter, and social capital, the user can select what is seen as most relevant in a given context. • The cognitive social capital index suggested by this study should be part of such a comprehensive list. It should be mandatory in future baseline surveys (see recommendation 3).
RRS 3 | Semi-structured interview
• Semi-structured interviews should be used for key informants within communities, such as village elders, mayors, or group leaders. • Topics covered during an interview should include structural and cognitive social capital. Possible questions are: • What are the key groups within this community? How many members do they have? How often do the groups meet? What services and activities do they provide? Is membership open to all community members or just a specific group? How do the groups cooperate with other groups? What role do differences in education, religion, ethnicity, political views and social status play in this community? To what extent are there inequalities (between genders, young/old, native residents/migrants)? To what extent are people of different backgrounds engaged to make the community a better place to live? To what extent is there physical violence in the community? Are people excluded from certain services or activities - and if so, on what ground? What could be done to improve the way people live and interact with each other?
RRS 4 | Focus group discussion
• Focus group discussions should be carried out in gendered groups (male and female) • Topics covered during such a discussion should include structural and cognitive social capital. • Aside from the possible questions listed under RRS 3 above, additional questions should be asked about trust, support and coping mechanisms - see questions B.1-6 and F.1-3 in appendix B of this report.

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RRS 5 | Direct observation

- The tool of direct observation is principally powerful to assess all forms of social capital, but it requires substantial time and social research skills that few volunteers have. Unsurprisingly, it is rarely used in practice. It is suggested that this tool be dropped from the list of standard VCA tools. Where it is needed for specific sectors (health, sanitation), volunteers need to be thoroughly trained in this method.

RRS 6 | Mapping

- Mapping is one of the most regularly tools applied as part of the VCA process. The tool gives excellent guidance and several practical examples. To showcase social capital, three features could be added to maps: (a) where do community groups meet? (schools, community centres, private houses); (b) where do the members of these groups live?, and (c) where were community-initiated activities (e.g. fixing of an irrigation system) carried out? By adding these features to the mapping exercise, the coverage of community groups (across the entire community or just parts of it) could be illustrated.

RRS 7 | Transect walk

- The transect walk complements and verifies information gathered through the mapping exercise. Ensure that social features (meeting places, neighbourhood groups, community-initiated activities, new migrants) are covered during the transect walk.

RRS 8 | Seasonal calendar

- In the seasonal calendar, add categories for social features such as festivals/ceremonies, clashes within the community, collective action to illustrate ideal times of the year during which collective action could be facilitated.

RRS 9 | Historical profile

- In the historical profile, include social aspects such as migration, cases of collective action, clashes within the community.

RRS 10 | Household/neighbourhood vulnerability assessment

- This tool focuses exclusively on vulnerabilities - it should only be used in conjunction with tool 11 to generate an overall picture of vulnerabilities *and* capacities of households or neighbourhoods.

RRS 11 | Livelihood and coping strategy analysis

- Guidance for the livelihood analysis is extensive, while the analysis of coping strategies is not very detailed. Social support mechanisms need to be better analyzed as part of households' overall coping strategy. In this context, it is suggested to propose a standard hypothetical scenario to household interviewees, for instance: Assume your main source of income became unavailable for six months, what would you do? List and order different coping strategies and probe for support from neighbours, relatives and friends within and outside the community, as well as from community networks. Crucially, questions should be included as to what extent the sum of coping strategies would be able to compensate the lack of primary income. An alternative method is to base the analysis of an actual past household crisis as done in this study (see questions F.1-F.3 in appendix B) - but the downside of this approach is that many households may not have experienced such a crisis.

RRS 12 | Institutional and social network analysis

- Being a primary tool for the assessment of structural social capital, tool 12 should probe not just for formal networks (organizations with an address and formal structure), but also for informal networks (loose associations without an official structure). Informal networks may be harder to describe but prove to be powerful social assets.

RRS 13 | Assessing the capacity of people's organisations

- Tool 13 is an adequate instrument to assess the capacity of community networks. It may be beneficial to include questions about the diversity of members and openness, such as questions C.4.1-C.4.5 in the survey questionnaire (see appendix B).

RRS 14 | Venn diagramme

- The Venn diagramme is a an adequate tool to complement tools 12 and 13 in unearthing information on structural social capital. No changes are required.

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Recommendation 3: **Enhance the baseline survey tool and its use**

Amongst the VCA tools, the baseline survey is both the weakest in its current shape and the potentially most potent to systematically capture cognitive social capital. Three steps need to be taken to transform the baseline tool from the former to the latter. *First*, guidance to implement a survey ought to be improved drastically: It needs to contain concrete advice on sampling (how many respondents need to be interviewed to render the results representative?[28]), enumerator conduct (how should enumerators behave without influencing respondents' answers?), documentation (both the methodology and the results need to be systematically recorded to enable comparability with an endline survey), and analysis (how can respondent answers be turned into usable findings?). Critically, the survey tool should provide a standard template for survey questionnaires and guidance how to adapt them to specific local requirements.

Second, such a questionnaire template should include a section on cognitive social capital that covers the aspects of social trust, embeddedness, and civic engagement. For this purpose, we have drastically reduced the questionnaire used for this study's household survey to a component of just 17 questions (see figure 22 below). The component is reductionist in nature and omits several other aspects of social capital (such as inclusiveness), but is short enough to allow for integration into a regular baseline survey. The results can be summarized into indices for social trust, embeddedness and civic engagement, as well as an overall cognitive social capital index.[29] The indices can then be used both to inform programming choices and to monitor the effect of an intervention on cognitive social capital.

Third, the use of the newly adapted tool should be widely promoted for standard use. There are still many projects today that either omit baseline surveys entirely or carry them out in such a way that its results are useless for comparison with an endline

28. Links to existing sample size calculators could be integrated, for instance, see *http://www.raosoft.com/samplesize.html*

29. Calculation of the various indices can be automatized through provision specific Excel sheet.

Figure 22 | **Proposed baseline survey component on cognitive social capital**

1. Social embeddedness

I would like to ask you about your circle of friends. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? [Please answer each point with one of the four options]	1. Strongly agree	2. Agree	3. Disagree	4.Strongly disagree
1.1 I have many close and good friends.				
1.2 Most of my friends live in this ward/village.				
1.3 I often discuss personal issues with my friends.				
1.4 I often discuss ward/village issues with my friends				
1.5 I meet most of my close friends at least once a week.				
1.6 I would support my friends if they needed help.				
1.7 I engage in the wider ward/village affairs mostly together with my close friends				

2. Trust

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? [Please answer each point with one of the four options]	1. Strongly agree	2. Agree	3. Disagree	4.Strongly disagree
2.1 Most people in this ward/village are basically honest and can be trusted.				
2.2 People are always interested only in their own welfare.				
2.3 In this ward/village, one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you.				
2.4 If I have a problem, there is always someone there to help me.				
2.5 I do not pay attention to the opinion of others in the ward/village.				
2.6 If I lost a valuable item and someone from this ward/village would see it, he/she would probably return it to me				

3. Civic engagement

3.1
Suppose your ward/village was to implement an activity that would benefit the overall welfare and conditions of the ward/village but that would not bring direct benefits to your household. How likely is it that you would support this activity?
1) Very likely ☐
2) Likely ☐
3) Unlikely ☐
4) Very unlikely ☐

3.2
To what extent do people in this ward/village contribute towards making the ward/village a better place to live?
1) To a very great amount ☐
2) To a great amount ☐
3) To a small amount ☐
4) To a very small amount/not at all ☐

3.3
How often do ward/village members get together to jointly request government officials or political leaders with demands for action?
1) Very often ☐
2) Often ☐
3) Rarely ☐
4) Never ☐
5) I don't know ☐

3.4
Overall, how would you rate the engagement of people in this ward/village in ward/village affairs?
1) Very high ☐
2) High ☐
3) Low ☐
4) Very low ☐
5) I don't know ☐

Turning survey responses into usable findings
In a ***first*** step, the percentages for each answer are multiplied by a factor - for parts 1 and 2 these are 1.0/0.5/-0.5/-1.0, for part 3 they are 1.0/0.7/0.3/0.0. ***Second***, the resulting values are added up and divided by the number of questions to produce indices for social embeddedness, trust, and civic engagement. ***Third***, the three index scores are added and divided by three to produce the cognitive social capital score, whose values can range from +1.0 to -0.75. For further details, refer to appendix C.
This report proposes a classification into 3 groups:

Green (Score 1.00 to 0.50)
Strong cognitive social capital

Yellow (Score 0.49 to 0.00)
Medium cognitive social capital

Red (Score -0.01 to -0.75)
Weak cognitive social capital

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survey, and thus for the assessment of programme impact. Aside from their importance for evaluation purposes, baseline surveys are crucial for planning: they catch a much broader (albeit more shallow) picture of the situation in a community than can be obtained through qualitative tools. The case of Yangon's Ward 21 illustrates this role: whereas workshop results indicated a high level of social organization and embeddedness, the survey showed that this observation did not extend to many migrants - those who are likely to be the most vulnerable.

