SOCIAL RESILIENCE AND CIVIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN SELF-HELP ORGANIZATIONS

A Case Study of the Kibera Slum Project

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this study is to explore social resilience and civic entrepreneurship in self-help organizations. The purpose is to find out how social resilience can be built through entrepreneurial activities. The issue is explored in a self-help organization in the Kibera slum. The intention is to contribute on the discussion on the best practises of self-help organization and the key elements behind their success or failure in developing countries.

The thesis is divided into two main parts: the first one presents the key terms and a literary review on the concepts of social resilience and civic entrepreneurship. The second part is a case study on the cooperation of two non-governmental organizations in Nairobi Kibera. The two organizations are a local self-help organization Drug Fighters and Councelling for Young Generation (DFC) and a Finnish development organization Mikkeli Fair Trade Association (Kema). The second part of the study is originally written as a base-line study to the financer organization. Other area of interest in this study is networking, which is inevitable for building social resilience in small self—help organization in the slum.

The findings of this study indicate that major reasons behind DFC's success are the entrepreneurial skills of the director and founder of the organization. The organization contributes effectively to community resilience. It became evident that without social resilience it would be impossible for an organization to survive in the slum environment. In building social resilience the creative thinking and civic entrepreneurship are essential.

Key words: poverty, slum, self-help, sustainable livelihood, social resilience, social vulnerability, civic entrepreneurship

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1 INTRODUCTION

The first goal of the Millennium Development goals is to half the extreme poverty by the year 1015. While there is a universal agreement that poverty is to be reduced, we still do not have the means to even nearly reach the goal by that time. The urban poverty is a growing phenomenon in all big cities of the world and also a reason behind the increase of the slum population. At the same time the rural poverty drives rural people to the city slums after a better living. It's been estimated that one third of the world population lives in slums (Järvelä 2007).

Slums are often not recognized by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city and for that reasons the various problems in the slums are often neglected by the decision makers. (United Nations Human Settlements Programme 2003,10). Therefore the role of non-governmental organizations (NGO's) becomes evident in the development of the slums.

During the past four decades non-governmental organizations (NGO's) have gained noticeable importance in international development co-operation. Especially from the 1990's there has been a remarkable growth in the number of local NGO's in developing countries, and developing country governments have provided more space for them. (Hossain & Ulvila & Newaz 2000, 17-18). As there is a growth in the number of NGO's, often operating in a challenging environment, the question of which kinds of organizations are likely to succeed becomes interesting. Furthermore, which qualities and features are required for an organization in order to succeed? In this study I will explore this question from the point of view of a two recently emerged concepts in development work: social resilience and civic entrepreneurship.

During the last decade the study of resilience among societies has started to take place and the concept has been effectively brought across the different disciplines to study community and society. Social resilience has been applied by many researchers in analyzing community dynamics in rural communities under a change (e.g. Adger 2000).

However, according to Järvelä, the concept can be applied to urban communities most vulnerable in terms of poverty and inadequate living environment.(Järvelä 2007).

In social sciences the term social resilience has been studied mainly on a community level. When it has been applied to an organizational level, the assumption has been that an organization has certain attributes that can contribute to the community's resilience. In economic sciences, however, the resilience has been widely studied on an organizational level and the term organizational resilience has been used (Marmaras et al. 2007).

In my study I attempt to apply the term social resilience to an organization. I do not directly study organizational resilience but consider an organization to be similar to a community. In principle, the state of community resilience is similar to organizational resilience. Therefore, from the sociological point of view organization can be perceived as a community.

Social resilience of an organization is evident for its survival in a dynamic environment. However, resilience, as well as other features of an organization, cannot be built without people. Another concept in this study, therefore, is social entrepreneurship. The concept was introduced by Banuri and Najam (2002). According to Banuri et al. (2007, 3-4) sustainable development always involves new ways of doing things, in other words entrepreneurship. The difference between civic entrepreneurship and the traditional economic entrepreneurship is their motives. Contrary to the motives of the pure profit making, a civic entrepreneur is driven explicitly by the public interest.

Banuri et al. (2002, 39) discuss the relationship of civic entrepreneurship and sustainable development by presenting various case studies. They claim that sustainable development cannot be achieved without entrepreneurial thinking. Similarly, in my study, I aim to explore the relationship between civic entrepreneurship and social resilience, yet in a much smaller scale. In other words, my aim is to discover how social resilience can be built through civic entrepreneurship. I will explore this issue through a case study of a self-help organization called Drug Fighters (DFC) effective in the Kibera slum.

My study consists of two main parts: the first part presents the terminology and the literature review of the two main concepts studied. It also contains the methodology used.

The second, empirical part presents the case study of two non-governmental organizations in Nairobi Kibera, These two organizations are a local self-help organization Drug Fighters and Counselling for Young Generation (DFC) and a Finnish development organization Mikkeli Fair Trade Association (Kema). The emphasis is on DFC, a children's and a youth centre operating in the slum, and the studied concepts will be applied to their operations.

The case study was originally conducted as a base-line report on the cooperation of the two organizations. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used and the empirical part consists of interviews of DFC's director, staff and customers. In addition, a questionnaire was carried out among DFC's customers. Finally, I will analyse the findings of this study and present the relationship of civic entrepreneurship and social resilience in the operations of DFC.

1.1 Objectives and research question

Much of the thinking on sustainable development has realized into collective human agencies and concerted policies. Yet it has not led into action on global or national levels. (Banuri & Najar 2002, 1-2) At the same the number of local NGO's and self-help organizations is growing rapidly in developing countries, and practitioners of sustainable development are inventing new ways to put the idea into practice through organizations.

Therefore, it is important to identify practices that lead to success in these small organizations that have taken a role as a forerunner in carrying out sustainable development in the grass root level. Two concepts that are associated on the success of development projects have emerged into discussion during the recent years: social resilience and civic entrepreneurship. As mentioned in the introduction, in this study, the first concept social resilience is studied on an organizational level assuming that community resilience is a similar state to organizational resilience. The other, civic entrepreneurship is explored on an individual level.

The research question is how can social resilience be built through civic entrepreneurship in self-help organizations? My aim is to explore the relationship between these two concepts. I will ground my research on Adger's (2000) Järvelä's (2007) and Södor's

(2007) definitions and research on social resilience. Civic entrepreneurship will be dealt on the bases of the work of Banuri & Najam (2002), who in their book series on civic entrepreneurship present over seventy stories on what sustainable development looks like in practice and what factors contribute in its success.

The objective is to analyze the social resilience of the studied organization DFC and examine how social entrepreneurship is carried out in the organization. In addition, the aim is to identify features that promote or are harmful to social resilience and civic entrepreneurship. As the case study presents DFC's cooperation with its financer organization KEMA, one subject of interest is how the financer influences the civic entrepreneurship and social resilience of DFC and weather the cooperation nurtures a fertile environment to pursue civic entrepreneurship.

Especially in the slum areas the mutual help and networking between other organizations is crucial for their survival. Networking is also seen as a part of entrepreneurial activities. Therefore, I will briefly discuss the importance of networking of small-scale development organizations in building social resilience

1.2 Structure of the study

After the introduction, the research is divided into eight different chapters. Chapter two presents the concepts adopted for this study. It also includes the theoretical back ground of this study and concentrates on the two key concepts: social resilience and civic entrepreneurship.

Chapter three introduces the qualitative and quantitative methodology used in this research. In this chapter the aim of the interviews and questionnaires is discussed and a hypothesis of the study is presented. The reliability and validity of this study is thoroughly dealt with.

The second part of this study presents the case study. Chapter four includes a brief presentation of the Kibera of the organization. In addition, the cooperation between DFC and its' financier KEMA is discussed. DFC's operations are discussed and reflected on the logical outline of the project. The results are based on the structured interviews (appendix

1) among the core employees of DFC. Furthermore, cooperation and networking with other organizations is explored.

Chapter five concentrates on the DFC's target groups: the children, the youth group and the parents of the children. The quantitative studies on the children's and the youth's experiences on DFC are analysed. Two of the children's and three of the youngsters lives are discussed more in depth. Their thoughts about the challenges they face and DFC's influence on their lives are exposed. Three of the parent's interviews concentrate on the reasons why they are not able to provide their children with basic necessities, like food or clothing and what kind of support they get from DFC.

The empirical outcomes presented in chapter six are based on participatory observation and discussions with DFC's employees. This chapter is concerned with the organizational behaviours of DFC and its' manners of leadership. The chapter is concluded with the SWOT-analysis of the organization.

In chapter seven the social resilience of DFC and the entrepreneurial skills of the director are analysed. The issue of how the cooperation with KEMA has influenced on these features is also under scrutinization.

Chapter eight concludes this study. The conclusions are based on the previous chapters. Based on these findings, the influence of the civic entrepreneurship on the social resilience of the organization is discussed. The purpose is to identify characteristics of civic entrepreneurships which enhance the social resilience of an organization for future discussion.

2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

2.1 Terminology

Poverty

The first goal of the Millennium Development goals is to half the extreme poverty by the year 1015. While there is a universal agreement to reduce poverty there is not agreement on the definition of poverty. According to Laderchi, Saith and Steward (2003) different interpretations of reality translate into different poverty measures. Different views on what constitutes a good society and good lives reflect to different definitions of poverty.

Laderchi et al. 2003 present four categories of the definition. The first one is the most commonly used monetary poverty. The current definition of extreme poverty has inflated to \$1.25 per day. (Schnoor 2010). The second category is capability approach, which focuses on indicators of the freedom to live a valued life. In this framework poverty is defined according to Sen as a 'failure to achieve certain minimal or basic capabilities' (Laderchi et al 2003). The basic capabilities are 'the ability to satisfy certain crucially important functionings up to certain minimally adequate levels'. (Sen 1993,43). Sen does not provide a specific list of basic capabilities and, therefore, has been critiqued on deliberately vague definition in order to allow room for choice across societies (Alkire 2002).

The third category is social exclusion, which Laderchi et al. define as 'process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live'. The fourth category, participatory approach, aims to get people themselves to participate in decisions about what it means to be poor (Chambers 1997).

In this study poverty refers to monetary poverty, social exclusion and a lack of basic capabilities. Most slum dwellers do not have identification cards and therefore they are excluded from participating in the decision making e.g. voting. Furthermore, they lack some very essential basic capabilities such as access to education and basic health services.

Slum

It's been estimated that one third of the world population lives in slums (Järvelä 2007). Slums represent the worst global poverty and inequality. However, just as there is a lack of an agreed definition of poverty, the universally agreed definition of a slum does not exist either. The generic definition is 'a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city' (United Nations Human Settlements Programme 2003, 10)

Other similar definitions are provided in different policy documents. According to United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN HABITAT), these general definitions meet the common perception of what a slum is. Nevertheless, they are not associated with operational definitions that would enable one to determine whether or not a certain area is a slum. (UN HABITAT 2003, 10). Another problem defining slums is the variability of different slums around the world. It has been discussed whether there is a definition adequate to cover slums with different social and political structures.

The definition used in this study is the one that was drawn by The United Nations Expert Group Meeting in Nairobi in October 2002. According to these experts, a slum is an area that combines to various extents the following characteristics:

- Inadequate access to safe water
- Inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure
- Poor structural quality of housing
- Overcrowding
- Insecure residential status (resulting in arbitrary demolition of property)

(UN HABITAT 2002)

This definition is adopted for this study, because all the characteristics above are realised in Kibera slum. They are also easily measurable and consistent with the Millennium Development Goals.

Self-help

In this study the concept of self-help refers to Adams' definition of the concept. Self-help can be defined as a process in which a group or an organization comprising people come together or share an experience or problem, with a view to individual and/or mutual benefit. (Adams 1994, 1). According to Adams (1994, 2) the field of self-help receives less attention as it should when the related notion empowerment is taking off. Adam states that empowerment is a larger concept that self-help. However self-help can be viewed as a form of empowerment; through self-help social workers and self-helpers can empower others and be empowered themselves.

In the developing countries, self-help and mutual aid commonly include not just the health and social services but also the economic and social foundation itself. In most areas the majority of the people have always had to provide their own tools, buildings, skills and other resources, or run the risk of deprivation or death. (Adams 1994, 24).

Social resilience

According to Adger (2000), social resilience refers to the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political or economical change. Södor (2007) defines social resilience as the ability of a system to absorb perturbations or the magnitude of disturbance that can be absorbed before the system changes its structure by changing the variables and processes that control behavior. Södor states that the concept of social resilience aims to build a link between different factors of resilience. These factors are all components of sustainability and include economic, social, institutional and ecological elements. Järvelä (2007) states, that in its' core meaning resilience equals coping with change. Social resilience is discussed further in a chapter 2.3.

Civic entrepreneurship

In this study the definition of civic entrepreneurship presented by Banuri's et al. is in use. Banuri et al. (2002, 4) define civic entrepreneurship as entrepreneurship driven not by business purposes but explicitly by the public interest. Civic entrepreneurship does not

solely concentrate on creating new ways of making profits, but seeks to create a new way of building social capital; a new way of showing how to use existing ideas, methods, inventions, technologies, resources or management systems to achieve collective goals. Banuri's and Najam's (2002) civic entrepreneurship stems from the Schumpeterian perception to entrepreneurship. Schumpeter defines entrepreneurship as follows:

'Entrepreneurship ...consist on doing things that are not generally done in the ordinary course of business routine; it is essentially a phenomenon that comes under the wider aspect of leaderhip.'

(Shumpeter, 1951, 255)

Banuri et al. also remind that civic entrepreneurship is not limited to the actions of civil society organizations. It included the actions of business leaders and government officials whose work is driven by the civic motive.

In this study, the most emphasis is on the concepts of social resilience and civic entrepreneurship, which are dealt with more in depth in chapter 2.2.

2.2. Social resilience

2.2.1 From Sustainable Livelihood to Social resilience

Internationally, the new movement to promote sustainable development to local actors started by the widespread adaptation of the term "Sustainable livelihood" in the beginning of the 21th century. UN first launched the concept in 1992 in the conference on Environment and Development with the agenda of motivating activating the local actors to move towards more sustainable way of live. (Södor 2007).

Sustainable livelihood means access to adequate and secure livelihoods and income (e.g. Järvelä 2007). It also refers to diminishing impact on natural resources and living environments. The livelihood approach emphasizes that 'the poor' are not a homogenous mass. They are not just passive recipients of handouts but they have strengths, assets and

capacities, which can be mobilized to proactively participate on development process. (Hall & Mitgley, 2004)

Sustainable livelihood was originally linked to resource ownership and access to meet basic needs and acquire livelihood security mainly in rural areas. The concentration was on the rural people, because they are most often isolated from economic opportunities. They also tend to have less access to social services such as health, sanitation and education. In addition, the rights and information about the way the government function is lacking. This makes it hard for them to put pressure on the government to allocate change in the system, which often discriminates them. (Carney 1999).

The problems that the rural people face, however, are similar to the people in the urban slums, where people also live in extreme poverty. For example, it is estimated that in Kibera there is only one latrine for 50-500 people and only 25 percent of the children have an access to an education. Moreover, the existence of the informal settlements is often only unofficially recognized by local authorities and national Government for political and economic reasons (Marras 2008). For that reason, it is extremely difficult for the slum residents to influence on the government. Therefore, the concept of sustainable livelihood can also be used in the urban environment.

There is a long history of examining the resilience of ecological systems and their stability under human intervention and the concept is widely used in ecological literature (Adger 2000). The word resilience was introduced to the ecological literature by Hollings in 1973 as a way of helping to understand the non-linear dynamics observed in ecosystems. Ecological resilience has traditionally been defined as the amount of disturbance that an ecosystem could withstand without changing self organized processes and structures (Gunderson 2000).

During the last decade the study of resilience among societies has started to take place and the concept has been effectively brought across the disciplines to study community and society. Social resilience has been applied by many researchers in analyzing community dynamics in rural communities under a change (e.g. Adger 2000). Södor et al. (2005) applied the concept successfully in analyzing the social dynamics of villages in Northwest Russia. However, the social change is extremely rapid in urban communities. Therefore it

has been questioned whether the concept of social resilience is applicable to case studies concerned with sustainability issues in urban communities (Järvelä 2007). In her paper on social resilience in southern megacities Järvelä (2007) discusses how the concept can be applied to urban communities most vulnerable in terms of poverty and inadequate living environment.

Resilience can be defined in many ways. Södor (2007) defines resilience as being dynamic interaction between the internal and external risks and the protective processes of a livelihood system, through which the aforesaid system reinforces its continuity without losing its original function, structure and identity. According to Adger (2000), there are too contradictive definitions for resilience. The first one Adger presents is the Holling's definition. According to Holling (1973) resilience determines the persistence of relationships within a system and is a measure of the ability of these systems to absorb changes of state. By contrast, the other definitions emphasize the speed of recovery from the disturbance. Adger (2000) states, that these two approaches highlight the difference between resistance and resilience. First definition indicates the ability to absorb disturbance before the change and the latter one indicating the rate of recovery from the perturbation.

What then is meant by social resilience? Social resilience is an important component of the conditions under which individuals and social groups adapt to environmental change (Adger 2000) and the concept is often characterized in by elastic qualities as hardiness and invulnerability (Södor, 2007). Various definitions for the concept of social resilience can be found in the scholarly literature; a few of them are introduced below.

Södor (2007) defines social resilience as the ability of a system to absorb perturbations or the magnitude of disturbance that can be absorbed before the system changes its structure by changing the variables and processes that control behavior. Södor states that the concept of social resilience aims to build a link between different factors of resilience. These factors are all components of sustainability and include economic, social, institutional and ecological elements. Södor et. al. (2005) present a diagram, which points out the most important factors that have an influence on the outcomes on social resilience. The diagram is presented in a Figure 1 below.

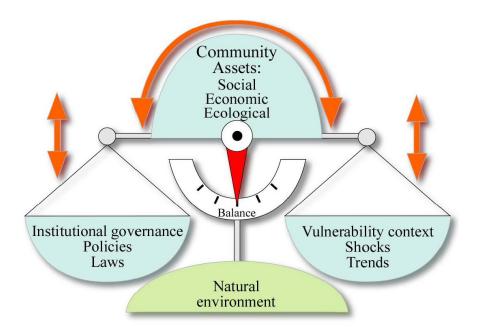


Figure 1. Dynamics of Community Resilience: A simplified view of the interaction between the most important factors of community resilience. (Södor 2007)

Adger (2000) states that, social resilience refers to the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political or economical change. Adger (2000) emphasizes the relationship between social and ecological resilience.

The common feature of the different definitions is, that contradictive to resisting change social resilience implies the buffer to recover from disturbance and successfully adapt to the new circumstances. (Södor 2006, Adger 2000, Resilience Alliance 2007).

