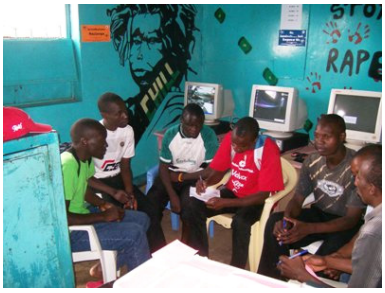

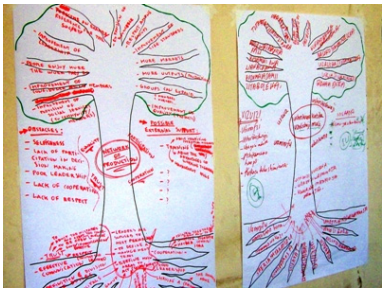

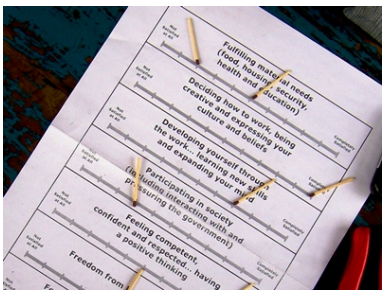

Perceptions of Grassroots Urban Youth Entrepreneurs about Collective Engagement: an extensive case study in East Africa

Fernando Cesar Pires Baptista

January 2011

Supervisor: Dr. Nicky R.M. Pouw

Master's Thesis in International Development Studies
Graduate School of Social Sciences
University of Amsterdam

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I want to express my gratitude to my family, friends and supervisor, who have contributed in different ways to the completion of this thesis, and above all, thank the youths who participated in it.

This work is dedicated to all who consider that development can occur in a more egalitarian and sustainable manner, and especially to those who remain sceptical about it.

Abstract

Based on the evidence that the general strategy of liberalization – and in particular neo-liberal entrepreneurship – did not prove to be effective at reducing poverty in sub-Saharan Africa throughout the past three decades, this thesis ventured to re-examine the concept of 'entrepreneurship' through the understanding of the perceptions of marginalized urban youth entrepreneurs in East Africa about a preliminary ideal-type model of 'grassroots collective entrepreneurship' and its potential to engender common wellbeing. Two perspectives were used in this endeavour. One draws from the theories and practices of 'solidarity economy' and its emphasis on democratic self-management and attainment of collective needs. The second emerges from the 'wellbeing approach' and basically considers that psychological and social needs are as important as material ones in terms of generating wellbeing. This study is an example of extensive multi-method approach employed to investigate a certain specific phenomenon, expecting that some of the findings could be extended to understand not only what a more general reality is like, but also to envisage how it 'could be'. It was conducted primarily with groups of youth entrepreneurs in slums of Nairobi, Kenya. Subsequently, a condensed supplementary phase was carried out in informal settlements of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, with the purpose of producing a comparative reference. The research's results suggest that these marginalised youths are attracted to recognize their common condition of exclusion and social disadvantage and to associate themselves and take the bet of trust in solidarity as a means of possibly reaching fairness and emancipation, re-establishing the hope which was once lost, and improving their individual and collective wellbeing. In fact, the investigation identified a significant incidence of collective economic activities based on democratic self-management and expressed by means of 'youth groups'.

Keywords: collective entrepreneurship; wellbeing approach; solidarity economy; youth group

Resumo

Com base em evidencias de que a estratégia geral de liberalização – e empreendedorismo neoliberal especificamente – não foi efetiva na redução de pobreza na África subsaariana nas três últimas décadas, esta tese se propõe a reexaminar o conceito de 'empreendedorismo' por meio da apreensão das percepções de jovens empreendedores urbanos marginalizados da África Oriental sobre um tipo ideal preliminar de 'empreendedorismo popular coletivo' e seu potencial para gerar bem-estar comum. Duas perspectivas foram usadas neste esforço. A primeira surge da teoria e pratica da 'economia solidária' e de sua ênfase em autogestão democrática e no atendimento de necessidades coletivas. A segunda emerge do 'enfoque de bem-estar' e considera essencialmente que necessidades psicológicas e sociais são tão importantes quanto as materiais a propósito de gerar bem-estar. Este estudo é um exemplo de abordagem multimetodológica aplicada à investigação de um certo fenômeno especifico, no intuito de que alguns de seus resultados possam ser desdobrados não somente à compreensão de uma realidade mais geral, mas também a divisar como esta realidade 'poderia ser'. Ele foi desenvolvido principalmente com grupos de jovens empreendedores em favelas de Nairóbi, Quênia. Em seguida, uma fase complementar foi realizada em assentamentos subnormais de Dar es Salaam, Tanzânia, com a intenção de produzir uma referência comparativa. Os resultados da pesquisa sugerem que estes jovens marginalizados são atraídos a reconhecer sua condição comum de exclusão e desvantagem social e a associar-se e fazer uma aposta de confiança na solidariedade como forma de possivelmente alcançar justiça e emancipação, restabelecer a esperança que foi perdida, e melhorar o próprio bem-estar individual e coletivo. De fato, a investigação identificou uma incidência significativa de atividades econômicas coletivas baseadas em autogestão democrática e expressas por meio de 'grupos de jovens'.

Palavras-chave: *empreendedorismo coletivo; enfoque de bem-estar; economia solidária; grupo de jovens.*

Acronyms

CPSD	Commission on the Private Sector and Development (United Nations)
FBES	*Fórum Brasileiro de Economia Solidária* (Brazil)
HDI	Human Development Index
IDS	International Development Studies
IGO	International Governmental Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MBE	Medium/Big Enterprise
MOYAS	Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports (Kenya)
MSE	Micro/Small Enterprise
MTE	*Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego* (Brazil)
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PRONINC	*Programa Nacional de Incubadoras de Cooperativas Populares* (Brazil)
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PT	*Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Brazil)
ROSCA	Rotating Savings and Credit Association
SENAES	*Secretaria Nacional de Economia Solidária* (Brazil)
SIES	*Sistema Nacional de Informações em Economia Solidária* (Brazil)
SNCJS	*Sistema Nacional de Comércio Justo e Solidário* (Brazil)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
YIKE	Youth Initiatives Kenya
YITA	Youth Initiatives Tanzania
YO	Years Old

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1. Introduction

It appears that there is a consensus amongst academics and development practitioners around the proposition that entrepreneurship is particularly relevant to development and poverty eradication. An illustration of this is the report *Unleashing Entrepreneurship: making business work for the poor* (2004), produced by the UN Commission on the Private Sector and Development (CPSD) and published by UNDP. However, the contemporary typical notion of entrepreneurship, especially in its medium- and large-scale forms, is regularly associated with an individualistic and liberal framework; in some regions this perspective is seen as beneficial to economic growth and its trickle down into poverty reduction, but in others the neo-liberal policy has shown to be a mechanism of restrictive and recessive politics: this has been the case in sub-Saharan Africa since the 1980s. In fact, the World Bank's 2000/2001 World Development Report acknowledges that, during the 1980/90s, the general strategy of liberalization did not prove to be effective at reducing poverty in most of the developing world. Specifically in sub-Saharan Africa, from 1987 to 1998, the number of people living on less than U$1 a day increased by about 75 million (World Bank 2001: 4, figure 2). Moreover, the simple fact that nearly half of world's population live on less than U$2 a day (ibid: 3) is more than enough reason to emphasise the importance of approaching poverty and socioeconomic exclusion not as sub-effects to be mitigated, but as extensive and structural problems.

In the classical debate about entrepreneurship, the type of activity usually thought to be able to lift people out of poverty is formal and small- to medium-scale; in this discussion, informal entrepreneurship is merely seen as survival strategy. In addition, especially in contexts of inequality and exclusion, the mainstream policies for fostering entrepreneurship tend to act as a filter which allows only a reduced number of entrepreneurs to move into a formal establishment and somehow integrate into the global economy (cf. Verrest 2007). This largely derives from the ontological underpinning that sustains the notion of 'neo-liberal entrepreneurship', which can be traced back to Ludwig von Mises' assumptions that human nature is inherently egotistic and self-interested and that markets arise spontaneously to harmonize the rational choices of self-centred human beings (Peet & Hartwick 2009: 79). Individuals who incorporate the neo-liberal entrepreneurial spirit become key elements in this rationale since their self-interested drive for wealth is seen as the most efficient manner to coordinate the economic collective action: on the one hand, the entrepreneur buys the labour of free workers in the labour market; on the other hand, market competition forces his company into cheaper and better products. The neo-liberal entrepreneur is thus regarded as a middle element between workers and the people's consumption who requires a Hobbesian authority – deriving from the illimitable and unquestionable principle of private property of

means of production – to avoid that self-centred workers' indolence and discord jeopardize their maximum collective efficiency. This all becomes implicit when the CPSD report states that

> Poor consumers pay more than rich consumers for basic services. […] Often, an informal private sector fills the gaps with goods of higher prices and varying quality. […] With the right attention and regulatory requirements, privately provided services can help meet the needs of poor people. […] The private sector can thus alleviate poverty by: [a)] empowering poor people by providing them with services and consumer products, increasing choices and reducing prices [, and b)] creat[ing] employment and income growth. […] And the greater interaction between those at the base of the pyramid and the private sector creates opportunities for direct involvement in the market economy. (United Nations 2004: 7-8)

Additionally, the same report proposes that the three major pillars of entrepreneurship are: a) a level playing field, b) access to financing, and c) access to skills and knowledge (ibid: 17-20). All of them founded upon rule of law; physical and social infrastructure; peace and political stability; good governance with policy predictability; transparency and accountability; sound macroeconomic policies; and a well-functioning global macro business environment (ibid: 14-17). In terms of policy, these three pillars in essence respectively turn into: a) debureaucratization, fighting informality and making (global) markets functional – which presupposes well-functioning governments and broad social inclusion –, b) reducing risks – by means of reducing transaction costs and of disciplining entrepreneurs – and, in the case of the poor people, fostering microfinance, and c) increasing workers' technical know-how and, above all, entrepreneurs' management and innovation skills in order to boost competitiveness (cf. ibid: 24-28).

Complementary to the notion of neo-liberal entrepreneurship, the concept of 'social entrepreneurship' has been emerging in the Global North in the past 20 years. In United States, this concept is typically guided by a charitable spirit, highly influenced by business schools, and expressed mostly through: a) individual social entrepreneurs who are seen "as change makers as they carry out 'new combinations' [which supposedly lead to] outcomes and social impact" (Defourny & Nyssens 2010: 41), and b) "the use of commercial activities by non-profit organizations in support of their mission" (ibid: 40). Differently, the thought of social entrepreneurship in Europe is also influenced by its historical co-operative tradition – rooted in the Rochdale experience – and in part materialized through collective initiatives which are autonomous and extensively participatory (ibid: 43, 47). However, it is essential to notice that both views – 'a classic business which applies (part of) its profit into social purposes' and 'a social enterprise sympathetic to the ideas of governance and economic democracy' – arise in societies wherein poverty and exclusion are marginal phenomena and hence are part of what these societies generally define as 'social economy' – which is

primarily philanthropic and envisages mostly the (re)insertion of people in socioeconomic structures normally considered as just and functional.

Nonetheless, a massive amount of excluded urban people in sub-Saharan Africa still perform so-called informal entrepreneurial activities [1] and rely on their own to make a living and somehow replace services which supposedly should be provided by the state. Moreover, taking into account the widely recognized adverse impact of economic restructuring in this region in the past 25 years, it does not seem that the formal economy will be able to absorb these people in a short or medium term neither will states soon be capable of fulfilling their duties in terms of extensively providing basic welfare. Finally, there is solid evidence suggesting that the youths in East Africa are and will remain largely vulnerable to exclusion from the formal economy (cf. Semboja 2007).

This general situation calls for a revision of the concept of entrepreneurship and for the examination of new thoughts on how this notion could be more appropriate to deal with questions of sustainable development and wellbeing in sub-Saharan Africa. Two perspectives appear to be pertinent to this endeavour. One draws from the theories and practices of 'solidarity economy' – moulded by the World Social Forum initiative and by the perspective of the 'new social movements' and their network-based modes or organization – and its emphasis on democratic self-management and attainment of collective needs. The second emerges from the 'wellbeing approach' and basically considers that psychological and social needs are as important as material ones in terms of generating wellbeing. Both views share the centrality of the human being in the production, consumption and (re)distribution of wealth, as well as the regard for collective aspects.

From what was previously presented, the idea of exploring 'grassroots collective entrepreneurship' as an alternative framework for development and poverty alleviation has been raised. This perspective suggests that the poor people's engagement in collective entrepreneurship would be liable to engender common wellbeing, dealing not only with the aspect of economic exclusion – which is particularly intrinsic to the fiercely competitive neo-liberal perspective –, but also with the provision of material, psychological and social needs even in the absence of a well-functioning state. It also opens the possibility to explore alternative stages of economic configuration en route to link up with the global economy. Due to the above-mentioned evidence suggesting that urban youths in East Africa are strongly vulnerable to economic exclusion, in association with the proposition that young people are an important force to drive social changes, this study will focus on understanding the perceptions of marginalized urban youth entrepreneurs in this region as to this idea of

[1] According to the CPSD report, 80% of the nonagricultural workforce is informal in sub-Saharan Africa (United Nations 2004: 12, figure 2.1).

engaging in entrepreneurship in a collective manner and its potential to engender common wellbeing [2].

In this research, the core element in the idea of grassroots collective entrepreneurship will be the Micro/Small Enterprise (MSE), but one which is particularly inspired by the co-operative ideal and by the principles and practices of the solidarity economy. Secondly, the value chains in this ideal-type model would be mostly decentralised and democratically self-governed. It is essential to highlight that, as the quality of this study is mostly exploratory, this rough definition was used mainly as a preliminary reference to inform and guide the interactions with youth entrepreneurs. Due to the complex and abstract nature of this venture, the most challenging element in the fieldwork turned out to be the capability of converting the previously mentioned model of entrepreneurship and its aspects into an appropriate 'language game' which could be shared by the youths and the researcher. This study was conducted primarily with groups of youth entrepreneurs in slums of Nairobi, Kenya. Subsequently, a condensed supplementary phase was carried out in informal settlements of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, with the purpose of producing a comparative reference. The fieldwork in both cities was facilitated by local NGOs (Youth Initiatives Kenya and Youth Initiatives Tanzania) which assist marginalized youths in the processes of starting and developing entrepreneurial activities.

Finally, it is expected that the outputs of this research could be employed by youth entrepreneurs in their own processes of enhancing wellbeing, as well as by organizations which somehow support them in this endeavour, such as governments, development agencies and NGOs. In spite of how tempting it might be, it is somewhat utopian to think that this kind of development strategy could lead to the replacement of global capitalist relations. On the other hand, it is still very worth acknowledging this perspective as a complement to current development practices and, especially, as an alternative in places where exclusion and poverty seem not to end. In this regard, few words from Boaventura de Sousa Santos on how he thinks of alternative development are appropriate and inspiring to introduce this study:

> In response to the idea that the economy is an independent sphere of social life requiring the sacrifice of non-economic goods and values – be they social (e.g., equality), political (e.g., democratic participation), cultural (e.g., ethnic diversity), or natural (e.g., the environment) – alternative development stresses the need to treat the economy as an integral part of society that is dependent upon society, and to subordinate economic goals to the protection of such goods and values. (2006: xxxiv)

[2] Common wellbeing here stands for the provision of material, psychological and social needs, whose benefits are evenly shared by a group or community.

2. Grassroots Collective Entrepreneurship

The main goal in this chapter will be the theoretical positioning and linkage of the three central notions within this research: 'solidarity economy', 'wellbeing', and 'engaging in entrepreneurship in a collective manner'. This endeavour provided the preliminary references which informed and guided the interactions with youth entrepreneurs through the venture of understanding their perceptions, as well as insights and orientation to analyse and discuss the findings.

2.1 Solidarity Economy

The conception and practices of solidarity economy appear in Latin America as a response to the 1980s' neo-liberal structural reforms, which led to a significant reduction in formal jobs and to the dislocation of labour unions. Inspired by the authentic co-operative ideal [3] and its emphasis on self-management, this notion first emerged as a way of preserving jobs. Paradoxically, this conception is to some extent similar to the 1980/90s' new paradigm of production, which was based on work flexibility and its practices of increased participation and autonomy such as manufacturing in work cells and the regard for the workers' knowledge; nonetheless, these encouraging aspects were eventually annulled by the unemployment and social exclusion generated by the same paradigm (Lima 2004: 53).

In a second moment, the idea of solidarity economy was strengthened and converted into economic praxis by the 1990s' wave of new social movements, particularly the World Social Forum initiative. The concept spread and developed to encompass production, finance (e.g., co-operative/solidary credit, use of social currency), commercialization (aligned with the ideas of fair and solidary trade), and consumption, which were materialized into informal and/or communitarian productive groups; co-operatives in a range of sizes and purposes; mutual societies; networks of production, commercialization and consumption; groups of exchange; and worker-recovered enterprises – large- and medium-sized capitalist companies which went bankrupt and were recovered by their workers as co-operatives – (Singer 2002: 39-108). As an expression of this phenomenon's significance, the Brazilian Secretariat of Solidarity Economy (*SENAES*) states that, in 2007, its information system counted 21.859 enterprises of solidarity economy (*EES*) in the country, involving 1.687.496 participants [4].