When revising and expanding the baseline survey tool, it is suggested to take the very sophisticated guidelines and templates contained in the CBHFA PMER toolkit as a basis. This guideline gives very concrete guidance and offers advice on sampling as well as questions and related indicators for health-related issues. However, the current CBHFA survey tool appears to be too complex to be handled by volunteers and staff without degrees in public health or social science. Therefore, building a new VCA baseline survey tool should not merely be based on a hook-up of non-health questions and indicators to the existing CBHFA tool, but should be more radical in that it produces an easy-to-use yet comprehensive baseline survey tool.

Recommendation 4: **Over the long term, streamline the IFRC toolkit**
The overall IFRC toolkit is substantial and comprehensive, but largely structured along sectoral lines. Although several tools and guidelines refer to the VCA as an integral (PASSA, Livelihood and recovery guidelines) or as a supplementary tool (CBHFA), this sector-structured toolbox is unwieldy at best for the practical implementation of community resilience programmes. Given the complexity, few local staff members or volunteers are likely to be familiar with the full breadth of the various toolkits.

As community resilience is increasingly becoming the guiding principle for community-based programming - an integrated approach that, based on local requirements, may contain various sectoral elements to varying degrees - the IFRC should consider revising its overall toolkit in the long term. An 'integrated' tool for the reinforcement of community resilience could be centered around CBDRR and have the VCA as its cornerstone, and contain additional guidance for the implementation of solutions to issues around health, water, sanitation, livelihood, and safe shelter.

Developing such a tool would be resource-intensive and require the seamless collaboration between existing IFRC departments. That will not be easy - after all, the current array of sector-specific tools reflects the sectoral lines along which the IFRC works. But to say that because IFRC is structured in sectors, a comprehensive approach will not be feasible is like giving up before trying.

Let us be clear: this report does *not* suggest to create an additional tool that would complement existing ones. In particular, it does *not* propose a specific toolkit to assess social capital - there are already too many tools at hand, and the development of new tools by various departments has proliferated in recent years to such an extent that there is now an amount of tools that plainly overwhelms the regular practitioner. All too often, guidelines do not reach the field, as the case of the Yunnan Red Cross chapter and its branches shows (which were not aware of the VCA despite the existence of a Chinese version). Against this background, we strongly discourage the development of yet another tool.

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Going electronic: field tools in an app

Although the density of smartphones is still low in most developing nations (for instance 15% in Thailand, 8% in Indonesia, and 6% in China[30]), the use of smartphones is growing fast - in many countries, it ranks amongst the most desired status symbols. The second-hand market in particular makes smartphones increasingly affordable to a wider group.

The time may thus be ripe for the IFRC to start developing a smartphone application and testing it in selected countries with comparatively high smartphone density and sufficient network coverage across rural areas. The potential benefits could be considerable:

- The current tools and guidelines could be integrated into the app - distribution costs (printing) would be reduced. Tools could be updated at minimal cost, eliminating the cost of re-prints.
- If designed in an an interactive manner (e.g. knowledge tests), learning outcomes could be enhanced.
- The current complexity of tools could be reduced to a basic tool for community-based work, and add-ons for specific issues such as livelihood or health.
- The app could guide users through the project cycle - giving advice for project planning, reminders to due reports, etc.
- In particular, the app could include a tool for the implementation of baseline surveys (currently a weakness amongst the IFRC toolkit): It could auto-generate questionnaires, calculate required sample sizes, explain appropriate enumerator conduct, and - crucially - facilitate the web-based analysis of acquired data.[31]

- Users could use the app to support fundraising: presenting project ideas via social media to a broad audience (in particular the relatively well-off smartphone users) and requesting donations (e.g. via SMS) would be all too feasible. Donors could be regularly updated about project progress.
- This way tapping into local resources, social capital (the propensity of many locals to support people in need) could be reinforced, and the overall coverage of community-based Red Cross/Red Crescent projects be increased dramatically. Whereas today only very few of the communities in which resilience-reinforcing projects would make a huge difference to peoples' lives are covered (usually only when foreign donors are available), in future many more vulnerable communities could be supported.
- For relief operations, needs assessments could be carried out rapidly with volunteers and would produce concrete data that could be fed into maps.

Of course, the proposed development of a smartphone application would require substantial funding, time and testing. A feasibility study should be carried out first to find out how many Red Cross staff members and volunteers actually use smartphones in different countries. Field testing phases could include incentives - for example a competition advertised to branches in a given country: the three best smartphone-generated projects could be awarded co-funding.

Once set up, the smartphone application would require a support team to advice branches if they encounter problems. The costs would be significant - the potential benefits enormous.

Instead, we propose to reduce the number of toolkits to just one. Let us remember that while the IFRC and many headquarters of National Societies work along sector lines, this is not usually the case at chapter, branch and sub-branch levels. These lower-level units with their staff and volunteers are the ones the implement programmes - it is part of the mission of the IFRC to create tools that they can use. In our view, there is thus no way around creating a single toolkit for community-based work in the long term.

A good starting point towards a single tool would be the appointment of an inter-sectoral working group that should compile the essentials for community-based work. No matter whether a project will chiefly focus on water, health, livelihood or shelter, all community-based projects will need assessments, planning, community facilitation and participation, monitoring and evaluation. These essentials should be the backbone of a new tool for community-based work. The arms and legs would be additional modules to address specific issues in risk management, livelihood, health, water, sanitation and shelter.

When building a comprehensive tool for community resilience, it may be worth to consider the development of a smartphone application (see box above). At present, the feasibility of such an application is still limited to a few countries (due to insufficient network coverage and low smartphone density in most developing nations). But this situation is changing rapidly, and it may be time to start developing such an application now and testing it in selected countries. The future is electronic.

30. See data for 42 selected countries by Wired Magazine: *http://communities-dominate.blogs.com/brands/2011/12/smartphone-penetration-rates-by-country-we-have-good-data-finally.html*

31. Several applications already exist for the electronic data-gathering and analysis. The author has successfully tested such an application for a household survey in remote areas of northern Vietnam.

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How can Red Cross/Red Crescent programmes reinforce social capital?

Generally, many Red Cross/Red Crescent programmes stand a high chance of reinforcing social capital. For instance, the establishment of local disaster risk management committees tends to foster the level of organization, collective action, and can have positive effects on linking capital.[32] More indirect effects may be increasing levels of trust and embeddedness. The case of Bingalar is a good showcase for the reinforcement of social capital through a Red Cross intervention.

Red Cross/Red Crescent programmes can generate a very direct impact on linking capital, as well as an indirect impact on overall community resilience, by facilitating relations between communities and external actors such as relevant government agencies. As the field research has demonstrated consistently, strong linking capital can make a substantial difference in times of extreme hardship (when local coping capacities are overstretched).

Recommendation 5: **Ensure recruitment of well-qualified community facilitators**

Two key issues that are crucial for the successful overall outcome of a community-based project as well as the reinforcement of social capital are a relationship of trust between the Red Cross/Red Crescent and a high sense of local ownership. Community facilitators bear a particular responsibility to gain and maintain the trust of community members, as well as to foster a strong sense of local ownership. Ensuring that suitably qualified individuals with necessary hard and soft skills are recruited for such positions is therefore deemed pivotal for the reinforcement of social capital. Below is a summary of required characteristics:

Figure 23 | Characteristics of an ideal community facilitator

A good community facilitator:
- needs to be sensitive and modest
- needs to be able to listen and respond to community concerns
- needs to be able to understand, empathize, explain
- must be able to convince, motivate and mobilize communities
- needs to to be credible, open, honest and knowledgable to be taken seriously by the community.
- In multi-ethnic or religious settings - especially in a post-conflict context - he or she must be able to build bridges between different groups and reach out hands beyond his/her own affiliation.

The search for an ideal community facilitator should start amongst the ranks of experienced Red Cross/Red Crescent staff and volunteers. The pool of Red Cross/Red Crescent is generally preferable to outsiders because of the knowledge and expertise of Red Cross/Red Crescent principles and modus operandi. However, there are two caveats to be considered: First, most volunteers are young and may not find it easy to be respected by community counterparts such as village elders. Second, many experienced volunteers - especially those associated with the top-down nature of disaster management - may be inclined to direct rather than to listen. Neither type would make an ideal community facilitator.

But against these caveats, most branches will have little trouble in identifying suitable facilitators amongst their ranks. Here is further basic guidance for a suitable candidates, who should:
- have been a volunteer for at least five years
- have experience as a trainer (any field) for at least two years
- have been involved in a previous community-based project
- be able to speak local languages or dialects

In the context of developing a comprehensive tool (see recommendation four above), it may also be worth to develop a general community facilitator training course to ensure consistently high quality skills in community facilitation.

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32. A formidable example of this effect is Weralugas-thenna, a community in central Sri Lanka. Following the set-up of a DRM committee through a CBDRM project, this committee became active beyond the disaster risk focus and successfully lobbied the public transport board to install a hitherto missing buslink to the nearby market town.