2.2.2 The relationship between social resilience and social vulnerability

The social resilience is often related to the term social vulnerability. The definition of vulnerability shifts across disciplines and research areas and is often used in a study of natural hazards. According to Chambers (1989) vulnerability refers to exposure to contingencies and stress, and difficulty in coping with them. Chambers further states, that vulnerability has external and internal sides. An external side refers to risks, shocks and stress to which an individual or household is subject. An internal side on the other hand represents defenselessness, meaning lack of means to cope without damaging loss. The loss can take different forms like becoming or being physically weaker, economically

impoverished, socially dependent, humiliated or psychologically harmed. According to Adger (2000), in general, social vulnerability represents the disruptions to livelihoods and loss of security. He defines social resilience as related to the ability of groups of people or individuals to cope with stress as a result of a change in the environment. The link between vulnerability and resilience, according to Adger, is that resilience increases the capacity to cope with stress and, therefore, loose antonym for vulnerability.

Sapirstein (2007) presents a different view on the relationship of social vulnerability and resilience. According to him, while the concepts might interact with respect to their effect on community capacity, they do not directly correlate. Moreover, they are measured in different units. Vulnerability is the degree to which people will be impacted by natural or manmade hazard. Social vulnerability is, therefore, measured primarily through cost. The cost can be both economic or human meaning how much will it cost to a community when a hazard occurs and how many lives will be lost or affected as a result. Contradictory to that, according to Sapirstein, social resilience is measured by time. In other words, how long it will take for the community to respond to the event, organize itself and incorporate the lessons learned before returning to the normal way of functioning.

Sapristein (2007) further states that emphasizing the importance of time in recovery from the disaster is not solely cold hearted corporate attitude in which time equals money. It also refers to the reality in which the longer it takes for reconstruction, the more long-lasting the negative impact of the disaster will be. In the field of human trauma it is studied that while people need some time to recover from traumatic events, they should try to continue their regular activities as soon as possible.

2.3 Civic Entrepreneurship

2.3.1 Brief Review of Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship, also referred to as "risk taking" in older literature, has been an important factor in economic growth since Richard Cantillon and Adam Smith. In more recent definitions, coordination and scarce resources are associated into entrepreneurship. For

example, Casson (2003, 20) defines entrepreneur as someone who specializes in taking judgemental decisions about the coordination of scarce resources.

The term entrepreneur was first introduced to economics by French economist Cantillon (1680-1734). Cantillon described entrepreneur as someone who exercises business judgements in the face of uncertainty (Hébert & Link 2006, 16-17). Several French writers built on the work of Cantillon, Nicholas Baudeau and Anne Roberts Jackues Turgot (1727-1781) among them. However, the entrepreneur was firs given recognition by Jean-Baptise Say (Casson 2003, 19).

Say's entrepreneur is an economic catalyst. One of the key characteristic of Say's entrepreneur is a sound judgement. Also, for the first time through Say, entrepreneurial activity became practically a synonym to management in economic literature. Contradictive to Cantillon, Say did not give uncertainty a central role in entrepreneurship. In addition, he did not place an entrepreneur in a dynamic environment. However, he associated risk taking with the concept. (Hébert & Link 2006, 29-31).

The word entrepreneur was variously translated into English as merchant, adventurer and employer, though its' precise meaning is the undertaker of a project (Casson 2003, 19). A Scottish economist and a moral philosopher Adam Smith (1723-1790) presented a view on entrepreneurship, which is still popular in entrepreneurship research. Hébert and Link (2006, 40) present Perciaelli's picture on Smith's entrepreneurship. According to that picture, Smith's entrepreneur faces risks and uncertainty, formulates plans and projects to earn profit and seeks out the necessary capital. Furthermore, an entrepreneur combines and organizes the productive factors and directs production. Hébert et. al. (2006, 41) add that Smith made a connection between entrepreneur and innovation.

For several succeeding generations the role of the entrepreneur was neglected, as economist concentrated on refining and extending economic theory within an equilibrium framework (Hébert et al. 2006, 2). In the 20th century the name more closely associated with entrepreneurship above all others was Joseph Schumpeter, who raised entrepreneurship back to economists' lips with his book The Theory of Economic Development. The phrase 'Schumpeterian entrepreneur' referring to innovative actions of an entrepreneur gained popularity, and eventually the entrepreneur attracted the attention

of management science (Hébert et al. 2006, 2). Almost all modern theories of entrepreneurship take their origin from Schumpeter (Hébert et al. 2006, 2). Shumpeterian entrepreneurhsip is also used as a basis for the concept of civic entrepreneurship in this study.

Banuri et al. (2002, 4) emphasize that Schumpeterian entrepreneur has the imagination to see the potential for profit from the innovation. In addition he/she has the initiative to actually carry out the task of introducing the innovation and the willingness to take the calculated risk that the effort might fail and lead to a loss rather than profit.

2.3.2 Civic Entrepreneurship

The association of entrepreneurship and economics has long been the accepted norm (Hodgets & Kuratko, 2001). During the last ten years, however, the concept has been adapted to social sciences and its' relationship with sustainable development has become an object of interest among researchers.

According to Banuri and Najam (2002, 3-4), sustainable development always involves newness; a new way of pulling things together, mobilizing resources, building legitimacy, engendering collective action, stimulating economic activity or adapting technology. In other words, it involves entrepreneurship.

Without entrepreneurship, ideas or innovations cannot impact development. According to Banuri et al. 2002, 4) an entrepreneur has three pivotal features. First one is the imagination to see the potential for profit from the innovation; the second one is the initiative to carry out the task of introducing the innovation and the third one is a willingness to take the calculated risk that the effort might fail.

Contradictive to entrepreneurship for business purposes, civic entrepreneurship is driven not by profit making but explicitly by the public interest. A civic entrepreneur seeks to create new ways of building social capital and creatively combines existing ideas e.g. technologies, resources and management systems to achieve collective goals (Banuri et al. 2002, 4). Banuri et al. (2002, 4) also remind that civic entrepreneurship is not limited to the

actions of civil society organizations. It included the actions of business leaders and government officials whose work is driven by the civic motive.

Banuri et al. state (2002, 115) that civic entrepreneurship requires civil 'will', the motivation to build social capital. Business entrepreneurs require a certain kind of investment often made by venture capitalists. Similarly, a civic entrepreneur can be motivated by investment that fertilizes the civil will on which they thrive. (Banuri et al. (2002, 115)

In creating nurturing environment for civic entrepreneurship, Banuri et al. (2002, 115) direct their proposals for the development assistance, public policy, and scholarship in four key areas: listening to, learning from, propagating and nurturing.

The goal of listening to civic entrepreneurs is to invite them to help us rethink our own conceptions that we think are right. Learning comes from listening and hopefully moves towards documenting, analyzing and finally understanding. (Banuri et al. 2002, 120). Propagating on its' behalf refers to spreading the successes and good practices. Therefore, according to Banuri et al. (2002, 120), the practices which are good and have worked need to be celebrated and propagated so that they will be repeated.

When discussing the nurturing of a civic entrepreneurship, Banuri et al. (2002, 123) once more compare civic entrepreneurship to the world of businesses. Companies receive capital inflows from two sources: venture capitalists, who invest in ideas behind the company, and clients who pay for the services and guarantee a stable income. Similarly, civic entrepreneurship programs will work best where they are complemented by programs that actually invest in nurturing the work of civic entrepreneurs. Banuri et al. claim that those who wish to invest in change must start by investing the champions of change. Therefore, the investors should take example from business incubators, who provide services to entrepreneurs from office space to networking consultation, and, furthermore, invest not only to the ideas but the development of enterprises.

3 METHODOLOGY

This research is a case study, based on both qualitative and quantitative approaches, with an emphasis on the qualitative one. In comparison to quantitative study, a qualitative approach is descriptive and exploratory and does not attempt to generalize. Qualitative research is based on the understanding of a phenomenon and examining its' relations (Hirsijärvi & Remes 2000, 153). The case is always bounded by time and using a variety of data collection procedures adds to the reliability (Creswell 2003, 15). The qualitative paradigm is advantageous as it seeks to understand peoples' interpretations and perceptions of a certain phenomenon (Hirsijärvi & Remes 2000, 153).

There is no thorough previous research on the organizational cooperation in Kibera, or on this particular project. Therefore, there is no previous information on the issue that would enable structural information gathering, which is characteristic to quantitative approach. For that reason using only quantitative method could lead to insignificant results and the phenomenon could stay in an abstract level. To be able to understand the phenomenon, the qualitative methods are needed.

The qualitative information for this study was gathered by interviews and participatory observation in June and July 2006. The semi structured interviews carried out among the director and the employees are emphasized to explore the cooperation and the advancement of the project. The object of interest is also the challenges of DFC operating in such a dynamic environment and the reasons behind its success.

For the reason that the amount of the core employees is very small, the qualitative approach is advantageous and leads to more explanatory results. To understand the lives of the DFC's customers, theme interviews were carried out among the participants of the centre's activities including children, youth and their families. The aim was to find out how DFC influences their lives and what kind of support DFC gets from its environment. Furthermore, to better understand the organizational behaviours of DFC a participatory observation is used.

The quantitative approach, on its' behalf, represents larger research material and aims on generalization. It is concerned with the relations between variables and role of the researchers' interpretations is not so significant. (University of Tampere 2006)*. One objective of this study is to explore how the customers of DFC experience the program. The amount of the core customers includes over 80 children and youngsters. Therefore, a quantitative method is used on the side of quantitative approach to find out how the majority of the centre's customers feel about the activities and how it has influenced their lives.

3.1 Research methods and material

The interviewees of this research are the DFC's director and employees, the children, the youth and their families participating in the activities of DFC. Two employees and the director of DFC were interviewed with a semi structural interview (appendix 1). Two of the employees were selected based on their knowledge and involvement in the cooperation with Kema. The director is the founder of DFC and initiator of the cooperation Agnes Musau. The first employee was a long term volunteer an accountant of the project Elizabeth Mungania. To find out the effects of the cooperation on the grass root level, the third interviewee was selected based on his knowledge from the field. He was the social worker of the project Isaiah Mwirigi, who worked in close contact with the children and their families.

When selecting the interviewees among the children, youth and their families, the emphasis was put on the assumption that the interviewees would be the customers of the centre also in the future. Therefore, they can also participate on the research when the final report of the cooperation will be conducted. This enables the follow up of their cases and evaluation of projects long-term influences on the interviewees' lives.

^{*}University of Tampere: http://www.uta.fi/viesverk/viesttiet/kaytannot/valinnat/maara.html.

To find out more about the children's lives, two children participated on a theme interview. The children were selected by the DFC's employees and they were long-term customers of the centre. According to the employees, these children are very typical customers of DFC. Another child is a nine-year-old boy, who has been influenced by drugs due to his drug addict single mother. Another interviewee is a seven-year-old girl, who was a victim of physical abuse. The aim of the children's interviews was to get an example of the children's lives.

Another empirical object is the youngsters, who were also selected by the DFC's employees. Three theme interviews were carried out. First interviewee is a 20-year-old male, the leader of the youth group since 2001. Another interviewee is 21-year-old male, who is the group's assistant organizer. The third youngster is a 17-year-old female, who is one of the first customers of DFC.

In addition to children and youth, DFC works in a close relationship with the families of their customers and the surrounding community. For that reason, theme interviews on the DFC's influence on the families were carried out with three parents. First interviewee is a single mother of six children, who makes a living as a small entrepreneur selling maize bread in the street. Her children used to participate on DFC's activities and she participates on the parent's meetings. The second interviewed parent is also a single mother of three and also mother of the interviewed boy. She worked as a part time cook in the centre. Two of her children were going to DFC's school and the third one was participating in the feeding program. The third parent is an unemployed single father of three girls, who are participating in the feeding program. They were attending the higher levels in a government school, which is organized through DFC.

Due to the fact that the group of the empirical research subjects is so various, it is briefly summarised in table 1.

TABLE 1 Attendants of the empirical research

| INTERVIEWED GROUPS | INDIVIDUALS | TITLE OR A SPECIAL FEATURE | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| Management | Agnes Musau | Director | |
| | Elizabeth Mungania | Accountant | |
| | Isaiah Mwirigi | Social worker | |
| Children | 9-year-old boy | Standard three student | |
| | 7-year-old girl | Standard one student | |
| Youth | 20-year-old man | Youth leaded | |
| | 21-year-old man | Assistant organizer | |
| | 17-year-old girl | Representative of the girl youth | |
| Parents | Single mother of six | Entrepreneur | |
| | Single mother of three | DFC's cook | |
| | Single father of three | Single father | |

To get a more general idea of the projects' impact on the children and the youth a small survey was carried out among them (appendix 2 and 3). The nursery class was excluded from the study due to the students' young age. However, all the children from the pre unit class to the third grade participated in filling out an open questionnaire. In addition, half of the 24 children going to other schools through DFC, and attending the feeding program, participated in the survey. Due to the language barrier, the questionnaires among children were filled with a help of teachers and voluntaries. The youth also participated in the quantitative part of the study and 12 of 15 youngsters filled in the questionnaire. Table 2 clarifies the attendants of the survey.

TABLE 2 Attendants of the quantitative study

| NUMBER | AMOUNT OF BOYS | AMOUNT OF GIRLS | AMOUNT OF PARTICIPANTS | TOTAL AMOUNT BY STANDARDS |
|------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| TARGET GROUP | 01 2010 | | | |
| Pre-unit class | 8 | 3 | 11 | 13 |
| Standard one | 3 | 4 | 7 | 7 |
| Standard two | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Standard three | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Upper standards | 7 | 5 | 12 | 24 |
| Total Amount of the children | 22 | 13 | 35 | 49 |
| The youth group | 8 | 5 | 13 | 15 |
| Total amount of participants | 30 | 18 | 48 | 64 |

The interviews and questionnaires were carried out in the end of June and beginning of July 2006. Finding participants to the research was an easy task. The director and the employees were happy to participate in the interviews. Other interviewees were found by the employees. None of them refused to do the interview. The employees also advised me on conducting the open questionnaire. The purpose of the questionnaires was explained to the children by their teacher and the social worker and everybody wanted to participate. The youth was also willing to cooperate and some of them even contacted me afterwards to add an answer to their questionnaires. The staff of the DFC was willing to help, whenever interpretations were needed.

In addition, participatory observation was one of the methods used in this study. According to Creswell (2003, 188), observations include taking, fields notes or recording in an unstructured or semi structured way at the research site. During June and July 2006, I spent six weeks participating in the centre's activities. I observed the school and contributed to the teaching by giving the children music and physical education classes. I also took part on the youth activities and followed closely the work of the social worker. Furthermore, I

had long talks about the centres activities, and the children's and youngster's backgrounds with the director and the employees.

3.2 Hypothesis

The original aim of the interview questions designed for the employees (appendix 1) in 2006 was to explore their experiences on the cooperation with Kema. The goal was to investigate which aspects of the logical outline have been fulfilled and which are the future expectations of the project. Moreover, the aim was to find out who are the other partner organizations of DFC and clarify the means of networking with them.

In this study the director's and employees' interviews play also a major role. Nevertheless, for this research the broad interviews will be used to analyse the methods used in DFC's operations and the reasons for its success in the vulnerable and dynamic environment. The entrepreneurial activities of the director and the employees are the main object of interest. The interviews also dealt with the challenges of the environment, and for that reason they will be used as a base to analyze the social resilience of the organization especially when it comes to community assets and institutional governance. In addition, the questions concerning the support DFC gets from government officials and financers will be used to analyze the social will of the operating environment.

The assumption is that the major reason behind the fact that DFC has survived and grown in the vulnerable environment is the entrepreneurial skills of the director and her ability to creatively combine existing resources and find new partners. DFC operates in a vulnerable environment with scarce natural and community assets and with minor support from the government officials. The assumption, therefore, is that DFC has a great ability to cope with external stresses and disturbances and it can quite successfully adapt to the new circumstances. The presumption, furthermore, is that the civil will in Kibera is minor when it comes to financing and supporting self-help-organizations.

The aim of the theme interviews with the children, youngsters and the parents is to bring forward life stories of the typical customers of DFC and to explore, which are the influences of DFC's activities in their lives. The typical customers of the DFC are orphans,

abandoned children or children from the families that are not able to take care of their basic needs. Therefore, the presumption is that the life stories include abuse and the children are most likely orphans or from a single parent family. Many of the children are probably too young to be able to state the exact influences of the program to their lives. However, they are probably happy about the fact that they have an access to an education and are provided meals every day.

The youth is more likely to be able to analyse the influence DFC has had to their lives. Due to the fact that many of the DFC's youths are former drug addicts, the youth group probably offers them alternative action and a healthier peer group. The object of interest is how the activities of the youth contribute the social resilience of DFC and if an entrepreneurial activity benefitting DFC can be found among the youngsters.

For the parents, the greatest influence is most likely the fact that they know that their children have a chance for education and they are fed every day. Moreover, the parents probably get peer support through the workshops organized for them and DFC functions as a mediator in sharing information on children's rights to the parents and the surrounding community. However, the main interest of this study is to find out how the parents influence on DFC's operations as they can be seen as the social environment in which DFC operates. The object of interest, therefore, is which kind of support DFC receives from the parents e.g. in voluntary work, financial aid. The assumption is that the financial support is minimal. Nevertheless, the social environment can influence through attitudes e.g. not accepting vandalism towards DFC property.

The questionnaires' original aim was to find out how the children and the youth experience DFC's activities and what their thoughts about the program are: Which activities function well and which could be developed and, furthermore, what they expect from the program. Due to the fact that only 25 per cent of the children in Kibera have an access to education, the assumption was that for the children the services of the centre are the only access to education and in many cases the only way out of child labour or destructive peer groups for example attending criminal activities or being involved with drugs. Due to their older age the youth expectations from the program was expected to be higher. The youth may also expect assistant for their further studies and skill development.

However, in this study on social resilience and civic entrepreneurship the questionnaires will be used to analyze the customer satisfaction, which indirectly influences the social support of the organization. The main hypothesis of this study is that the director of DFC has great entrepreneurial skills, which influences DFC's ability to cope with external stresses. Therefore, DFC's is a socially resilient organization.

2.3 Reliability and validity

The reliability of a qualitative research is always influenced by the conditions in which the interview is conducted and the mood of both the interviewer and the interviewee. The interviewer's world view and preconceptions may also affect the results. Moreover, the familiarity with the interviewee may influence the answers or the interpretations of the answers. (e.g. Hirsijärvi ym. 1996; Järvinen ym. 2000).

In this study the factors that influenced positively to the reliability are, first, that the interviews took place in the interviewees own ground meaning the school, their homes and the DFC's office. This made the interviewees feel more comfortable. Secondly, the interviewees' enthusiasm and willingness to talk about the issue influenced the fact that the answers were comprehensive. This was especially apparent amongst the youngsters and the employees, who were more than willing to introduce me the operating environment and include me in the activities. The youth talked frankly about sensitive issues in their lives and the employees shared openly the problems and challenges in the centre and even asked for my consultation. Furthermore, the fact that I was from a faraway country in which the research would be published seemed to increase the willingness of the interviewees to talk about personal issues and share their life stories quite openly.