[3] Which contrasts with the notion of 'pragmatic' or 'fake' co-operatives, defined by Lima as outsourced and commonly organized by traditional companies or as part of revenue generation programmes by states and thus disassociated from the principles of the co-operative movement (2004: 46).

[4] Source: Brazilian Ministry of Labour and Employment (*MTE*) - Solidarity Economy Information System (*SIES*) [http://www.mte.gov.br/ecosolidaria/sies.asp, accessed 16/Jan/2010].

According to Paul Singer [5] (described by Lima 2004: 53), the concept of solidarity economy is centred on the contrast between solidarity and the competitive individualism which predominates in the capitalist society. It refers to the organization of people into self-management systems which are democratic and include equality of rights amongst members and tendencies to common property of capital and to egalitarian distribution. The co-operative would be the par excellence ideal type of solidarity enterprise, open to the unemployed, to those who risk losing their jobs and to poor people, since it is an emancipatory and redemptive response to the capitalist deterioration of work and social life.

Singer states that capitalism has as major characteristics the concentration of the means of production in few hands – "but not any mean of production, it concerns specifically the 'social' means of production, that is, the ones which can only be collectively operated" [6] (Singer 2005: 13) – and a rationale wherein "the gains of some correspond to the losses of others; competing means acting to impose losses to the 'others' and to avoid that the «others» do it to us" [7] (ibid: 15). In contrast, the solidarity economy would manifest itself by the collective property of social means of production, by the union of small producers, and by co-operative and solidary relations amongst people (ibid: 14). Moreover, Singer also defends that socioeconomic practices to some extent shape people's behaviours and values:

> The hypothesis is that everybody has inclinations to both competing and co-operating. The inclination which will eventually predominate will depend very much on the most frequent practice, which is induced by the social arrangement where the person is born, grows up and lives. [8] (ibid: 16)

In addition, according to Gutberlet,

> Solidarity economy (*économie solidaire*, *economía solidaria*) is widely perceived as a new generation of social economy with a plurality of forms of economic activity. […] [It] is a bottom-up initiative which encompasses the voluntary sector as much as new institutionalised economic experiences. [It] creates synergies between actors (local authorities, private enterprises, state, citizens) and generates workplaces by offering new services. […] The proposal comes from the drive to change unjust and exploitative economic relations and to improve livelihoods. It gives hope that a different world is

[5] Paul Singer is an Austrian Brazilian scholar, co-founder of the Brazilian Workers' Party (*PT*) and one of the main idealizers of the notion of solidarity economy. Since 2003 he is the head of the Brazilian National Secretariat of Solidarity Economy (*SENAES*).

[6] Original text in Portuguese: *mas não de qualquer meio de produção, trata-se especificamente dos meios 'sociais' de produção, ou seja, dos que só podem ser operados coletivamente*.

[7] Original text in Portuguese: *os ganhos de uns correspondem a perdas de outros; competir significa agir para impor perdas aos 'outros' e para evitar que os «outros» façam isso conosco*.

[8] Original text in Portuguese: *A hipótese aqui é que todos têm inclinação tanto por competir como por cooperar. Qual dessas inclinações acabará por predominar vai depender muito da prática mais freqüente, que é induzida pelo arranjo social em que o sujeito nasce, cresce e vive*.

> possible, with innovative ways of production, commercialisation, and consumption. Community-based enterprises are recognised as useful strategies for local economic development, particularly in poor communities. Profit making is still at the centre of attention in social enterprises, but the profits are applied in the social sphere. […] Its effects are often beneficial in terms of human development, because it helps people to empower themselves. (2009: 739)

Moreover, in its founding charter, the Brazilian Solidarity Economy Forum (*FBES*) declares that

> The central value of the solidarity economy is the human 'work/knowledge/ creativity', and not the money-capital and its property under any of its forms. [It] represents practices based on solidary collaborative relations, which are inspired by cultural values that place the human being as subject and purpose of the economic activity, rather than the private accumulation of wealth in general and of capital in particular. [9] (2003)

Finally, as to the positioning of the solidarity economy in regards to the capitalist mode of production, Singer proposes that

> The solidarity economy constitutes a mode of production that, alongside several other modes – capitalism, small-scale production of commodities, state production of goods and services, private non-profit production – comprises the capitalist basis of society: capitalist, not only because capitalism is the largest of all modes of production, but also because it moulds the legal and institutional superstructure in accordance with its values and interests. Although it is hegemonic, capitalism does not prevent the development of other modes of production, since it is incapable of absorbing the whole of the economically active population. The solidarity economy grows in response to the social crises that blind competition of private capital periodically creates in each country. (2006: 6)

It is important to notice that the practices of solidarity economy are not restricted to Latin America. In his book *Another Production is Possible: beyond the capitalist canon* (2006), Boaventura de Sousa Santos exposes a set of similar experiences that are currently happening all over the world. Amongst them is the case of General Union of Agro-Pastoral Co-operatives (*UGC*), a complex of "women's co-operatives located on the outskirts of Maputo, Mozambique, which emerged in the mid-1970s as a result of post-independence socialist policies [and] works mostly in the food sector, selling to the Maputo market" (2006: xliv); they have "managed to combine economic and social factors to improve the peasant

[9] Original text in Portuguese: *O valor central da economia solidária é o trabalho, o saber e a criatividade humanos e não o capital-dinheiro e sua propriedade sob quaisquer de suas formas. [Ela] representa práticas fundadas em relações de colaboração solidária, inspiradas por valores culturais que colocam o ser humano como sujeito e finalidade da atividade econômica, em vez da acumulação privada de riqueza em geral e de capital em particular*.

women's lives, while turning the workers into actors in a progressive social transformation" (ibid: x). Other similar illustrations can also be drawn from the "growing literature on fair trade and alternative forms of commercial engagement between the North and the South" (ibid: xxvi).

2.2 Wellbeing

Development studies in the 1990s became permeated by the general idea that revenue generation itself does not ensure "people's freedom from the necessity to perform activities that are regarded as subservient [dignity] and their ability to choose self-fulfilling and rewarding lifestyles [autonomy]" (Baulch 2006: 83). This stance has developed into practices of participatory poverty assessment – in which the hierarchy of necessities and desires is defined by local people – and is broadly attuned to Amartya Sen's ideas of development as capabilities to function and as subjective freedom [10]. In addition, the same period is also marked by the incorporation of the notion of 'vulnerability' into the thinking of poverty and how to fight against it (ibid: 83). This perspective tends to search for the increase of security through the decrease of vulnerability and the enhancement of resilience [11]. In other words, it draws attention to how people are susceptible to and can cope with shocks suck as drought, flooding, violence, economic crisis, and so forth.

In terms of understanding how people (especially the poor) deal with their means of securing the necessities of life, the notions of vulnerability, capabilities and (partially) subjective freedom are captured by the 'livelihoods approach'. This analytical model essentially assumes that households "have access to a portfolio of assets [and] the strategy open to a household depends both on the portfolio held and on the household's capabilities to find and make use of livelihood opportunities" (Rakodi 2002: 6). Household assets are grouped in five categories: human capital; social and political capital; physical capital; financial capital; and natural capital. Additionally, the model also considers external factors such as the vulnerability context; the general infrastructure and services provided by

[10] According to Amartya Sen, "development has to be more concerned with enhancing the lives we lead and the freedoms we enjoy. Expanding the freedoms that we have reason to value not only makes our lives richer and more unfettered, but also allows us to be fuller social persons, exercising our own volitions and interacting with – and influencing – the world in which we live." (1999: 14). For him, the capabilities to function are the practical means which allow the attainment of subjective necessities/desires and can be translated into factors such as bodily health and integrity, knowledge, or affiliation, amongst others. This notion constitutes also the rationale behind the Human Development Index (HDI).

[11] Resilience can be defined as the "responsiveness in exploiting opportunities, and in resisting or recovering from the negative effects of a changing environment. The means of resistance are the assets and entitlements that individuals, households, or communities can mobilize and manage in the face of hardship" (Moser 1998: 3).

governments/other actors; the policies, institutions and processes; and the livelihood opportunities (ibid: 8-16).

Nonetheless, the livelihoods approach seems to incorporate the notions of capabilities and vulnerability better than the core idea of subjective freedom, as it tends to favour economic aspects/market institutions and is prone to assume that the household's main goal is the pursuit of an individualistic maximization of assets which allows it to better cope with stress and shocks. As a result, power relations are likely to be disregarded and the solution to poverty tends to develop into a merely technical diversification of livelihoods. An alternative perspective which has the potential to balance these notions is the 'wellbeing approach'. Developed by the Wellbeing in Developing Countries Research Group (University of Bath), this stance conceives wellbeing

> in terms of the interplay between: 1. the resources that a person is able to command; 2. what they are able to achieve with those resources, and in particular what needs and goals they are able to meet; and 3. the meaning that they give to the goals they achieve and the processes in which they engage [as well as] the quality of life that they perceive themselves as achieving. […] All of these take place in the context of society and social collectivity. (McGregor 2006: 4)

The previously described notion of wellbeing is the representation which will inform and guide this research. This approach essentially states that the psychological and social needs are as important as the material needs in terms of generating wellbeing and tries to capture these aspects in its model, even if making them operational may be an intricate challenge. In other words, this is a call for the revival of 'the centrality of the social human being' and of 'meaning, culture and identity' (ibid: 5). These ideas will be further developed.

Firstly, McGregor proposes that "there are psychological supports that humans must experience to thrive, and that when deprived of these supports, empirically observable degradation results" (ibid: 9). The author suggests that 'autonomy' – including self-determination and the capability to participate in society –, 'relatedness' – being integral to a social organization and feeling socially connected, cared for and significant to others –, and 'feelings of competence and confidence' are amongst them (ibid: 5-23). But he also emphasises that psychological, as well as material needs, have to be understood in a broader context, both socially and politically. They "depend upon an appreciation of the person in social relationships and particularly in the context of socially and culturally constructed meaning" (ibid: 11); these aspects mediate "how we are able to 'feel' about experiences" (ibid: 10). In other words, what is 'normal', 'desirable', or 'acceptable' is socially constructed (ibid: 11) and "failure to meet needs that are underpinned by these social constructs can just as inevitably result in physical human harm as can the denial of food" (ibid: 13). Finally,

"since wellbeing is a product of relationships, we must recognise that some of these relationships can – and are intended to – result in harm to other persons" (ibid: 11). This implies that the achievement of wellbeing also depends on the change and/or accommodation of social mechanisms and structures.

The role of culture is also particularly relevant in this perspective of wellbeing. Constituted by systems of meaning, culture guides our aspirations and how we build our social relations – which can enclose different levels of power inequality –, working as a 'lens' through which we see and transform the world, as well as by which we negotiate what we need or want and "whether we are satisfied with what we are able to do and be" (ibid: 13). Societies and cultures are not fixed, they are "constantly in flux; meanings are contested; and people in all societies frequently engage in the renegotiation of meaning in their efforts to address new challenges" (ibid: 13).

Finally, another essential aspect of the wellbeing approach is the emphasis it gives to the processes that people engage themselves in. This means that wellbeing does not depend exclusively on the goals achieved, but also on the 'route' taken to achieve these goals, the 'rhythm' of the process, and how people perceive both of them. It recognizes that "wellbeing is in a permanent process of construction", that people have "different ways to take account of time" (ibid: 18), as well as "the importance of a person's expectations of future wellbeing for their present state of wellbeing" (ibid: 19).

Drawing on the wellbeing approach, Hartley Dean asserts "it is through ideological but, more usually, popular discourse that people come to justify or to challenge, to fear or simply 'make sense' of, the social injustices that they are implicated in perpetuating, that they witness around them, and/or that they themselves experience" (2003: 2) and defends that "discursive repertoires provide the building blocks through which a huge variety of different meanings may be created or contested" (ibid: 5). In addition, he proposes an empirically-grounded heuristic framework which would provide a way of thinking – through people's discourse – about how they "accommodate the realities of living within human societies that are unequal, socially exclusive and/or unjust" (ibid: 5) and "the relationship they expect between the human individual and the social collectivity" (ibid: 5). This framework is fundamentally based on two conceptual opposites: a) the 'local' and the 'universal' [12], and b) the 'contractarian' and the 'solidaristic' [13]. In addition, the model embraces three layers of

[12] Which relates to Habermas' sociological distinction between 'life-world' – individual agency, moral norms and customary practices – and 'system' – social structure, ethical values and technical/ administrative systems – (Dean 2003: 2, 4).

[13] Linked to the ontological opposition between "an essentially individualistic view of the social order in which an explicit trade-off or metaphorical contract or covenant is required between competitive and self-interested individuals" (Dean 2003: 3) and "a collectivist view of the social order in which the priority is to sustain co-operative solidarity" (ibid: 3) – that is, human bargaining in opposition to

discursive repertoires (detailed in the figures 2.2-1, 2.2-2 and 2.2-3) through which human wellbeing is often understood:

a) layer of resources that people are able to command: discursive repertoires from which people draw to negotiate and understand their practical strategies as for resources and poverty;

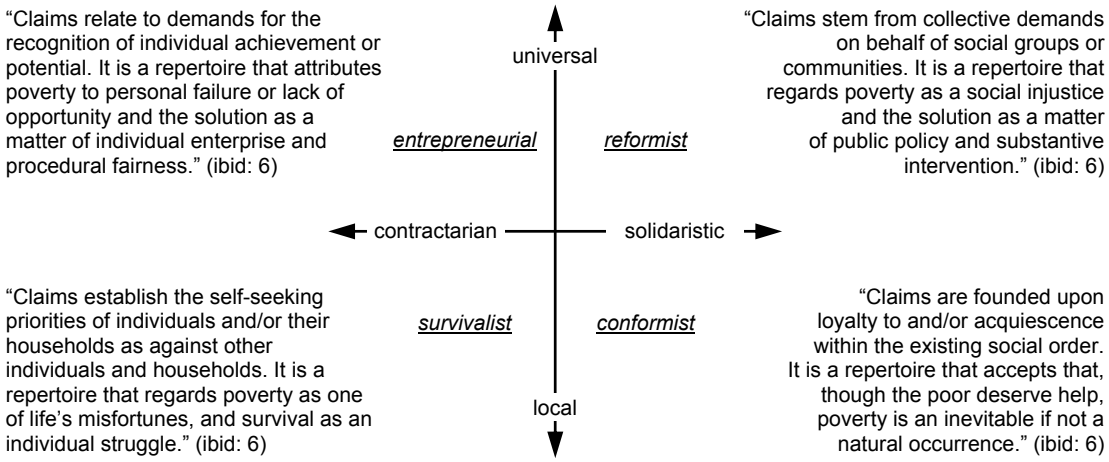

Figure 2.2-1: Repertoires for Negotiation and Understanding of Practical Survival Strategies (Conformist, Survivalist, Reformist and Entrepreneurial)

b) layer of what people are able to achieve with those resources: discursive repertoires from which people draw to negotiate and understand what they need;

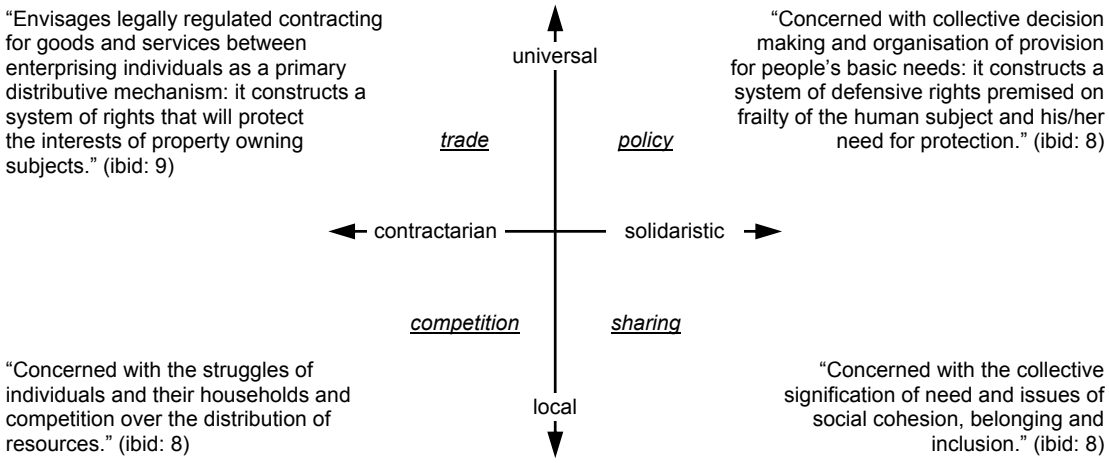

Figure 2.2-2: Repertoires for Negotiation and Understanding of Needs (Sharing, Competition, Policy and Trade)

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human attachments; and hedonic wellbeing (based on a trade-off between punishment and reward) in contrast to eudaimonic wellbeing (rooted in self-actualisation and relatedness) (ibid: 3).

and c) layer of the quality of life that people perceive themselves as achieving: discursive repertoires from which people draw to negotiate and understand their personal identity as embodied beings – assuming that "feelings of well-being and subjective perceptions of quality of life must depend upon how we conceptualise the body" (ibid: 10).