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Figure 24 | **Practical implications of different levels of cognitive social capital** [33]	
Green (Score 1.00 to 0.50) Strong cognitive social capital **Communities in this category:** Laxmibazar, Daduwa, Kyontthutanyi, Bingalar	• Favourable conditions for a community-based project • Limited resources need to be spent on community mobilization • Interventions that require strong collective action (e.g. maintenance of water piping systems) stand a good chance of being sustainable.
Yellow (Score 0.49 to 0.00) Medium cognitive social capital **Communities in this category:** Chittapol, Ward 21, Longtan, Weige, Tuqiao	• Significant time and resources need to be allocated for community mobilization • Interventions that require strong collective action should be avoided unless cognitive social capital has demonstrably increased.
Red (Score -0.01 to -0.75) Weak cognitive social capital **Communities in this category:** none	• Unfavourable conditions - consider avoiding community-based projects here or work with individual groups (rather than the entire community) and attempt to build up bridging capital between them over time.

Recommendation 6: **In communities with low social capital, focus on mobilization**

One question asked by several field staff and volunteers concerns the practical implications of low levels of social capital. In other words: how should the Red Cross Red Crescent progress differently if they have identified a low level of trust, embeddedness, and engagement? When answering this question, we need to differentiate between *structural* and *cognitive* aspects. Low levels of organization (formal structures and networks) on their own do not pose a major challenge, as the establishment or strengthening of formal structures can be achieved over the course of a usual project timeframe.

Low levels of cognitive aspects however do pose a major challenge for the reinforcement of community resilience and the achievement of project objectives. In such a case, project managers need to allow for substantial time to mobilize the community, convince leaders, and strengthen the sense of community first.

For instance, a series of community days could be organized that should both be fun and of benefit to community members. These could include presentations of different groups, sports and games, and some low-cost collective action to improve certain conditions (e.g. painting a community centre, cleaning of school yards). The goal of such a mobilization effort would be (a) to strengthen the sense of community and (b) to create or raise the demand for further action (which would then be addressed through a subsequent project). Community mobilization efforts should be part of the standard approach in large urban communities, where levels of cognitive social capital tend to be comparatively low.

If the level of cognitive social capital is assessed as being low, this finding should also be considered when planning concrete activities (see figure 24 above). For instance, a water project may choose to build individual wells rather than water piping systems, given that the latter requires more collective engagement for its maintenance. In cases of extremely low cognitive capital coupled with unsuccessful mobilization efforts, it may be wise to abort further project implementation, since the sustainability of a project under such conditions tends to be limited.

As the level of cognitive social capital is likely to correlate with a project's success,[34] it may be worth to conduct baseline studies already as part of the community selection process, and to consider the level of cognitive social capital as one of the selection criteria.

33. It should be noted that the suggested categorization is reductionist in nature and does not incorporate the full complexity of cognitive social capital. Nonetheless, this categorization may offer some guidance for programme planning.

34. Although not explicitly referring to cognitive social capital, a recent IFRC study on the key determinants of a successful CBDRR programme makes a strong case in this regard, listing two of nine determinants that are closely associated with cognitive social capital (motivation and capacity of the community and community leaders and the level of community participation and ownership). See IFRC 2011c: 3.

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Figure 25 | **Recalling the lessons learnt from the Better Programming Initiative** (IFRC 2003: 17-22)

1.1 Absence of key sources: Inadvertently or intentionally excluding key sources of information and influence on community members increases the possibility that an intervention will be a source of suspicion or tension.

1.2 Use of unrepresentative sources: Accepting second-hand beneficiary selection or ascribing excessive importance to one source of information when conducting assessments is likely to result in accusations of discrimination and partiality. Genuinely vulnerable groups may be overlooked, deepening divisions and increasing conflict.

1.3 Fear of offence: Failure to question partial or biased statements, assessments or behaviour by staff, implementing partners or interlocutors may be interpreted as either ignorance of or, worse still, acquiescence in partial, discriminatory or unfair programming. Either way it promotes inequitable treatment of conflict-affected people, reinforcing suspicion and feelings of injustice among members of communities who may be entitled to assistance but receive nothing, and presents a strong incentive for conflict.

2.1 Return, resettlement and reintegration: National Society aid programming in support of a political settlement to end a conflict – such as resettlement assistance – can provoke conflict between opposing groups if the programme only benefits vulnerable groups on one former side.

2.2 Agricultural rehabilitation - food security: National Society or International Federation delegation rehabilitation programming that involves access to or allocation of scarce resources or assets such as land, housing or water, risks provoking conflict between groups over entitlement.

2.3 National Society rehabilitation: When questions of state formation, legitimacy and secession have not been conclusively resolved, rehabilitation of the National Society presents very specific challenges to the International Federation. It can set an example for communities demonstrating how it is possible to work together to address the needs of vulnerable groups regardless of language, identity or culture. It can also become a focal point for tension and conflict between communities deepening divisions and undermining prospects for reconciliation.

3.1 Beneficiary selection criteria: When we design post-conflict rehabilitation programmes, we frequently use beneficiary targeting criteria that – vulnerability notwithstanding – favour one sub-group over another (for example, returnees, internally displaced people, those with damaged houses, etc.). This can play into competition for resources and increase tension. It may even cause inter-group conflict when the sub-group exists only on one side of the former conflict.

3.2 Staffing: When a National Society or International Federation delegation staff base is not broadly representative of all the groups in the conflict-affected communities, its impartiality may be threatened. As a result, certain groups may be inadvertently or intentionally excluded during the processes of needs assessment and programme implementation. This deepens divisions and exacerbates conflict between groups who receive assistance and those who do not.

4.1 Delivering assistance - structure: By adopting an organizational configuration based on a country's administrative structure, a National Society may reinforce the political, ethnic, cultural and language divisions along which conflict between groups is incited and perpetuated.

4.2 Delivering assistance - transparency: When groups are not made aware of decisions about allocation or the rationale for the distribution of assistance, the proportions of aid provided to different groups in post-conflict contexts can deepen divisions and contribute to conflict over aid.

Recommendation 7: **In communities with high levels of exclusion or a conflictive past, strengthen bridging social capital**

A particular difficult case concerns communities with a high degree of exclusion or segregation - especially in the context of ongoing or past conflicts. While none of the nine communities visited for this study falls in this category, the issue came up in the discussion with the MRCS leadership - referring to the present situation in Myanmar's Rakhine State. Operating under such conditions is extremely sensitive and may be seen as a minefield. But while one needs to tread carefully, the principles of the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement give it an often unique opportunity to build up bridging capital between groups. The lessons learnt from the Better Programming Initiative (see figure 25) should be followed through in this context, and advice from the ICRC should be sought.

Having that said, building bridging capital will involve a focus on shared needs and concerns - issues that all parties of the former conflict feel need to be addressed. It may be wise to begin working with the various groups separately; once trust is established, groups should be introduced towards working together towards joint objectives.

How can social capital be monitored?

Many community facilitators have a good sense about the development of social capital if they maintain a close relationship of trust with the community they operate in. However, social capital can and should be monitored more systematically.

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Recommendation 8: **Reiterate baseline-type surveys every two years**
Provided that an effective baseline survey has been conducted at or before the start of a programme (as suggested under recommendation 3), the complete survey (or just parts thereof) can and should be repeated at the end of the project. For projects whose timeframe exceeds three years, the survey should be carried out about every two years. The proposed inclusion of a component on cognitive social capital allows for the monitoring of potential changes. More detailed changes can be monitored through the repeated application of VCA tools such as the livelihood and coping strategy analysis.

In between major surveys, observations should also be recorded that can also give some indication on the state of social capital, for instance changes in the level of participation in collective activities and meetings or the way a community cares for its vulnerable members.

11. Conclusion

Social capital matters. As this report has argued, social capital serves as one of the foundations to community resilience. Programmes that aim to reinforce the hazard resilience of communities therefore need to take social capital seriously.

They need to be able to assess the various aspects of social capital in order to build up social capital as well as overall resilience. Many tools at the disposal of the IFRC and the wider Red Cross Red Crescent Movement already allow to capture structural aspects of social capital. However, there are two ways how the assessment of structural social capital may need to be enhanced: First, by providing more detailed as well as more integrated guidance, and second, by allowing for more time to conduct assessments. A VCA process over just one day will be of limited use in general and of even less use for the gathering of information on structural social capital.

Concerning cognitive elements of social capital such as social trust, embeddedness and propensity to civic engagement, there is a gap in the current IFRC toolkit. Since a detailed assessment of the numerous aspects (as proposed by the World Bank) is far too complex and resource-intensive for Red Cross/Red Crescent field practice, we propose a simplified tool that can be integrated into future surveys.

The field research in nine communities across Nepal, China and Myanmar has shown that in some cases, community-based programmes have already channeled and reinforced existing social capital. In urban communities, where cognitive social capital is lower, programmes will need to allocate time and resources on building up the sense of community, civic engagement and social embeddedness to carry out inclusive and truly community-based programmes.