The third factor adding to the reliability was my limited knowledge about the program. Although I had familiarized myself with Kibera and the education system there through literature, I had only read the logical outline of the project and met the president of Kema once before starting the research. That reduced the preconditions I had about the project. The fourth factor increasing the reliability is my short acquaintance with the interviewees, which reduced my own interpretations about the answers based on the familiarity with the person being interviewed.

The greatest challenges with the reliability appeared amongst the children. This was due to the conditions in which the interviews took place. The children were interviewed at school apart from other children, which made them slightly shy in the beginning. Therefore, the answers were short. Another challenge was the fact that the interpreter was one of the staff members, who first, knows the children very well and, secondly, wanted to give a good impression on the organization. For that reason, the interpreter added sentences on the children's answers. This became evident, when transcribing the interviews even though I do not understand Swahili.

The enthusiasm of the interpreter not only added factors to the real answers, but sometimes prevented the children from talking, when interrupted by him. To add the reliability of the children's interviews another DFC's employee listened and anonymously interpreted them once more with a great thoroughness.

The main challenge especially with the qualitative research is poor repetitiveness (e.g. Hirsijärvi ym. 1996; Järvinen ym. 2000). In this study, when it comes to the employees, their expertise was definitely a factor increasing the validity. Three employees participating in the interview were the director and founder of the organization, the accountant and long-term volunteer and the social worker, who has the most responsibility on the field. They were certainly the best experts on the issue.

Limitation of validity appeared with the quantitative study again among the children. Due to the language barrier, the children were unable to fill the questionnaires themselves. In addition, DFC could not manage to find enough voluntaries to help the children. Therefore, the conditions in which the questionnaires were filled were not the most comfortable to the children: They were filled one by one in front of the classroom with the help of a teacher, me and sometimes another interpreter. The presence of so many people must have influenced the answers and children may have left some things unsaid. The will to please the teacher or fear of being embarrassed in front of the classmates are factors to consider, when evaluating the results.

However, this way of filling the questionnaires worked well with Standards one, two and three due to the gentle mail teacher, who the children seem to trust. For example, the

children in that class felt free to say that they do not want the challenged kids to come to the school, although this is against the values thought to them in class.

Problems aroused, when filling the questionnaires with the Pre-unit class. The voluntary interpreter did not want to take the children out of the class and the children were shy to talk in front of the female teacher. Few children even stopped the process. To make the questionnaires more valid, the filling was put on hold for the day and continued the next day without the presence of the teacher.

The validity amongst the children going to the higher standards in other schools is most probably higher. This is, firstly, due to the fact that they filled the questionnaires only with help of an interpreter. Some of them even spoke English. Their higher age and their openness to tell for example their previous drug abuse also influenced positively the validity. The reason for this is most likely the fact that they are not as dependent on the DFC as the younger children, for the reason that they get education and support also from another school.

Besides all the factors hindering the validity with the children, some major needs of the group can be defined from the questionnaires. This is because all the children were very willing to participate in the filling of the questionnaires and concentrated on their answers. They were also very decisive when asked the things they need from the program.

The validity with the youngsters is apparently good, due to the fact that they were able to fill the questionnaires anonymously by themselves. They also took the process of filling them very seriously and even asked to expand their answers afterwards.

Overall, the reliability and validity of the research is reasonably good. The main reason for that is the fact that all the participants took the process very seriously. Furthermore, I had enough time to clarify the answers that were vague or which I did not fully understand with the interviewees. Also the factors that influenced the reliability or validity negatively, like the problems with the interpreter, were discovered and dealt with immediately.

4 KIBERA SLUM PROJECT

4.1 Brief history of Kibera

Kibera Slums is the most highly populated informal settlement in East Africa. It is located five kilometres South East of City Centre Nairobi, The estimated population of the slum varies from 0,7 million to 1,2 million inhabitants. Nevertheless, Kibera is housing more than one quarter of Nairobi's population.

Kibera started as Nubian enclave in 1928 when the British colonial government let a group of Nubian soldiers settle on a wooded hillside of Nairobi, with no title deeds. Over time, other tribes moved in and rented land from the Nubian landlords. Due to this, Kibera has been the site of small tribal squabbles throughout its nearly 100 year history. Today Kibera is composed of over ten villages including Kianda, Soweto, Gatwekera, Kisumu Ndogo, Lindi, Laini Saba, Siranga/Undugu, Makina and Mashimoni, which is the area of concern in this study.

The problems in the slum are various, extreme poverty being the greatest one. Urban services such as water or sanitation are minimal. There is an average of one latrine for every 50 to 500 people. (Sauberes drinkwasser für alle, 2005). The drinking water is pumped through plastic pipes alongside sewage drains, which carry garbage and human waist. The water-born diseases like cholera and typhoid are therefore common.

The Health Services and Sexual Education are minimal, at some parts non-existent, and HIV and AIDS are spreading. Kibera Community Support Group (CSG 2006) has estimated that 54 percent of people living in urban areas in Kenia are eather HIV positive or have AIDS and other estimates vary between 30 to 60 percent. Clashes between the various tribes in the slum are also common. Five of Kenya's six largest ethnic groups including Kikuyu, Kisii, Luo, Luhya, and Kamba claim that Kibera is their home. In addition, the Nubians, a Sudanese Muslim group that first settled Kibera after being recruited to fight on behalf of the British in World War I, claim land tenure rights to the slum. (Carolina for Kibera 2010). High population growth and density adds to the problems. In addition, the drug abuse and easy availability of drugs conduct another problem.

The children are often the victims of these problems and as a consequence, many children are abandoned due to drug abuse and, furthermore, the amount of AIDS orphans is high. The knowledge on children's rights is minimal and many children suffer from abuse. Only 25 percent of the children in Kibera are attending school.

One of the millennium development goals was to halve the number of people suffering from extreme poverty and improve the lot of slum dwellers by 2002. However, according to Harding (2005) the people in Kibera have been brutally neglected by world leaders. The community building in Kibera, therefore, relies basically on the shoulders of non-governmental organizations. (Macharia 1992).

4.2 Introduction of the organizations

The first organization in this research is a self-help organization Drug Fighters and Councelling for Young Generation (DFC). The organization operates in the Mashimoni village, which is the most populated area of Kibera. DFC is a local organization and it started to operate in 1998, when the founder of the organization Agnes Musau (formerly called Kirima) started rescuing abandoned children to her home. In addition, she started to hold an unofficial school for the children in a small corridor. The organization was registered officially in February 2001.

Musau lives in the slum with her husband, son and younger brother. The other active members of the organization are also inhabitants of Kibera. The organization summarizes its goals in the following manner: "To improve the current generation of young people from being destroyed physically, psychologically, emotionally and spiritually through the use of drugs and their general availability with the community". (Mikkeli Fair Trade Association 2005)

DFC is renting few hovels built of iron sheets, in which they keep a shelter for children and youngsters. The centre got burnt in March 2006 and, in addition to all movable property in the centre, the roof was burnt down. The school still operates in the same burnt premises. However, the organization has acquired ten new rooms right next to the centre. The organization was supposed to move into these new premises on August 2006, but the illegal inhabitants of these rooms are refusing to move out.

DFC provides the children with an informal education from nursery school to standard three. The education follows the national curriculum set by the Government. DFC also arranges donations for the children to be able to continue their studies in other schools to higher Standards. In addition, all the children are provided with two meals per day.

In June 2006, approximately 64 children between 1-16 years were participating on the activities. Approximately half of the children were girls. Four of the children were physically challenged. Donations have made possible for 24 of these children to be located in public and private schools. These children, however, participate in the feeding program and bible study and football on Saturdays.

There are two main programs designed for the children; the other one with the emphasis on early childhood development and the other one concentrates on the rehabilitation of the children who have suffered from violent abuse (Mikkeli Fair Trade Association 2005). Furthermore, Musau divides the programs into five different activity groups: school, feeding program, medical services, clothing program and counselling program, which Musau considers to be the most important part of the recovering of the children. In addition, bible study is organized to the children on Saturdays.

The amount of youngsters between 17 and 25 years is around 15. Five of the youngsters are girls and ten are boys. Before the centre got burned the amount of youth was 24. However, after the burning many youngsters lost hope and the amount of attendants dropped down to few. Luckily a few active members of the group kept the activities going, and thus the other ones have gradually started to come back to the centre.

The activities organized for the youth are football, theatre- and poetry groups, garbage collection and education on drugs and HIV/AIDS. In addition, many youngsters take part in outreaching, which means recruiting other young drug addicts, talking to them and telling them about the dangers of using drugs. During July 2006 the income generating activities like jewellery making also started to take place among the youth: The youth had a work shop in which they made costumes, which they can wear in the demonstrations and they can also be hired to the demonstrations of other organizations. Furthermore, they started to prepare jewellery for sale.

In addition to all these activities, DFC organizes legal services for abused children and places them in the shelters. These children are most often sexually abused girls or girls under a threat of female circumcision. Unofficial rehabilitation is also organized for the children and youth and even their parents. This is carried out by counselling, bible study and providing them with different activities during the days. Moreover, DFC involves the parents and local community into the activities by educating them mainly on children's rights.

There are 300 children and youngsters in the target area of DFC (Mikkeli Fair Trade Association 2005). According to Agnes Musau, by targeting this range of age, the problem can be controlled and eradicated.

Before the cooperation, the activities of DFC were financed by collecting money and other possessions from local enterprises, organizations and churches. Furthermore, the voluntary work played a big role in the activities. Consequently, the organization was solely dependent on donations. The irregular donations made it challenging to keep the activities continuous. In order to make the project stable, regular income was needed.

Mikkeli Fair Trade Association (Kema) was founded in 1986. The small group of activists set up a World Shop specialized in fair trade goods in Mikkeli Finland. The shop is selling products from the developing countries. This is to ensure that the producers would get a fair payment for their products, which is not included in the policies of most supranational companies. Through the years, Kema has had development projects in Tanzania in 1987-1989 and in the Mokatta slum in Cairo from 1999 to 2002.

The planning of the cooperation between DFC and Kema started in 2004, when the president of the Finnish organization was working on her research in Nairobi.

The official start of the cooperation project took place in April 2006. The project is financed by Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland.

According to the logical outline of the project, Musau has stated the goals of this particular project as follows:

- 1. Arrange informal education for lonely orphans and desperate children and young people.
- 2. Prevent the problems of youngsters like drug abuse.
- 3. Promote the general survival of young people by preventing the child labour and abuse and wider neglect in general.
- 4. Provide clothing and basic accessories for lonely children.
- 5. Stimulate the self esteem of abandoned children.
- 6. Provide conditions for the mental growth of the target group.
- 7. Provide vocational training to young people.
- 8. Create profitable activities, which promote the survival of the target group.

(appendix 4)

In order to meet these goals, the following measures are planned to be taken: First, expanding the informal school by recruiting five teachers and providing a daily meal for the attendants. The second objective is to develop profitable activities of the target group in order to achieve sustainability. The profit will be used for material and equipment, for example sewing machines, needed in providing the children with vocational training. Thirdly, the aim is to plan work shops and seminars, with the purpose of preventing HIV/AIDS, educate locals about the affects of drug abuse and providing information about the rights of the children to the parents. The fourth goal is to seek sustainability by educating the voluntaries of DFC on project administration and work against drug abuse.

The planned duration of the cooperation is three years and the aim is that after that, the project is self financed and will continue on its own. This naturally requires great expansion of the profitable activities of the organization and educating the employees on project finance.

4.3 The Director and the employees of DFC

In this chapter the DFC's three core employees are introduced and their experiences about the cooperation with Kema are discussed. Furthermore, the short term outcomes of the cooperation are listed and the employees' future expectations will be explored. Networking with other organizations is evident for the survival of small self-help organizations in Kibera. Therefore, the other partner organizations of DFC are also introduced.

As typical to the employees of small self-help organizations, the DFC's employees reasons for work are not primarily financial, but stem from the overall concern over the community and its' children. They also strongly believe their work is guided by God.

The director and founder of DFC Agnes Musau is a Kamba, which is one of the five Kenya's largest ethnic groups represented in Kibera as mentioned in chapter 1.1. In addition to these ethnic groups also the Nubians, a Sudanese Muslim group consider Kibera their home. Musau was born in 1967 and she moved to Kibera at the age of 16 after having a son. She also took care of her younger brother. The reason for founding DFC was Musau's long term concern over the surrounding community and especially its children. Musay also delt with substance abuse in her childhood; her parents separated when she was eight due to her father's heavy drinking. The mother was left to provide for three daughters and six sons.

Before founding DFC, Musau completed the primary school. After moving to Kibera she worked as a small entrepreneur selling vegetables. She was also an active member of a women's group. Since founding the DFC, Musau has attended many courses of her field. She has gone through leadership training, community conflict solving course and a course of alcohol and drug substances. These courses have been arranged by other organizations.

DFC was established in 1998, but officially registered in 2001. For the first years, Musau was responsible of all aspects of the organization and worked as a social worker, a counsellor, a teacher and a cook. Nevertheless, she gained great support from her son and younger brother. At the moment, Musau's responsibilities in the organization include directing the other employees and rescuing children.

Another interviewee, accountant and a board member of DFC Elizabeth Mungania is a Meru and was born in 1980. She is from Meru and is a second born in the family with seven children. She is from a wealthy family and her father used to work as a vet. After retiring, both her parents have been involved in a community work and have donated land for the local women's project.

Mungania moved to Nairobi at the age of 11 to complete her primary school. Since then she has lived with her sister's family in Kileleshwua, one of the wealthy neighbourhoods in Nairobi. She went back to Meru to go through high school and continued her college in Nairobi. She studied law and completed her college education in 2002. At the moment she is studying business administration in college and wishes to be transferred into a university. Mungania has previous work experience in several law firms and a voluntary immigrant agency. Her previous tasks have been mostly concerned on research.

Mungania became familiar with DFC in February 2003 through a college professor. He had received a call from Musau's friend, who was asking legal advice concerning DFC's cooperation with two alleged American donors. The donors came from a local organization called Kenia Turning Point and were introduced to Musau by a pastor and a community activist working for a church called Slum Outreach. Instead of financing DFC, the Americans copied the DFC's concept and set up an own centre. In addition, they used pictures of DFC's children in their brochures and marketing. They got the licence for that in a noticeably short time. Mungania came to Kibera to find out if there was governmental corruption behind this. The conditions of the children touched Mungay very deeply. Given that she had been earning great amount of money from her previous job, she decided to finance herself with that money to volunteer as a teacher for DFC for four months.

Since that time Mungay has regularly volunteered in the centre mainly on assisting Musau with legal and financial issues. She started her full time job as an accountant in January 2006. In the interview she wanted to make clear that she does not want to be called an accountant, because she has not sufficient education in funding. However, she takes care of all the financial issues in the organization. In addition, her responsibilities include dealing with legal issues and follow the children's cases in court.

DFC's social worker Isaiah Mwirigi is a meru and was born in 1979. His family is also from Meru, and he is the youngest of five children. Mwirigi's parents separated when he was a one- year-old due to his father's alcohol abuse. His mother died when he was in the sixth grade and he moved in with his grandparents. He has not been in contact with his father, but has heard that he has also passed away.

Mwirigi moved to Nairobi for college and lives in Kawangware district. He graduated with a diploma in theology in 2002. Mwirigi has previous work experience as a logistic officer and a social worker in an organization called Disaster Kenya. He has also worked as a church administrator in Life Church. Mwirigi found out about DFC through his church, DFC being one of the charity objects of the church in the beginning of 2006.

After a withdrawal of one of the Disaster Kenya's financers, Mwirigi was left without a job. Immediately, he was introduced to the social workers vacancy in DFC by the person in charge of the charity projects in his Church. Mwirigi started his work in April 2006. His responsibilities are mainly concerned with children's welfare and include rescuing abused children, taking them to the hospital and following up their cases and dealing with their parents. Mwirigi considers the counselling and talking to the children being the most essential part of his job. Furthermore, Mwirigi is involved with the youth counselling and capacity building.

DFC's Employees are from different backgrounds both from Kibera and outside Kibera. Their educational backgrounds also vary from primary education to college degrees. The director has the lowest education and slightest previous work experience, yet as a founder she has the most thorough knowledge of the organization.

4.3.1 The reasons for establishing the DFC and the organizational values and goals

The reasons for establishing DFC was the overall concern over community especially its children. The effects of drug abuse are visible in the children of the community and many children are using drugs themselves.

The organization was founded solely by Musau. As a child she had suffered from the alcohol abuse of his father. At the age of eight she announced to her mother that when she

will grow up, she is going to walk around the community with a cane, which she had seen the respected elders using. With that cane she will beat all the man using alcohol. Since then Musau has pursued to eradicate the use of drugs in the community.

When moving to Kibera Musau was an active member of a women's group, which supported each other mentally and financially. According to Musau, one of the events leading to establishing DFC was seeing a young boy in her neighbour. The boy put on a school uniform every morning, but instead of going to school he went to sweep the street with his bare hands. Musau found out that the boy's family sold drugs, which the boy was using. At that moment Musau realized that the women's group does take care of its own, but does not help the surrounding community.

One night Musay got an idea that instead of buying food for themselves, the women's group would cook for the children using drugs. That way, they could ask the children, where the problem stems from. First the children thought that the women are taking them to the police, but eventually agreed to come. Some of their parents came too. It appeared that most of their parents made a living by selling drugs.

According to Mungay, the children are involved with drugs and crime from a very young age. This is due to the fact that it is common by the parents, who are often drug addicts and prostitutes, to take care of the children only until the age of six or seven. After that they are considered to be old enough to take care of themselves.

DFC started its operation in 1998. In the beginning, the operation was modest; Musau held an unofficial school to the children in a corridor of a building, which was often locked from her. She also rescued abused children to her own small hovel.

When asked about the values and goals of the organization Musau states that DFC stands for children, youth and women and that the motto of the organization is: "To restore the lost hope of the children". According to Musau and Mungania, influencing children is the only sustainable way to change the community.

Year after year the same story. Children being born every day, growing up in the same circumstances as their parents and turning up just the way other people before them. (Mungania, 2006)

Mungania adds, that the goal is to raise adults who are focused in life and realise, that they do not have to be prostitutes or drug addicts like their parents. She also hopes that the work with the children will have a long term influence on the community.

You raise children who in the age of 20 or 30 will be able to help the others born in slum. That is the core of this organization. Change the situation.

Mungania draws attention to the fact that it is too late to try to influence the people in their late twenties or thirties. She states, that it is very hard to get them to listen. Therefore, the work has to be long term and concentrate on the childen

The social worker Mwirigi states that he does not know exactly the values and goals of the whole organization, but based on his own work, he suggested that it is to give the children a good future.