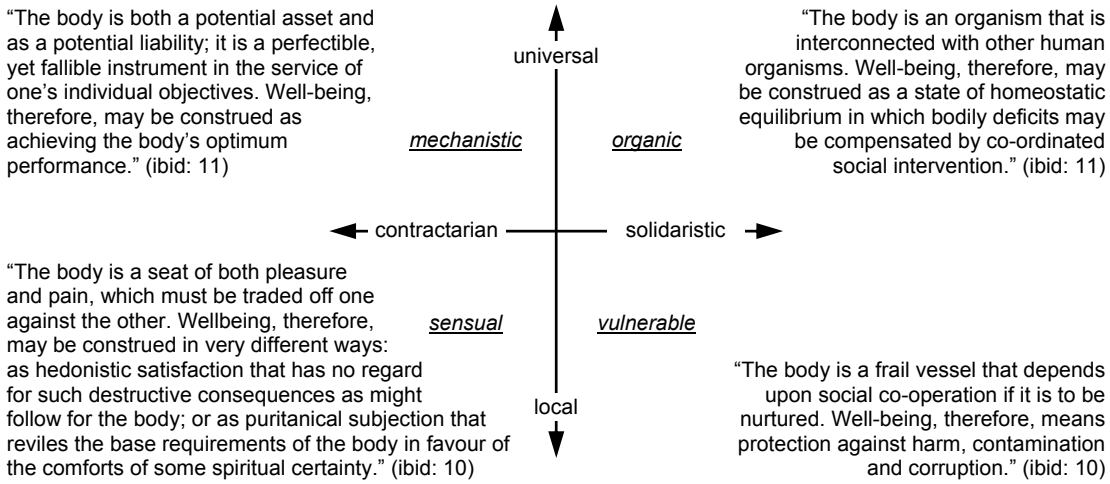

Figure 2.2-3: Repertoires for Negotiation and Understanding of Embodied Life (Vulnerable, Sensual, Organic and Mechanistic)

Dean suggests that "the discursive data generated by the various elements of a multi-method approach – from fieldwork observation, participatory forums and interviews – provide an opportunity to apply the framework described and to explore the resonance that the generic discursive repertoires outlined above might have within different […] contexts" (ibid: 13). This seems to be precisely the case of this research. Finally, it is important to bear in mind that "such repertoires will seldom, if ever, be isolated in their ideal form, but are capable of co-existing and overlapping in a variety of historically and culturally specific patterns – as much in popular as in political discourse – and in a variety of complex and contradictory ways that are susceptible to empirical investigation" (ibid: 6).

2.3 Engaging in Entrepreneurship in a Collective Manner

As mentioned in the chapter '1. Introduction', it seems there is a consensus amongst academics and development practitioners that entrepreneurship is especially relevant to development and poverty eradication. But this general idea is still fundamentally pervaded by the notion of entrepreneurship occurring in an individualistic liberal framework (as confirmed by the figure 2.2-1). Based on the previously presented ideas of solidarity economy and wellbeing, this section will somewhat disrupt this paradigm and propose a rough concept of

'grassroots collective entrepreneurship' [14]. The goal here is not to come up with an original and well-finished theoretical approach of development, but the elaboration of an initial sketch to be exposed to youth entrepreneurs and to provide the preliminary reference in their interactions with the researcher (further referred to in this thesis as 'I', 'me' or 'my'). As the section's heading already indicates, this course of action will be aligned with the wellbeing approach's emphasis on the processes in which people engage. In addition, during this endeavour I will theoretically explore some initial potential links between engaging in entrepreneurship in a collective manner and the generation of common wellbeing – generally seen here as the provision of material, psychological and social needs, whose benefits are evenly shared by a group or community.

The core element in this idea of grassroots collective entrepreneurship will be the Micro/Small Enterprise (MSE) [15]. This choice is based on the fact that this kind of institution – operating in both informal and formal modes – is commonly recognized as the most important job-generating mechanism and represents the means by which most of the entrepreneurial initiatives are materialized. But the first particularity of our sketch is that its MSEs will be inspired by the co-operative ideal and by the principles and practices of the solidarity economy. As such, their internal relations would be typically based on association, equality, knowledge distribution, participation, attainment of collective needs, trust, and innovation. This selection is explained in the following manner: a) association, equality, participation and attainment of collective needs come from the core principles of the solidarity economy, bearing in mind that the principle of equality embraces tendencies to collective property of social means of production and to egalitarian distribution; b) effective knowledge distribution – and transparency as one of its preconditions – appears as a requirement for meaningful participation and truly democratic management; c) trust and its reinforcement are core elements in the debate concerning coordination of collective action and attainment of collective needs (e.g., Putnam 1993); additionally, d) resonating equality and attainment of collective needs brings us to the acknowledgment that, as different people may also be in dissimilar conditions – which are linked to social class, formal and informal education, ethnicity, sex and gender, age, etc. – their particularities should be taken in consideration when trying to balance the distribution of benefits for all members of the group,

[14] Including the expropriation of the word 'entrepreneurship' to the benefit of its etymology – "*entreprendre: se mettre à faire quelque chose*" (dictionary Le Petit Robert).

[15] The MSE will be conceived here both as 'the basic element of a decentralized type of economic production' and as 'an institution' – a space for mediation of social relations that encompasses a set of rules, norms and procedures (official or not), systems of meaning, cognitive schemas, and moral standards, which govern the organization of a group of people and provide the information and the structure of meanings that guide the actions of these individuals.

as brought to light by Pierre Bourdieu [16] – and this involves situation wherein people contribute and are given back in non-direct/non-proportional manners –; and finally, e) innovation emerges not only as the creative impetus of improving the human condition through technology, but mainly as the principle of thinking and doing things in new and/or different ways – and this process must embrace socioeconomic relations and can be seen as oriented by the Freirean perspective of conscientization and dialogic communication. Paulo Freire defends that humans are curious uncompleted beings, conscious of their incompletion, and permanently in search of 'being more (fully human)'; for him, the process of conscientization is a collective effort to conceive of the world beyond certain limits imposed by oppressive economic, social and cultural relations (that is, beyond a 'limit-situation') – from the actual consciousness to the consciousness of an 'untested feasibility' (*inédito viável*) – (2006a: 82-124) and depends on what he calls 'dialogics' (*dialogicidade*):

> Dialogue is thus an existential necessity. And since dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world which is to be transformed and humanized, this dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one person's 'depositing' ideas in another, nor can it become a simple exchange of ideas to be 'consumed' by the discussants. […] Because dialogue is an encounter among women and men who name the world, it must not be a situation where some name on behalf of others. It is an act of creation; it must not serve as a crafty instrument for the domination of one person by another. The domination implicit in dialogue is that of the world by the dialoguers; it is conquest of the world for the liberation of humankind. (ibid: 88)

> Someone who cannot acknowledge himself to be as mortal as everyone else still has a long way to go before he can reach the point of encounter. At the point of encounter there are neither utter ignoramuses nor perfect sages; there are only people who are attempting, together, to learn more than they now know. (ibid: 90)

Secondly, the value chains in our model would be for the most part decentralised and democratically self-governed. In their extensive study concerning value chain governance, Gereffi *et al*. (2005) conclude that when transactions between enterprises get more complex, there is a tendency that the value chain becomes more hierarchical; in addition, the inability to codify transactions and the lack of capabilities in the supply base would intensify this propensity. This presumes that complex products could not be easily produced in non-hierarchical value chains. Nonetheless, the same authors acknowledge that "trust, reputation, and mutual dependence dampen opportunistic behavior, and in so doing they make possible

[16] Bourdieu proposes the notion of symbolic violence – a structural form of veiled domination associated with economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals – (1977) to explain how inequalities can be masked through procedurally treating people equally despites dissimilar conditions they may face rather than focusing on equalizing outputs – which can be understood as wellbeing – and applies this notion to specifically analyze gender inequalities in *La domination masculine* (1998).

more complex inter-firm divisions of labor and interdependence than would be predicted by transaction costs theory" (2005: 81) [17]. This gives support to the proposition that a value chain could be mostly governed by co-operative MSEs operating in a productive network ruled by the same principles supposedly orienting their internal relations (association, equality, knowledge distribution, participation, attainment of collective needs, trust, and innovation). The figures 2.3-1 and 2.3-2 illustrate this idea and its difference as for a value chain mostly governed by Medium/Big Enterprises (MBEs):

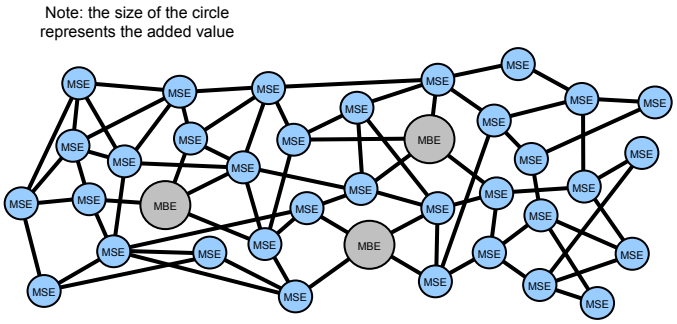

Figure 2.3-1: Decentralised and Self-governed Value Chain Mostly Composed by MSEs

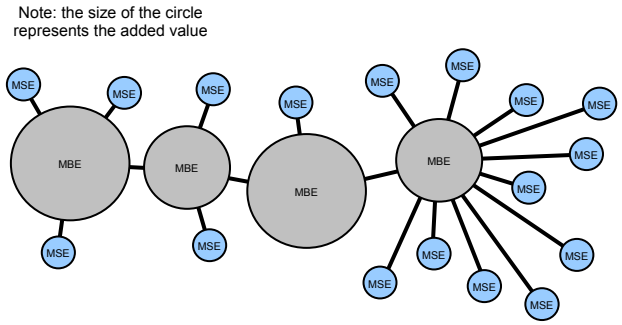

Figure 2.3-2: Centralized and Hierarchical Value Chain Mostly Composed by MBEs

In terms of exploring preliminary possible associations between the engagement in entrepreneurship in a collective manner and the generation of common wellbeing, the first aspect to be considered is the fact that the achievement of wellbeing also depends on the change and/or accommodation of social mechanisms and structures currently resulting in

[17] An interesting case supporting the viability of this idea in a pulverized level is the development of the Debian operational system (within the Free Software Movement's frame), a technological and complex product which was created in a decentralized, somewhat self-managed, informal and voluntary manner. Equally intriguing about this example is the fact that most of those who worked in the project were not formally high-educated professionals, but self-learning youths passionate about computer programming. Finally, it is very relevant noticing that a significant drive behind this experience was the indignation and the discontentment about what the project's collaborators perceive as a monopoly developed by Microsoft in the software sector.

harm to some (sometimes most of the) people. In this regard, the idea of grassroots collective entrepreneurship, due to the principles on which it is based, appears as a process of unveiling, defying and changing unjust and exploitative socioeconomic relations, which include not only work relations, but also the lack of right to work – in other words, economic exclusion, which is particularly intrinsic to the fiercely competitive neo-liberal perspective. Moreover, this engagement is likely to produce common wellbeing throughout its process, as it collectively creates hope of a better future. For Paulo Freire,

> Hope is an ontological need. Hopelessness is but hope that has lost its bearings, and become a distortion of that ontological need. […] The attempt to do without hope, in the struggle to improve the world, as if that struggle could be reduced to calculated acts alone, or a purely scientific approach, is a frivolous illusion. […] As an ontological need, hope needs practice in order to become historical concreteness. […] Hope, as it happens, is so important for our existence, individual and social, that we must take every care not to experience it in a mistaken form, and thereby allow it to slip towards hopelessness and despair. Hopelessness and despair are both the consequence and the cause of inaction or immobilism. (2006b: 2)

A proposition that fits in this rationale, for example, is considering grassroots collective entrepreneurship as an alternative to the idea of people linking to the global value chains in positions of low-skilled, very low paid work (such as in the 'world market for nimble fingers'); apparently, workers operating through collaborative, solidary and dialogic relations would be in a much better position to link themselves into the global economy in an affirmative and truly optimistic manner, choosing the markets worth producing to and cutting out middlemen.

Secondly, the attainment of material needs also appears as a priority in the notion of grassroots collective entrepreneurship, but, unlike in the individualistic liberal perspective, through a manner which addresses extreme wealth inequality. This approach resonates with the idea of securing universal needs such as food, housing, bodily integrity, health and education, but in a distributive and inclusive manner which strongly takes in consideration the local priorities in terms of defining necessities/desires and is partly independent from the state. However, even in regard to classical governance and citizenship, it seems to be more likely that people operating conjointly in this kind of bottom-up initiative would be better positioned to interact with and pressure governments and non-governmental entities, as suggested by Robert Putnam (1993) [18]; in addition, the pedagogical aspect of participating in a

[18] Putnam defends that spontaneous co-operation – which would be capable of overcoming dilemmas of collective action and self-defeating opportunism – is facilitated by social capital – which "refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks" – (1993: 167) and empirically establishes a connexion between social capital (operationalized mostly through the presence of associations and people reading newspapers) and governments working well.

self-managed experience would have the potential to enhance their position even more (cf. Singer 2002: 21). Finally, through the perspective of reducing vulnerability, the proposed model seems to be particularly aligned with the idea of implementing mechanisms of reciprocal insurance to cope with adverse shocks. An empirical example of this proposition's efficiency can be drawn from the complex of co-operatives Mondragon in the Basque Country, which started with a single co-operative of 23 workers in 1956. Characterized by being "linked by many different ties of mutual dependence" (Santos 2006: xxx), this complex's "record of survival has been phenomenal – of the 103 worker cooperatives that were created from 1956 to 1986 [a period embracing significant economic crises], only 3 have been shut down" (White & White 1991: 3).

Thirdly, regarding psychological wellbeing, grassroots collective entrepreneurship appears to considerably favour autonomy, since, ideally, every member would similarly and meaningfully participate in decisions concerning what should be produced, how it should be done, the role of each person in these processes, as well as how the labour's outcomes should be distributed; and founded on dialogic and solidary relations and aiming at attaining collective needs, these processes have the potential to strengthen social ties and mutual caring (i.e., relatedness). Finally, feelings of competence and confidence would emerge also from self-management and conscientization (cf. Singer 2002: 21) and potentially as effects of having alternatives which regard people's particularities and limitations and of solidary mutual reassurance.

At last, since the practices of production become subordinated to the idea of having the human being and its needs as subject and purpose of the economic activity – rather than the maximization of profit as such by means of cost-minimizing production patterns –, the potential to consider and respect socially and culturally constructed meanings in our referential sketch is highly increased. Aspects such as what is normal, desirable or acceptable depending on each context and respecting people's ways and rhythms of doing things turn out to be part of the mode of production. Furthermore, bearing in mind that societies and cultures are constantly in flux, the contestation and the renegotiation of meanings emerge as essentials in the praxis of continuously changing and accommodating social mechanisms and structures, but permeated by notions such as inclusive solidarity and collective wellbeing.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

Inspired by the notion and practices of solidarity economy and informed by the evolution of IDS's thoughts regarding human contentment into the wellbeing approach, this chapter suggested a sketchy concept of grassroots collective entrepreneurship and proposed that the engagement in entrepreneurship in a collective manner would have the potential to

facilitate common wellbeing (especially for those in a situation of extreme exclusion). On the one hand, this endeavour provided a wide range of elements in order to allow that youth entrepreneurs in slums of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam examine the idea. On the other hand, it also presented – through Dean's heuristic framework – a manner of thinking about: a) the discourse of grassroots collective entrepreneurship in relation to other major ideal ones, and b) the youth entrepreneurs' discourse and its interaction with external discourses they are submitted to. As for the former, it seems that the discourse of grassroots collective entrepreneurship, in the layer of resources, takes entrepreneurship into the solidaristic side and merges it with reformist claims; in the layer of defining needs, it shifts the balance towards collective signification, sharing and policy making, and it positions trade by means of market forces back into a supra- and auxiliary level (cf. Polanyi 1944); and in the layer of quality of life it not only tends to respect socially and culturally constructed meanings but also to mould new identities through a process inspired and informed by inclusive solidarity and collective wellbeing. As to the latter, this question will be addressed in the chapter '6. Final Considerations'.

3. When Inclusion, Formality and Adulthood are Exceptions

This chapter describes not only the context in which the perceptions of the urban youth entrepreneurs who participated in this study are formed, but also the general circumstances under which the fieldwork was carried out. The argument is that both are deeply intertwined and trying to disconnect them would possibly introduce a bias in the reader's interpretation.