Better capturing social capital offers a huge opportunity: by properly identifying, using and reinforcing structures and capacities that a community already has, programmes are likely to become more sustainable and effective.

Reinforcement, rather than replacement, of existing local coping strategies, is the mission.

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Appendix

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A. Literature

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B. Research tools

B.1 Household survey questionnaire

HOUSEHOLD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE	NUMBER:

STUDY ON THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN REINFORCING COMMUNITY RESILIENCE

Date: _____ / 08 / 2012
Enumerator: _____
District: _____
Community _____

Note: Questions marked with a ★ allow for multiple answers

BACKGROUND...

0.1 Add question in local language in bold.
What is the gender of the respondent? (leave English question in small print)
1) Female ☐   2) Male ☐

0.2
How old are you?
1) 18 -25 ☐
2) 26 – 40 ☐
3) 41 – 55 ☐
4) 56 or older ☐

PART A | SENSE OF COMMUNITY........................

A.1
Have you been living in this ward/village all your life?
1) Yes (→ go to A.3) ☐
2) No ☐

A.2
How long have you been living in this ward/village?
Number of years: [   ]

A.3
Would you leave this ward/village for a better job elsewhere?
1) Yes, for sure ☐
2) Probably ☐
3) Depends on the location ☐
4) Probably not ☐
4) No, certainly not ☐

A.4
Suppose your ward/village were to implement an activity that would benefit the overall welfare and conditions of the ward/village but that would not bring direct benefits to your household. How likely is it that you would support this activity?
1) Very likely ☐
2) Likely ☐
3) Unlikely ☐
4) Very unlikely ☐

A.5
To what extent do people in this ward/village contribute towards making the ward/village a better place to live?
1) To a very great amount ☐
2) To a great amount ☐
3) To a small amount ☐
4) To a very small amount/not at all ☐
5) I don't know ☐

A.6

As a matter of fact, differences often exist between people living in the same ward/village, for example based on wealth, education or social status. To what extent do differences such as the following tend to divide people in this ward/village? **[Please answer each point with one of the three options]**	1. Not at all	2. Somewhat	3. Very much
A.6.1 Differences in education			
A.6.2 Differences in wealth			
A.6.3 Differences in landholdings			
A.6.4 Differences in social status			
A.6.5 Differences in political views			
A.6.6 Differences in religious beliefs			
A.6.7 Differences in ethnic backgrounds			
A.6.8 Other differences (specify):			

A.7

And to what extent do inequalities such as the following exist in this ward/village? [Please answer each point with one of the three options]	1. Not at all	2. Somewhat	3. Very much
A.7.1 Inequalities between women and men			
A.7.2 Inequalities between older and younger people			
A.7.3 Inequalities between long-time residents and new Settlers			

A.8
In your opinion, is this ward/village characterized by rather harmonious or disharmonious relations amongst its members?
1) Rather harmonious ☐
2) Rather disharmonious ☐

A.9
In case there are disagreements, do these ever lead to physical violence?
1) Yes, frequently ☐
2) Yes, sometimes ☐
3) No, never ☐

A.10
Are there any public services that you have ever been denied from using?
1) Yes (→ continue with next question) ☐
2) No (→ go to A.14) ☐

★ A.11
Which services are you occasionally denied from using?
1) Education ☐
2) Health services ☐
3) Jobs ☐
4) Credit ☐
5) Transportation ☐
6) Water distribution ☐
7) Security/police services ☐
8) Other (specify) ☐

A.12
Which type of service that you have been denied has the biggest impact on you?
List code number from A.11 here: [   ] *(e.g. "1" for education)*

★ A.13
Referring to this particular service denial, what do you think are the reasons for this denial of service?
1) Income level ☐
2) Occupation ☐
3) Social status (class, caste) ☐
4) Age ☐
5) Gender ☐
6) Race/ethnicity ☐
7) Language ☐
8) Religious beliefs ☐
9) Political views/affiliation ☐
10) Level of education ☐

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A.14

Now I would like to ask you about your circle of friends. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? *[Please answer each point with one of the four options]*	1. Strongly agree	2. Agree	3. Disagree	4. Strongly disagree
A.14.1 I have many close and good friends.				
A.14.2 Most of my friends live in this ward/village.				
A.14.3 I often discuss personal issues with my friends.				
A.14.4 I often discuss ward/village issues with my friends				
A.14.5 I meet most of my close friends at least once a week.				
A.14.6 I would support my friends if they needed help.				
A.14.7 I engage in the wider ward/village affairs mostly together with my close friends				

PART B | TRUST..

B.1

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? *[Please answer each point with one of the four options]*	1. Strongly agree	2. Agree	3. Disagree	4. Strongly disagree
B.1.1. Most people in this ward/village are basically honest and can be trusted.				
B.1.2 People are always interested only in their own welfare.				
B.1.3 In this ward/village, one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you.				
B.1.4 If I have a problem, there is always someone there to help me.				
B.1.5 I do not pay attention to the opinion of others in the ward/village.				
B.1.6 If I lost a valuable item and someone from this ward/village would see it, he/she would probably return it to me				

B.2

If you approach one of the following public authorities/providers with a concern, how likely would it be that your concern would be dealt with timely? *[Please answer each point with one of the four options]*	1. Very likely	2. Likely	3. Unlikely	4.Very unlikely
B.2.1 Local government				
B.2.2 Health services				
B.2.3 Police				
B.2.4 Court				
B.2.5 School				
B.2.6 Public transport organisation				

PART C | COMMUNITY NETWORKS...................…....

C.1

Are you a member of any groups, organizations, or associations?

1) Yes ☐

2) No *(→ go to E.1)* ☐

C.2

Please list up to three groups that you are a member of, starting with the one that is most relevant to you.

Number	Name of group
1. (most relevant)	
2.	
3.	

C.3

How would you describe your involvement in these groups? *[Please give one answer only per group]*	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
1. I am not very active			
2. I am somewhat active			
3. I am very active			
4. I am a leader or board member			

C.4

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the members of these groups:	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
	1.Yes	2.No	1.Yes	2.No	1.Yes	2.No
C.4.1 Are members mostly of the same religion?						
C.4.2 Are members mostly of the same gender?						
C.4.3 Do members mostly have the same political viewpoint?						
C.4.4 Do members mostly have the same social status?						
C.4.5 Do members mostly have the same level of education?						

C.5

How do these groups usually make decisions? (Enter the appropriate code for each group)	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Codes: 1 The leader/board decides and informs the other group members 2 The leader/board asks other group members what they think and then decides 3 The group members hold a discussion and then decide together 4 Other (specify):			

C.6

To what extent are these groups effective in advancing the interests of all of their members?	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Codes: 1 To a very high extent 2 To a rather high extent 3 To a rather low extent 4 To a very low extent 5 I don't know			

C.7

How likely is it that these groups would provide you support in case your household suffered an emergency or crisis, such as an accident of sickness?	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Codes: 1 Very likely 2 Rather likely 3 Rather unlikely 4 Very unlikely 5 I don't know			

C.8

How often do these groups collaborate with other groups or organizations?	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Codes: 1 Continuously 2 Rather frequently 3 Rather infrequently 4 Never			

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PART E | COLLECTIVE ACTION…………………………

E.1
Lets us come back to talk about the wider ward/village again. How often do ward/village members get together to jointly request government officials or political leaders with demands for action?

1) Very often ☐
2) Often ☐
3) Rarely ☐
4) Never *(→ go to E.3)* ☐
5) I don't know *(→ go to E.3)* ☐

E.2
To what extent do such requests lead to the expected results?

1) Usually, the issues are fully addressed ☐
2) Usually, the issues are partially addressed ☐
3) Usually, the issues are not addressed ☐
4) I don't know ☐

E.3
Overall, how would you rate the engagement of people in this ward/village in ward/village affairs?

1) Very high ☐
2) High ☐
3) Low ☐
4) Very low ☐
5) I don't know ☐

E.4
If you act on your own, how would you rate your level of influence in making this ward/village a better place to live?

1) I have no influence ☐
2) I have some influence ☐
3) I have lots of influence ☐
4) I don't know ☐

E.5
If you act together with others, how would you rate your level of influence in making this ward/village ward a better place to live?

1) I have no influence ☐
2) I have some influence ☐
3) I have lots of influence ☐
4) I don't know ☐

★ E.6
If there is a pile of rubbish for a long time, say a few months or more, which people in this ward/village would get together to take some action about it?

1) Nobody would get together ☐
2) Local government ☐
3) Ward/village network ☐
4) Parents of school children ☐
5) The entire ward/village ☐
6) I don't know ☐

PART F | SUPPORT……………………………………

F.1
Has your household experienced a crisis in which you required the support of others?

1) Yes ☐
2) No *(→ go to F.4)* ☐

F.2

Who of the following provided support to your household? *[Please answer each point with one of the three options]*	1. Very major support	2. Major support	3. Minor support	4. Very minor or no support
F.2.1 Relatives living in this ward/village				
F.2.2 Relatives living somewhere else				
F.2.3 Neighbours/friends				
F.2.4 Friends				
F.2.5 Community networks (or its members) that I belong to				
F.2.6 Community networks (or its members) that I do not belong to				
F.2.7 Others (specify):				

F.3
To what extent has the overall support received been sufficient for your household to overcome the crisis?