4.3.2 Experiences on the cooperation, results and future expectations

Overall the employees' experiences of the cooperation with Kema were extremely positive. In addition, many of the goals stated in the logical outline have started to take place. However, the employees' knowledge about their partner organization is almost non-existent. Typical to the DFC's employees working in the field, also the social worker Mwirigi is not at all familiar with the project.

According to Musau, the planning of the cooperation started in the spring 2004. She had met with the president of Kema Tuovi Tolonen through an employee of Girl Child Network's (GCN).

When Tolonen left Africa, Musau gave her a small proposal to support the centre, which Tolonen agreed on. They could not be in contact, because Musau did not have an e-mail address. When she gained one, she started to exchange ideas with Tolonen and soon Musau received a cooperation project proposal from Tolonen.

Musau states that there were a few challenges in the cooperation, which appeared in the beginning. First of all, Musau's family and friends were very sceptical about the project, because DFC had previously received fake proposals by different people. Secondly, Musau was supposed to work through the GNC's employee. This cooperation with the employee, however, did not work out. According to Musau, this was because GNC's employee was reluctant to cooperate, due to the reason that being a middle person between DFC and Kema was not one of the employee's responsibilities. The third problem was that the communication in the beginning was poor due to lack of finance and Tolonen did not receive answers to her requires from DFC in a reasonable period of time.

Currently all the interviewed employees are really satisfied with the cooperation. Mungania crystallizes her experiences on the project the following way:

It was like a dream. You know those things you wake up in the morning and those things you always dreamed of happening is happening. I have to tell you that lobbing to get food for those children for a whole month it was not easy. You had to move from one group to the other, from one child to the other. ... you hardly get enough. So at least now we are feeding the kids, which is a big improvement. It is just a big improvement.

According to Musau one major change is in her own work; now she is not responsible for everything, but can delegate the work. She further states that the cooperation is adding to the children's happiness, because now they have new teachers, books, pens and food. She also emphasises the importance of the interns and visitors coming through Kema as a factor that delights the children. Mungania further points out that now there is money for the transportation of employees and voluntaries, which used to be a problem.

The knowledge of the goals of the cooperation or the Finnish partner organization among the staff is week. None of the employees knew what Kema stands for or what the organization does. Musau had an impression that Kema is an organization supporting disadvantaged children and women and mostly focuses on girl children. The employees'

knowledge on Kema is strongly personificated on the president. Tolonen and the employees mainly call Kema Tuovi's organization.

When asked about the length of the cooperation, only Musau was able to answer. Other employees thought that it would last forever. Only Mungania, being an accountant, knew where the funding to the project comes from. Musau also knew that money is coming from the foreign ministry of Finland, because she remembered that that is where Tolonen applied for the money when the project started. The responsibilities of Kema in the cooperation Musau and Mungania listed to be financing and monitoring the project. Mungania further added that the most responsibility to use the money wisely lies on DFC.

The immediate results of the cooperation are stated below and are based on the goals stated in the logical outline of the project (appendix 4).

- Three full time teachers, a social worker, an accountant and a secretary have been hired.
- New books, which meet the standard of national curriculum set by the government, have been acquired and the curriculum is followed in education.
- Children are served two meals per day; they have soy porridge in the morning and a nutritious lunch.
- Two new lavatories have been built.
- The new premises with ten rooms for the school have been arranged and the school will move there as soon as the current illegal tenants will be removed.
- One work shop on children's rights has been arranged to the parents in June 2006.
- Two trips to a field outside the slum has been arranged to the children
- One vocational training course for youth on making big puppets used in demonstrations took place in July 2006.
- The mothers of the children have started to prepare hand bags and the youth group is preparing jewellery for sail

The plans for the near future to meet the objectives are, first, to hire fourth teacher to teach the standards two and three. Second plan is to arrange sewing courses for the youth in order to make school and sport uniforms for sale. This is planned to take place when the new premises and sewing machines are acquired. In the long-term Musau hopes that they can develop the activities of the school so much that they could start collecting school fees from the children whose families could afford it.

The employees have slightly different views about the plans concerning the education of locals. However, according to Mungania, there will be a demonstration against FGM (female genital mutilation) in August and another work shop on children's rights in November.

The issue of whose responsibility it is to gather money and possession from the donors was also unclear to the employees. According to Musau, it is solely her responsibility, although she delegates the follow-up of the already acquired donors to the employees. Mungania, on the other hand, claims that all the hired employees are involved in money and possession gathering and she her self has a great responsibility over finding donors. Mwirigi speculated that it could be Mungana's responsibility. The voluntaries and employees have not yet been trained on project administration, due to the fact that DFC has not come across a course with a reasonable prize.

The burning of the centre in March 2006 and the delay in acquiring the new premises has caused a problem with the night shelter. At the moment there is no place for abused children to spend their nights. Two children are staying permanently at Musau's house. In addition, a few children and youngsters seek temporary shelter at Musau's house on regular bases.

There are still some shortages concerning the hygiene of the children. The budgeted money has not been used in clothes or soap, which still come as donations. The donations are not enough to provide children with adequate clothing and many children do not have shoes. Also the lack of water causes problems with hygiene. According to Mwirigi, it is not useful to have soaps, because there is not enough water to wash the children's hands. When it comes to hygiene, the children's hands are occasionally washed with water before the lunch. Another area of concern is that the children are not served water during a school day. This would be extremely important for the children's health, because there is no roof in the centre and the children are often exposed to the sun all day. The employees claimed that water is not served due to the lack of containers. However, when the interns purchased

the containers, water was boiled and served only when supervised by the interns. The employees do not seem to consider serving water to the children important.

Another reason for the lack of water is that the water has to be fetched from a private water pipe located approximately two kilometres from the centre. The price of the water varies from three to 10 shillings per 20 litres. Musau claims, that it is extremely important to purchase a big water tank for the centre in the near future. That way the water could be bought from the government's main water pipe by larger amounts, which is considerably cheaper.

Text books and exercise books have been acquired with the budgeted money. However, they are not in use in the class. The reason for that, according to Musau, is that they cannot be stored in the burnt premises. Nevertheless, they will be given to the children in the near future.

The DFC's employees' future expectations from the cooperation vary. Both Musau and Mungania hope that Kema could help them to set up a shelter for girls. This has been a challenge, because the budgeted money cannot be used in purchasing land. However, it is extremely important to build the centre outside Kibera for the safety of the girls. Therefore, they hope that Kema could help to raise money to purchase land. Furthermore, Musau wishes that Kema could support DFC until it reaches the level of education the children are requesting from them. This means having a permanent place for the centre and offering children the primary and secondary level education meaning high school and vocational courses. Mungania, on her behalf, is more modest. According to her, DFC is not in a position to have its' own high school and, therefore, she hopes that with the support from Kema, DFC could offer its children primary level education and Kema could sponsor children to go to different high schools on individual bases.

When clarified several times that the cooperation is planned to last for three years, Musau's and Mungania's expectations were similar: To develop the income activities in order to maintain the accomplished level and attain a basis for organizational growth by the end of the cooperation.

4.3.3 Networking with other organization

All the employees considered networking with other organizations crucial. According to Musau, the two of the most important partner organizations are called Goal Island and Society of Africa. Both provide shelters for the girls DFC has rescued. Another organization called International Justice Mission (IJM) finances those placements and also provides legal assistance for these cases with no charge.

Vocational training is organized through an international organization Don Bosco and two of the DFC's youth are attending to Don Bosco's vocational training program at the moment. There are also many organizations, which provide DFC with assistance on different issues, for example, work shops and children's nutrition. The main organizations providing assistance are Urban Ministry of Serving God (UMSG) and Slum Outreach.

In addition, there are many other self-help organizations, which have provided DFC with favours like building tables for the school and sewing school uniforms for DFC's children located in other schools.

DFC has also provided other organizations mainly with assistance. Musau worked closely with Oxfam's employees, who were starting a cooperation project with another school in Kibera called Mashimoni Squarters.

The employees do not consider collaborating with government fruitful. Nevertheless, according to Musau, DFC is one of the few NGO's who tries to cooperate with the government. All the cases concerning child abuse are reported to the chief's office and the chief and Assistant chief even attended DFC's demonstration against drugs. Musau, however, points out that it is extremely challenging to get the government officials to acknowledge the children's rights and it is very common that the cases are not taken seriously. Musau believes that in the long-run working with the government will influence the officials to raise concern over the children in Kibera.

Musau states that networking is a part of the everyday activities and she is constantly looking for new partner organizations. Most of the experiences on networking have been positive and Musau states that every organization is helping in a particular way.

4.3.4 General views to the future

All the employees consider the major responsibility of improving the general situation in Kibera laying on the NGO's. Mungania and Musay, both emphasise the responsibility of society and self-help organizations, whose value Mwirigi crystallizes in the following way:

The problem we have in Kibera is not passive poverty. The only problem we have is our mind set. The mentality we have is that unless somebody helps us, unless we are given funding from a certain organization our lives can never be changed. But these self help groups, they have really changed the thinking of those people, because they become self reliant now. We can rely on ourselves. We have been blaming the government that there are no jobs, and they have created self employment. And through that, we can have sustainability in our community.

Musau points out, that not all the NGO's and even self-help organizations can be considered as one group, because majority of them are corrupted. Mwirigi also states that a lot has to be done to strengthen the leadership structures of the organizations. All the employees agree that the government's corruption and reluctance to improve the general situation in Kibera slows down the development. They claim that the general situation should be government's responsibility, yet the government has done nothing to improve it. Musau, however, was hopeful that if the government could come down to the level of self-help organizations, there would be a chance for the cooperation to work.

The future expectations of the employees for DFC are high. The first expectation is to see the DFC's children acquiring the highest level of education and become what they have desired to be. Some of the future hopes do not correlate with the project outline and seem quite unrealistic given the current situation: Mwirigi expects DFC to grow national in the future. Musau even believes it to become international in time and states:

Drug Fighters is not a local organization, but is a global organization. It is only founded in Kenya, but I see it as an international organization fighting drug abuse.

5 DFC'S TARGET GROUP

5.1 The children's experiences on DFC

The education in Kenya is classified into three main phases by the 8-4-4 system. This means eight years of primary education, four years of secondary education and four years of university education. DFC provides the children with an informal education from nursery school to standard three. In between the nursery and standard one the children attend to preunit education. The education follows the national curriculum set by the Government. DFC also arranges donations for the children to be able to continue their studies in other schools to higher standards. Furthermore, all the children are provided with two meals per day and a third meal is planned to take place in the near future.

There were around 40 children attending DFC's school in June and July 2006, approximately half of them were girls. In addition, 24 children attended the higher standards in other schools through DFC.

These children participate in the feeding program and bible study and football on Saturdays. Nevertheles, the amount of children is constantly increasing and new children are rescued to the centre every month.

The questionnaire was conducted in advance and they were finalized in cooperation with the director Musau and the social worker Mwirigi (appendix 2). However, some of the questions added by them concerning the community's attitudes toward handicapped people and females were left out when filling the questionnaires, because the children found them confusing.

The children were not able to fill the questionnaires themselves and not enough voluntaries could be arranged to help in the process. For that reason, the children were interviewed one at the time with an interpreter. With the standards one to three the teacher was the interpreter and the children answered the questions often in front of the class. Even though they spoke surprisingly openly around the teacher and their classmates, the reliability of

the questionnaires can be suspected and bared in mind when evaluating the results. The reliability of the survey is discussed more in depth in chapter 2.3.

However, some common interests and differences between the classes can be identified. Furthermore, especially the children who are going to other schools talked about their lives very openly. Therefore the questionnaires of the children are included in the research. The results are summarized in the following.

In total 49 children participated in the questionnaires. The nursery class was not included in the study, because of the young age of the students and incapability to answer the questions. Table 3 shows the amount and gender of the participants in every standard by standard and the total amount of respondents from Pre-unit class*, to upper standards.

TABLE 3 The amount and gender of the children participating in the questionnaires

| STANDARD | AMOUNT OF BOYS | AMOUNT OF GIRLS | AMOUNT OF PARTICIPANTS | TOTAL AMOUNT BY STANDARDS |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| Pre unit* | 8 | 3 | 11 | 13 |
| Standard one | 3 | 4 | 7 | 7 |
| Standard two | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Standard three | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Upper standars | 7 | 5 | 12 | 24 |
| Total Amounts | 22 | 13 | 35 | 49 |

Most of the students from pre unit answered the questionnaires. Two out of 13 Pre-unit students did not finish the questionnaires, because they got shy in the middle of the process. Standard one, two and three are taught in the same class by the same teacher. All the children from this class participated. In total, this is 12 children; seven children from Standard one, three from Standard two and two from Standard three. In addition, half of the 24 children going to other schools participated in the research.

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class

^{*} The children attend pre unit before starting Standard one. The new children are most often located to this

The total amount of children in the centre varies constantly, because new children are rescued and sometimes children quit the school for various reasons listed later in this chapter. The results of the quantitative study are summarizes in the following.

The ages of the Pre-unit students vary from 4 to 7 years. As an exception, there is one 10-year-old-boy attending the Pre-unit. The ages of Standard one students vary from 5 to 13 years. Most of the children going to other schools are between 8 and 12 years old. One girl is only six years old and one boy is 13. Many of the children do not know their ages, which for example is the case with all the girl students in the Pre-unit. The ages of those students are based on teachers' evaluations. Majority of the children have been coming to the centre for three to ten years, however, the Pre-unit and Standard one students do not remember for how long they have been participating in the centre's activities and the evaluations were made by the teachers. Most of the children were first brought to the centre by they mothers or director Musau.

All the children feel very positive about DFC and most of them state that the best thing in the centre is to sit and learn. The particular activity the children in all standards like the most is reading. The children rate reading higher than eating or football. The students attending Pre unit and Standard one cannot say if the program has changed their lives or will affect their future. Instead they state what their want to be when they grow up. The majority of the children want to be pilots or drivers. Majority of the students going to higher classes think the program has shifted their life to the better direction and will affect positively to their future. The most common reason for that is the education.

All the children would tell positive things about the program to their friends and many would invite them to come to the centre. The Pre unit students and the Standard one students like everything in the centre. The students attending the higher classes are more critical and especially boys do not like "bad games", which means the fighting and bullying that takes place in the recesses. The students going to other schools complain about the premises of DFC: They do not like the dirt and they think the area is too small.

Most of the children know students who have left the program and the reasons for that are listed below:

- The burning of the centre in March
- They did not like the food in the centre
- Their parents do not want them to come
- They were forced to marry
- They were unable to learn
- They went to the streets to work
- Their parents did not want them to come, because they wanted the children to take care of the younger siblings
- They moved to the rural area
- They went to the bigger football club

More than a half of Pre-unit students and six out of seven Standard one students have seen people affected by drugs. Four of the Standard one students claim that they have seen their fathers using drugs and one state that all the fathers use them. All the higher standard students have seen people using drugs and seven of them state that those people are children and youngsters. One 11-year-old boy going to another school admits that he has been using drugs himself.

More than a half of the Pre-unit and the Standard one student know children who are working in the streets. All the students attending the higher standards know working children and one Standard two student and two students attending other schools admit that they have been working themselves. All of them are boys. However, the children do not consider excessive housework (like fetching water and taking care of their siblings) that I observed many of the girls doing after school, work.

The wishes concerning the DFC's staff are various and they are summarised in table 4 in. The wishes that appeared in the questionnaires more often are listed first.

TABLE 4 Children's requests for the DFC's staff

| STANDARD | REQUESTS FOR THE STAFF | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|
| Preunit | Books, pencils, food, clothes, school bags and shoes Roof for the centre That the staff would pray the God to get them to the best schools To be helped | | |
| Standard one | Books, shoes, clothes, bags, food and chairs A geometrical set That the program will continue | | |
| Standards two and three | Clothes, shoes and socks Books, bags, pens and a geometrical set Roof for the centre | | |
| Higher standard students | Books, shoes, pencils, clothes, sweaters, shoes and socks, bags School uniforms and physical education for the girls Football uniforms and rulers for the boys Colour pens | | |

The requests of the children are clear and include school materials, clothes and food. The requests get more specific with the students attending the higher the standard. Although the children were asked if they have any tips or suggestions to the staff, their needs seem to be so instant that they just named the things that they need.

5.2 Lives of the children

In this chapter, two of the children's lives are covered more in depth. Two children were interviewed; a nine-year-old boy attending the Standard three and a seven-year-old girl attending Standard one. Both of them have been members of DFC for several years and live in Mashimoni and very close to the centre like most of the children.

The children were selected by the director Musau and the social worker Mwirigi based on the fact that they are typical examples of the DFC's customers. The emphasis in choosing the interviewed children was also based on the employee's predictions that the children would be centre's customers in the end of the project with Kema. Therefore, their lives could be followed through the project. Some of the facts of the children's backgrounds and reasons for their rescuing were clarified with the director of DFC Agnes Musau. This was

for the reason that the children themselves did not remember that time clearly and did not consider parent's drug abuse or physical violence to be abnormal.

5.2.1 Backgrounds of the children

According to Musau, she rescued the interviewed boy's two siblings in 2001. At that time there were riots in Kibera and many hovels had been burnt. Musau was participating in the rescue of the people, whose homes were burnt, when one of the community members told Agnes that she has found two children, who are not victims of the fire, but need to be rescued. Their single mother had left them to survive on their own due to her drug abuse. Musau found a starving baby boy and a young girl, who was circumcised. Musau rescued the children and left a note to their mother. The mother appeared to the centre after three days, but was under the influence of drugs and, therefore, not able to take care of the children. For that reason, the children stayed in the centre. These children were the interviewee's siblings. The boy was in the upcountry with their relatives at that time. When he came back from the upcountry a few months later, he was four years old and badly wounded in his leg. DFC provided the boy with medical care and he also started to attend the DFC's school.

At the moment, the boy and his younger brother attend the DFC's school and live with Musau. The boy was sent to another school to attend Standard three, but he did not stay there and ended up working in the streets collecting garbage. For that reason, he was taken back to the DFC's school. The sister attends the feeding program and attends the upper standards in a government school. Her school fees are paid by DFC. She lives with the mother, who is in rehabilitation in the centre and works there as a part-time cook.

According to Musau, the girl was taken to the DFC's school due to the excessive housework she was forced to do and physical abuse by her father. She has an older sister and three younger siblings; a five-year old boy and baby twins; a boy and a girl. The abuse had influenced the older sister in a way that she started to abuse the younger siblings and burned the girl and his brother with a hot iron. When Musau found this out, she confronted the father. Through discussions and reasoning with the father, the situation has improved a slightly. The father is not eager to work and quit his job as a night guard outside Kibera.

The mother tries to get small jobs paid by a task and among other things she fetches water from the water pipes for other people.