3.1 Urban Youth Entrepreneurs in East Africa and Their General Situation

Current general circumstances surrounding urban youth entrepreneurs in East Africa are far from being optimistic. Chigunta points out that

> detailed information on the situation of youth [19] in Africa is not available, but in the context of a high and growing incidence of poverty and the documented adverse social impact of economic restructuring, there is increasing concern that large sections of young people have become 'marginalised', or are 'excluded' from education, healthcare, salaried jobs and even access to the status of 'adulthood'. (2002: 2)

The severe impacts of structural adjustment programmes in Africa are also likely "to affect disproportionately young people [and,] as a group, young women tend to be more vulnerable than young men" (ibid: 10). In addition, marginalised urban youths have to cope with negative stereotyping. Their livelihood activities, for example, "are looked down upon by mainstream society. This has led to their negative labelling [;] in Tanzania, the unemployed youth roaming or hawking in the streets are called the *Manchicha*; in Uganda and Kenya they are referred to as *Bayaye*" (ibid: 17). In demographic terms,

> available estimates show that in most African countries, including Kenya, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Zambia, the youth and children aged 25 years and below constitute about or over 70 percent of the population. Specifically, young people aged between 15-25 years constitute about 30 percent of the total population [and this group] will, in relation to the overall population, continue to grow over the next 20 years […]. According to the UN, most of the new labour force entrants will be youth grappling with the problem of unemployment. (ibid: 4)

As well, "it has been observed that youth migrants [rural to urban] in Africa are three times many as among other migrants" (ibid: 12); "the majority of young people in Africa do

[19] "The age range 15-30 years is generally taken as representing the category of youth in Africa" (Chigunta 2002: 2); in this research this range will be extended to 15-35 years old, since it corresponds to the official governmental definition of youth in both Kenya and Tanzania (ibid: 3, table 1).

not complete secondary school" (Chigunta et al. 2005: 4) and "the levels of youth unemployment vary from country to country but are generally double and sometimes triple the adult rate" (ibid: 4). Finally, unemployment "has particularly stricken […] youth from low-income backgrounds and limited education in urban areas" (ibid: 4).

Concerning the role of young people in the conflict situation in Africa, emerging literature suggests that "youth culture, in particular the problem of unemployed and disaffected youth, appears to play a significant role in the African conflict experience [and] that young people are engaging in conflict in order to challenge the traditional political elite for control of the state" (Chigunta 2002: 18); to some extent, the prevailing socioeconomic environment even "entices youth to turn to war as a means of livelihood" (ibid: 19). A belief even more widespread is that marginalized youths engage in gangsterism and crime as a means of 'participatory expression' (ibid: 18). However, there are other ways of reacting against frustration and exclusion, and youth entrepreneurship can be understood as a positive one, particularly if it happens in a mutually supportive and emancipatory manner. This proposition calls for some deeper reflection on the meaning of 'youth'. On the one hand, when Bourdieu states that 'age is a manipulated and manipulatable biologic data' and that '«youth» is just a word', he is emphasising that this is not a given category but is above all socially constructed in the course of the battle between youths and elders in different contexts; as an example, he points out how frequently and arbitrarily, in an attempt to exclude groups of people from participation in decisions, persons can be considered as youths and youths can be assumed as provisionally irresponsible and inexperienced people (1993: 94-102).

On the other hand, Margulis and Urresti judge that Bourdieu somewhat inflates the symbolic condition attributed to youth and assume this category has also material basis associated with the chronology of the body and its energetic aspect, that is, "a particular way of being in the world, of being thrown in its temporality, of experiencing distances and durations" [20] (Margulis & Urresti 2008: 18). Firstly, they propose youths

> feel they are distant from death, as well as from oldness and sickness. This is an objective fact, since their probability of getting sick or dying is smaller; but it is also experiential, there is a sense of invulnerability, of distance from death, of otherness concerning it, which is conditioned by the interaction and by the contemporaneity with […] previous generations […]. Therefore, in general, anyone who owns this 'temporal capital' will have more probability of being young. [21] (ibid: 19, 20)

[20] Original text in Spanish: *un modo particular de estar en el mundo, de encontrarse arrojado en su temporalidad, de experimentar distancias y duraciones*.

[21] Original text in Spanish: *se sienten lejanos de la muerte, también de la vejez y de la enfermedad. Este hecho es objetivo, en tanto su probabilidad de enfermar o morir es menor; pero también es vivencial, hay una sensación de invulnerabilidad, de lejanía de la muerte, de otredad respecto de ella, que está condicionada por la convivencia y contemporaneidad con […] las generaciones anteriores […]. De*

In addition, the authors state that

> The world presents itself to the youth as new, open to their own experiences, relieved of previous generations' memories, stripped of insecurities or certainties which do not come from their own lives. [22] (ibid: 19)

Thirdly, they point out the importance of bearing in mind that

> Being youth depends also on gender, on the body processed by society and culture; the youth condition is differently given to boys or girls. The latter have a more insistent biological clock which tenaciously reminds them about youth limits installed in their bodies. [23] (ibid: 27)

At last, Margulis and Urresti sum up that "being youth has in its side the promise, the hope, and a range of open options, whereas elder people have a prudence which has to do with the experience, but most with the time that has escaped or was lost" [24] (ibid: 20). Hence the sense of invulnerability and security related to being young becomes a drive for hope and openness, for initiative, enthusiasm, imagination and courage, for the potential channelling of this 'energetic capital' [25] into entrepreneurship – seen as engaging in productive activities which can be more or less (sub)objective/(un)measurable and taking on risks in the hope of a better life – and into the quest for emancipatory, redemptive and just alternatives.

Finally, most of the youth entrepreneurial initiatives in East Africa take place in the so-called informal sector. "Although the importance of the informal sector is now widely recognized, informal entrepreneurs have continued to operate under considerable constraints in an environment that does not encourage small, income-generating activities" (Chigunta et al. 2005: 19). Amongst these constraints are the necessity of paying bribes, the harassment from the state/police and the lack of access to credit (ibid: 19). "All of these factors serve as disincentives for the urban self-employed, especially young people who are showing remarkable staying power through their own self-reliant efforts" (ibid: 19).

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este modo, tendrá más probabilidades de ser joven todo aquel que posea ese 'capital temporal' como condición general.

[22] Original text in Spanish: *Para el joven el mundo se presenta nuevo, abierto a las propias experiencias, aligerado de recuerdos que poseen las generaciones anteriores, despojado de inseguridades o de certezas que no provienen de la propia vida*.

[23] Original text in Spanish: *La juventud depende también del género, del cuerpo procesado por la sociedad y la cultura; la condición de juventud se ofrece de manera diferente al varón o a la muchacha. Ésta tiene un reloj biológico más insistente, que recuerda con tenacidad los límites de la juventud instalados en su cuerpo*.

[24] Original text in Spanish: *La juventud tiene de su lado la promesa, la esperanza, un espectro de opciones abierto, mientras que los no jóvenes poseen una prudencia que tiene que ver con la experiencia acumulada, pero más con el tiempo que se ha escapado o perdido*.

[25] This term was also employed by Margulis and Urresti as a synonym/consequence of 'temporal capital' (Margulis & Urresti 2008: 23).

3.2 Players and Policies around Youth Entrepreneurs in Kenya and Tanzania

Kenya and Tanzania are located in the same region in Africa, have relatively similar historical and cultural backgrounds, and were both submitted to neo-liberal structural adjustment programmes during the 1980/90s. However, after independence in the first half of the 1960s they took different political paths: in a context of cold war, "the government of Kenya was co-opted into the Western camp" and Tanzania developed "the ideology of Ujamaa (Tanzania's version of socialism)" (Mazrui 2005: 60). Briefly setting up this as the main distinction between the countries seems to be enough for the scope of this study, given that it does not aim at deeply exploring causes of differences between perceptions of urban youth entrepreneurs in Kenya and Tanzania, but at simply establishing youth entrepreneurs in Dar es Salaam as a control group for the ones Nairobi (who are the research's main focus).

In this recent context of structural adjustments, the role of governments in sub-Saharan Africa turned out to be significantly limited, contributing to situations in main urban centres which could be assumed as acute cases of 'fractured cities' [26] – where a considerable amount of the population (including the youth entrepreneurs who participated in this study) is virtually excluded from government services or support [27], as well as from the notion of citizenship. In 2006, UN-HABITAT estimated that in Nairobi

> 75% of the urban population growth is absorbed by informal settlements; the number of urban population living in slums will double in the next 15 years; informal settlements cover only 5% of the total residential land area of the city, but they are inhabited by at least half of the city's population. (2006: 7)

In the case of Dar es Salaam, the percentage of the population living in informal settlements in 2002 was 68% (UN-HABITAT 2010: 13, table 2.4) [28].

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[26] Koonings and Kruijt suggest the term to describe Latin American cities characterized by a social and spatial urban cleavage which develops into a vicious circle of exclusion, social inequality, informality and poverty. In this process, "it is not just livelihood strategies which have become informalized, but also social organization, social order, social status and social identities. […] Poverty and violence are often associated with certain neighbourhoods or districts that become stigmatized as no-go areas while their inhabitants are in turn stigmatized as 'undesirables' [and] targeted by the security forces […]. At best, a class of second-rate or informal citizens is constituted" (2007: 4). In the case of sub-Saharan Africa, it is pertinent to add that the class of first-rate citizens often includes and is significantly influenced by (non-black) expatriates and international staff.

[27] In its 2007-2012 strategic plan [http://www.youthaffairs.go.ke, accessed 27/Oct/2010], the Kenyan Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports aims to "conduct base line survey to profile youth groups and disseminate results" (28, 53) – which supposedly would be the basis for integrated actions supporting and empowering youth groups –, although, more than three and half years later, the results from this baseline survey seem not to be available; this appears to confirm that PRSP-like initiatives normally find difficulties to reach spheres beyond the papers.

[28] "According to UN-HABITAT (2003), slums are operationally defined by inadequate access to safe water; inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; overcrowding; insecure residential status; and poor structural quality of housing. While the first three characteristics are also found in

As for the role of NGOs, in her article *African NGOs: The New Compradors?*, Julie Hearn pertinently points out that "when NGOs [African NGOs in particular] emerged in the 1980s and 1990s to play a central role in development they were greeted as a 'magic bullet', the panacea to failed top-down development and the means to poor people's empowerment [;] it was not simply a hegemonic policy project but was based on a bedrock of liberal theory" (2007: 1096). From the 1980s onwards, with the economic collapse of sub-Saharan Africa and with the backing of the private sector to assume the responsibility for welfare, and accompanied by "extensive and intensive economic, political and social conditionality […], foreign aid, in effect, became the main source of national income" (ibid: 1102) and cast an NGO sector "characterized by external financial dependence and an external orientation" (ibid: 1103), "linking the North and the South, ideologically and materially, in a manner which perpetuates Northern domination" (ibid: 1105). Ilan Kapoor reinforces this idea when he analyzes the foreign aid discourse and examines the

> aporia of foreign aid as gift: on the one hand, the discourse of aid is constructed as non-reciprocated gift; but, on the other, the discursive practice of aid is also closed tied to conditionalities, be they economic (tied aid), ideological (neoliberalism), or political (foreign policy objectives). Picking up on Derrida's connection between gift-giving and self-constitution, my main argument is that foreign aid regimes have advanced the former (aid as a gift) and covered up the latter (aid conditionalities) so as to shore up the donors' national self-image as benevolent and generous. (2008: 78)

In operational terms, Tina Wallace humorously depicts in *NGO Dilemmas: Trojan Horses for Global Neoliberalism?* that

> northern NGOs are rooted in their own societies, and increasingly […] based on the 'new public management' paradigm and embedded in northern principles […], adopted to ensure funding flows […]. Right down to the village level you will hear development discussions interspersed with the English words for goals, aims, objectives, mission and vision, outcomes and so on [, including also more complex elaborations such as brainstorming, SWOT analysis, SMART objectives, logframes, strategic planning, business plan, impact assessment, all of them duly documented in time-consuming detailed reports which are rarely read by anyone in the top;] indeed it could be argued that northern NGOs, together with their partners – those they fund and support in the south – have become highly effective distributors of a set of approaches and procedures for development that could be said to rival Coca Cola in reaching down to the grassroots. [Moreover,] NGOs increasingly rely on those they are critiquing for funding and for access to the corridors of power [and] are limited to attacking specific aspects of the neo-

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informal settlements in Tanzania, the Tanzania situation is different in at least three aspects: tenure security [people have some 'perceived' security of tenure]; structural quality of housing [houses are built with permanent and modern building materials]; and the nature of people who live in these settlements [a wide range of socioeconomic groups live side by side]." (UN-HABITAT 2010: 6)

> liberal agenda; there is almost no deep questioning of the roots of that paradigm. [Finally,] the desire for a high profile often means a rush to be seen as an important voice, without a concern for the wider implications of this, or of who they may be disempowering. (2004: 203, 204, 211-214)

Finally, Manji and O'Coill visualize in their article *The Missionary Position: NGOs and development in Africa* that the role of NGOs in development "represents a continuity of the work of their precursors, the missionaries and voluntary organisations that cooperated in Europe's colonization and control of Africa" (2002: 568) and that "today their work contributes marginally to the relief of poverty, but significantly to undermining the struggle of African people to emancipate themselves from economic, social and political oppression [i.e., it fosters subjugation and dependence]" (ibid: 568); the core problem is that their discourse of development "was framed not in the language of emancipation or justice, but with the vocabulary of charity, technical expertise, neutrality, and a deep paternalism (albeit accompanied by the rhetoric of participatory development) that was its syntax" (ibid: 574).

3.3 Youth Groups

Statistics and research on youth groups in East Africa seem not to be currently available, but the presence of these entities in urban informal settlements is a phenomenon significantly noticeable in both cities comprised in this research, especially Nairobi. Youth groups are collective and mostly democratic productive organizations formed by youths who normally associate themselves primarily as a self-employment alternative. They operate at times as co-operative companies – placing the focus on the members' collective sustenance –, and in other situations more like NGOs – emphasizing the improvement of the community or society –, although this distinction is generally blurry. In Kenya, this kind of organization is specifically recognized by the government [29], is exempt from taxes, and can be officially registered in an uncomplicated manner – what gives it the capability of issuing invoice-like documents. The following statements were extracted from constitutions of youth groups in Nairobi and are presented to exemplify some of the features of these organizations:

> ***2. <u>OBJECTS</u>***
>
> (a) Training members to be self-employed.
>
> (b) Create youth awareness on alcohol and drug abuse. […]
>
> (e) Create HIV/AIDS awareness among its member community.
>
> (f) Bring development to its members and entire communities. […]

[29] By means of the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports (MOYAS).

7. <u>THE COMMITTEE</u>

(a) The committee [responsible for the management of the society] shall consist of all the office bearers of the society [elected] and 2/3 other members elected at the annual general meeting in each year; […]

10. <u>PROCEDURE AT MEETINGS</u> […]

(c) Resolutions shall be decided by simple voting by a show of hands. In the case of equality of votes, the chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

(App. E: 221)

<u>AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES (A.O.A).</u>

2.1. The group anticipates in and to the promotion of social welfare of its members. […]

2.3. Being a youth initiative, the group shall promote peer education within the group and subsequently to the community.

2.4. The group shall promote self-reliance by and through Economic empowerment and Income Generating Activities (I.G.A). […]

<u>MEETINGS.</u> […]

6.5. Decisions of the group meetings shall be ratified democratically by a simple majority of the present members.

(App. E: 223)

2. OBJECTIVES:

I. SERVE THE COMMUNITY: […] We intend to carry several activities including cleaning the estates, planting trees and creating awareness on matters affecting the environment as a whole.

II. PROMOTE AND DEVELOP YOUTH TALENT AND ARTS. The [group name] aims at promoting and uplifting those with talent in fields such as soccer, drawing, painting, sewing, designing writing, story telling, rapping singing and any productive skills. […]

IV. TO CREATE AWARENESS ON ISSUES AFFECTING THE YOUTH AND THE LARGER SOCIETY […]

b) To create awareness on issues such as unemployment i.e. the causes of unemployment and how to curb unemployment. […]

e) To create awareness on social misfitness i.e. the cause of being a social misfit the effects of being a social misfit, the way forward. […]

7. OFFICE BEARERS […]

d) Members shall exercise democracy in any decision making activity.

(App. E: 224)

Although youth groups can sometimes reach 50 or 100 associates, active members are usually between 5 and 25; and since they are a means of self-employment, carrying income generating activities or creating produces for their members, and are to some extent based on democratic self-management and on equality amongst members, youth groups can be partly

understood as empirical events of the co-operative MSE which constitutes the core unit in the idea of 'grassroots collective entrepreneurship' (presented in the previous chapter).

Picture 3.3-1: Youth Groups' Activities and Products

3.4 Youth Initiatives Kenya (YIKE) and Youth Initiatives Tanzania (YITA)

The access to the youth groups which turned out to be the centre of this research was facilitated by two local NGOs: Youth Initiatives Kenya (YIKE) and Youth Initiatives Tanzania (YITA), based in Nairobi and in Dar es Salaam. Both are linked with the Dutch NGO UpToYouToo. YIKE exists since 2003 and "assists marginalized youth in Nairobi through trainings for youth groups. YIKE provides a three year training program, networking activities and community events [, and] currently supports over 30 youth groups" [30]. YITA

[30] Source: UpToYouToo [http://www.uptoyoutoo.org/index.php?page=yike, accessed 27/Oct/2010].

was created in the beginning of 2009 with the purpose of replicating YIKE's experience in Tanzania: it "supports youth groups between the age of 15-35 in the disadvantaged areas of Dar es Salaam [and] provides these self-help groups with training in all aspects of entrepreneurship" [31]. Although YIKE and YITA are neither immune nor exempt from the forces and practices outlined in the section 3.2, they can be considered as in the progressive vanguard for two reasons: a) their training programmes escape a number of neo-liberal dogmas and target at building leadership and team cohesion in democratically self-managed youth groups, and b) most of YIKE's personnel come from marginalized youth groups which are/were once assisted by the organization.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has shown that, in a broad context of neo-liberal economic restructuring and foreign dependence, urban youths (and particularly young women) from low-income backgrounds and limited education in East Africa, besides being a highly significant and increasing social group, are not only marginalized, discriminated and virtually excluded from employment, from governmental services or support, and even from the notion of citizenship, but also turned out to be considered as 'informal beings' – in terms of livelihood strategies, social organization, social order, social status and social identities. Many of them decide – through more or less subjective/objective, unmeasurable/measurable and individual/collective manners, and in spite of problems such as harassment and lack of access to means of production – to react against this situation and to channel the energetic capital associated with their condition of being youth into entrepreneurship and to some extent into the quest for emancipatory, redemptive and just alternatives. Inevitable in their venture is dealing with (and somewhat subverting) the foreign aid industry and NGOs as its currently most noticeable elements, as well as coping with the devastating symbolic violence associated with it – such as, just to mention an example, the frequent subliminal messages that Africans are 'poor' because they are lazy, disorganized, negligent, corrupt, irrational, even adulterers, that is, because they hold all these vicious individual characteristics which 'rich' Westerns supposedly do not.