1) To a very major extent ☐
2) To a major extent ☐
3) To a minor extent ☐
4) To a very minor extent/not at all ☐

F.4

After [the biggest disaster in the past five years, specify _____] , to what extent did the following groups or organizations provide support? *[Please answer each point with one of the four options]*	1. Very major support	2. Major support	3. Minor support	4.Very minor or no support
F.4.1 Government organizations				
F.4.2 Companies, incl. insurance, banks				
F.4.3 Red Cross				
F.4.4 Non-governmental organizations				
F.4.5 Other:				

F.5

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? *[Please answer each point with one of the four options]*	1. Strongly agree	2. Agree	3. Disagree	4.Strongly disagree	I don't know
F.5.1 The overall post-disaster support helped this ward/village to recover quickly.					
F.5.2 The overall support only helped the most disaster-affected households.					
F.5.3 The recovery process left many households without support.					
F.5.4 The selection of households that received support was clear and fair.					
F.5.5 The recovery process strengthened the way the ward/village organizes itself.					
F.5.6 If the same disaster happens again, this ward/village will suffer *more* losses and damages					
F.5.7 If the same disaster happens again, this community will suffer *less* losses and damages					
F.5.8 The recovery process has had some negative effects on this ward/village (if respondent agrees/strongly agrees, continue with F.6)					

F.6 What were these negative effects:
_____
_____

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B.2 Branch questionnaire

Branch questionnaire

1. Background
- Begin the meeting with the description of the overall study and its objectives.
- Explain the terms social capital and community resilience.
- Have a round of introductions. Note the name and function of each participant. Are they from the district branch, the local unit in the community? To what extent have they worked in this community?

1.1 Branch
- Ask for an overview of the branch capacities, strengths and challenges. What types of services/programmes do they deliver (probe: disaster response, disaster recovery, disaster risk reduction, social services, health services (in particular CBHFA), blood services, livelihood, shelter).
- How have the branch capacities developed over time?

1.2 Community
- What can you tell us about this community? What is the relation between this community and the branch (e.g. how long has this branch been involved in this community, what support has the branch provided (if any), are there staff/volunteers in this community)? What about the trust between branch and community? Does the branch have a social mobiliser/field officer in this community? If so, how is s/he accepted?
- What are the main sources of income for this community?
- Socio-economic background of this community: how has the community developed over time (e.g. inflow/outflow of people, economic development)
- What are the main organizations working in this community?
- To what extent would you describe this community as cohesive and inclusive (probe differences and inequalities)?
- What disasters or crises has this community faced over the past ten years (list disaster type, year, short description of losses (probe: indirect losses) and the recovery process).

1.3 Interventions
- What services or programmes has the Red Cross carried out in this community? Are they continuous or were they related to a specific disaster/crisis? List name and type of intervention, starting/end date, beneficiaries (all or selected households).
- To what extent was the community involved in assessment of needs/capacities, planning and implementation? Describe.
- How did you select this community? What was the basis for selection of this community?
- How did you assess the needs and capacities? What tools did you use?
- Did other organizations support this community? Which ones? Did you work together with them, and if so, how?

2. Knowledge and use of IFRC tools
- Have you ever heard of the following tools: VCA, CBHFA manual, BCC manual, PHAST, PASSA, Livelihood guidelines, Recovery guidelines?
- If so, did you use these tools in any of the interventions you carried out?
- If so, describe how you applied these tools (VCA: probe individual tools such as Venn diagramme, Livelihood and coping strategy analysis etc). To what extent were they easy or difficult to use? Describe your experiences.

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3. Use of social capital
- Have you ever heard of the term social capital before you heard about this study?
- To what extent did you assess the existing social structures and dynamics, such as formal or informal networks, level of mutual support, trust amongst community members?
- If you assessed aspects of social capital in any way, were you able to design your intervention in such a way that it incorporated or addressed the pre-existing social capital? Please provide some examples (we should try here to identify possible case studies)

4. Project outcomes
- To what extent did your interventions reach its objectives?
- What challenges did you encounter in the implementation?
- If you had the chance to start over again, what would you do differently?
- In your view, what were the underlying reasons for the success or failure of the intervention?
- In your view, to what extent has the intervention changed the level of (a) social capital and (b) community resilience in general?

5. Tool adaptation
- If you used any of the IFRC tools, please tell me for each tool you used: (a) how easy you found it to use, (b) how effective it was, and (c) to what extent it helped you to assess or build on social capital.
- How should IFRC tools be adapted to make them (a) more user-friendly, (b) more effective, and (c) increase the ability to assess and build upon social capital?

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B.3 Community workshop guideline

Community workshop outline

For the community workshops, it is important that the participants reflect the composition of the community, and that around 20-25 community members will participate in the event, considering the following criteria: First, there should be a 50/50 mix men/women; second, not all of the participants should be direct beneficiaries of a Red Cross project; third, different backgrounds (age, livelihood, religion, ethnicity); and, fourth, at least half of participants should be literate.

Workshops will be arranged based on the 'method of assessment for projects and programmes' (MAPP, see Neubert 2010[1]) - a comparative approach that elicits relative perceptions rather than absolute values. The approach is particular appropriate in that it is not dependent on a baseline and in that it generates a view of changing conditions over time. Furthermore, as MAPP also addresses the questions as to how and why changes occurred, the methodology is particularly helpful for generating lessons learnt as to which changes can be attributed to a Red Cross project and, maybe even more importantly, to the direct and indirect impacts that the individual activities have brought about.

The workshop will be based on four consecutive steps in which workshop participants will be asked to rate several aspects of their living conditions for each year between 2008 and 2012.

Step 1

A dialogue about the overall situation in the community over the past five years will be facilitated. This step aims at gaining a first understanding of how the community was affected or not by one or several disasters over the past few years, and how the community has been able or not since then to overcome its adverse consequences. The first step will also aim at stimulating community participants' memory and understanding of what has been the "reality" for the community over the past five years. This will comprise understanding and agreement among community participants.
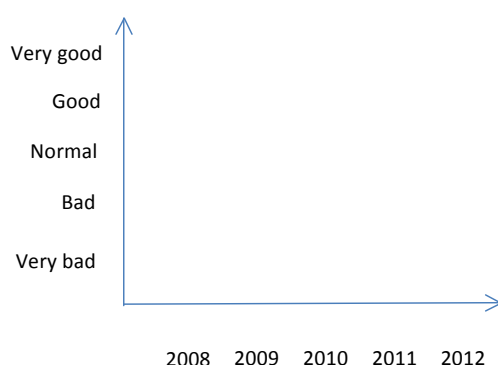
Step 2
The second step will cover an open-ended list of aspects of community resilience that will be analyzed and discussed (covering 'inputs' and 'adaptive capacity' as components of social capital). Several aspects of community resilience (e.g. 1 the community`s livelihood situation, 2 health services in the community, 3 transport in the community, 4 electricity in the

[1] Neubert, S. (2010): Description and examples of MAPP (Method of assessment for projects and programmes. Bonn: German Development Institute - available at: www.ngo-ideas.net/mediaCache/MAPP/

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community, 5 sanitation in this community, 6 waste management in the community, 7 social security in the community, 8 level of cooperation amongst community members). The workshop will not be based on fixed years, though. In particular, it will be interesting to focus on the analysis on the year(s) in which the community has been affected by a natural disaster, and on how living conditions have been affected, how and in which ways the community had the ability to recover from the disaster, and for which reasons.

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Trend
Livelihood situation						
Health services						
Transport						
Electricity						
Water and Sanitation						
Waste management						
Social security						
Cooperation amongst community members						
Education [other categories below…]						

Step 3
The third step will deal with aspects of community information and communication. To this end, it will be asked what were the most effective and successful activities that provided support during the time of the disaster and in its aftermath (up to five). It will be identified who had the main responsibility for implementation, and what the levels of internal and external contribution were.

Then a collective judgment will be made on the levels of appropriateness of both internal and external contribution. 'Knowledge' is an important factor that will be considered in this part of the analysis: It will be asked what knowledge existed and where there were areas in which there was an apparent lack of knowledge. Another focus will be put on how internal communication and external communication were affected by the levels of (non-) existing knowledge, what were the existing levels of communicating with help agents both inside and outside the community. In this context, questions will be asked about underlying norms of reciprocity (who helps whom when), i.e. internal and external sources will be considered.

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Activity	Main respon-sibility for im-plemen-tation	Internal contri-bution	External contri-bution	Appro-priateness of internal contribution	Appro-priateness of external contribution	Scope of internal commu-nication	Scope of external commu-nication
New river bridge (for pede-strians)	Red Cross	30 male commu-nity members (5 hours eacch), carpenter	Material (1,000 USD), training for carpenter	Too much work for 30 people, more people would have been better, no final agreement on place of construc-tion	Material sufficient for building a very good and robust bridge, provided expertise on new construction method	No agree-ment on place of construc-tion, but compro-mise was made	Asked commu-nity to decide on place of construc-tion
Conser-ation Agri-culture	Farmers` Union	...	...				
...	...						