5.2.2 Life as a Drug Fighter

According to the boy, he joined DFC after returning from the upcountry, where he had stayed with relatives. When he came back to Kibera, he saw his brother and sister going to school and wanted to follow their example. He asked his sister if he could follow her to the school, but it was not possible, because not everyone is allowed to the government schools. Luckily, his younger brother offered to take him to the school he was going, which was DFC's school.

The boy tells that his life was good before joining the DFC. When asked about where he lived and what he ate, he says that there was no food, bedding or housing. However, he considers the hurt leg being the only problem before joining. When asked how his life has changed after joining, the boy gave a very specific answer:

First day I found other children and joined them. We learned and learned and learned. We went home, came back and learned. When Friday came, we went home to rest. Saturday we came to learn the bible. Afternoon we washed clothes. Then on Sunday the clothes were dry and we went to church. (Interpreted by Mungania)

Besides the school, the boy participates in a drama class and games in the centre and attends the bible study on Saturdays. According to him, the best thing in the centre is to sit and learn. Only after that come the new clothes and food that he is given. He also loves the trips DFC has organized for children. He has been to three trips, which have been taken to a church, an animal orphanage and to the field outside Kibera the boy calls lower lands.

The boy states that there are no problems in his life at the moment. According to him, he lives with Musau, because there are no beddings in their house. When asked about drugs, the boy says that his mother and his ant are drinking a lot, but at the moment the mother is drinking less. The problems that other children face in the community, according to the boy, are the neglect of the children and the fact that the orphans are not taken care of. He

adds that the children crossing the roads are often knocked by cars, because they have nobody to escort them to the school. He was not able to name any other party than DFC, who could help children with the problems.

The boy states that he knows children, who are working in the streets and he has worked himself collecting metals and plastics. He is not working at the moment. In the future the boy wants to be a doctor and have his own family.

The girl joined DFC when she was four to five years old. According to her, before he joined, the family did not have food. Her typical day included staying home with her baby brother and sweeping. She states that back then she wanted to read and write, go to school and be given food.

According to the girl, she joined DFC through Musau, whom she met on her way to buy oil. Musau invited her to come to the centre and the girl felt happy. Now her days are pleasant, because she is given books, erasers and pencils. She also explains that the children have porridge in the morning, then they have lunch and then they go back to learn. The best things in the centre she considers to be the school and the clothes. The girl has an impression that both her parents work during the day.

The girl states that at the moment her challenge in life is that she often gets sick. She gets aches in her stomach, head and eyes. At the time of the interview the girl had an infection in her eye. When asked how often she gets these pains, she adds that she also has pains in her legs, ears and hands. She gets support to the pains from DFC and her parents.

According to the girl, the greatest challenges that the children face in the community is that they get beaten by their parents and the fact that their parents are drunk. She adds that the children often get injured because of this. She also claims that the handicapped children are often walking alone in the night without their mothers. Therefore, the girl prays for them to get a mother and a father to help them. The girl also states that the girls have to do more housework, because when the boys are asked to help by their parents, they can say that it is too hard and just go talk to other children. However, she adds, she loves her brothers and sisters. The girl states that DFC helps children with their problems. She also suggests that

the government should help children by killing the thieves and beating those who are beating others.

When asked about drugs, the girl states that she knows many people, who use them. According to her, "those people" have money and they beat and kill other people. The interpreter Mungania suggested that by those people the girl might have ment drug dealers.

In the future the girl wants to be a shop keeper and wants to sell books, pens, soap and oil. She also wants to be somebody, who makes other people to be good. In the end of the interview the girl quoted a bible:

"Verily, verily I say to thee. Unless one is born again, he will never see the kingdom of God" (John 3:3)

5.3 The youngster's experiences on DFC

The youth group consists of 15 youngsters, whose ages vary from 14 to 25 years. Five of the youngsters are girls and ten are boys. In the beginning of the year 2006 there were around 25 participants. However, the centre got burned down in March 2006 and many youngsters stopped participating in the group due to the lack of premises and burned equipment. Nevertheless, the amount is growing gradually and went up from 10 to 15 during June and July 2006.

Out of the 15 members, 13 answered the open questionnaire (Appendix 3). The questionnaire was conducted in advance and it was finalized in cooperation with the director Musau and the social worker Mwirigi. Some questions were added by their recommendation.

However, many of the youngsters found some of the added questions confusing and they were removed from the final analysis. Some questions concerning disabled people in the community and child labour were also added. However, the purpose of the questionnaires was to clarify the influences of the program to the youth and their experiences on the program. Therefore, the questions concerning the community were also removed. The

questions included in the analysis can be found at the end of the research (appendix 3). The table 4 clarifies the amount, gender and age of the respondents.

TABLE 4 Gender and age of the youth respondent

| Age | Amount of | Amount of |
|--------|-----------|-----------|
| | females | males |
| 14 | 2 | |
| 17 | 1 | |
| 20 | 1 | 2 |
| 21 | 1 | 2 |
| 22 | | 2 |
| 23 | | 1 |
| 25 | | 1 |
| Total | | |
| amount | 5 | 8 |

All the five girls and eight of the ten boys answered the questionnaires. The ages of the girls are lower than the boys' and their ages vary from 14 to 21 years while the boys' ages vary from 20 to 25 years.

The length of the time they had been participating the activities vary from two months to eight years. Two girls and two boys have been members since the founding of the organization in 1998 and the boys are the founders of the youth group. One boy and one girl are new members and had participated in the activities two and three months in June 2006. Rest of the youth had been members from one to six years.

The joining occurs mostly through the director's or other youngsters' invitation. Two girls have joined through the director Musau. Four boys have been invited by other members and two boys and two girls have heard about DFC from friends. Only one girl has joined due to her own initiative after being inspired by the way the members of the youth group act.

Most of the youth did not answer the question concerned with their school or work place. One boy is finishing his firs-level education. Another one is going to technical college and one is doing an attachment as part of his mechanical training in the vocational school. Two of the girls are attending the primary education. However, the youth leader suspects that

the youths forgot to write their education down and states that there are only few youth, who are not attending school and most of them are in primary schools.

The activities the youth participate in are bible study, community clean-up, drug counselling, income-generating activities, football, drama and poetry classes, and musical activities like singing. Only one girl attends football although six out of eight boys attend. In addition, some youngsters visit the orphanages and participate in outreaching, which means introducing the program to other youth in the community and trying to recruit new members. Moreover, three boys are responsible of the leadership tasks of the group and, in addition, all the youngsters participate in youth meetings, where the achievements and plans of the group are discussed.

Four of the youth cannot name the activities they like the most and consider all the activities good. Among the rest of the youth the favourite activities vary among their personal interests. One of the girls named football being her favourite activity, another named eating in the centre and the third one considers drama and bible study being her favourite activities. The boys' favourite activities vary from clean up to drama. The activities that more than one boy consider their favourite are bible study, football and outreaching. None of the youths can name any activities that they do not like or which could be different, although, three boys stated that more equipment and donations are needed.

All the youngsters think that their lives have changed after joining the DFC. The organization has helped the youth by financing their education, teaching them about God and keeping them away from drugs, cigarettes and harmful peer groups. One girl states that before joining, she was disabled due to a serious illness and DFC made her able to function again by providing her with medication.

Most of the youth think the program will positively influence their future. One of the youngsters did not answer the question and one does not know if the program will affect his future. However, this boy has gotten rid of drugs through DFC's counselling. Two girls think their future will be productive due to the program. Table three shows the successes and challenges of the program from the youths' point of view.

TABLE 4 Successes and challenges of the program

| Successes of the program | Challenges of the program |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| • The education the program is providing to the children and the youth | Lack of equipment and finance |
| Rehabilitation of drug addicts | • Conflicts with the community |
| • Guiding drug addicts towards a better future | • Few number of participants |

Many youngsters have left the group through the years and 11 youngsters knew some of the people, who have left for following reasons:

- The organization could not finance their vocational training
- Few youths wanted to defame the name of the program
- Insufficient premises for the activities
- Some youth have started school
- Their parents did not want them to attend, because they consider that talking about sex to girls and boys at the same time is immoral
- Some youngsters thought that the organization has a lot of money, because they saw white people coming to the centre and left because they were not given any

The things that the youth would tell a friend about the program are all positive. The specific things the participants mention are listed below:

- The spiritual and mental effects of the program
- The positive sides of team work
- The activities and education the program provides
- The lack of judgement based on race, religion, education or gender
- The program shares information and awareness on drugs and early marriages
- Knowledge about Jesus

Many of the suggestions and recommendations to the DFC's staff are concerned with education. The girls requests are more specific than the boys'. One girl hopes to get insulin for her diabetes, a placement in a shelter and education. Another girl wishes to find a sponsor to help her with education and to help her family out of poverty. The third girl wishes that I could sponsor her education and her family. The fourth hopes that the organization would become world wide, but at least build a hall for the meetings. The fifth girl just wants to congratulate the staff for the good work with those who are desperate with their lives.

The boy's requests include more support and sponsorship for the children living in poverty. Furthermore, two of the boys hope that the organization would build a home for the children. Other requests include material for the activities and actions against poverty to decrease child labour and drug abuse. One boy hopes that to reach more youngsters DFC would open more centres in Kibera and in other slums. One boy states that the youth should work together with the staff and be further included in the program planning, implementation, monitoring and to some extent in evaluation. This way, the youth and the staff could jointly fulfil DFC's objectives and achieve its' vision.

5.4 The lives of the youngsters

Three youngsters were interviewed about their lives. All of them are from Mashimoni and have been members of DFC for several years. All of them considered DFC a very important part of their life and emphasise that their lives have changed radically after joining the DFC.

5.4.1 Backgrounds of the youngsters

The first interviewed youngster is the youth leader, a 20-year-old Lao, who has been a member of DFC since the year 2001. Due to the fact that polygamy is common in Kenia, he is from a family where his father has two wives. The father has 10 children with the first wife and six children with the second wife, who is the youth leader's mother. The youth leader was born in Kibera where his father had moved from the Western part of the country with his second family. The father did not have a job and the family suffered from poverty.

As the family could not afford living in the city, they moved back to the country. However, the family wanted one member to remain in the city and since the youth leader was attending primary school at the time, he was forced to stay. Some of the children from the first family also live in Kibera. One of the youth leader's half brothers has died due to the abuse of local alcohol called chang'aa.

The youth leader attended a private Catholic primary-school. He wanted to continue his studies at the secondary level, but could not manage to arrange the finance. At the age of thirteen he started working and using drugs due to peer pressure. The drugs that he used were marijuana and the chang'aa alcohol, which contains more than 80 percent of alcohol.

The youth leader joined DFC through other drug users, who told him about the organization. The leader was the only one of them who got clean and the others have since left the organization. The process of getting clean was not easy and in the beginning he kept secretly using drugs. The activities that helped him get clean were bible study and education. Like most of the youth, he did not know that drugs are hazardous to the health and he states:

Before I came here, I was used to do drugs. So I came and joined Drug Fighters and I started to know that the thing that I'm using actually they are bad for me. I didn't think about it before I came to Drug Fighters.

The crucial factor in getting rid of drugs was the given opportunity to lead people by DFC. The youth leader was sent to a two-week-workshop outside Kibera. During that time he was not able to gain access to drugs and was educated on the downsides of them. After the workshop he has not used drugs.

At the moment the youth leader's responsibilities include leading the other youth and delegating responsibilities to them. In addition, the youth leader states that his greatest responsibility is setting the vision for the group and making sure that the vision and goals are achieved.

The second interviewee is the assistant organizer of the youth group, a 21-year-old Kisii. He has been a member of DFC for over a year. His family lives in the country with his

brother and provide themselves with farming. The assistant organizer moved to Kibera from the country when he was to attend the secondary level education and help his uncle with his small shop. However, his uncle could not afford to sponsor the school and soon the shop went out of business.

The assistant organizer and his uncle suffered from extreme poverty and lack of food and clothes. The organizer did small jobs in the building sites mainly crushing stones. He was also in a peer group in which the drugs were used. The record of this group was bad among the government officials and its members were often arrested. He joined the youth group through Musau's son, who told him about the group. According to the assistant organizer, he had hesitations about joining, because Musau's son had also told about the negative side, which was the request to stop drinking.

The assistant organizer was reluctant to talk about his own drug abuse, when the director of DFC Musau was interpreting. When Musau was asked to leave the room, the organizer admitted that drugs affect his life. The organizer still uses drugs, but states that they do not prevent him from taking care of his responsibilities.

At the moment, he is one of the most active members of the youth group. He attends vocational training and studies to be a mechanic. The placement was arranged to him through DFC and he has been successful in his studies. In addition, he is a captain of the youth football team,

The third interviewee is 17-year-old Kikuju girl. She was born in Kibera and her mother died in 1991. Since then she has lived with her father and her sister. She also has a brother, who stays with her grandmother in the countryside. At the time of the interview the girl was staying at Musau's place due to a sexual abuse at home.

The girl joined DFC in 1999 at the age of 11. The girl was really sick at the time, for the reason that she suffered from diabetes and was not provided with regular meals or insulin. Back then she also smoked cigarettes, but did not yet use drugs. When Musau found her, she was immediately taken to the hospital, where she stayed for four months. After that she came to live with Musau, because Musau was able to provide her with insulin and food. She started to attend school and enjoy her life. In 2003 her ant from her father's side came

to visit her in the centre and wanted also her daughter to stay at DFC. Musau refused, because the daughter was taken care of at home. That led to actions by the ant. She kidnapped the girl from school and told her father that she would sell her to some American people, who will take care of her. Instead, she took her to the countryside. Soon the girl became ill, due to the lack of insulin. She was returned to the hospital in Nairobi and when she got out the ant placed her to different families in Kibera to be a house slave.

In 2005 the girl returned to live with his father, where she could not get insulin. Her father and her ant refused to let the girl to attend DFC's activities for the reason that the ant had manipulated the father to believe that Musau earns living by selling the children. The girl kept secretly attending the activities and when she got caught, his father attempted to beat her up, but the girl was able to escape from that. In the beginning of 2006 the girl finally got the father to understand that the ant is manipulating him. The father agreed to apologize to Musau and let the girl to be a member of DFC.

At the moment the girl is temporarily staying with Musau due to sexual abuse at home. She is participating in all the youth activities in the centre and also attending the last grade of primary school. Due to her diabetes, she has not been performing well at school, because she has been hospitalized a few times. She hopes she can find a financer to be able to repeat the eighth grade.

5.4.2 Challenges of the youth

The challenges of the youth living in Kibera are various. The youth leader states that the biggest of them is discrimination. According to him, the average person in Kibera lives with less than one dollar per day. The youth do not even possess that amount of money. However, when they are looking for jobs, the employers most often ask them for money as a price to be given a job. In addition, the lack of money and the environmental pressures also lead to the fact that most of them are school drop outs. Without a vocational training it is extremely hard to get a job and the government, which is the biggest employers for youth, does not employ uneducated people.

The leader also claims that the youth is exploited by different political parties at the time of elections. This means that youngsters are paid to attend in political demonstrations.

According to him it is easy to manipulate the youth with small amount of money to join the demonstrations, which are often dangerous and lead to riots.

The assistant organizer and the leader both agree that drugs are an enormous problem in Kibera. The youth leader emphasizes that in Kibera drugs are impossible to escape and states:

There are so many bed locks (drug dealers) in this area so the youth find it difficult to escape from that environment where the drugs are being sold. If they decide today that they are not going to use them, then you see them using it tomorrow.

The leader lists the other challenges to be HIV and Aids, robbery and violence and the overall environment. The challenges in the environment are dirt and lack of good houses.

According to the girl, girls have many special challenges in the environment, the biggest of them being sexual abuse. It is very common that girls are raped even by their families. This is easy for the rapists, because the girls do not have any place to go and claim that these things have been done to me. If they try to turn to for example government officials they are not taken seriously. The girl stresses the vulnerability of handicapped girls and refers to the sexually abused handicapped in the centre. She states that they are most vulnerable to the men around. According to the girl, it is common that the handicapped are often just simply asked by men to give sexual services, because they do not understand what is happening.

None of the youth could name any other parties than DFC, which could provide help to the youth with the challenges. Nevertheless, according to the youth, DFC can do various things to help and support them. The youth state that the bible study and providing the youth with education are the most important things DFC can do. According to the captain, DFC can help the drug addicts by providing them with activities and keeping them busy. Another important way to help is to include them into the income generating activities. In addition, according to the girl, DFC can help the girls by taking them to the hospital after sexual insults and taking their cases to the court. She emphasized the fact that the girls have no other places to seek help but DFC.

5.4.3 Future expectations

All the youngsters made very clear that they want to be a part of DFC in the future. The leader and the captain of the football team both saw the youth group as a place to channel their ambition.

The leader's vision for the youth group is really ambitious and, according to him, in the future DFC will have its own orphanage and primary and secondary level schools. Furthermore, as many youth as possible will be directed to the vocational training through DFC. The leader believes that DFC will be an international organization and wishes that even if he cannot be a part of it at the time he will be able to see other people carrying out his vision.

According to the leader, the goals in the short term are acquiring an office for the group and expanding the projects and activities in order to keep the youth active. For this to happen, the new premises to the DFC need to be freed from the illegal tenants. The leader of the foot ball team suggests that the youth who are at the vocational training at the moment, including himself, could come back in the future and train other youth. This would require financial resources from DFC to be able to hire them. He also emphasizes the need for the shelter to the children and youth to be able to grow in a better environment and avoid becoming drug addicts.

Whereas the males see DFC a place to fulfil their ambitions, the girl considers DFC more as a place where to get help. This is probably for the reason that the girls do not have many responsibilities in the youth group like all the males do. Furthermore, in the youth meetings the girls seldom express their views, though encouraged by the leader to do so.

The girl's future hopes for the youth group and DFC are concerned with helping the other girls. She hopes that DFC could soon have a big centre for girls where they could stay and be provided with basic supplies like food, clothing, sanitary pants and counselling. She also suggests that DFC could arrange meetings for boys and the girls, so they could discuss the girls' challenges. This would hopefully lead to the boys to start respect girls and girls to be respected.

The youth's future hopes for themselves are concerned with education and work. The leader wishes, that he would find a person to finance his studies in a college or a university. He wants to become an educator and a counsellor for young people. The assistant organizer wants to find a job after graduating from the vocational school. He hopes that DFC or the government could employ him in the future. The girl wants to become a nurse, or a doctor, and help other people with diabetes. She hopes that DFC could find a financer for her studies. Both the leader's and the girl's great concern is how to find a financer. Without an outside financer it is impossible for either of them to accomplish their dream of gaining a good education.

It became very clear that all the youngsters are concerned with the community and want to make a difference in other youths' lives in the future. The leader crystallized his concern the following way:

I am really struggling to get young people to be involved in our work... as many as possible. Even the challenges are everywhere. My life being a drug fighter is my biggest challenge. What have I done for Drug Fighters, not what the Drug Fighters has done to me? The director has given us everything...So what are we gonna do for Drug Fighters?