It was also under these circumstances (and gladly mostly free from economic, ideological and political conditionalities) that a (apparently young) male white middle-class Brazilian carried out this research's fieldwork – ultimately somewhat supported by NGOs financed mainly by the Global North – as part of his master's programme in international development studies at the University of Amsterdam. Even if I was determined, as much as

[31] Source: UpToYouToo [http://www.uptoyoutoo.org/index.php?page=yita, accessed 27/Oct/2010].

possible, to consider and to position myself as no better or more experienced or more essentially capable than anybody I was interacting with and to assume this experience mostly as a mutually constructive one (i.e., a plainly reciprocal 'renegotiation' of knowledge), it was impossible to completely detach myself from structures and symbols of power or domination and from somehow being part of or being seen as linked to them, in the same manner as what I produce as a researcher cannot be striped from my experienced feelings and thoughts – at times contradictory and/or anguishing and/or impregnated by promising, visionary, dreamful, inventive, or even romantic glimpses or insights – during the period I spent in East Africa; some of these feelings and thoughts significantly impressed me and deserve to be made explicit.

Initially, the astonishment of finding out that, even though I identified myself with and mostly felt 'at home' in East Africa since I come from an environmentally and culturally similar place which somewhat faces and resists similar problems and forces, due to the colour of my skin it was nearly inconceivable for most of the local people to see me as other than European and caring every meaning associated with it. In addition, the discontentment at perceiving the extent in which these youth entrepreneurs have to cope with a 'symbolic blackmailing' imposed by the foreign aid industry and the degree in which this can undermine their hope of emancipation and of improving their place – which in effect turns the thought of leaving Africa into an attractive strategy for a better existence [32]. Finally, the anguish at having to overcome the distrust of many people in a (also anguishing) position of interacting with a unknown and apparently privileged person who seems to be there to extract information on behalf of 'who knows who', anguishes deriving from the 'lostness' of not being able to clearly visualize who will benefit from these interactions or to control who will have access to this information and how and with which purposes, and still the stress of asking myself whether my limited amount of time in the field would allow me to create an academic narrative out of this experience; and how absurd the idea of neutral, exempt and objective social research appears amongst all these feelings and thoughts.

[32] An experience related to this statement occurred following one of our participatory activities in the field, in which we used my laptop to watch a video: a youth group member who during the discussions zealously expressed the want of locally working to improve his community asked to use my computer to access the internet; few minutes later he asked for my help with what he was doing and I found out he was trying to complete his application for the US green card lottery.

4. Methodology

This chapter presents the systematization and the methodological choices behind this research. It comprises the research question and sub-questions; the conceptual scheme; the operationalization of major concepts; the research strategy; data collection and analysis; access to respondents and sampling; the epistemological stance; and ethical considerations. It also clarifies that this study is an example of multi-method approach employed to investigate a certain specific phenomenon, expecting that some of the findings could be extended to understand not only what a more general reality is like, but also to envisage how it 'could be'. The rationales and elements here presented guided and provided the underlying support for interactions with more than 500 youths throughout four intense months of fieldwork.

4.1 Research Question and Sub-Questions

Q: What are the perceptions of marginalized urban youth entrepreneurs in East Africa (mostly youth group members in Nairobi) about the panorama of engaging in entrepreneurship in a collective manner (*) and about the ways in which it could engender common wellbeing (**) ?

(*) Operationalized through a notion of Micro/Small Enterprise (MSE) rooted in internal relations and in external productive networks both oriented by association, equality, knowledge distribution, participation, attainment of collective needs, trust, and innovation.

(**) Common wellbeing stands here for the provision of material, psychological and social needs, whose benefits are evenly shared by a group or community.

SQ1: What are their perceptions about engaging in a MSE in association with other people and under internal social relations governed by equality, knowledge distribution, participation, attainment of collective needs, trust, and innovation?

SQ2: What are their perceptions about the general idea that the same principles expressed in the previous sub-question (association, equality, knowledge distribution, participation, attainment of collective needs, trust, and innovation) could govern the relations amongst MSEs working in decentralised and self-governed networks of production?

SQ3: In their opinion, in which manner could this practice of grassroots collective entrepreneurship generate common wellbeing?

SQ4: How the perceptions about grassroots collective entrepreneurship of youth group members in Nairobi can be qualified and contextualized by those of their counterparts in Dar es Salaam (two places that have similar historical and cultural backgrounds but were submitted to particularly different political systems after decolonization)?

SQ5: In their view, what are the general obstacles and incentives to attain a kind of sub-socioeconomic organization inspired by the notion of grassroots collective entrepreneurship and how external organizations (governments, NGOs, IGOs, etc.) could support its development in order to fulfil gaps in wellbeing?

4.2 Conceptual Scheme

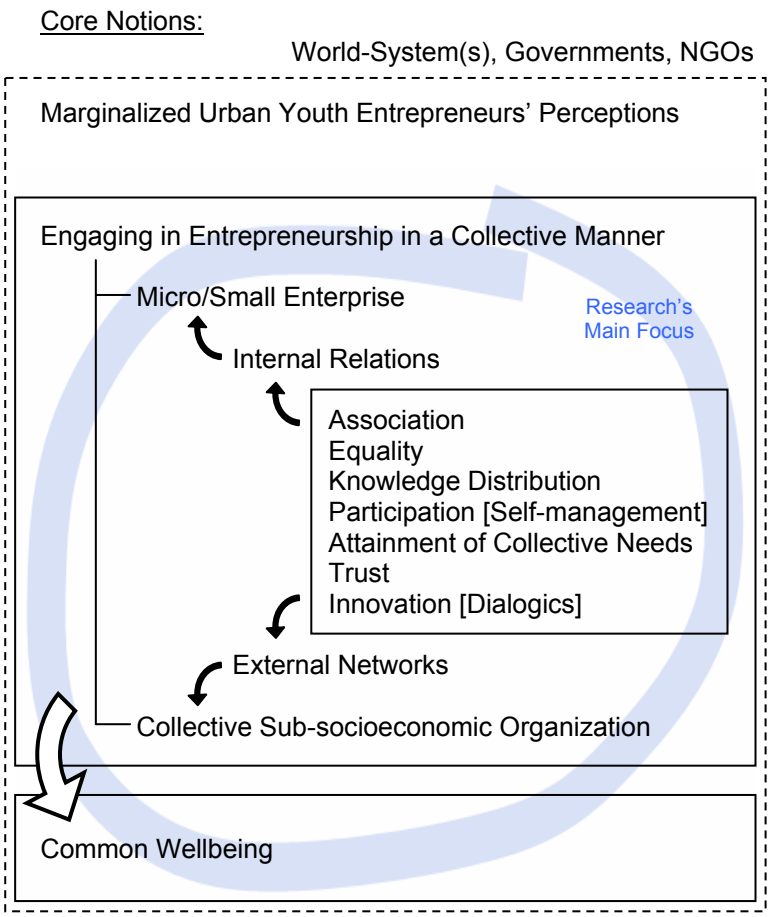

Figure 4.2-1: Conceptual Scheme

4.3 Operationalization of Major Concepts

Table 4.3-1: Operationalization Table

Concept	Dimensions	Variables	Indicators
Engaging in Entrepreneurship in a Collective Manner			Perceptions (mostly shaped by society and culture) …
	Internal relations (inside the MSE)	- Association	… concerning engaging in a MSE in association with other people.
		- Equality	… concerning the aspects in which people should be treated in equal or different manners; … concerning the idea that different people face dissimilar conditions and their particularities must be considered; … concerning who should own the means of production and in which manner; … concerning revenue distribution; … concerning the idea of reducing the power that some people might have

			over others due to being in privileged positions (in terms of division of labour or domain of particular skills).
		- Knowledge distribution	… concerning the idea that everyone in the MSE should have access to extensive information and knowledge regarding what happens in the enterprise or relates to it.
		- Participation	… concerning the idea that every person in the enterprise should participate in the debates and decisions regarding how the MSE operates and how the benefits from the work are shared.
		- Attainment of collective needs	… concerning how important is the achievement of collective needs compared to short term individual outputs; … concerning the idea of people contributing and being given back in non-direct/non-proportional manners; … concerning the idea that every person should have the possibility to work; … concerning the ideas of competition and solidarity (and its inclusiveness).
		- Trust	… concerning the role of interpersonal trust as for strengthening a collective of production; … concerning expressions of this trust and how it could be reinforced.
		- Innovation	… concerning the importance of constantly searching for new and better ways of dealing with the enterprise's issues, such as resources, processes, relations amongst people, as well as the creation/quality of products and services and the relations with external actors; … concerning the idea of doing this through a process of conscientization and dialogic communication and having the human being as subject and purpose of the economic activity.
	External productive networks (relations amongst MSEs/other actors)	- Value chain governance	… concerning the general idea that association, equality, knowledge distribution, participation, attainment of collective needs, trust, and innovation could govern the relations amongst MSEs working in decentralised and self-governed networks of production.
Concept	**Dimensions**	**Variables**	**Indicators**
Wellbeing			Perceptions (mostly shaped by society and culture) of what is 'needed', 'desirable', and 'unjust and has to be changed or accommodated' …
	Material Needs	- Food	… concerning food;

		- Housing - Security - Health - Education	… concerning housing; … concerning security; … concerning health; … concerning education.
	Autonomy	- Possibility to choose self-fulfilling and rewarding lifestyles	… concerning mode of production; … concerning the capability of being creative and rhythm of life; … concerning consumption; … concerning expression (in general); … concerning gender and cultural/ religious practices; … concerning personal development.
		- Capability to participate in society	… concerning engagement in politics and in processes of social change; … concerning the definition of relations amongst humans and nature.
	Dignity (in a restricted sense)	- Feelings of competence and confidence	… concerning capability of progress in achieving significant personal goals and social development; … concerning the respect for people's particularities (including capabilities and limitations) when defining responsibilities and imposing expectations.
		- Freedom from humiliation	… concerning freedom from being humiliated due to particular features; … concerning freedom from the necessity to perform activities that are regarded as subservient.
	Relatedness	- Feeling socially connected, cared for and significant to others	… concerning feeling part of the society and being recognized as such by it; … concerning trust and reciprocity; … concerning mutual reassurance.

4.4 Research Strategy

The general strategy on which this research is based understands youth groups as empirical events of the co-operative MSE which constitutes the core unit in the idea of grassroots collective entrepreneurship [33]. Since, in terms of data collection, it makes much more sense discussing issues with people that are somewhat aware of what is being discussed, it was determined that youth entrepreneurs who are part of youth groups should become the main respondents in this study. In addition, due to practicalities such as lack of significant linguistic barriers and access to a greater amount of youth groups, the main focus of this research was placed on marginalised youth groups and their members in Nairobi (located in

[33] As already mentioned in the chapter 3, although youth groups can sometimes reach 50 or 100 associates, active members are usually between 5 and 25; and since they are a means of self-employment, carrying income generating activities or creating produces for their members, and are to some extent based on democratic self-management and on equality amongst members, youth groups can be assumed as co-operative MSEs.

the regions of Mathare and Kibera). On the other hand, individual youth entrepreneurs and youths in high school from the same regions of Nairobi and youth group members from informal settlements in Dar es Salaam (situated in the Manzese area) were established mostly as control groups. The following figure (4.4-1) characterizes the data collection strategy:

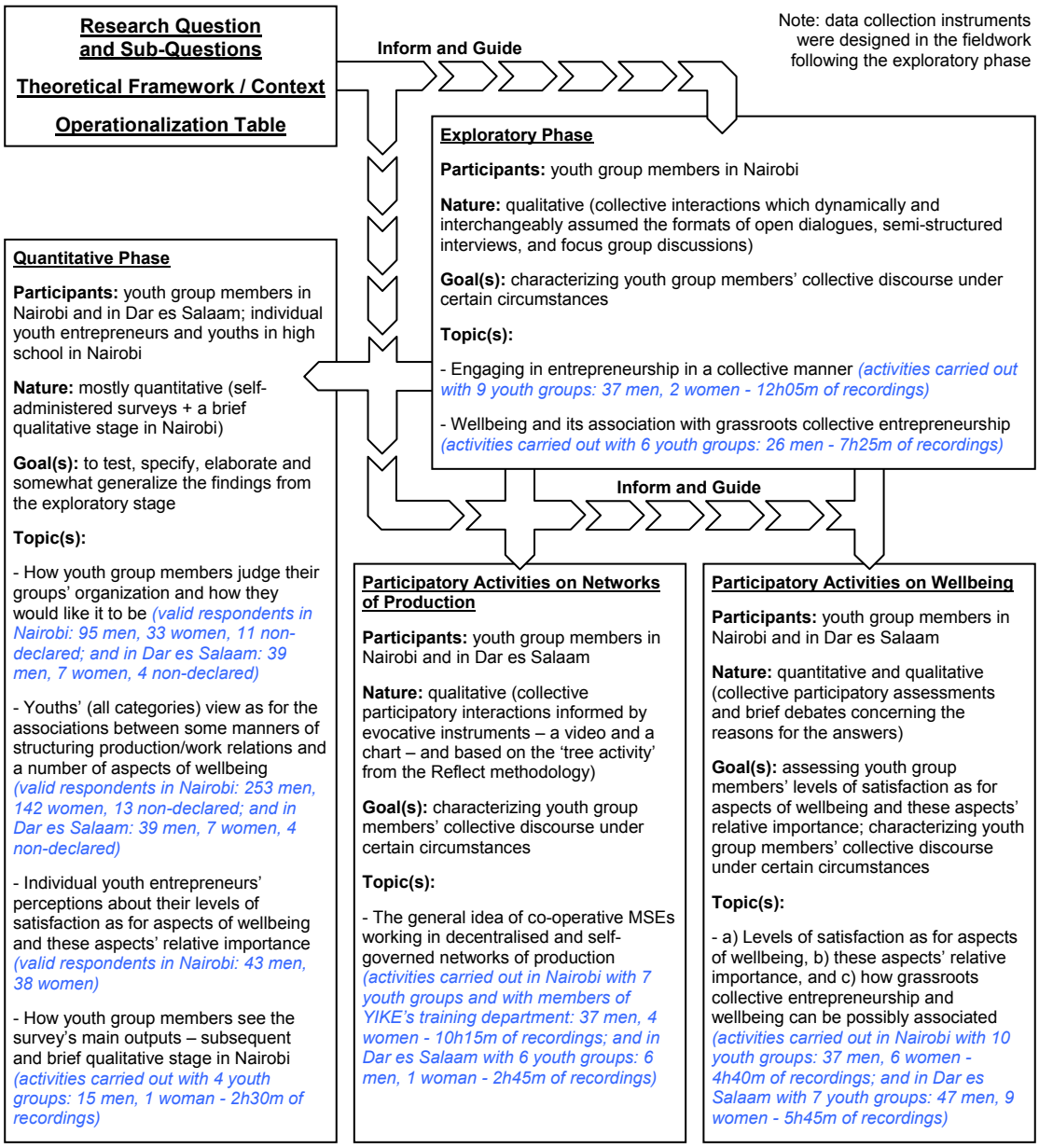

Figure 4.4-1: Data Collection Strategy

The strategies for data collection and data analysis were inspired by the notions of mixed methods and triangulation:

> The basic idea of triangulation is that more than one approach [in terms of qualitative and quantitative methods and approaches deriving from different paradigms and disciplinary perspectives] to a particular research problem can be used and that, if the same conclusion is reached from each of the

> approaches greater confidence exists that conclusion is valid. If different conclusions are reached […] then doubt is cast on the validity of the conclusion. (Sumner & Tribe 2008: 108)

Besides checking consistencies amongst conclusions, the combination of methods and approaches – though it requires particular attention as to data compatibility and comparability – can also be used to build more accurate representations, or inconsistencies, instead of invalidate, can twist preceding conclusions into more enriched and elaborated ones (cf. ibid: 107). It can also be argued that triangulation constitutes an interesting strategy for understanding perceptions [34]. The idea is that people's discourses in varied conditions combined with outputs from different quantitative and participatory techniques, aligned with contextual analyses, would provide the substrate for an enhanced comprehension of their perceptions. The following figure (4.4-2) represents the data analysis strategy:

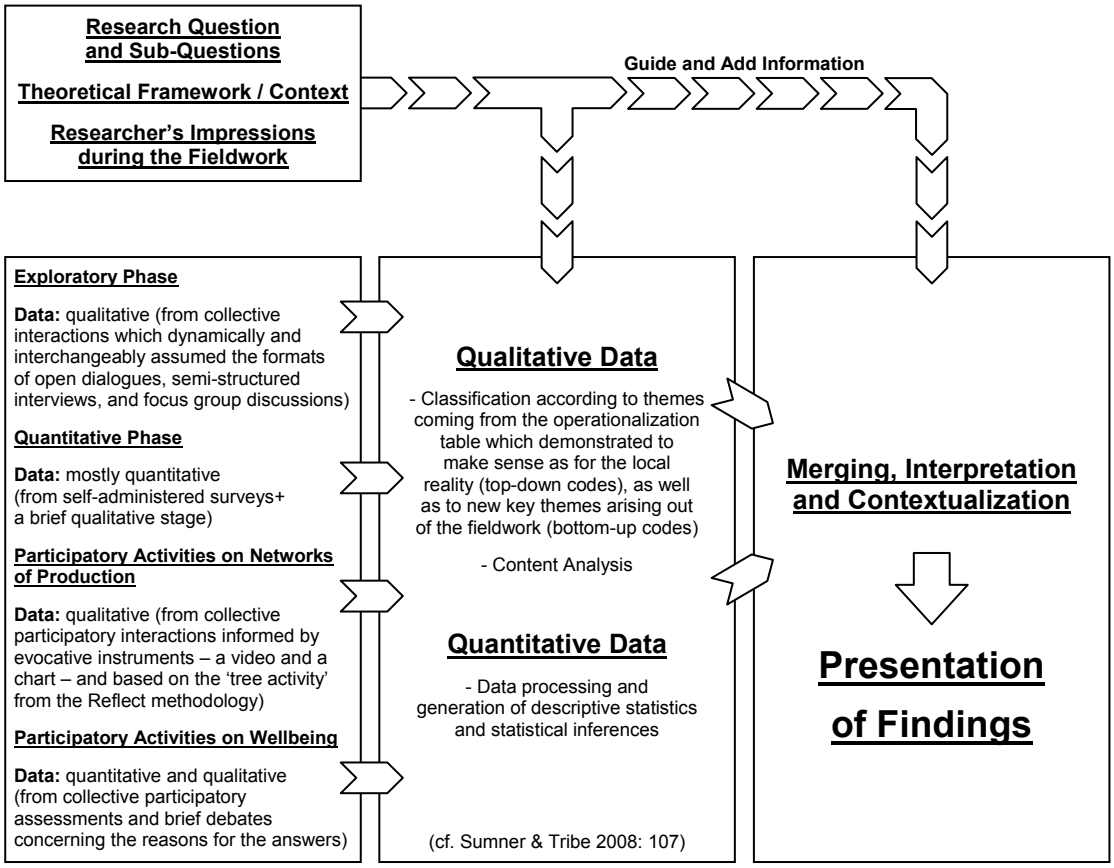

Figure 4.4-2: Data Analysis Strategy

[34] A perception is here concisely assumed as "a belief or opinion, often held by many people and based on how things seem" (Cambridge Dictionary); perceptions are somewhat comprehensive and intuitive and can be seen as an intermediary stage between sensory impressions and crystallized meanings. As such, they become the most ephemeral elements within the symbolic field, emerging from the socioeconomic context in which people find themselves and shaped by their systems of meaning, cognitive schemas and moral standards.

It is necessary to note that, as this study is rooted in the wellbeing approach, its methodology is informed by "a view of quality of life as emerging from the gap between people's goals [here assessed by means of the youths' perceptions about the relative importance of different aspects of wellbeing] and perceived resources [here measured by the youths' levels of satisfaction as to the same aspects], in the context of their environment, culture, values, and experiences" (McGregor 2006: 30). As the data concerning 'importance' and 'satisfaction' were gathered through different data collection techniques and essentially represent relational information, results were standardized into three categories: low, medium, and high [35]. In addition, the general criteria adopted to estimate the gaps were: a) if the degree of importance is one level or more below the one of satisfaction (e.g., importance is medium, satisfaction is high) the gap is assumed as null; b) if the degree of importance is equal to the one of satisfaction (e.g., importance is medium, satisfaction is medium) the gap is assumed as small; c) if the degree of importance is one level above the one of satisfaction (e.g., importance is medium, satisfaction is low) the gap is assumed as medium; and finally d) if the degree of importance is two levels above the one of satisfaction (i.e., importance is high, satisfaction is low) the gap is assumed as big.

Concerning data collection [36], interactions of qualitative nature constantly began with the proposition that they would take the format of a conversation between the researcher and youth group members wherein both sides would exchange thoughts and experiences in the most possibly equal manner, as well as that the general approach would be one of reflection and people would collectively and openly develop the issues. In general terms and acknowledging it has limits, this attitude was broadly maintained during most of the interactions. As to representation, the number of men who participated in the activities was overwhelmingly higher than the number of women. This happened both because women are the minority in most of the youth groups and due to their lack of propensity to participate in interactive activities being conducted by a male researcher. In addition, it was also noticed a modest inclination for the participation of group leaders to the detriment of non-leaders. Regarding interactions of quantitative nature, substantial time was continually dedicated to the clarification of the surveys' purposes and questions and of how the forms were supposed to be filled out – through a deeply reflective attitude. Two pilots were performed and the third version of questionnaires was the one considered to be satisfactorily understandable and simple enough to be practically applied. At last, since individual youth entrepreneurs and youths in high school were less used to the idea of co-operativism than youth group members,

[35] More details can be obtained in the sections D.2 and D.3 and in the subsection B.2.11.

[36] Data collection lasted three months in Nairobi (from February to April 2010) and subsequently one month in Dar es Salaam (May 2010).

their questionnaires contained cartoons which evoked the main statements. Interactions of both qualitative and quantitative nature always took place in the locations where youths perform their activities, which means the entire fieldwork was carried out within slum areas. All respondents were between 15 and 35 years old (YO).

As for linguistic questions, since youths in Nairobi presented a significant mastery of English and even considered themselves as more skilled at reading in it than in Swahili, the former language was adopted in all data collection activities – though during discussions youth group members were always said they could talk amongst themselves in Swahili if they preferred. However, due to a restricted level of English proficiency amongst youths in Dar es Salaam, the questionnaire applied to them was translated into Swahili and the qualitative activities were carried out with the assistance of a voluntary local translator.

Concerning data analysis [37], a particular effort was employed during the transcriptions to assure that quotes accurately represent the thoughts youths whished to express in the given contexts. As for the surveys, all indirectly applied [38] forms passed through a rigorous filtering process. An extensive analysis comparing writings and tick patterns and checking consistencies was carried out and each suspected case was eliminated. All forms were scanned and pieces of image corresponding to group name, activity, age, phone number, and few tick fields were extracted through specially developed macros and placed in spreadsheets in a way they could be associated with the forms' answers and easily sorted and compared [39]. It came up that, particularly in the case of youth groups in Nairobi, clusters of forms clearly or apparently filled out by the same person returned amongst the samples; the reasons for that were later informally discussed with some group members and interesting insights could be raised to be added to the next chapter under the researcher's general impressions. At last, all directly or indirectly applied forms which presented a substantial amount of mistakes concerning how they should be filled out were also discarded. In total, about 240 forms were somehow considered as not reasonably reliable and excluded from the analysis.

Another pertinent aspect as to quantitative data analysis refers to the criteria of relevance. This study will normally consider as relevant every difference which is superior to 10% and has less than 20% of probability of being purely random (i.e., having occurred by chance). The threshold of 20%, in spite of commonly being considered in social sciences as high for generalizing phenomena, is justified by the fact that, in this study, descriptive statistics are primarily used to constitute perceptions' understandings – mainly the perceptions of youth entrepreneurs who participated in the research – and thus statistical tests become

[37] Data analysis was conducted mostly after the fieldwork and took about three months of full-time effort. It included the processing of about 45h25m of audio recordings and around 700 forms.

[38] When the researcher did not personally explain and monitor the filling of the forms.

[39] The subsection 'B.2.14 Data' presents some of these image fields.

mostly a tool for removing biases possibly originated during data collection, such as when respondents do not reflect about the questions and just randomly tick the options. On the other hand, this doesn't mean that findings associated with higher statistic significances and with specific phenomena cannot be partly generalized or extended within the limits of what samples represent and of plausibility and context.

Finally, complete information regarding individual data collection methods and techniques and their detailed sets of results are available in the appendices A, B, C and D.

4.5 Access to Respondents and Sampling

As previously mentioned in the section 3.4, the access to the youth groups and their members was facilitated by the local NGOs Youth Initiatives Kenya (YIKE) and Youth Initiatives Tanzania (YITA). YIKE's role was restricted to introducing the researcher to the youth groups while YITA also assisted with the recruitment of a voluntary local translator. As to qualitative activities in Nairobi, 13 youth groups were selected out of about 30 which at that time were participating in YIKE's programmes. The composition of this purposive sample aimed at evenly including representatives from a broad range of activities and stages of group maturity. In Dar es Salaam the sample comprised all groups (7) which by then were taking part in YITA's training programme. Given that both YIKE and YITA conducted rigorous processes to choose these youth groups as their beneficiaries in which team cohesion and functionality were key criteria, it is possible to assume that the selected groups somehow represent the foremost rank in terms of co-operation turned into significant outputs. The list of youth groups which took part in qualitative activities as well as some of their characteristics are presented in the table 4.5-1. As for the surveys, while respondents in Dar es Salaam correspond to the same 7 youth groups which participated in the qualitative activities, in Nairobi members from other 9 youth groups also filled out the forms (totalizing 22 groups).

Concerning individual youth entrepreneurs, respondents were randomly found in streets of Mathare and Kibera and had to conform to the following criteria: a) fit the age range, b) be an owner of an informal or formal small business with no more than 3 people (including employees and owners), and c) be able to read. The questionnaires were for the most part applied indirectly [40] through research assistants recruited amongst youth group members (who were properly trained and received a financial compensation for their work).

Regarding youths in high school, the questionnaires were directly applied to classes of students in two schools of Kibera which were considered as typical examples of institutions that marginalized people in Nairobi normally have access to.

[40] When the researcher did not personally explain and monitor the filling of the forms.

Table 4.5-1: Youth Groups and Their Characteristics

Group Name / Location	Activities	# of Members	# of Active Members(*)	Group Age	Year with YIKE/YITA
Be Smart Fashion (Mathare area, Nairobi)	- Tailoring - Hairdressing - Soda selling - Garbage collection and recycling	≈ 24	≈ 14 (mostly men)	4 yrs	1st
Community Transformers (Mathare area, Nairobi)	- Palliative home care - Community development	≈ 25	≈ 15 (gender balanced)	5 yrs	4th or more
Fahari Afrika (Mathare area, Nairobi)	- Cultural dancing, music and other performances	≈ 30	≈ 20 (gender balanced)	Not Available	4th or more
Glucola Youth Group (Mathare area, Nairobi)	- Production of liquid soap - Cybercafé - Organization of events - Garbage collection and recycling	≈ 35	≈ 23 (mostly men)	4 yrs	2nd
Maasai Mbili Arts (Kibera, Nairobi)	- Visual arts - Community development	≈ 10	≈ 10 (men only)	8 yrs	3rd
Manygro (Mathare area, Nairobi)	- Screen printing - Urban agriculture - Sanitation - Garbage collection and recycling	≈ 28	≈ 20 (mostly men)	3 yrs	2nd
Myto (Mathare area, Nairobi)	- Community school - Cultural performances - Tent/chair rental - Community development	≈ 35	≈ 17 (mostly men)	6 yrs	4th or more
NGEI 1 (Mathare area, Nairobi)	- Water distribution - Sanitation - Garbage collection and recycling - Community development	≈ 39	≈ 30 (mostly men)	13 yrs	4th or more
Nzumari (Mathare area, Nairobi)	- Cultural dancing, music and other performances	≈ 20	≈ 15 (gender balanced)	4 yrs	4th or more
Rafiki (Mathare area, Nairobi)	- Paraffin selling - House rental - Water distribution - Sanitation	≈ 21	Not Available	Not Available	1st
Victorious Youth Group (Kibera, Nairobi)	- Production of jewellery and ornaments made of bones	≈ 20	≈ 20 (men only)	5 yrs	3rd
Yetu Jeans (Mathare area, Nairobi)	- Production of customized urban clothing - Hip-hop disc jockeying	≈ 10	≈ 6 (men only)	5 yrs	4th or more
Zingaro Percussion (Mathare area, Nairobi)	- Production of African musical instruments - Music - Visual arts	≈ 20	≈ 15 (mostly men)	10 yrs	4th or more
Function Masters (Manzese area, Dar es Salaam)	- Catering	≈ 8	≈ 8 (women only)	1 yrs	1st
Mikazi Arts Group (Manzese area, Dar es Salaam)	- Screen printing	≈ 10	≈ 5 (mostly men)	2 yrs	1st
Ndame Boxing Club (Manzese area, Dar es Salaam)	- Boxing training - Production of boxing equipment	≈ 30	≈ 15 (mostly men)	10 yrs	1st

Ngao Youth Group (Manzese area, Dar es Salaam)	- Rental of pounding machines - Organization of events - Community development	≈ 24	≈ 24 (mostly men)	5 yrs	1st
Tan Hope Arts Group (Manzese area, Dar es Salaam)	- Cultural dancing, music and other performances	≈ 35	≈ 20 (gender balanced)	7 yrs	1st
Uyoga Boga (Manzese area, Dar es Salaam)	- Music and video production	≈ 25	≈ 14 (mostly men)	10 yrs	1st
Vijana Fenicha (Manzese area, Dar es Salaam)	- Production of furniture - Production of bricks - Catering	≈ 20	≈ 7 (mostly men)	1 yrs	1st

Note: besides their productive activities, most of the youth groups also carry out or intend to organize ROSCA-type schemes for their members.

(*) Members are considered active when they are regularly involved in the youth groups' activities.

More details concerning the samples as well as illustrative pictures characterizing the respondents and their activities can be found in the appendices A, B, C and D.

4.6 Epistemological Stance and Ethical Considerations

In general terms, this research fits in a critical-realist epistemological stance; although most of its methods and techniques are compatible with a relativist approach and its main outputs will be descriptions and comparisons of youth entrepreneurs' blocks of perceptions, the position here assumed is that youths operate under social structures, mechanisms and symbols which are constantly challenged and renegotiated, and these elements and constraints – though somewhat mutable and difficult or not entirely liable to be pictured – are real.

In terms of processes, interactions with people throughout the fieldwork were inspired and guided by Paulo Freire's 'dialogics' [41] – and its concern over power asymmetry and domination – and by Spivak's 'hyper-self-reflexivity' (Kapoor 2008: 41-59). From this derives the proposition that the research activities should be oriented as much as possible by the idea of an equal and constructive exchange or 'renegotiation' of thoughts and experiences – which somehow changes both sides' manners of seeing the world and acting towards it –, as well as mutually perceived as beneficial mostly due to their contents. As a result, repeated conversations concerning this proposition were brought up and practices such as attracting people to the activities in exchange for food and soft drinks were avoided.

Concerning anonymity and confidentiality, this study tried to conciliate these two principles with a desire intensely and extensively expressed by the youth groups members: that somehow this research could publicize their groups. The solution was to present the

[41] For more details see page 14.

group names and their activities (see table 4.5-1), but disidentify thoughts and quotes [42] from them. As a result quotes are not referred to any specific youth group [43], but to themes, statements and other quotes which support the same themes and statements. In order to compensate for this loss of information, the presentation of summarizing statements in the next chapter will specify the number of different youth groups in which members somehow expressed the same idea.

Finally, as for consent from participants, procedures and purposes were always made explicit before interactions that would lead to data collection in order to provide information to guide them as to the degree in which they would expose themselves. They were also free to quit the activities at any moment (and some occasionally did). In addition, in the context of this study, participants always (sympathetically) agreed that qualitative activities were recorded and it did not appear to be a relevant inhibiting factor during interactions. They also regularly expressed to be comfortable about pictures being taken during the activities.

4.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter presented the ontological basis and the methodological principles upon which the research was designed. It has also shown this study does not aim at positivistically describing the reality, however, its findings can be seen as reliable and credible since they emerge from rigour in data collection and analysis. On the other hand, when understanding perceptions – the main object of this research – as the most ephemeral elements within the subjective symbolic field, claiming total replicability is out of question. In broad terms, it is proper to say this study aims marginally at describing an objective reality, but extensively at conjecturing about what reality 'could be' like, that is, trying to envisage what Paulo Freire calls 'untested feasibility' (*inédito viável*): "the future which we have yet to create by transforming today, the present reality; it is something not yet here but a potential, something beyond the 'limit-situation' we face now, which must be created by us beyond the limits we discover" (Shor & Freire 1987: 153). And this 'envisaging' must be rooted also in perceptions and thoughts coming from practice and not only in utopia.

[42] Since the qualitative research activities were collective, the quotes sometimes reproduce the literal say of a person, others a collective construction composed by pieces of talking from different individuals. The ellipsis sign (…) was used in the quotes to express either longer pauses, changes of narrator, or omissions of irrelevant pieces of discourse.

[43] It is pertinent to state that referring to changed group names would not be satisfactory in this case, since the real names are also presented and the possible assembling of quotes from one same group would produce an amount of related information sometimes liable to lead to the assumption of the real identity.