Step 4

In a final step, the open-ended list of aspects of community resilience will be cross-tabulated with the most important sources of intervention that have taken place in the community. The question is which of the interventions have provided positive impacts on which of the aspects of community resilience. Based on the results from the five steps, a final review of results will then take place, presenting some results from the workshop to the community participants and to elaborate a number of lessons learned.

The role of social capital in the ability of the community to reinforcing resilience will be carefully analyzed and, same as in the overall context to this study, 'good principles' of societal analysis will be applied (being sensitive to societal and cultural norms and to the underlying political context). To this end, we will particularly focus on processes and aspects of 'why' disaster preparedness, response, and recovery have played a role in the context of the communities and what role social capital has played in this – an aspect that cannot be fully covered when relying on quantitative data only.

	Bridge	Agriculture	...	...	...
Livelihood situation					
Health services					
Transport					
Electricity					
Water and Sanitation					
Waste management					
Social security					
Cooperation amongst community members					
Education [other catgories below...]					

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C. Household survey results

The household survey conducted for this study revealed a much more comprehensive picture of social capital than could be presented in the main part of this report. While the core report thus provides only selected and particularly poignant findings necessary to answer the study's questions, this appendix gives more comprehensive findings. It also describes how indices were constructed.

Building indices: making sense of large data

The household survey produced a huge data set, representing the almost 100 answers of each of the 888 respondents. With such an 'ocean' of data, it is easier to get lost than to make sense of their meaning. A practicable way to interpret the data is to group and aggregate them under each of the indicators that were established earlier (see figure 27 overleaf). Looking at the case of social trust as an example, let us demonstrate how an index was calculated.

In a first step, factors were ascribed to each question's answer options. As can be seen in the case of the first question in figure 26 below, these factors ranged between +1.0 (strongly agree) to -1.0 (strongly disagree). Note that if negative statements were made,

Figure 26	**How the social trust index was calculated** [35]					
	Question	Answer options	**A** Ascriptor	**B** Percentage	**C** AxB	**D** Sum of C values	**E** Average of D values
To what extent to you agree with the following statements?	B.1.1 Most people in this ward/village are basically honest and can be trusted.	Strongly agree	+1.0	15.9%	+0.16	**+0.31**	**+0.07**
		Agree	+0.5	59.1%	+0.30		
		Disagree	-0.5	21.2%	-0.11		
		Strongly disagree	-1.0	3.8%	-0.04		
	B.2.2 People are always interested only in their own welfare.	Strongly agree	-1.0	4.5%	-0.05	**+0.10**	
		Agree	-0.5	33.3%	-0.17		
		Disagree	+0.5	61.4%	+0.31		
		Strongly disagree	+1.0	0.0%	0.00		
	B.2.3 In this ward/village, one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you.	Strongly agree	-1.0	0.8%	-0.01	**-0.35**	
		Agree	-0.5	83.8%	-0.42		
		Disagree	+0.5	13.6%	+0.07		
		Strongly disagree	+1.0	0.8%	+0.01		
	B.2.4 If I have a problem, there is always someone there to help me.	Strongly agree	+1.0	1.5%	+0.02	**+0.32**	
		Agree	+0.5	78.8%	+0.39		
		Disagree	-0.5	17.4%	-0.09		
		Strongly disagree	-1.0	0.0%	0.00		
	B.2.5 I do not pay attention to the opinion of others in the ward/village	Strongly agree	-1.0	0.0%	0.00	**+0.20**	
		Agree	-0.5	29.5%	-0.15		
		Disagree	+0.5	65.9%	+0.33		
		Strongly disagree	+1.0	1.5%	+0.02		
	B.2.6 If I lost a valuable item and someone from this ward/village would see it, he/she would probably return it to me.	Strongly agree	+1.0	6.1%	+0.06	**-0.14**	
		Agree	+0.5	33.3%	+0.17		
		Disagree	-0.5	40.2%	-0.20		
		Strongly disagree	-1.0	16.7%	-0.17		

35. The urban community in Myanmar, Ward 21, was used as the basis for this example.

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Figure 27 | Overview of survey results [Note: indices can be compared horizontally only]

Component	#	Indicator	Related questionnaire questions	Nepal 1.1	Nepal 1.2	Nepal 1.3	China 2.1	China 2.2	China 2.3	Myanmar 3.1	Myanmar 3.2	Myanmar 3.3	Score basis	Low	Medium	High
1 Sense of community	1.1	Attachment to place	A.1 - A.3	0.35	0.38	0.51	0.60	0.30	0.22	0.07	0.39	0.55	A.3	-1.0-0.0	0.01-0.50	0.51-1.00
	1.2	Social cohesiveness — Differences, inequalities	A.6 - A.7	0.67	0.64	0.68	0.44	0.69	0.64	0.74	0.74	0.80	A.6, A.7	0.0-0.35	0.36-0.70	0.71-1.00
		Social cohesiveness — Social harmony	A.8 - A.9	0.55	0.64	0.69	0.72	0.68	0.67	0.67	0.73	0.84	A.8, A.9	0.0-0.35	0.36-0.70	0.71-1.00
	1.3	Social inclusion	A.10 - A.13	0.98	1.00	1.00	0.57	0.73	0.76	0.99	0.99	1.00	A.10	0.0-0.35	0.36-0.70	0.71-1.00
	1.4	Social embeddedness	A.14	0.55	0.62	0.65	0.33	0.33	0.41	0.31	0.69	0.56	A.14.1-7	-1.0-0.0	0.01-0.50	0.51-1.00
2 Trust	2.1	Trust amongst community members	B.1	0.17	0.31	0.33	0.15	0.24	0.27	0.07	0.13	0.24	B.2.1-6	-1.0-0.21	-0.20-+0.20	0.21-1.00
	2.2	Trust in public institutions, ext. actors	B.2, E.2	0.47	0.63	0.50	0.27	0.42	0.39	0.27	0.40	0.24	B.2.1-6	-1.00-0.00	0.01-0.50	0.51-1.00
3 Community networks	3.1	Density of membership	C.1 - C.2	0.09	0.34	0.38	0.29	0.21	0.15	0.35	0.50	0.45	C.1	0.00-0.20	0.21-0.40	0.41-1.00
	3.2	Diversity of membership, openness	C.4	0.49	0.39	0.39	0.51	0.70	0.62	0.10	0.23	0.32	C.4	0.00-0.20	0.21-0.40	0.41-1.00
	3.3	Members' participation	C.3	0.48	0.53	0.51	0.42	0.37	0.42	0.34	0.50	0.60	C.3	0.00-0.20	0.21-0.40	0.41-1.00
	3.4	Network effectiveness	C.5 - C.6	0.71	0.60	0.61	0.74	0.63	0.67	0.78	0.82	0.76	C.6	0.00-0.35	0.36-0.70	0.71-1.00
	3.5	Inter-organisational ties	C.8	0.57	0.60	0.66	0.60	0.53	0.70	0.24	0.58	0.63	C.8	0.00-0.35	0.36-0.70	0.71-1.00
4 Information and communication	4.1	Community knowledge	Not covered through survey													
	4.2	Internal communication														
	4.3	External communication														
5 Collective action	5.1	Previous collective action	E.1 - E.2													
	5.2	Civic engagement	A.4,5; E.1,3	0.56	0.63	0.56	0.49	0.58	0.57	0.51	0.71	0.71	A.4/5, E1/3	-1.00-0.00	0.01-0.60	0.61-1.00
	5.3	Collective engagement	E.6													
6 Support	6.1	Mutual support	A.14,6, C.7, F.1 - F.3	n/a*	n/a*	n/a*	0.55	0.68	0.69	n/a*	0.82	n/a*	F3	0.00-0.35	0.36-0.70	0.71-1.00
	6.2	External support	F.4 - F.6	n/a*	n/a*	n/a*	0.28	0.24	0.30	0.13	0.53	0.52	F.4.1-5	-1.00-0.00	0.01-0.50	0.51-1.00

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the order of ascriptors was inverted. In our example this applies to the second, third, and fifth question. Depending on the type of question, ascriptors had different ranges, as was the case in the calculation of indices for other indicators.
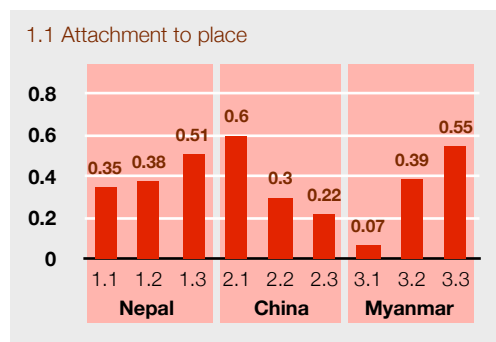
In a second step, the percentages of respondents who selected a particular answer option (B) was multiplied by its respective ascriptors (A) to lead to an interpreted result (C). The third step then added up all C values of a particular question to produce an overall result for this question (D). Finally, the average of all D values was taken to produce the social trust index score (E).