5.6 Surrounding community

The three parents, who were interviewed, live within a 100 meters from the DFC's centre. Most of the parents of the DFC's children are single parents and, therefore, two of the interviewees are single mothers and one is a single father. All of them participate in the DFC's meetings and their children participate or have participated in DFC's school or feeding program.

5.6.1 Introduction of the families

The first interviewed parent is an entrepreneur of a very small business and a single mother of six children. She was born in 1958 and she has six sisters and five brothers. Her father died when she was really young. She was able to go to school and finished the Standard

eight. The entrepreneur married at a young age and had two children with her husband, both of them girls. However, she had no place to stay in the upcountry with her husband and they moved to Kibera in 1989. The children were left in the upcountry. Her husband died in 1992 and the girls still live in the upcountry with the entrepreneur's parents.

Since then the entrepreneur has had four babies; two girls and two boys whose ages vary from 4 to 12 years. According to the entrepreneur, the father of these children is a friend, who does not participate in taking care of them. She is struggling to provide the children by selling a local food called *kitheri*, a mixture of beans and maiz, in the street.

The entrepreneur found out about DFC through the director Musau a couple of years ago. The reason she joined the organization was that she was inspired by Musau and her work among the children. Three of the children started their school in the DFC's nursery. At the moment two of the oldest children, both girls, are going to private schools and the boys are attending a private nursery. During the interview three of the children were temporarily staying at home, because the entrepreneur was not able to pay their school fees for the month.

Three of the children are living in Kibera with her and two oldest ones are staying with her parents in the upcountry. The cook was born in 1969. She did not attend to school and married young. She had two children with her husband. The marriage did not last and she separated her husband shortly after having the babies. The cook claims that the reason for the separation was the witchcraft that her former mother-in-law tried to force her to get into. However, after the separation she had no place to stay in upcountry, because her brothers did not allow her to share their parents land with them.

The cook claims that she has lived in Kibera for seven years. However, her oldest child she claims to be born in Kibera is over nine years old. She moved to Kibera following her sister, who already lived there and worked as a house mate for "Indian people". The cook hoped that her sister could help her find a job as a house mate as well, so she could support her children, who stayed in the upcountry with her mother. Unfortunately, finding a job was impossible and life became a struggle for her. She had no permanent place to stay and even acquiring clothing was a problem. She ended up working in the bars and clubs and

started using alcohol and drugs. This phase in her life lasted around five years. During that time she had three children.

The cook found out about DFC through Musau, who had taken her children into care a few years ago. She met Musau when she came to look for the children at Musau's place. At the moment the cook is living right next to the centre and working as a part time cook for DFC. However, DFC cannot employ her full time and she still has to work in the bars. She is participating in the DFC's rehabilitation and states that she does not drink during the daytime anymore.

Her two sons, aged five and nine, live in Musau's house and participate in the DFC's school. Her daughter, who is the oldest of the three, lives with her. The daughter is placed in the government school to attend the upper standards, but participates in the DFC's feeding programme.

The third interviewee is an unemployed single father of three daughters of ages 8, 10 and 12. He was born in a Muslim family 1970 in Kibera and has lived there all his life. He finished the primary education and his father passed away in 1988. The single father used to have his own business and he made a good living in transporting other people's things. He had his own vehicle and he was able to support his family. In 2005 the vehicle broke down and he had no money to repair it, so the business went down. At the moment he looks for little jobs paid by task or by hour every day and sometimes manages to get a job in the foundations. His wife died giving birth in May 2006 and he was left alone with the daughters. In addition, he is responsible for his niece and nephew, because her sister died of malaria in 2004. He is taking care of the children with his old mother and the children are staying with her.

The three daughters are going to a private school outside Kibera, which is organized through DFC. They also attend the feeding program. After the father's wife died, he also started to attend the DFC's meetings.

5.6.2 Challenges of the children and families

All the parents agreed that the environment for children and the families is very challenging and the problems that the children face are various. The main problems, according to them, are poverty and lack of education. In addition, drugs are affecting the children in many ways. The entrepreneur sums up the depth of the poverty in the area with the following sentence:

There are no beggars in the slum, because there is nobody, whom to beg from.

Furthermore, she explains the problems of the children in the following way:

The biggest problem is the education children don't get. They are out with no clothes and to eat. Some of them are orphans and some of them are already using glue. Some of them are using cannabis, which is banned here in Kenya.

The entrepreneur claims that the poverty is the greatest problem in her family. She is not earning enough money to feed the children every day and at the moment three of the children are staying at home instead of going to school, because she has not been able to pay the school fees. She also states that drugs have affected her family in many ways. Her daughter has been offered drugs by the neighbours. In addition, her brother is a drug addict and has left his two children and his wife a long time ago. The entrepreneur emphasises that it is the whole family which is always affected when one person uses drugs.

The cook admits that her children have been affected by her own drinking and drug abuse. The single father, on the other hand, does not consider the drugs being a problem in the small area around the centre, although he states that in the other areas of the slum they affect the children. He states that one of the main problems often leading to the drug abuse is the parenting; the children act exactly like their parents, who are most often drug addicts. He adds that the main challenge for him is to try to find money to support her three daughters, two nieces and his old mother. At the time it is a struggle due to the fact that he has no work and he tries to earn the money by taking the small low level and poorly paid jobs where ever he can find them.

All the parents agreed that child labour is a great problem. The children are picking plastic and metal peaces from the garbage and selling them to the recycling company or a middleman, who sells them forward. The entrepreneur claims that this causes various health problems to the children, because the children are exposed to poisonous gasses and objects they carry are often heavy. The cook states that the parents' response to the child labour is even bigger problem than the labour itself. The children are often encouraged by their parents to work.

The girls face special challenges compared to the boys. According to the entrepreneur, nowadays many girls are getting their periods already at the age of nine. They do not have proper underwear or sanitary pads. At that point the only way to get money is often prostitution and young girls can easily be influenced by men. In many cases that leads to pregnancies and Aids. Another challenge that the girls face, according to the single father, is the way they are brought up. Especially in the Muslim community the girls are brought up in a different way than the boys and from very early age they are for example taught to cover their heads. Furthermore, the girls are often brought up in a hostile environment, and due to that they do not grow up to be good members of the community. The father also states, that the environment is not as safe for girls as it is for boys. For example he cannot send her daughters to the kiosk after seven, due to their security.

When asked how they can protect their children in this kind of an environment, the only thing the parents could come up with was sharing information with them. As an example, the entrepreneur mentions that this way she was able to prevent her daughter from taking drugs from the girl living next door. Fortunately, the daughter shared with her mother what had happened and the entrepreneur was able to advice her about drugs. According to her, in that case she could only leave the daughter to make a decision, which fortunately was that she is not friends with the neighbour anymore.

5.6.3 DFC's influence on the families

All the parents agree that DFC has had a great influence on their families. They also claim that there are no other parties that can help the children or the families and that the government cannot be relied on.

Even though the entrepreneur's children do not participate in the DFC's activities anymore, she regularly participates in the parent's meetings. In these meetings the parents discuss how their children could be helped and protected from the dangers of the environment. According to the entrepreneur, DFC can help the families mostly by providing information on children's rights to the parents, who can then forward the information to their children.

Another area that can be influenced through DFC, according to the entrepreneur, is the education of girls about their periods and the danger areas. They can also be given panties and pads, which the entrepreneur states being the most wanted item among the girls.

The cook claims that DFC has had a great influence on her and her children. First of all, DFC made it possible for her children to attend school and secondly, the whole family is provided with food. The cook states that since she has been working as a cook for DFC, the food has no longer been a problem. This has released a lot of stress from her shoulders and she can concentrate her thoughts on other things. She has also reduced drinking after joining the rehabilitation program and does not drink during the daytime anymore.

The cook claims that the DFC is the only party that recognises the children's challenges and does something to help.

When I find a child not going to school and facing those challenges, I can go to the chiefs, but all they can do is send me back. But I know that I can come to Drug Fighters and they take care of the case in a quick way (Interpreted by Musau)

According to the single father DFC brings hope to his family and provides her children with a good start in life. The father states that he feels relieved that he is able to give the responsibility of the children's education to the DFC, because at this moment he is not able to offer that.

The father emphasizes the fact that DFC was established in Mashimoni and knows that the organization's knowledge of the area is good, which adds to the organizations ability to operate. He also states that the most important task of the organization, concerning the families, is to share information.

According to the father, the concentration should be on the children, because they are still open for advice and assistant. He states that young people are not easy to approach, because they think they have the right to decide on their own life. Punishing does not help, but only causes fights.

When the parents were asked which other parties can help, they could not name any. According to the father, the only thing that the government can do to the youngsters is to punish them, which is not a long term solution. He claims that the prison only makes the youngsters tougher and works as a "college for criminals".

5.6.4 Future Hopes

All the parents want their families to be part of DFC's activities in the future. The entrepreneur hopes that DFC will get bigger premises to be able to rescue children who are taking drugs. She states that in order to be able to save these children, DFC must have a place to locate the children permanently. In that permanent place the children can be provided with sufficient support meaning nutrition, education and rehabilitation. She emphasizes the fact that the parents, who are often selling drugs, need to be educated about the effects of drugs, not only on the children, but on the whole community. Furthermore, she suggests that the parents need to be empowered in order to show the children that also their own parents have something to offer to them. This is to prevent them from running away from their homes.

The cook hopes that in the future DFC will grow bigger and will be able to help many children to meet their challenges. The father is positive about the DFC's future and believes the organization will have a bright future. He considers the fact that DFC concentrates on the children important, because the children are the only age group that can be influenced.

For their children all the parents hope a change to get a good education. The entrepreneur hopes that her children will be able to practice the professions they are dreaming of. Her nine-year-old daughter hopes to be a singer and sings in a church choir. The older daughter wants to be a teacher. The cook believes that DFC will continue to help her children and

therefore the children will have a better future. She prays that they will get a good education and will have a chance to get rid of poverty and get better jobs than her. She does not think that the children will be living in Kibera when they grow up.

The single father states that he cannot predict the future. However, he has an ambition that his daughters will continue to be educated, which will help them in the future. He wishes that the children will move outside Kibera to get a higher level education and then move back to Kibera. He hopes to be able to help in financing the education, yet without a job it is impossible. Therefore, at the moment he hands the responsibility of his children's education over to DFC.

The hopes of the parents for themselves are modest. The entrepreneur hopes that she could find a financier to help her to expand her small business into making and selling clothes. The cook hopes that in the future God would help her to get rid of alcohol, so she could be like other women. She also hopes she could change the poor life style and could afford a proper bed with mattress. The single father hopes that in the future he will find a job.

6 RESULTS OF PARTICIPATIVE OBSERVATION

My stay in Kibera lasted only for six weeks. However, I spent a lot of time in the centre and worked with all the employees and participated in the activities of all target groups. Through participatory observation, I was able to identify some of the organizational structures and behaviours. Especially towards the end of my stay the employees discussed many organizational issues even the drawbacks with me quite openly. The following results are based on the daily notes made while working with DFC. They have also been discussed with the other intern Kaisu Nieminen, who stayed in Kibera for eight weeks and observed similar things.

DFC's activities are very focused on the daily tasks in the centre. However, the cooperation with Kema has freed a lot of resources of the employees and they are able to concentrate on their own areas of responsibility. Before the cooperation, everybody was doing everything from teaching to cooking and the operation was based on volunteering. At the end the director Musau was responsible for everything.

In today's operations the former ways of working can still be seen. The employees do not take a lot of initiative and everything has to be approved by the director. For example, the children cannot be taken to the hospital without Musau's approval. Another example is that the accountant of the DFC is not authorised to operate the DFC's accounts. Even for the small withdrawals, the director must travel to the city, which takes several hours out of her own work. Furthermore, the director possesses all the documents of the children and the teachers and the social worker do not have access to them. Even the keys to the bathroom and to the food closet are in Musau's possession.

One serious drawback caused by this is the fact that when the director is sick, the employees are not able to complete all the daily tasks in the centre. On the other hand the director, who lives right next to the centre, cannot have a day off when sick, because the staff still need to drop by her house and ask permissions and consultation or for example the key to the bathroom.

Another thing that was still showing in the operation, from the time that the organization did not have permanent staff, is that the salaries were not always paid in time or fully. Reasons for this were not explained to the employees.

The employees, who had volunteered previously in the centre, did not mind these factors. However, some of the younger members of the staff complained about the minimum amount of responsibility they were given. One employee also felt that his work was not respected. The situation got to the point that the employee was about to leave DFC around the time of my departure. However, according to Kema's other intern K. Nieminen, a staff meeting was held in August 2006, where these issues were discussed and some of them solved. The employee, who considered leaving the organization decided to stay. The social worker was also given access to the key to the food closet. Nevertheless, the empowering of the employees is not yet taking place.

Due to the lack of empowering and information sharing with the employees, the staff is not aware of what the cooperation with Kema is about. Therefore, the employees do not make suggestions on which purposes the budgeted money should be used at. Not all of this is due to the incompetent sharing of the information, but the fact that director herself does not fully understand the budgeting side and constantly asked me if Kema could raise money for different purposes, which were not in the budget. However, according to, K. Nieminen the understanding of the director about the budget grew during the intern's stay and the suggestions started to follow the budget.

Even though the operational environment of the centre is unstable and the situations change fast, the staff was able to punctually follow the daily routines with the children in school. However, the prioritizing of the tasks does not follow the western standards and more emphasis is put on for example socializing with the neighbours, than going to a meeting with the representatives of other organizations in time. It is not rare that the work shops are delayed for no obvious reason. On the other hand the serious cases, however, are taken into account immediately and when there is a case of a child in need, someone is sent over to that place right away.

One of the positive sides in DFC's operation is the fact that it persistently cooperates with the government in spite of the lack of interest from the government officials. The existence of the slums is often only unofficially recognized by local authorities and national Government for political and economic reasons. (Marras 2008). Nevertheless, DFC reports all the cases of the children to the government officials and pressures the officials to react on them. This way the organization tries to influence on the governments' unconcern towards the problems of the children. Working with the government officials may also benefit DFC in the long term, because if they want to acquire their own premises or land for the school, they need a location letter from the government, meaning the licence that permits them to use the land.

Another area in which DFC is progressive is the hearing of all the parties when taking new children to the centre. All the family members are often heard and discussed with. Even the cases that do not lead to the children's rescue are often followed. The ways to operate are not judgemental and even the parents, who are using drugs or are physically abusing their children are welcome to the centre.

One of the main problems in Kibera is the lack of education. This can be seen as a lack of common knowledge of otherwise intellectual people and in the operations of the centre. Many of these gaps in the knowledge are in the area general health care. For example, DFC's staff does not consider giving water to the children during the day important. K. Nieminen and Kema's voluntary worker N. Nieminen started the water giving project during their stay in the centre. Another example is that although the organization fights against Aids, many of the youths do not know how the disease spreads. However, this is also partly due to the culture in which it is not proper to talk about venereal diseases.

For those reasons, the small pieces of information that to the western people counts as a common knowledge are appreciated in the centre. The staff and the surrounding community are very eager to learn especially about the health care of the children. However, sometimes it takes time until these suggestions made by, for example the interns, will take place in the operation of the centre and they always have to be approved by the director.

Through the workshops that DFC holds to the parents of the children and other community members, the information the organization gains benefits the whole community. The knowledge of children's rights is minimal in the community. The parents are often proud

when their children earn money even if it is by selling drugs and, according to Musau, beating of a child is a common punishment, which is considered acceptable by the community. Those beatings may last for hours and DFC's children sometimes escape from them to the centre. After the workshop held in June 2006, one community member reported a case in which a handicapped boy was tied up inside the family's dark hovel. The neighbour, who reported the case, did not consider this abnormal before the workshop.

Recent progress on the consulting side concerning the handicapped children took place in August 2006: During her internship, K. Nieminen visited several rehabilitation centres for handicapped people and was able to locate a place held by the Ministry of Health from where DFC can seek professional consultation and material help with the handicapped.

The employees and the youth have great vision for the future and this can be seen as a hard work for the common goals. For example, during the June and July 2006 the youth group started two work shops to create income generating activities. These workshops included making big puppets for the demonstrations and jewellery for sale. The women's group consisting of the parents of the DFC's children also started to prepare hand bags for sale and actively looking for markets for them. In short, many small innovative projects to create income have been started.

To conclude the successes and of the program a SWOT-analysis is conducted on the next page TABLE 5

Table 5 SWOT-analysis of the program

STRENGTHS

- Persistent director with great vision
- The school is working on daily bases and following the government curriculum of education
- Networking with several organizations
- An active youth group
- A good reputation and support of the surrounding community
- Good terms with the local government officials

WEEKNESSES

- Lack of empowering the employees
- Lack of commitment of the employees
- Poor premises
- Limited knowledge on project administration and budgeting
- Limited knowledge on health care

OPPORTUNITIES

- Acquiring own premises
- Expanding the school and allowing children with opportunity to pay school fees to come to the school
- Acquiring new financers
- Finding markets for the products the youth and the women's group is making or opening an own shop

THREATS

- Unstable operating environment
- Vandalism
- Diseases

The fact that DFC has a persistant director with a great vision is the core strength of the organization and a reason for the fact that DFC has survived this far. The director is also in good terms with the government officials, which makes acquiring different permissions from the chiefs and decreases the waiting time of handling the DFC's cases. The good reputation of the organization reduces the risks rising from the unstable operating environment. The various diseases of the slum cause a great threat to the organization, its' customers and employees. Because the employees are not empowered, the operation must be put on hold, when the director catches an enabling disease. Due to the fact that it is still unclear whether the burning of the centre was a set on purpose, a threat of vandalism is to be taken seriously.

8 SOCIAL RESILIENCE AND CIVIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN DFC

When studying sustainability of organizations and small communities in slums, it becomes evident that their sustainability does not stem from only maintaining assets and moving towards a more sustainable way of life, which is the key element in sustainable livelihood. It also means their ability to react to external disturbances and stress. In this instable environment, the community's resilience to cope with disturbances becomes evident. When applying the term on an organizational level, the resilience depends on various factors. Among them are the leaders and employees of the organization, stability of the surrounding community, the possible donors and the governmental system.

As illustrated in figure 1, the dynamics include elements such as: 1) community assets including social, economic and ecological elements, 2) vulnerability context meaning shocks and trends and, 3) institutional governance including policies and laws. The aim is to live in a way which is in harmony with nature. The depletion of natural resources will lead to social consequences. (Södor et al., 2005). As already mentioned, social resilience has been applied by many researchers to analyzing community dynamics in rural communities. Urban environment naturally differs from the rural one already, because the natural resources are even scarcer and people cannot live off them. However, as Järvelä (2007) states, the concept can be applied to urban environment. In the following they are applied to Kibera slum from DFC's point of view.