5. Inverting Perspectives

This chapter summarizes, articulates and interprets the major research findings. It is split into three main sections which address the research question and sub-questions nearly in their order. The first and second (5.1 and 5.2) focus on the perceptions of marginalized youth entrepreneurs in Nairobi. The last (5.3) centres on youth groups members in Dar es Salaam and essentially presents their perceptions' divergences as for the view of their counterparts in Nairobi. These three sections were divided into items which generally correspond to the research's main dimensions and variables. Most of these items begin being presented by a concise synthesis of the youth group members' own speech [44] about the topic, coming mainly from the fieldwork's exploratory phase. Their statements represent the essence of what youth group members expressed and are supported or complemented by a few illustrative quotes [45]. Although these summarizing statements basically represent qualities, they are accompanied by the number of different youth groups in which members somehow expressed the same idea or group of ideas (presented in the format '[xN]'; N is not presented if equal to 1) [46]. Then, findings deriving from the quantitative phase and from the participatory activities are adjoined to complement, specify or confront the group members' most natural discourse. Finally, thoughts or hypothesis informed by the first chapters are incorporated into the examination, as well as the researcher's general impressions coming from his interactions with the youths.

5.1 Engaging in Entrepreneurship in a Collective Manner

5.1.1 Association

Youth group members in Nairobi explain they associate themselves when undertaking entrepreneurial activities to add up skills, knowledge, experiences, resources, and ideas [x8]; to encourage and insure each other [x6]; because it employs more people and battles idleness and crime [x4]; to overcome contextual barriers [x3]; because it is part of the local culture [x3]; to learn from each other [x2]; to be better positioned to access markets; and to be better prepared to engage in individual entrepreneurship in the future. However, they can mention

[44] That is, what youths, under certain circumstances, say or express about: a) what they think, b) what they do, and c) the reasons why they believe and act like that.

[45] Broader sets of quotes underpinning these summarizing statements are presented in the appendices.

[46] These cannot be assumed as accurate measurers, since not every topic or subject was approached or extensively discussed with all youth groups which participated in the fieldwork activities, but they can be considered as rough or preliminary indicators of importance or centrality. The total number of groups which participated in each originating activity is specified in the respective appendix section.

that association sometimes is easier said than done because it can be time consuming and people do not always have the same pace and dedication.

> ❝ *the environment where we are living is not conducive for business, the environment is not helpful… so when you start a business alone it is really hard… when you start something in a group, they [government and society] see you, because they see this is a youth group* ❞ (App. A: 88)

Without underestimating the challenges of association, the youths' discourse seems to be in accordance with Paul Singer's suggestion that, in an environment of socioeconomic exclusion, co-operation becomes an attractive empowering option open to the unemployed, to those who risk losing their jobs and to poor people, since it is an emancipatory and redemptive response to the capitalist deterioration of work and social life (cf. Lima 2004: 53).

5.1.2 Equality

Youth group members broadly tend to describe themselves as equals [x9], although certain distinctions are raised concerning kind of activities performed [x6], effort and skills [x4], and time in the group. In addition, the idea that 'different people face dissimilar conditions and their particularities should be considered' seems to be excluded from the youth groups' praxis [x3]. As for this matter, one group member mentioned that, as a considerable number of activities performed by youth groups rely on physical strength, women tend to feel discriminated against because men are allocated more work and paid more. Assets are collectively owned (belong to the group) and their use is relatively open [x7], but it seems old members tend to have more control over them [x2]. Asset accountability can also be mentioned as necessary [x2]. The distribution of revenue is generally described as based on the following logic [x7]: first expenses and costs are deducted (either by discounting the corresponding percentage when the payment of an order is received or by periodical compulsory individual contributions), then the group decides if a fraction should be put aside for investing or saving, and finally what remains is divided amongst the members (based mostly on individual work contribution, in terms of both outputs and worked hours). The management teams do not receive any extra financial compensation [x8], although this point can be considered as a contentious issue in the case the group grows. In addition, members who bring clients and the most creative ones can also be entitled to a bonus.

> ❝ *everybody owns the group in the same way, apart from titles, a chairman has some power, a treasurer… but the group is open for each and everybody's opinion, the group is open for critiques* ❞ (App. A: 89)

A certain power imbalance originating by division of work seems acceptable as long as the general idea of equality is maintained [x7]. The main mechanisms for reducing power differences are described as: a) having leaders and people in privileged positions submitted and accountable to all members [x5], b) practices of rotating activities [x5], and c) the fact that people want to be trusted [x3]. Differences amongst people are broadly treated through dialogue [x5] and can also be seen as an opportunity to learn [x2].

> “*we have department heads, and they have power, the group has given them that power to make sure the department is running well… but misbehaviour is discussed in the meetings and the person can be voted out… here, we don't want members to control others, to have more power than others, we just have that power to manage that department, it is our duty to make sure that the department is doing well, but not to exercise our power to sneak others, whenever the members see that, the person is voted out*” (App. A: 91)

Concerning equality, the discourse of youth group members who participated in the exploratory phase in Nairobi tends to match the results from the quantitative survey applied to a larger number of them. In question 3 of the first part of the questionnaire, 54% of respondents pointed out that presently *'everybody is an owner… everybody is an equal member'* and 32.3% classified the situation as *'half / half'*, with a modest desire of change (0.20) [47] towards the enhancement of the former. As for question 4 of the same part, 62.1% of respondents considered that currently *'the earnings are fairly divided among the members or applied to improve their lives'* and 32.3% judged the situation as *'half / half'*, with also a modest desire of change (0.25) for the boost of the first. Concerning question 9 of the second part, the largest proportion of respondents (29.5%) also considered that earnings should be primarily shared based on equality amongst people. However, when respondents are grouped by sex, only 41.9% of women considered that *'the earnings are fairly divided among the members or applied to improve their lives'* against 68.8% of men. The men's desire of change also appears as modest (0.20) whereas the women's desire appears as moderate (0.43). Another intriguing fact was that women seemed to present a somewhat feebler sense that ownership should be completely collective than men (question 3b: 58.6% versus 72.3%). In the case of leaders and non-leaders, the latter tend to present a higher level of discontentment regarding question 3 (ownership): their desire of change is moderate (0.37) against the leader's virtually null one (0.03). Finally, as to age, 51.8% of the respondents who are less than 25 years old (YO) considered that *'the earnings are fairly divided among the members or applied to improve their lives'* versus 69.5% of the youths who are 25 YO or more.

[47] Desire of change: expresses the general difference between the desired state (how members would like their youth group to be) and the actual situation (what their youth group is like). The value varies between -2 and 2, where 0 means all respondents are completely satisfied with the situation and -2 or 2 means that all of them expressed the most extreme desire of change towards the same aspect (positive means collectivism, negative individualism). For more details, see the section B.2 of the appendix B.

What primarily stands out in the previously presented information is the evidence suggesting that the youth group members' general sense of equality is not fully extensive to women, who appear to feel discriminated against due to the lack of regard for the dissimilar conditions they face (cf. Bourdieu 1977; cf. 1988). This feeling might be a cause for their feebler sense that ownership should be completely collective (and for a similar phenomenon emerging also in the question 2b as for 'completely balanced participation'), since they seem not to perceive themselves very much as part of this 'collective' (i.e., feeling excluded might hinder one's general sense of co-operation) – hypothesis to be investigated.

When it comes to the comparisons amongst youth group members, individual youth entrepreneurs and youths in high school, the first and the last demonstrated similar patterns concerning how earnings should be distributed (question 9): about 29% equally, around 26% based on efforts, and close to 20% based on skills – though amongst youths in high school women tend to give more emphasis to 'efforts' (37.5% versus 15.6% of men) and 'equality' (35.2% against 20.3% of men) whereas men to 'skills' (29.7% against 17% of women). However, amongst individual youth entrepreneurs, 'equality' fell to about 11.7% and most of the respondents said the distribution of earnings should be based on skills (25.5%), efforts (21.3%), results (19.1%) and experience (14.9%). The main hypothesis which emerges here is that, in the context of this study, the individual entrepreneurial practice is likely to decrease the youths' regard for equality whereas engaging in collective entrepreneurship tends to have the opposite effect, especially on male youths. This conforms to Singer's proposition that people's inclination depends very much on the most frequent practices, which are induced by the social arrangement where the person grows up and lives (Singer 2005: 16). The author suggests that people who are formed in an environment wherein solidarity economy prevails are driven to

> perceive that social and economic inequality is not natural nor derives from the superiority of who possesses and gives orders over those who nothing own and obey; that inequality is perverse and unfair and that it can be abolished only by the mutual exercise of solidarity. [48] (Singer 2005: 17)

5.1.3 Knowledge Distribution

Information concerning what happens in the group or relates to it is generally thought to be open and accessible to every member [x9]; however, as spreading information can be time/effort consuming, people are supposed to be participating in the group activities and eager to acquire it [x6], and some information might not be seen as relevant to be shared

[48] Original text in Portuguese: *perceber que a desigualdade social e econômica não é natural e nem decorre da superioridade de quem tem e manda sobre quem nada tem e obedece; que a desigualdade é ruim e injusta e que ela só pode ser abolida pela prática da solidariedade entre os homens*.

amongst the whole group. Specific cases involving financial issues [x3] and private conflicts [x2] were pointed out as motives for a certain confidentiality and discretion.

> ❝ *information is normally available to people, because if you are around the issue of concern, you will get each single information that is passing around* [49] *… we normally say that information is for the available people and for the willing people, the ones eager for it, but when you are away nobody will just try and go look for you to give you that information… we have to give the information because you are concerned, and eager to know, and eager to make the group grow* ❞ (App. A: 92)

The results from the exploratory phase also broadly match the quantitative survey's outcomes as for knowledge distribution. In question 1 of the first part of the questionnaire, 50% of respondents pointed out that presently *'everybody has access to all information about the company (maximum transparency)'* and 31.6% considered the situation as *'half / half'*, with a moderate desire of change (0.40) towards the enhancement of the first. But again only 32.3% of the women judged that *'everybody has access to all information about the company (maximum transparency)'* versus 56% of the men. The non-leaders (36.5% against 63.3% of leaders) and the respondents who are less than 25 YO (34.5% versus 65.5% of the elders) are also less inclined to consider that information is fully accessible.

5.1.4 Participation

In every analysed case youth group members elect the management team through direct vote [x9]. General meetings are regularly held and open for all members [x9] and decisions are largely based on discussion and negotiation [x6], often guided by the group's constitution [x2] and in cases of extreme disagreement made by vote [x3]. Deciding collectively was pointed out as becoming easer with practice and with the strengthening of bonds amongst people [x3]. In addition, participation in multiple operational aspects tends to be seen not only as a right, but as desirable and even as a duty [x4].

> ❝ *in a group where people disagree to agree, that is where the development will be, that is our motto… we don't disagree to fight, but we disagree to solve the problem and then agree… we collect all those opinions together and we sit and we discus them, we will weight them, so we will disagree with him, we will disagree with him, or with him, then we collect all those points, then we agree in one thing, we push the group on, yeah… and we respect the minority too* ❞ (App. A: 93)

> ❝ *when the group grows, the responsibilities are gonna be more demanding, you will have to do more, more sacrifices* ❞ (App. A: 93)

[49] In general terms, information and knowledge are exchanged amongst members in youth groups mostly via direct contact and discussions (managerial information is usually shared in regular meetings and technical expertise levelled during daily operations). Tools such as mobiles and infoboards may also be used. Concerning access to external information/know-how, group members regularly use the internet, are often exposed to NGO activities, and sometimes exchange with other youth groups.

Concerning the link between 'efficient collective decisions' and 'practice' (a theme which will be further developed in the subsection '5.1.6 Trust') –, Singer emphasises:

> Real learning takes place with the practice, since the solidary economic behaviour exists only when it is reciprocal. It has to do with a wide variety of practices of mutual aid and collective decision making, whose exercise is essential for agents to learn what is expected of them and what they should expect from others. [50] (2005: 16)

As for the quantitative survey, in question 2 of the first part of the questionnaire 36.6% of respondents considered that presently *'everybody participates in the management of the company… in an equal way'*, 35% classified the situation as *'half / half'*, and 28.5% said that *'very few people give orders… most people obey'*, with a moderate desire of change (0.40) for the enhancement of the first. This indicates that the sense of balanced participation is currently less spread than it was pictured in the exploratory phase. Also intriguing is that the desire of change concerning this aspect is stronger amongst leaders (0.57) than amongst non-leaders (0.22); this leads more to the thought that the leaders are the ones who would like to see people further committed to the group than to the idea that non-leaders are not able to find space in the group management (this question will be developed in the subsection 5.1.8). At last, women and younger group members also appeared to have a weaker sentiment that participation in the management of the group should be fully balanced than their contrasting counterparts (question 2b: respectively 37.9% against 66.3% and 49.1% versus 65.5%).

It is worth noting that the findings about commitment to participation in general management and in multiple operational aspects appear to corroborate Singer's assertion that

> The biggest enemy of self-management is the members' lack of interest, their refusal of the extra effort that the democratic practice requires. In general it is not the co-operative's management team who deny information to members, but the latter who prefer to give the former a vote of confidence for them to decide in their place. And the management team sometimes tends to accept the request, mostly when it comes to decisions which can lead to conflicts amongst members. [Thus] the self-management practice turns out to be in danger of being eroded by the principle of least effort. [51] (Singer 2002: 19-20)

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[50] Original text in Portuguese: *O verdadeiro aprendizado dá-se com a prática, pois o comportamento econômico solidário só existe quando é recíproco. Trata-se de grande variedade de práticas de ajuda mútua e de tomadas coletivas de decisão, cuja vivência é indispensável para que os agentes possam aprender o que deles espera-se e o que devem esperar dos outros*.

[51] Original text in Portuguese: *O maior inimigo da autogestão é o desinteresse dos sócios, sua recusa ao esforço adicional que a prática democrática exige. Em geral não é a direção da cooperativa que sonega informações aos sócios, são esses que preferem dar um voto de confiança à direção para que ela decida em lugar deles. E a direção tende, às vezes, a aceitar o pedido, sobretudo quando se trata de decisões que podem suscitar conflitos entre os sócios. [Assim] a prática autogestionária corre o perigo de ser corroída pela lei do menor esforço*.

5.1.5 Attainment of Collective Needs

Regarding the duality 'profit vs. collective wellbeing', profit seems to emerge to youth group members primarily as a means of improving people's lives and the situation of the community [x7]. Financial resources are considered essential in terms of generating collective wellbeing, but the thought of profit as an end by itself or as an absolute measure of success is strange to these youth entrepreneurs. Moreover, having surplus is not part of their common reality [x7] and the aspiration of having more customers and accessing new markets seems to be more central than the ideal of making profit [x4]. Finally, the collective motive is mostly present [x7] and the thought of investing also regularly appears in their minds [x6]. Two groups expressed concern about problems which might originate through the increase of revenue, such as breaking union amongst people and loss of creativity or original values.

> "*when you make a profit, that is when you have a good life, and when you make loss, you have a rough life, but you can be making a loss and you have a good life because we are one in a group, we encourage each other, so your life cannot be very bad*" (App. A: 94)

Concerns about the community are largely present amongst youth group members [x7] and collectives tend to be seen as better positioned to pressure the government and the civil society [x3]. Group members in Nairobi generally assert that governments are not capable of providing services to the society [x6] and sometimes even become an obstacle to the wellbeing of youths and of the community in general [x3]. The major expression of 'people contributing and being given back in non-direct or non-proportional manners' in youth groups is the fact that leadership/management activities are largely seen as having a voluntaristic nature and not as object of financial compensation [x7]. In addition, some groups foster the idea that every member should be a leader [x3], which demonstrates an intension of equalisation.

> "*our main objective is to have a community in which youths are self-sustainable, very very environmentally conscious, and very much aware of member's wellbeing, self-independent*" (App. A: 94)

> "*moving from Kibera? We would have a branch in town… I don't think we should leave here, our group is a Kibera thing, all together, something for the community… when we get wide and big enough, it's a chance for us to work even more with other youth groups, to create a kid's studio in the community, this is more positive than just going to town*" (App. A: 94)

Youths usually express that new people are welcome in the groups, and the general idea that every person should have the possibility to work seems to pervade the group members' view [x7]. The main criteria to be accepted as a new member are that the person is willing to work, has initiative, and is somehow an active member in the community [x4].

Additionally, knowing the person's background also appears as essential [x3]. Before becoming an effective member the person normally passes through a probation period and training [x6], and building trust seems to be an important element during this process [x3]. One group mentioned having the policy of favouring new members concerning chances and opportunities. Finally, encouraging youths from the community to form new youth groups was also pointed out as part of their practice.

Youth group members typically have a positive first reaction towards the idea of competition [x7]. They state it brings inspiration, new ideas and innovation, and makes people work harder [x7]. Nonetheless, the youths quickly draw a line between what they consider good and bad competition [x6]; they point out that an attribute of good competition is when everybody somehow wins [x6]. In addition, it seems another trait of good competition is when leadership amongst competitors is not monopolized and people or groups have similar conditions and chances [x4]. Moreover, certain levels of fairness and co-operation also appear as constituents of this notion [x3]. Finally, the concern about what happens to the 'losers' is, as well, pointed out as part of the equation [x2]. Bad competition is eventually explicitly characterized as when it becomes destructive [x5], primarily individualistic and selfish [x6], and merely focused on profit [x3]. At last, one group expressed that companies which operate under the 'traditional idea of competition' should be educated to stop it.