It is worth noting that the applied methodology does not use any weightings (due to the absence of a sound basis for such weightings) - the calculation thus inherently assumes that all aspects raised by the questions are equally important. Whether this is justified or not, the index provides the opportunity to compare the state of social trust (and other aspects of social capital) between communities (in figure 27, a horizontal comparison). The index will also be able to identify trends in social trust - i.e. how it has changed over time. However, it it important to stress a significant limitation: because of the different ascriptors and components underlying each index, different indices cannot be compared between each other (vertically, that is in figure 27). For instance, the fact that Chittapol has a social trust score of 0.17 and a score for trust in public institutions of 0.47 does not mean that respondents trust more in public institutions than in fellow citizens - rather, the two scores must be seen as separate values.

Although individual indices cannot be compared with each other, they can be aggregated. Again, this leads to the problem of weightings. We have refrained from building a catch-all meta-index for social capital precisely for this reason. Are all six components of social capital of equal importance? If they were, weightings would be unnecessary. We suspect that cognitive aspects of social capital are of greater importance than structural aspects - but since we lack information that could confirm this hypothesis (and enable a concrete weighting), we refrained from calculating a social capital 'meta-index'.

Instead, we propose a simplified index for cognitive social capital. This represents an aggregation of the three indices for social embeddedness, social trust and civic engagement. Three points need to be made about this index: *first*, it is simplified because it omits several other aspects of cognitive social capital, such as social inclusion and cohesiveness. *Second*, it refrains from weightings because based on our research, we have strong reason to believe that the three aspects are of similar - albeit not entirely equal - importance. *Third*, the simplified cognitive social capital index and its underlying methodology fill the key gap in the current IFRC toolkit. Therefore, it is suggested as a complementary tool to those tools already existing.

Having explained the process of index-building, let us have a look on the following pages at the findings of the household survey in relation to the different components of social capital.

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1.1 Attachment to place

1.2a Social cohesiveness: differences, inequalities

1.2b Social cohesiveness: social harmony

1.3 Social inclusion

1.4 Social embeddedness

Sense of community

The first component of social capital, sense of community, was assessed through four proxy indicators of (a) attachment to place. (b) social cohesiveness, (c) social inclusion, and (d) social embeddedness.

Attachment to place was assessed by asking respondents about their willingness to move elsewhere if they were offered a better job there. Somewhat unsurprisingly, results show that younger respondents are generally more willing to move than older residents, but even when controlling for age, rural respondents in Nepal and Myanmar are more attached to their communities than those in urban communities. For reasons unknown, the opposite is true in China, where urban respondents are significantly more attached to their community than those in rural villages.
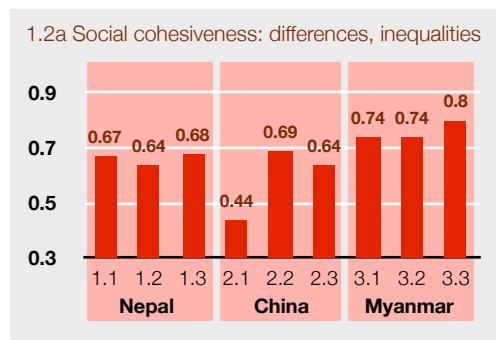
Regarding social cohesiveness, respondents were asked to what extent differences (in education, social status, political views etc) mattered, to what extent inequalities (women/men, young/old, long-term residents/new settlers) existed, to what extent physical violence occurred, and to what extent they viewed their community as harmonious (see questions A.6-A.9 in appendix B). According to the survey respondents, differences and inequalities did not play a major role in communities - the only exception being China, where a large share of respondents pointed out that different political views and varying levels of education played such a role. Physical violence was seen as slightly higher in urban than in rural communities.
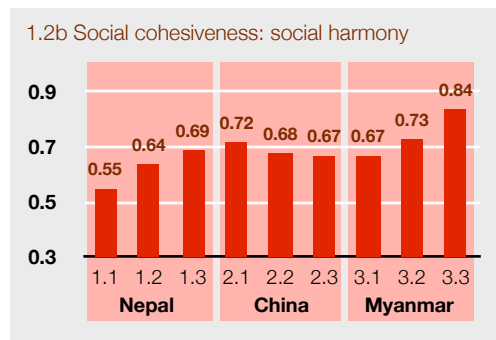
Concerning social inclusion, respondents were asked to what extent they had been excluded from public services (see questions A.10-A. 13 in appendix B). In Nepal and Myanmar, almost none of the respondents said they had ever felt excluded. Only in China, significant shares felt excluded, especially from water distribution in Weige (based on social status and income level) and credit, jobs, and health services in Longtan (based on income level and social status).
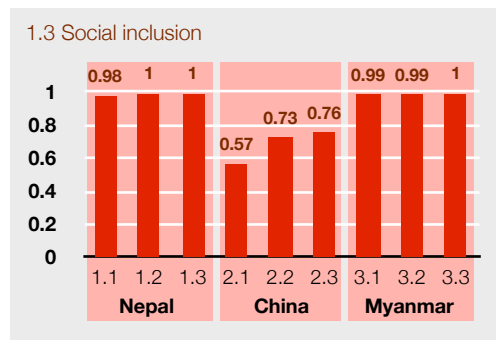
With regard to social embeddedness, respondents were asked about the density and quality of their friendship circles (see question A.14 in appendix B). Results show that rural respondents are slightly - markedly in the case of Myanmar - better socially embedded than urban respondents. The case of Myanmar, where the social embeddedness index score of rural communities is twice that of the urban Ward 21, demonstrates the negative effects of urban migration on social capital - many new settlers are yet to find the circle of friends that they can rely on in times of hardship.
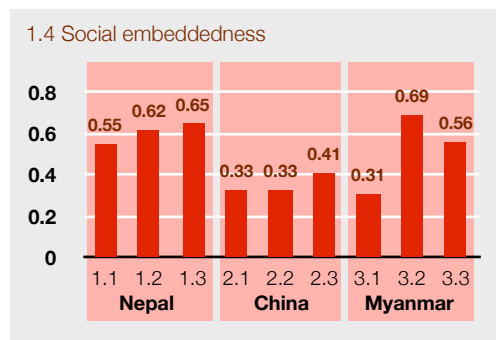
While the study refrains from collating the various scores into a single index, it can be said with great confidence that the sense of community as defined by attachment to place, social cohesiveness, social inclusion and social embeddedness tends to be higher in rural communities than in their urban counterparts.

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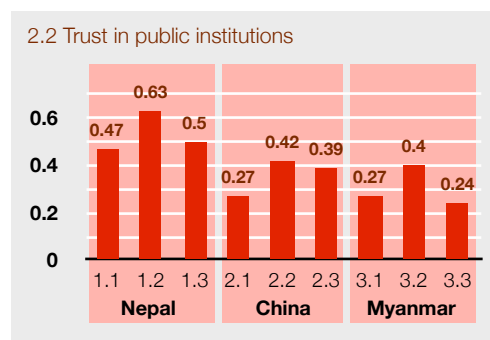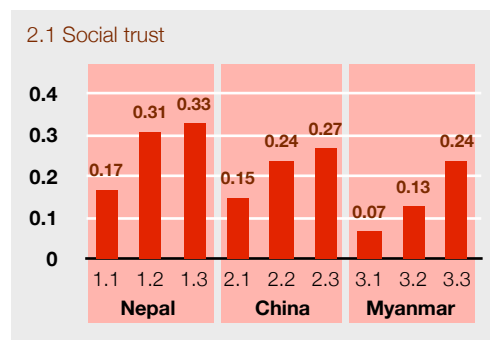Social capital and community resilience - December 2012

Trust

The second component of social capital - trust - was broken down to (a) social trust (i.e. trust amongst individuals) and (b) trust in public institutions.
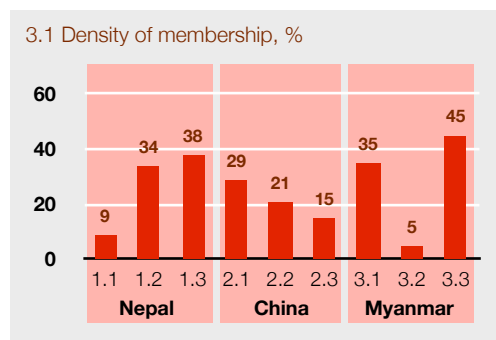
Social trust was assessed by proposing six statements to survey respondents, to which they could (strongly) agree or (strongly) disagree (see questions B.1.1-B.1.6 in appendix B). Percentages for each question's answer options were then multiplied with an ascriptor value (1.0=strongly agree, 0.5=agree, -0.5=disagree, -1.0=strongly disagree; inverted ascriptor values for negative statements). Resulting values were then added up and divided by the number of questions to bring about a social trust index score.