The community assets, especially economical and ecological in the whole Kibera are scarce. As the residence live in extreme poverty the economic assets are minimal. The biggest operation of DFC is the children's centre and education. Nevertheless, most of the parents of the non-orphan children are not able to pay the full school fee. Opportunities to earn money in the slum are rare. The income generating activities are only starting and as the purchasing power in the slum is minimal the markets have to be found outside of the Kibera borders. Therefore, the economical assets are received by donations and in DFC's case from the financer.

When it comes to the ecological assets, the situation is not any better. Since the slum is so overpopulated the soil is unusable for growing anything and the water in the river is contaminated. The environment overall is filled with trash and faeces. However, according to Järvelä et al. 2005, the classifications of the definition of clean and dirty may differ in different cultures. Therefore, the people living in Kibera may not perceive the environment as dirty as a Western observer and the locals are skilful in reusing garbage found on the streets.

Regardless of the rarity of economic and ecological assets, the director Musau has managed to build DFC's social capital in several ways. She cooperates with all stakeholders open-mindedly. She has managed to earn the respect of the customers, staff, government officials, hospital staff, police, other organizations in the slum and the surrounding community. Therefore, she receives lot of support e.g. voluntary workforce, donations and protection from vandalism.

An example of this is the post electoral riots in the slum after failed elections in December 27th 2007. Rioting started immediately, mainly between Luos (Odinga's tribe) and Kikuyus (Kibaki's tribe). Daily and weekly violent protests lasted through April and most of the houses and buildings were destroyed. According to DFC's staff, the only building that was not destroyed in Mashimoni was DFC's centre. In addition, the centre was an only place where the members of different tribes were able to meet with each other without hostility. At that time Musau had moved out of the slum. Musau claims that even when the aid organizations were not able to enter the slum, Musau herself never faced violence and was protected by the people from different tribes. One factor advancing Musau's ability to act as a mediator between different tribes is the fact that she claims that she can speak seven different languages spoken in the slum, which makes her easy to approach by different tribes.

The environment in Kibera is extremely vulnerable and DFC constantly faces shocks. The clashes between different tribes are common. The fact that youth is often recruited to demonstrations by political parties furthermore enhances the riots. The extreme poverty adds to the instability, because people must often compete over basic necessities such as housing. Furthermore, DFC has been an object of vandalism. As the different deceases

including HIV/AIDS are common, DFC faces a constant threat of losing a member of its' staff or supporter.

When it comes to the laws and policies in Kibera, they are not enforced by government officials. The property rights are not enforced and as Musau stated, for that reason DFC has not been able to move to its' new premises. Due to the fact that most of the inhabitants do not have birth certificates they do not enjoy the rights of a citizen and e.g. reporting a crime can be very challenging. As this study shows, the children are very vulnerable to physical abuse, which is not overseen by officials. The responsibility to oversee that laws are obeyed lays on the community. Instant justice is still in use and during my stay in Kibera one of the centre's neighbors were murdered as he was clamed of stealing. Instant justice, however, is not approved by DFC.

With the lack of supervision of laws and policies it seems incredible risky to purchase assets to the centre. Nevertheless, Musau's ability to built social capital works for DFC's benefit when it comes to robberies. When a small amount of money was stolen from an intern during my stay in Kibera, the community members reported it to Musau and with their help the robber was caught, money returned and an apology received in a half an hour.

In order to survive in a long term in this kind of an environment, an organization must be extremely resilient and able to cope with immediate changes. DFC has been able to operate and grow since the year 1998. As the physical resources are minimal, the social capital has played major role in survival of DFC. With the support of the community and different tribes, the vandalism or other disturbances has not been able to stop DFC from operating. Even when the centre was burnt down the education, feeding program and other daily routines did not stop.

Another element enhancing DFC's social resilience is the immediate reaction to disturbances. As Sapirstein (2007) states, the longer it takes for reconstruction after disaster the longer lasting its' negative effects will be. As shown in an example on how fast the robbery of an intern was solved, DFC reaction to all disturbances is extremely fast. Musau lives right by the centre and the staff and the youth group is flexible when it comes to emergencies. For that reason, they are able to react immediately when disturbance

occurs and, therefore, minimize the long lasting negative impacts. However, this kind of resilience in such a vulnerable environment would have been impossible to build without an entrepreneurial attitude.

As Banuri et al. (2002,4) state the main features of Scumpeterian entrepreneurship are imagination to see the potential for profit from the innovation, the initiative to carry out the task of introducing the innovation and willingness to take the calculated risk that the effort might fail. As discussed in Musau's interview the profit Musau saw in starting up a centre was not financial. However, she saw the potential for the public interest and fearlessly sought after that by introducing an innovation that seemed hopeless in the beginning.

When it comes to risk taking, it exists in DFC and, nevertheless, all organizations in Kibera. All organizations must face the immediate risk of violence, vandalism, deceases and extreme poverty, which can instantly ruin the work as seen in burning of the DFC's shelter. Starting an organization in this kind of environment is a risk. As shown in this study, the poverty and the vulnerable environment passivates most people as everything they try seems pointless. Threrefore, it is evident that Musau has entrepreneurial spirits and willingness to take the calculated risk that the effort might fail.

Another common feature in most organizations in Kibera is the scarce resources. As Casson (2002, 20) claims entrepreneur must make judgemental decisions about the coordination of scarce resources. This crystallizes in DFC when the decisions might virtually decide on a child's live. For example what to do when there is no room for any more children and a few more abandoned children are found on the streets.

As Schumpeter (1951, 255) states, entrepreneurship consist on doing things that are not generally done in an ordinary course of business routine. The feature differentiating civic entrepreneurship from traditional business entrepreneurship is the motive: civic entrepreneurship seeks to create a new way of building social capital. (Banuri et al. 2002,4) DFC's director Musau definitely leads the organization in an entrepreneurial manner: she started the shelter by breaking in to a corridor and immediately started to include the society around her into the actions of the shelter regardless of their tribe, religion or even current drug addictions.

Banuri et al. (2002, 4) emphasize the importance of constant learning in civic entrepreneurship. According to them, learning comes from listening and hopefully moves towards documenting, analyzing and finally understanding. They also emphasize the importance of propagating and nurturing the good practices. As it has become evident, Musau spends a lot of time listening to the children, youth and other community members and answering to their needs. However, according to this study, the DFC's employees do not always feel that their concerns are heard by the director. It also became evident that they are not included in the developing the organization as the sufficient information is not shared with them.

Another aspect in DFC operations is that it often deals with immediate crisis after another and there is often no time for documenting and analyzing the practices. Therefore, there is a risk that even the bad practices will be repeated. Furthermore, if the staff does not feel comfortable suggesting ideas for developing DFC's practices, the learning process might suffer. Not to mention the propagating and nurturing good practices.

Civic entrepreneurship requires "civic will", the motivation to built social capital. (Banuri et al. 2002, 6). As the common perception in the slum is that people cannot themselves affect their lives, the civic will is minimal and needs to be encouraged. As seen in the experiences of DFC's stakeholders, Musau has been extremely successful in building civic will among the children, the youth and the whole community. She has been able to engage many former street children and drug attics into DFC's activities and also gained a support of the community. In addition, DFC has gained the respect of local authorities. Nevertheless, by motivating and listening the suggestions and concerns of the employees more carefully could enhance their civic will, which most likely would show in their work with the community.

9 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study was to explore the social resilience and civic entrepreneurship in self-help organizations and pinpoint some of the factors influencing their success. The subject was explored in Kibera slum through a self-help organization Drug Fighters and Counseling for the Young Generation (DFC) cooperating with Mikkeli fair trade association (Kema).

The interviews carried out for this study show that the challenges the children, the youth and the families face in Kibera are various. Drugs, child labour, crime, and sicknesses influence the children from a very young age. The amount of orphans is high and many girls suffer from sexual abuse. The extreme poverty influences the families in a way that the parents often encourage their children to work instead of acquiring education.

All the target groups of this research consider DFC's activities very important and all the interviewees think that the program has had a tremendous influence to their lives. They also want to be part of the activities in the future. None of the interviewees could mention any other party whom to turn to when in need for help. This indicates that DFC has been able to answer the needs of the community and, therefore, gained a strong social will to support centres activities in the locals. Due to the vulnerable environment, it is extremely important to have the trust and support of the surrounding community. It for example diminishes the risk of vandalism and robbery.

Through this research it became evident that a good partner organization and networking with other organizations are key elements influencing in the success of a self-help organization. Even though DFC's operations started in 1998, they were stabilized only after finding the longer term financer, which enabled the organization to hire permanent staff, make necessary purchases and rent an office.

The cooperation between Kema and DFC has started quite successfully and many of the goals stated in the logical outline of the project had already been fulfilled after two months of cooperation. The interviewed employees have very positive experiences on the cooperation. They consider Kema's role in the project to be the financing and monitoring

and they emphasize their own responsibility of making use of the funds. However, the employees do not fully understand the details of the cooperation and its' time limit.

Networking with other organizations is also necessary for small self-help organizations in order for them to survive. DFC is networking with several organizations. The benefits resulted from this cooperation are community efforts to build facilities for the centre, vocational training, consultation, placements for the rescued girls and legal assistance. The employees do not consider cooperating with the government very fruitful, although they report all their cases to the government officials.

It seems evident that without social resilience and civic entrepreneurship an organization operating in the slum is doomed to fail. The environment presents various challenges and shocks to the organization. To be able to bounce back from them, the resilience and entrepreneurial abilities are required.

As in the case in DFC the director Musau possesses various entrepreneurial skills without even acknowledging it. She reacts on the daily challenges in a way that indicate imagination, flexibility and ability to build beneficial relationships. In addition, she has great vision for DFC's future, and however unrealistic the vision might seem, the unwavering belief in the organizations ability to grow and survive influences on the short term successes of the organization. As the long term vision is constant, the continuous setbacks, e.g. the lack of decent premises, do not seem invincible.

When it comes to the leadership, more responsibility should be shifted from the director to the other well educated employees, who also have experience in other organizations. This could be done through starting the project of administration training, which is one of the goals in the logical outline. The education on management with an emphasis on empowering and rewarding employees would definitely add to the organizational commitment to the employees and encourage them to make suggestions to solve the problems they face on the field.

Furthermore, as the HIV/AIDS and other sicknesses are very common in the slum, it is a risk to keep the knowledge and responsibility of the operations on the hands of only one person. Therefore, involving staff to the key operations and giving them more

responsibility might influence positively on the social resilience in the case of the director becoming ill or be otherwise prevented from working. In addition, giving a little latitude to the employees, they could carry out civic entrepreneurship in their work and come up with creative solutions to their daily challenges.

Banuri et al. (2004, 124) discuss the importance of the support group of civic entrepreneurs, who are willing to invest in civil will. The cooperation between DFC and Kema had many features of a civic entrepreneur on a grass root level and a support group of an entrepreneur. Kema applied and acquired funding from the Foreign Ministry of Finland to a grass root level actor, who had the vision and will to change the situation in her community. The responsibility to carry out the project was left to DFC mainly to director Musau. The confidence to the director's ability to be able to carry out the project, even though she had no previous experience on long-term financers or development projects, was high. Without Kema's willingness to take a risk and its' wish to strengthen civic will by investing in civic entrepreneurship, the project would not have taken place.

Naturally, the socio-economic problems in the slum are profound and will not be solved solely by the development organizations. Only reducing poverty and vulnerability in the society at large and creating more opportunities for the families and children to live decent lives could profoundly enhance the situation. However, the influence of the small-scale development projects and organizations shall not be overlooked, especially because they seem to be the only mean available for the people in need. Therefore, it is crucial to pinpoint the factors influencing the success of these projects. This study was a modest attempt to participate in that discussion.

EPILOGUE

DFC moved to the new premises in 2007. During the post-electoral riots in the spring 2008 Kibera, among the other slums, of Nairobi was the most vulnerable places of Kenya. Most of the buildings in the slum were destroyed. There were also enormous clashes between the tribes and many families also in Mashimoni lost all their humble possessions and family members due to violence. Aid organizations were not allowed to enter Kibera. By that time director Musau had moved out of the slum, and according to her, she was one of the few outsiders allowed to enter Kibera. She acquired protection from different tribe leaders. Amazingly DFC's new centre was not vandalized during the riots, although all the houses around it were destroyed. Musau belives that this was due to the support the centre enjoys from all different tribes.

I had a chance to go back to Kibera in November 2008 to write the final evaluation of the project. By then there was no trace of the riots and clashes in Kibera, and most of the buildings and houses were rebuilt. DFC had built four classrooms, a playground and an office in the new premises. More class rooms were under construction. The income generating activities had developed: the youth had started a bone carving project, initiated by Kema's intern, and the new social worker was selling the jewelry made by the children in the market outside Kibera. In addition, the youth raised chicken in the centre.

I was happy to find out that many of the children including the ones I had interviewed had learned to speak and read English. There were also weekly girl-groups in which many dangers including sexual, physical and mental, the girls can face were discussed openly. The girls were also provided with sanitation pads and underwear.

Neither of the organizations wanted to continue the project for the next three-year-period. Even though DFC had been able to grow and flourish due to the cooperation, the director Musau was unsatisfied with the inflexibility of Kema and sticking to the project outline. There was also confusion about the voluntary work that was included in the budget under self-financing. Musau was convinced that Kema was using that money for its' own purposes and could not be convinced that it is not actual money but evaluated cost of the voluntary work. Kema on its' behalf was unsatisfied with the fact that Musau was not

following the project outline and did not deliver all the receipts of the purchases made with projects money. In addition, Kema was not convinced that Musau understood the difference between a long-term funding and a donation.

However, Musau was very satisfied with the fact that Kema had taken the risk to be DFC's first long-term financer, which made it easier for DFC to acquire other financers. The new premises also enabled negotiations with new financers and donors and they were a tangible proof that DFC is running a functional centre for hundreds of children in need.

After the cooperation with Kema finished, DFC acquired new partners and financers and now holds a centre of 300 children outside the Kibera. DFC's new partner organizations are Imagine Kids for Kids and Cross Cultural Thresholds.

The 17-year-old Kikuju girl, who participated in the interview passed away in the spring 2010 due to drugs and neglect of medicating her diabetes. I would like to dedicate this study to the memory of that young girl, whose dream was to help others and become a nurse.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 Interview questions for the employees of Drug Fighters and Counselling for young people

BACKGROUND

- 1. Name and age?
- 2. Where do you live?
- 3. What is your ethnic background?
- 4. Could you tell me something about your family?
- 5. Could you tell me something about your education and work history? Have you got any previous experience on self help organizations?
- 6. How long have you been working for the organization and which were the reasons that you started?
- 7. What are your tasks and areas of responsibility in this work?

ORGANIZATION

- 8. What were the reasons in establishing Drug Fighters and Counselling for Young Generation?
- 9. What are the activities of the organization?
- 10. What are the organization's values and goals?

THE COOPERATION

- 11. How did the cooperation with the Mikkeli Fair Trade Association start?
- 12. Could you tell me something about the cooperation?
- 13. What do you know about Mikkeli Fair Trade Association?
- 14. For how long will the cooperation last with them?
- 15. How has the cooperation influenced the project?
- 16. What are the responsibilities of your partner organization in this project?
- 17. In your opinion, where does the funding come from?
- 18. What have been the immediate effects of the cooperation for your activities? (The following questions stem from the goals of the project stated in the logical outline)

- a. Have the locals been educated on drugs, venereal disease, children's rights and possibilities of healthy activities? Which plans do you have to provide information on these issues in the near future?
- b. How is the education of children organized at the moment? How many children are participating?
- c. How many meals are the children provided with on daily basis?
- d. How are the other basic needs of the target group (like hygiene, clothing and a night shelter) taken care of?
- e. Have the volunteers been trained on project administration and are there any courses taking place in the future?
- f. How is the financing organized, and what are the responsibilities of volunteers in gathering money and other possession?
- 19. Which has been good in the cooperation?
- 20. What are the areas that should be developed?
- 21. How do you think this project will continue in the future?
- 22. Which are your future expectations from your partner organization?
- 23. How do you think this project affects the future of Drug Fighters and Counselling for Young Generation?

NETWORKING

- 24. Which are the other organizations or corporations that you cooperate with?
- 25. What are your experiences in this cooperation?
- 26. How do you benefit from this cooperation?
- 27. How does the networking, in your opinion, influence the operation of self help organizations?

FUTURE

- 28. How do you see the future of the organization and what do you hope it will accomplish?
- 29. What, in your opinion, is the value and responsibilities of this kind of small self help organization in Kibera?
- 30. How do you see their future in general?
- 31. In your opinion, which are the actors that can influence the general situation in Kibera?

APPENDIX 2 The questionnaire for DFC's children

| AGE _ | years | GENDER | female | male | | |
|--------|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|--------------------------|-----|
| | long have you ung generation? | | ting in the | activities of Dr | ug Fighters and Counsell | ing |
| 2. How | did you join th | e organization | ? | | | |
| 3. Whi | ch kind of activ | ities do you pa | rticipate in | ? | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 4. Wha | nt activities do y | ou like the mo | st? Which | activities have | been good? | |
| | | | | | | |
| 5. Wha | nt do you think | could be differ | ent? What | activities you o | o not like? | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 6. How | has your life cl | hanged after st | arting to g | o to the centre | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |

| 7. How do you think this program affects your future? | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| 8. Do you know anybody who has left the program? What was the reason for that? | | | | |
| | | | | |
| 9. What would you tell a friend about the program? | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| 10. How do drugs affect the children? Have you ever seen someone affected by drugs? | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| 11. Do you know any children who work? | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| 12. What kind of help or support you whish from the staff of the program? | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ANSWERS!

APPENDIX 3 The questionnaire for DFC's youth

| AGE | years | GENDER | female | male | |
|----------|-------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| Current | school or wor | kplace: | | | |
| | ong have you g generation' | | ting in the | activities of D | Orug Fighters and Counselling |
| 2. How d | id you join th | e organization | ? | | |
| 3. Which | kind of activ | ities do you pa | rticipate in | ? | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| 4. What | activities do y | ou like the mo | st? | | |
| | | | | | |
| 5. What | do you think | could be differ | ent in the a | ctivities? | |
| | | | | | |
| - | | | | | |
| 6. How h | as your life cl | hanged after st | arting to go | o to the centr | e? |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

| 7. How do you think this program affects your future? | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| 8. Do you know anybody who has left the program? What was the reason for that? | | | | |
| | | | | |
| 9. What would you tell a friend about the program? | | | | |
| | | | | |
| 10. What in your opinion are the successes and the challenges of the program? | | | | |
| | | | | |
| 11. What kind of help or support you whish from the staff of the program? | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ANSWERS!!