The results clearly demonstrate the difference of social trust between urban and rural communities. On average, people in rural communities (0.25) trust their fellow citizens almost twice as much as those in urban areas (0.13). In Nepal and China, the level of social trust amongst rural communities is almost the same. In Myanmar, there is a significant difference between Kyontthutanyi (0.13) and Bingalar (0.24), which falls in line with interview findings, according to which cases of nepotism and corruption during the course of multiple interventions had eroded trust amongst villagers.

Concerning trust in public institutions, respondents were asked how likely it would be that - if they approached various institutions (local government, health facilities, police, courts, schools, public transport organisations) with a concern - this concern would be dealt with timely (see questions B.2.1-B.2.6 in appendix B). Using the same ascriptor values as above (1.0=very likely, 0.5=likely, -0.5=unlikely, -1.0=very unlikely), the scores show a slightly higher trust in public institutions amongst rural respondents.

Furthermore, trust varies substantially between the different institutions: those agencies that respondents deal with on a regular basis (schools, health services, transport organisations) feature significantly better than those with which contact is less frequent (courts, police).

2.1 Social trust

2.2 Trust in public institutions

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3.1 Density of membership, %

3.2 Diversity of membership, openness

3.3 Members' participativeness

3.4 Network effectiveness

3.5 Inter-organizational ties

Community networks

Community networks were assessed through a range of questions about up to three organizations to which the respondents belonged (see questions C.1-C.8 in appendix B). Given that only about one third of respondents belonged to any community network, the valid sample size was significantly reduced; in future, networks should therefore be assessed through qualitative means.

The type of community networks that respondents belong to varies by country: while political parties and youth groups are the main networks in Nepal, cooperatives and the Women's Union feature as the main groups in China. In Myanmar, savings groups, village associations and the Red Cross represent the key networks.
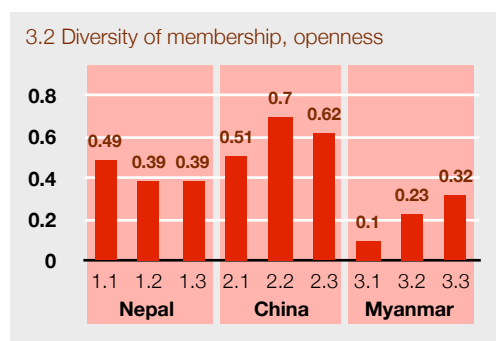
The diversity of their membership in terms of religion, gender, political views, social status and education levels varies between communities and appears to reflect the general composition of the community. Ward 21 in Myanmar however stands out for the relative homogeneity of its groups, given that the make-up of the urban ward is rather diverse.

Looking at the level to which members are engaged in the community networks, there is little variance between communities or even between community networks.

Respondents rate the organizations they are involved in as rather effective. The work of the Women's Union in Longtan and Tuqiao (China) and that of the Red Cross in Bingalar (Myanmar) are seen as particularly effective.
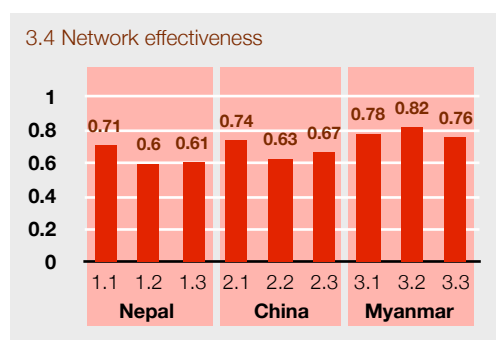
Considering ties with other organizations, most respondents say that their associations cooperate with others 'rather frequently'. The only exception from this rule are the groups in Ward 21, which appear to be running rather on their own.

Collective action

Collective action was to be assessed through a set of six questions directed at both the propensity and past experience of collective action (see questions E.1-E.6 in appendix B). However, this question block proved problematic in practice, as many respondents failed to answer key questions.

The assessment therefore had to be reduced to civic engagement, which incorporates questions A.4, A5, E.1 and E.3 (see appendix B).

The results shows that respondents in rural communities tend to be more civically engaged than those in urban communities, having a civic engagement index score of 0.62 against 0.52 on average.
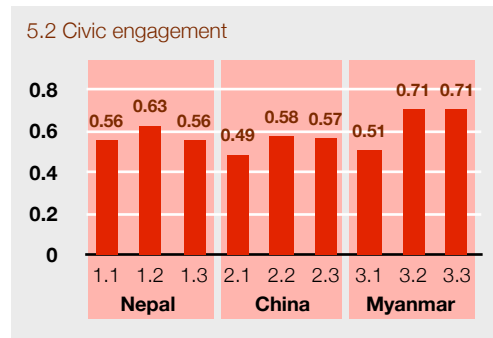
Support

To what extent do mutual and external support mechanisms function in the nine visited communities? In addressing these questions, the survey questionnaire used concrete cases where support was needed (household crises, natural disasters) as a background (see questions F.1 -F.5 in appendix B). While this approach was meant to make it easy for respondents to relate to subsequent questions, practical experience shows that a hypothetical scenario should have been given instead ("if you experienced a household crisis, who would be likely to provide support?"). In five of of the nine communities, very few respondents said they had actually experienced a household crisis.

In the four other communities (those in China and Kyontthutanyi in Myanmar), the majority (between 55 and 82%) of households managed to overcome their household crisis to a large or very large extent with the support they had received. Major sources of support were local relatives, neighbours and friends - while support from outside the community played a relatively minor role. This observation has ramifications for larger crises (e.g. natural hazards), when local support and coping mechanisms may become over-stretched.
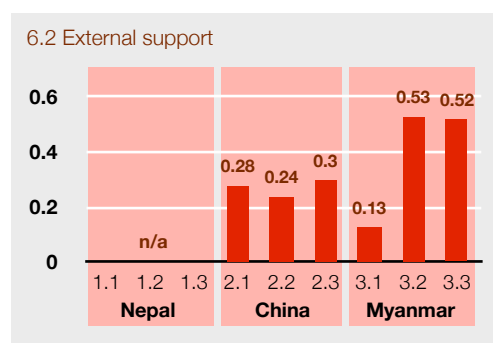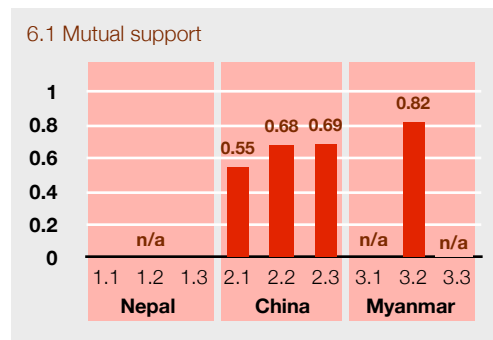
Considering the external support communities had received following a natural hazard (see external support index score in chart 6.2), respondents in China and the rural communities in Myanmar said that this support had helped greatly to recover swiftly from the hazards' impact. In Myanmar's Cyclone Nargis-affected communities of Kyontthutanyi and Bingalar, 94.1% and 82.6% respectively said that external support played a major role in their communities' recovery.

5.2 Civic engagement

6.1 Mutual support

6.2 External support

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D. Acknowledgements

Nepal study team

China study team

Myanmar study team

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Nepal	China	Myanmar
Team leaders		
Dr. Dennis Eucker	Patrick Bolte	Patrick Bolte
Facilitators		
Prakash Aryal Puja Koirala	Liu Hao, IFRC Vicky Sun, IFRC	Sann Lwin, IFRC Htay Aung, MRCS
Enumerators		
Bindo Lamichhane Rasmi Tamang Ranjana Poudel Kabita Paudyal Samjhana Pokharel Kishor Aryal	Li Ruoxin Fu Jialong Li Sijun Zhang Yu Yu Hua Kun Zhang Huan Ran	Yi Yi Min Thwin Naw Bwai Say Oo Yi Yi Min Thwin Naw Bwai Say Oo Yi Yi Min Thwin Naw Bwai Say Oo

The Fundamental Principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement

Humanity The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, born of a desire to bring assistance without discrimination to the wounded on the battlefield, endeavours, in its international and national capacity, to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found. Its purpose is to protect life and health and to ensure respect for the human being. It promotes mutual understanding, friendship, co-operation and lasting peace amongst all peoples.

Impartiality It makes no discrimination as to nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinions. It endeavours to relieve the suffering of individuals, being guided solely by their needs, and to give priority to the most urgent cases of distress.

Neutrality In order to enjoy the confidence of all, the Movement may not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature.

Independence The Movement is independent. The National Societies, while auxiliaries in the humanitarian services of their governments and subject to the laws of their respective countries, must always maintain their autonomy so that they may be able at all times to act in accordance with the principles of the Movement.

Voluntary service It is a voluntary relief movement not prompted in any manner by desire for gain.

Unity There can be only one Red Cross or Red Crescent Society in any one country. It must be open to all. It must carry on its humanitarian work throughout its territory.

Universality The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, in which all societies have equal status and share equal respon-sibilities and duties in help- ing each other, is worldwide.

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