APPENDIX 4 Logical outline of the Kibera slum project

| Interventiologiikka | Mittarit | Tarkistamisen välineet | Olettamukset ja riskit |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| PÄÄMÄÄRÄ: Köyhyyden lievittäminen Mashimonin kylässä Kiberan slummissa Nairobissa. | työpaikan tai elinkeinon hankkiminen kohderyhmän parissakohderyhmän ansiotaso kohonnut | projektin kohderyhmän haastattelut alussa ja sen jälkeen vuosittain | |
| TARKOITUS: Kohderyhmän lapsilla ja nuorilla on Drug Fighters -järjestön jakamaa tietoa fyysisesti, psyykkisesti ja emotionaalisesti terveestä elämästä ja mahdollisuuksia sen saavuttamiseen parantuneiden koulutusmahdollisuuksien ja parantuneen terveyden ansiosta | - huumeriippuvaisten määrä on laskenut kohderyhmässä - lasten hyväksikäyttötapaukset ovat vähentyneet - lapsityövoiman käyttö on vähentynyt - Drug Fighters -järjestö jakaa am- mattimaisesti tietoa huumeriippuvuu- desta, HIV/AIDSista ja lasten hyväksi- käytöstä | - projektin kohderyhmän haastattelut alussa ja sen jälkeen vuosittain - tietojen kerääminen haastattelemalla alueella toimivilta järjestöiltä, kouluilta ja kirkoilta | On mahdollista saada lasten ja nuorten itsetunto kasvamaan ja saada heidät uskomaan omiin mahdollisuuksiinsa |
| TULOS 1: Nuorilla on ammatillisia ansaitsemismahdollisuuksia. | ammatin hankkineiden tyttöjen ja poikien lukumäärä kasvaa vuosittain 15-18 nuorta on oppinut ammatin, jolla voivat hankkia toimeentulon | kursseille ja koulutukseen osallistuvien nuorten haastattelut alussa ja sen jälkeen vuosittain projektiraportit koulutukseen osallistuvien määrän seuranta | On mahdollista saada Kiberan nuoret innostumaan ja opettelemaan uusia taitoja. Nuorille on työmahdollisuuksia ja nuorien oppimia taitoja tarvitaan. |
| TULOS 2: Drug Fighters -järjestön vaikutus- alueella asuvilla on tietoa valistu-neiden päätösten tekemiseen koskien mm. huumeita, suku-puolitauteja ja lasten oikeuksia sekä mahdollisuus terveisiin harrastuksiin. | kuntoutettujen huumeiden käyttäjien määrä on noussut lasten työssäkäynti ja hyväksikäyttö- tapaukset eivät ole lisääntyneet kohderyhmällä on oikeaa tietoa sukupuoli-tautien ja HIV/AIDSin tarttumisesta ja hoitamisesta | projektihenkilöstön haastattelut projektiraportit kohderyhmän haastattelut alussa, projektin kestäessä ja lopussa | Saadaan palkattua osa-aikaisia kouluttajia, mm. kivi- ja puutöiden opettaja, kudonnan opettaja, pukuompelun opettaja jne. RISKI: huumeiden helppo saatavuus |
| TULOS 3: Kohderyhmään kuuluvat lapset käyvät epävirallista koulua ja ryhmän vammaisten lasten (nyt 7) oikeudet tunnustetaan, hyväksyntä yhteisössä paranee ja fyysinen ja psyykkinen hyvinvointi kasvaa. | - epävirallista koulua käyvien tyttöjen ja poikien (projektin alussa 75, joista 2/3 tyttöjä; lapsista 7on vammaisia) lukumäärä on lisääntynyt ja osallistuminen ja opetus muuttuneet johdonmukaisemmiksi | koulun vuosittaiset raportit ja tilastot raportit oppilaiden läsnäolofrekvenssistä (tytöt ja pojat) oppilaiden oppimistulokset | Koululle saadaan hankittua virallinen status Kenian opetusministeriöltä. |

| Interventiologiikka | Mittarit | Tarkistamisen välineet | Olettamukset ja riskit |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| TULOS 4: Drug Fighters and Counseling for Young Generation –järjestön vahvistaminen (institutional strengthening) ja taloudellisen itsenäisyyden parantaminen. | - järjestön koordinaattori ja muu henkilöstö on osallistunut heille järjestettyyn koulutukseen - järjestön henkilöstö tekee ammattimaisia raportteja - maksavien oppilaiden määrä järjestön koulussa kasvaa - järjestön tulonhankinta on kasvanut | kurssien järjestäjien raportit henkilöstön tekemät raportit oppilaiden koulumaksujen määrä järjestön kirjanpito | Drug Fighters –järjestön vapaaehtoisella henkilöstöllä on aikaa ja mahdollisuuksia osallistua koulukseen ja löydetään kouluttaja, joka pystyy järjestämään sopivan koulutuksen ja joka huomioi myös koulutettavien lähtötason. |
| TOIMENPITEET: 1.1 Järjestetään vuosittain ammattikursseja n. 12 tytölle ja n. 6 pojalle (esim. ompelu-kursseja, korien, mattojen yms. punonta-kursseja, kivi- ja puutyökursseja) | VÄLINEET: - lisätilojen vuokraaminen koulutus- tiloiksi - opettajien palkkaaminen - projektipäällikön palkkaaminen - materiaalien ja välineiden hankkiminen - opettajien ja Drug Fighters -järjestön aktiivijäsenten kouluttaminen | RESURSSIT: - Drug Fighters –järjestölle vuokrataan slummista lisätiloiksi aaltopeltihökkeleitä yhteensä 10 huonetta - kurssien opettajien palkat - materiaaleja (ks. oheen liitetty järjestön alustava budjettiehdotus) | OLETTAMUS: Projektissa on vapaaehtoisia kouluttajia ja myös välineitä ja materiaaleja saadaan lahjoituksina. |
| TOIMENPITEET: 2.1 Järjestetään kohderyhmän lapsille ja nuorille, ja sen lähi-piirille (vanhemmat, huoltajat) seminaareja ja valistusta seuraa-vista aiheista: - lasten oikeudet - huumeiden sosiaaliset ja terveysvaikutukset - HIV/AIDS - sukupuoliterveys ja –taudit 2.2 Järjestetään retki lapsille ja nuorille mm. Nairobin keskustaan ja esikaupunkeihin sekä Nairobi National Parkiin kerran vuodessa. 2.3 Järjestetään nuorille harrastusmahdollisuuksia: jalkapallo, draamaryhmä, runoryhmä, musiikki 2.4. World Comics kouluttaa sarjakuvien tekijöitä. Sarjakuvia käyte-tään valistuskampanjoissa. | VÄLINEET: - palkataan 3 kouluttajaa ja kurssinvetäjää, suunnitellaan ja järjestetään koulutus ja seminaarit (tavoitteena järjestää 2 kurssia, 2 tietoiskua ja 1 draamaesitys vuosittain) - suunnitellaan, painetaan ja jaetaan valistavia julisteita ja esitteitä 50 kpl - palkataan bussi ja kuljettaja vuosittaiselle retkelle - hankitaan urheiluvälineitä | RESURSSIT: - 7 palkattua työntekijää - 10 vapaaehtoista - koulutuksissa/seminaareissa tarvittavat materiaalit - julisteet ja esitteet - bussin vuokra - kuljettajan palkka - harrastevälineitä - Mikkelin ammattikorkeakoulun opiskelija/liikunnanohjaaja 2+2 kk (2006 ja 2007) - World Comics'in kouluttamat sarjakuvien tekijät | Ulkopuolisen maailman näkeminen laajentaa lasten maailmankuvaa ja auttaa heitä ymmärtämään uusia käsitteitä. |

| Interventiologiikka | Mittarit | Tarkistamisen välineet | Olettamukset ja riskit |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| TOIMENPITEET: 3.1 Järjestetään epävirallisessa koulussa tasokasta opetusta lapsille n. 13. ikävuoteen asti 3.2 Tarjotaan Drug Fighters –järjestön Keskuksessa päivittäin 3 ateriaa kouluun tuleville noin I80 lapselle 3.3 Huolehditaan lähes 100 yksinäisen ja/tai vammaisen lapsen perustarpeista eli hoidetaan heitä (turvallisuuden tarve), huolehditaan hygieniasta, annetaan vaatteita, varmistetaan turvallinen yösija. | VÄLINEET: - 5 opettajan palkkaaminen - oppimateriaalien hankkiminen - ruokalahjoitusten hankkiminen - ruokatarvikkeiden ostaminen - ruuan valmistaminen ja jakaminen - lasten hoitaminen - vaatteiden hankkiminen lahjoituksina tai ostamalla - hygieniavälineiden hankkiminen lahjoituksina tai ostamalla - yösijojen varmistaminen (rescue center) - vammaisten lasten tarvitsemien apuvälineiden hankkiminen lahjoituksina tai ostamalla | RESURSSIT: - Drug Fighters –järjestön 10 vapaaehtoista ja 7 palkattua työntekijää hoitavat lahjoitusten keräämisen, Keskuksessa käyvien lasten hoivaamisen ja ruokkimisen, uhanalaisessa asemassa olevien lasten ja nuorten etsimisen, ja heidän saattamisensa toiminnan piiriin, yösijojen järjestämisen kodittomille lapsille ja nuorille jne kokka valmistaa ruuan, joka ostetaan tai osittain hankitaan lahjoituksina - Mikkelin ammattikorkeakoulun opiskelijat (fysioterapia, terveydenhoito) kuntouttavat vammaisia ja opettavat terveyden ylläpitoa ja yleisimpien sairauksien kotihoitoa - järjestetään yksi huone tyttöjen ja yksi poikien makuusaliksi sellaista eniten tarvitseville | Lahjoitusten saaminen ei ole tasaisen varmaa. |
| TOIMENPITEET: 4. Järjestön työntekijät ja vapaa-ehtoiset osallistuvat projektin hallinnoimiseen ja hoitoon liittyville kursseille. Järjestö tekee aktiivista varainhankintaa. | VÄLINEET: - ammattitaitoisten kouluttajien järjestämät kurssit | RESURSSIT: - Drug Fighters järjestön johtaja, kaksi-kolme palkattua työntekijää ja kolme-neljä vapaaehtoista osallistuvat kursseille, jotka maksetaan projektin budjetista | Henkilöstön kouluttaminen vahvistaa järjestöä (institutional strengthening) ja edesauttaa järjestöä tulevaisuudessa työnsä rahoituksen hankkimisessa ja hallinnoimisessa ja tätä kautta lisää projektin jatkuvuutta (sustainability). |

EDELLYTYS: Mitkä ovat ennakkoedellytykset koko projektin aloittamiselle? Mitkä hankkeen hallinnan ulkopuolella olevat olosuhteet on oltava voimassa?

Olojen slummissa on pysyttävä rauhallisina. Kenialaisen Drug Fighters and Counseling for Young Generation -järjestön työntekijät ja vapaaehtoiset sekä suomalaisen hakijajärjestön vapaaehtoiset ovat sitoutuneita järjestöjensä toimintaan.

Drug Fighters and Counseling for the Young Generation centre is still running, with all its daily activities.

SCHOOL REPORT

As from the beginning of this year, there is a steady enrolment of children at the centre. The centre begins with baby class, nursery, pre-unit, standard 1, 2 and 3. The following is the total number of children at our centre in different classes.

- 1. Baby class 38 children
- 2. Nursery class 8 children
- 3. Pre-unit class 7 children
- 4. Standard 1 − 12 children
- 5. Standard 2 1 child
- 6. Standard 3 5 children

Since the school goes up to class 3, when our children gets to class 4 we do send them to schools outside mostly to the city council schools around Kibera. At the moment we have 9 pupils in other primary schools.

The school also has children with special needs; we have both physically disabled and mentally disabled children. We always let these children to mix with other children so that they don't feel discriminated and so that they can learn from other children and so that our children can also learn to appreciate and live with people with special needs in the society. We have seven children with special needs in the centre.

The children at risk are taken to other centres. The school program runs for 5 days. But we also come on Saturday for Bible study. The normal school programme starts at 8.00 a.m and ends at 3.10. From 3.10-4.30 p.m we have extra-cu activities. The school didn't close for the August Holiday because we have found out that when the children close school and are free they are exposed to the same dangers that we try to rescue them from.

In total we have 87 children at the centre. The DFC school has experienced some achievements for the last three months, we now have learning/teaching materials i.e text books for all the classes and exercise books, and we also have more teachers which has improved the learning and performance of the children. The school is also experiencing some challenges as well, the major one being lack of classrooms especially during bad whether days which affects the learning processes, and there is no office for the school items and the staff and no spacious field for the children to play from. Nevertheless the school is doing well and performance has improved as a result of the availability of the text books.

RESCUED CHILDREN

For the last three months we have rescued quiet a large number of children at different forms of risks. We have been able to reach at least 20 children for the last one month. The following are the cases we have rescued:

- 1. Lonica Asupe & John Alukwe neglected by parents who are drug addicts. The boy was a street boy, collecting and selling scraps.
- 2. Geoffrey Babu Neglected by the grandmother. He is an orphan. Could stay idle and the boy was getting along with bad company.
- 3. Brian Okondi Physical abuse and neglected by step mother.
- 4. Ibrahim Akoth Negligence
- 5. Magret Atieno
- 6. Houstine Adenya neglected from father. Subjected to child labour.
- 7. Joseph Adipo Physical abuse, torture and negligence.
- 8. Sharon Akinyi Rape
- 9. Maxwell Butifi Neglence
- 10. Nancy Auma Neglence
- 11. Benson Irungu Became a street boy as a result of negligence
- 12. Maurine Kajiga Physical abuse and torture from both the father and the step mother.
- 13. Calistus Avidi Physical abuse from step mother
- 14. Mercy Negligence
- 15. Ela Kadenge Negligence
- 16. Daniel Kabata an orphan who was burnt badly
- 17. Diana Chole Physical abuse and negligence
- 18. Ibrahim Akoth Negligence from mother.
- 19. One pregnant girl

TRIP REPORTS

Drug fighters organized a retreat for the children, the youths and some volunteers from Finland (Tiina & Kaisu) which took place on the day of 29th July 2006 at the **LOWERLAND Camp**. The retreat was fully financed by KEMA as excursion outside the slum. The children were excited and happy for the trip.

The trip begun at 8.30 a.m in the morning where all the children were assembled at the centre ready to set off for the retreat

We begun our day with prayers and the objectives of the day set rolling as children and the youth begun playing. There were various activities which took place as the children played hide and seek game, the youth played football, volleyball and other games.

There was all fun as children run after the monkeys and chased them in the trees. After a short while we were served with snacks by our special cooks and teachers and we enjoyed our snacks which were in plenty.

Other activities which took place was interaction between the children and the teachers and children themselves. Here we had a nice time as the teachers used this opportunity to relate and counsel the children. The counseling session was followed by lunch which was cooked right there with the help of the youth fetching firewood and water in the camp.

It was all fun and enjoyable as their was corporate and team responsibility to share work in the retreat. The youth and children all could do all what was needed. We all assembled in one place and we were served with a delicious lunch which was chapatti, meat stew and ndengu. The lunch was enjoyable as we ate to satisfaction each one could eat as much as he/she wanted.

After the lunch it was followed by a moment of reflecting towards God and the Bible. The children said/recited memory verses and sang songs and recognized God as the one enabling them do all the things. There were different sessions as boys could stay together with their teachers and the girls together even as we were taken some photos. We also took some time to pray to God concerning our project, drug fighters in general.

The trip was good since the children were enriched with new things. After sometimes of reflection towards God the children went to play again. Different teams among the children won as this was characterized by songs of victory from the winning side. There was mutual fellowship as children related to each other freely.

The events of the day were climaxed by the tag of war between two teams which was mixed between boys and girls and the teachers. The tag of war was very exciting as all the teams were trying but later one team pulled the other. After some minutes to 6.00 p.m the retreat was concluded. And this time round our picnic was graced by two students from Finland (Tina and Kaisu)

IGA's

Drug Fighters started some income generating activities about four months ago. We have two groups involved with the income generating activities. We have the youth group and the parents. At the moment the youth group have started off with making jewelries. They buy the materials at a fair price in wholesale them they make necklaces, metallic and elastic bangles. They do make very beautiful jewelries. At the moment they have not expanded their market so much, they only market locally within Kibera, through workshops, exhibitions but they are intending to expand their marketing.

We also have income generating activities for the parents which is basically weaving modern fashionable design baskets and stylish shawls with matching scarves. The DFC provides raw materials for the parents. They do make them from the centre at the moment they have not established a stable market they just have small scale market within but one of their vision is to market them outside. Some of the challenges they encounter is lack of storage facilities and lack of space to weave from but they do hope to have a place to operate from soon. They also hope to get some training on business management as they expand their operations.

YOUTH WORKSHOP REPORT

Puppetry And Drama skills Development Workshop

A total of **10 youths** from Drug Fighters and Counseling For The Young Generation (DFC) Kibera were trained on how to design and construct two giants puppets for Community Education and mobilization for Rehabilitation.

Training Objectives

- a) To conduct an in house training for the Kibera Youths with the aim to pass the puppetry skills.
- b) To encourage the use of puppetry in the community activities and to encourage puppetry through theatre.
- c) To help the youth develop puppetry skills for behavior change support and role model development.

Achievements

- ❖ The production of 2 giant puppets (Female and Male).
- ❖ The youths were able to identify puppetry Development materials and how to apply them professionally.
- ❖ The youths got acquainted with the part technology techniques in puppetry production.
- ❖ The puppetry production processes that were impressive to the youths trained.
- Adhering to the set training timetable was a remarkable step to the youth training for the 1st time.
- ❖ Long term puppetry skills and techniques appeal to the trainees.

Opportunities

The trained puppeteers have quiet a lot of chances for Community Participation and involvement. All these are geared towards social economic and environmental health awareness.

The Drug Abuse/HIV/ AIDS Workshop

Drug fighters held a one day Drug abuse/ HIV/AIDS Workshop on 24th August 2006 aimed at sensitizing the community and the dangers, effects and the relationship between drug abuse and HIV/AIDs. The theme of the workshop was fight drugs to avoid HIV/AIDS. The workshop was very successful about 62 people turned up. Most of them were from different youths groups but we also had people from the community participating.

The workshop started at 9.00 a.m and it was held at Slum Outreach Church. The workshop was Divided into sessions. First it was introductions of the participants to create a rapport. Then the facilitators began the training introducing the topic of the day. The 1st session was followed by an interactive session whereby the participants were grouped into various groups for a discussion on "What are some of the goals that youths have in life" the groups later gave their ideas through a presentation. After the morning session the participants were served with a delicious lunch and were now ready for the afternoon session which was also interesting and enjoyable. The facilitators took the participants through the topics of discussion namely; the relationship between drugs and HIV/AIDS and taking care of the disabled in the community.

In conclusion, these are the main activities that have been going on in Drug Fighters.