> "*our happiness is to see the other groups growing, we don't compete to make the other groups go down, we compete healthy competition, where the other groups grow*" (App. A: 97)

> "*competitors can develop together, that would be good if both are making the same profit… if we are collaborating in a business and my organization is given equal opportunity in whatever we are doing I accept*" (App. A: 97)

> "*this kind of [fierce] competition and the main objective of profit, they are being wrong, because when they compete like that and the others have to close down their business, we know they will suffer… companies that operate under a traditional competition should be educated to stop it*" (App. A: 98)

The notion of solidarity seems to be broadly merged with the thoughts of union and brotherhood [x5]. The general idea is that its institutionalization involves sharing and shaping a common view [x4] and that this process normally happens from proximate to more distant relations [x5]. Moreover, solidarity amongst different youth groups was pointed out as largely possible [x5]. At last, solidarity was also mentioned as a means of producing social changes.

> "*solidarity is the brotherhood, coming together… forgetting where we come from, our custom differences, forgetting our differences and we come together as brothers… first of all, it has to start with the group members, after with the community, and after with other youth groups*" (App. A: 98)

> "*solidarity is being together, working together, sharing… here in Kenya, if you can be one, togetherness, you can achieve a lot*" (App. A: 99)

As for the attainment of collective needs, the results from the quantitative survey conform to and complement what youth group members said in the exploratory phase. In question 5 of the first part of the questionnaire, 66.1% of respondents judged that presently *'the leaders work to improve the members' wellbeing'* and 25% classified the situation as *'half / half'*, with a modest desire of change (0.19) towards the intensification of the first. In question 7, 57.3% of respondents considered that currently *'when the company grows, all members benefit and develop together'* and 27.4% looked at the situation as *'half / half'*, with a moderate desire of change (0.51) for the boost of the former. As to question 8, 77.6% of respondents answered that at this time *'new people are welcome when they can help to build a better life for all the members'* and 12% pointed out the situation as *'half / half'*, with a modest desire of change (0.15) towards the enhancement of the first. Finally, concerning competition and co-operation (question 6), 52.4% of respondents considered that presently *'people cooperate more… and everybody wins'* and 29.8% classified the situation as *'half / half'*, with a moderate desire of change (0.54) also for the increase of the former. Expressive disparities of perceptions amongst non-leaders and leaders and younger and elder group members were not identified. As for sex, women's desire of change towards *'new people are welcome when they can help to build a better life for all the members'* appears as moderate (0.33) whereas men's as slightly substantial (0.09).

The findings exposed in this subsection bring up two major points. First, it becomes evident that youth group members see economy and life as deeply intertwined and pursue entrepreneurial goals in multiple dimensions as they appear to them as very much dependent on one another. Second, the group members' discourse expresses that what they name 'good competition' is in fact similar to the notion of co-operation and that they somehow realise

> Both competition and co-operation can lead to happiness. But concerning the former, this happiness is complete only if the person wins and affirms his or her superiority over others. As for the latter, happiness is enjoyed every time people co-operate, regardless of the outcome. [52] (Singer 2005: 16)

5.1.6 Trust

Trust appears to youth group members as an essential aspect in terms of strengthening a collective organization [x4]. Union, openness to debate, and proper behaviour were pointed out as broad expressions of trust amongst people in a group [x3]. Good coordination, transparency, accountability, and record keeping, as well as delivering and performing, are

[52] Original text in Portuguese: *Tanto em competir como em cooperar, o sujeito sente-se feliz. Só que no primeiro caso, essa felicidade só é completa se ele vence e demonstra sua superioridade sobre os demais. No último, a felicidade é gozada toda vez que se coopera, independentemente do resultado*.

seen as specific measures of trust [x4]. Recognition by the group can also be seen as a sign of trust amongst the members. Moreover, youths acknowledge that trust is not absolute neither homogeneous and that knowing each other informs the limits of trust and guides expectations and the need of controls [x2]. Youth group members state they normally deal with problems and misbehaviour through dialogue [x4] and, sporadically, through penalties or punishments.

> ❝ *you cannot trust anyone 100%, but you can learn about that person, his movements, how he is, so you will know him… the basic thing is to get information to guide trust, because, people, we are the people* ❞ (App. A: 100)

> ❝ *misbehaviour results in penalties and punishment, normally fines… also when someone misbehaves we can talk to each other to make the person understand his behaviour is not good, we can talk among each other so that we can come to a solution* ❞ (App. A: 100)

Their attentiveness to the fact that the interaction amongst people informs the limits of trust and guides expectations brings us to the idea that the form whereby the coordination of collective action is harmonized should not be a priori methodologically reduced neither to individualism (agency) nor to holism (structure, norms and custom). To further this debate, Alain Caillé proposes that "«in the beginning» […] there are neither individuals nor society [,] but the (inter)action amongst concrete people" [53] (2004: 157) and that the individual or collective action develops upon four irreducible rationales organized in two pairs of opposites: a) the 'self-interest' – which produces harmonization by the contract or by the market – and the 'need to express affection' (*aimance*) [54] – that produces a spontaneous harmonization –; and b) the 'obligation' – which harmonizes via laws and constraints – and the 'freedom' – which creates harmonization through enthusiasm and passion – (ibid: 160-161). The idea is that no one is a priori essentially self-interested or altruist neither totally constrained or free and "sooner or later, one has either to suspect or to step to totally trust the other; but if both step forward a state of mutual trust is established" [55] (ibid: 152). Thus,

> the only operator which could unravel the paradoxical links of a self-destructive rationality […] is [a] bet of trust needed to the establishment of the trust, choosing the reasonable instead of the rational [, fact susceptible] of sealing the alliance that will benefit everyone and ultimately the person that took the disinterested initiative; person who – to honour Joseph Schumpeter, given that he was capable of fully grasping the nature of the economic problem raised – we are inclined to label the entrepreneur […] of the bet of

[53] Original text in French: *«Au départ» […] il n'y a ni individus ni société [,] mais l'(inter)action des hommes concrets*.

[54] That is, the interest for the other, or, in its particular historical forms, the *philia*, the amity, the compassion, the Chinese *ren*, the sympathy, the love, the solidarity, etc. (Caillé 2004: 160).

[55] Original text in French: *à un moment ou à un autre, il faut soit se défier soit se confier totalement à l'autre en sautant le pas; mais si le pas est franchi des deux côtés, alors s'établit [un] état de confiance mutuelle*.

> trust in the other, in the others and in the world, of this capacity of opening oneself to the uncertainty of return that generosity is. [56] (ibid: 152-154)

According to this view, the entrepreneur turns out to be the person who uses the space of his or her restricted freedom to responsibly take the risk of betting in solidarity in order to possibly further the harmonization of the collective action into the fields of spontaneity and additional creative enthusiasm originated in human kindness, and the levels of reciprocity he or she may face in return inform the limits of trust and of escaping self-destructive rationality and fostering mutual fulfilment.

5.1.7 Innovation

When questioned about the importance of constantly searching for new and better ways of dealing with the enterprise's issues, youth group members generally state it is a vital topic and tend to give examples of improvements they have implemented or of what they perceive as obstacles to the group's development [x5]. Common examples of improvements are associated with product quality and features, meeting customer deadlines, advertisement, processes of production, logistics, networking, and communication amongst members. One group which deals with garbage collection expressed particular interest in the idea of producing biogas out of domestic garbage. They also usually highlight their initiatives on partnering with organizations which can provide them training and other forms of support [x5] and are likely to foresee significant growth as to their groups [x4].

When asked specifically about the idea of innovating through a process of reflection, questioning and dialogue, and having the human being as subject and purpose of the economic activity, youth group members largely reemphasized their practices of debate and their concerns about the members' wellbeing and about the community [x4], as well as the tendency youths have to challenge the actual structure [x2]. With reference to the obstacles to the groups' development, the most mentioned issues were by far the lack of access to markets [x7], including international ones [x5], and the dependence on middlemen [x4]. Lack of resources [x4] and social barriers tend to be pointed out as restraints concerning these issues.

It seems that in the youths' view, discrimination towards people who live in the slums associated with the 'myth of informality' play a major role in terms of blocking to them the

[56] Original text in French: *le seul opérateur susceptible de dénouer les liens paradoxaux d'une rationalité autodestructrice […] est [un] pari de confiance nécessaire à l'établissement de la confiance, choix du raisonnable préféré au rationnel [, susceptible] de sceller l'alliance qui profitera à tous et donc, au bout du compte, à celui qui a pris l'initiative du désintéressement; à celui que, pour rendre hommage à Joseph Schumpeter, qui avait parfaitement saisi la nature du problème économique soulevé, on serait tenté de nommer l'entrepreneur […] du pari de confiance sur l'autre, sur les autres, sur le monde, cette capacité à s'ouvrir à l'incertitude sur le retour qui constitue la générosité*.

access to markets outside the slums [x4]. They generally consider that the barriers they face are disproportional to their groups' technical and organizational capabilities. This suggests the divide between markets these youth entrepreneurs can or cannot access has a much deeper social nature than it appears. As to the controversial question of defining (in)formality, the first intriguing evidence is that every youth group which participated in this investigation has somehow a legal form of registration, has a constitution, and is capable of issuing official receipts. When asked about the meaning of formal and informal and in which category their youth group would fit, youths tended to express a mix of discomfort and indignation and to state they believe they are formal organizations [x7]. They justified their formality due to institutionalization [x4], stability [x2], organization [x3], having goals and objectives [x2], innovation [x2], planning [x3], quality in the work [x2], self-sustainability [x4], and progress [x2]. In addition, some youth group members demonstrated to think people consider them as informal because they operate in a different way and under different values which might not be grasped.

> "*for us it is hard to provide services outside the slums, in town they just think we are slum people, they say we are informal*" (App. A: 101)

> "*I think we are formal, we are registered, we do everything according to the rules, we have goals, we plan things… people say we are informal because we operate like brothers, we are outside the box to do some things*" (App. A: 102)

5.1.8 Comments on Sex, Position in the Group, and Age [57]

Male group members mentioned part of the reason why women feel excluded is that they are a minority in the groups and thus easily overtaken by men in the decisions. In addition, one member declared to believe that women are passive and do not speak their voice by reason of being less educated than men. Moreover, women were said to be unsatisfied with their inexpressive representation in the groups' management positions. Furthermore, men pointed out that women are allocated less work for being physically weaker, are consecutively paid less, and are not happy about this situation. Men also stated women commit less to the group [x2], are lazy, and do not participate unless they earn money – one group member speculated that a reason for this last point is that some women have children to look after.

> "*in terms of elections, women want the management posts to be shared, but they are not that active, and do not attend properly the meetings*" (App. B: 172)

> "*female members will feel not satisfied because we expect males to be the ones carrying out things… in terms of physical activities, men are usually stronger… men will come and say that they have done the big job, so they need to be paid more, the*

[57] These findings come from the section 'B.3 Comments on the Results' and are related to comments from youth group members in Nairobi about the quantitative surveys' main outputs.

> *ladies will think the part should be equal, so there will be disagreement… in their mind they think we are still equal* ” (App. B: 172)

Finally, in the only group where a female representative was present, she strongly disagreed with the men's explanations and pointed out that men tend to believe in a male supremacy and that part of the reason why few women take part in mixed youth groups is that boyfriends do not want their girlfriends to join a group which has men as members.

> “ *[from a man:] nature… nature tends to reduce women's participation in the groups… [a woman disagrees:] for me, that supremacy, men tend to believe it… that they need to be there to things to work out… boyfriends are also a problem, they don't want girls to join a group that has many men… this inequality needs to change, the girls can do any activity* ” (App. B: 173)

As for position in the youth group, during discussions in which non-leaders and leaders were considerably well represented youth group members mentioned that part of the non-leaders tend to have a passive stance [x2], lack understanding concerning the group issues [x3], and are likely to become somehow dependent on others [x2]. Leaders were pointed out as more urging and visionary. In addition, it was said that space to participate in the groups' management is available [x2] and commitment, involvement and effort can lead any member into becoming a leader.

> “ *it depends on how you commit to the group, if you want to be a leader you come to a meeting and call yourself a leader, do you see… you can come and ask what is going on, understand, and get involved… part of the non-leaders don't commit themselves and they don't put effort on participation, if they want to participate more they would have space* ” (App. B: 173)

They also mentioned that, since leaders normally assume the responsibility for executing what was collectively decided, it is somehow expected that their participation be more intense and that they express the desire of being supported by the members' commitment. Finally, one leader mentioned the wish of being more pressured by the members and said it leads both non-leaders and leaders to a systematic growth.

At last, differences of perceptions between younger and elder group members were discussed with one youth group only and the main notion which emerged was that younger people tend to be more dynamic, to have a craving for trying out new things, to look for changes, and to have a higher sense of urgency, whereas older persons would emphasise experience and longer examination of matters.

> “ *younger people, they have young ideas, brilliant ideas… they have innovative ideas which they need to implement, they just say that, I have a brilliant idea, I have to share it with you, and initiate it immediately… the younger people want urgency, changes, experiment things themselves at the instant* ” (App. B: 174)

These comments, at first, reinforce the evidence exposed in the subsection 5.1.2 suggesting that the youth group members' sense of brotherhood is not fully extensive to women and that women feel discriminated against due to the lack of regard for the dissimilar conditions they face – this calls for what Boaventura de Souza Santos perfectly summarizes when he says 'we have the right to be equal when the difference makes us inferior; we have the right to be different when the equality «decharacterizes» us' (1996: 3). In addition, the findings also support Singer's idea that the biggest obstacle to self-management is the members' lack of interest and their refusal of the extra effort that democratic practices require (2002: 19-20). At last, though this topic was just superficially covered, what youths expressed is aligned with the ideas that 'being youth has in its side the promise and a range of open options' and that 'the youth condition is differently given to boys or girls' – especially when girls have children – (Margulis & Urresti 2008: 20, 27).

5.1.9 Decentralised and Self-governed Networks of Production

After being presented to the thought of network or production, group members demonstrated great enthusiasm towards it [x8] and in general immediately identified themselves with the idea and started discussing and exploring possible links amongst youth groups. They predominantly associated it with economic inclusion and business boost – by means of solidary mutual supply and access to (international) markets – [x6] and with fairness and emancipation [x5]. Concerning the similarities between solidarity economy in Brazil and youth groups' practices, group members in Nairobi expressed that in both cases people work together [x6] – in an equal and solidary manner [x2] – to overcome a common condition of unemployment [x4] and economic exclusion [x2] and to improve their lives and the lives of people in the community [x3]. As for differences, they had the impression that, in the Brazilian solidarity economy movement, the establishment of networks drove association, co-operation and solidarity to reach a further level which converts these elements into an emancipatory economic alternative instead of just a survival palliative [x4]. In addition, they mentioned that the Brazilian movement also embraces older and more experienced people [x3] and seems to command better means of production and to be more economically productive [x4]. However, one youth group demonstrated scepticism towards the idea that co-operatives formed by poor people in a developing country could independently operate in an environment free from the influence of donors and NGOs. The following table (5.1.9-1) summarizes the outcomes from the fieldwork's participatory activities concerning the idea of networks of production [58].

[58] More details as to these activities and sets of illustrative quotes are presented in the appendix C.

Table 5.1.9-1: Summary of Outcomes from the Fieldwork's Participatory Activities in Nairobi about the Idea of Networks of Production

What are the obstacles to the development of networks of production?	**Which currently present elements are incentives to the development of networks of production?**
- Lack of information about it and of communicative and collaborative skills [x6] - Bad competition (i.e., a fiercely/destructively competitive mindset) [x5] - Selfishness, jealousy and fear; a conflictual mindset; a destructive political environment [x5] - Lack of organization, regulations and planning [x4] - Lack of appropriate education and training [x4] - Lack of working tools/machinery, facilities and capital [x4] - Lack of commitment; idleness [x4] - Thought of superiority [x3] - Lack of solidarity towards different people or groups; favouritism; tribalism [x3] - Concentration of power and lack of democratic thought [x3] - Lack of time and patience [x2] - Poor leadership [x2] - Lack of trust; people or groups concealing the problems [x2] - Lack of transparency [x2] - Corruption [x2] - Members or groups putting different amounts of effort - Disrespecting what was agreed - External manipulation (from people who fear losing power)	- Desire to improve life and readiness to work [x5] - Availability of youths and youth groups [x3] - Urban youths face the same problems and have a unified identity and a common way of communicating [x3] - Some awareness concerning the benefits of joining efforts [x3] - Spirit of working and reaching together; some solidarity [x3] - Motivation and courage [x3] - Existing market needs (especially as to specific international segments and excluded local areas) [x2] - Youth groups already connect themselves (in a feeble extent) [x2] - Complementarity of activities and of interests [x2] - Creativity [x2] - Some technical/management skills [x2] - Some transparency and trust [x2] - Some rules and regulations - YIKE's job (on training, networking and access to equipment) - Some support from governments (on funds) - Some productive resources (e.g., equipment; capital; raw materials; electricity; etc.) - Existing talents amongst youths - Support from society - Youth groups are registered
What is needed to breed and boost networks of production? (corresponds to the trees' roots)	**How could external organizations (governments, NGOs, etc.) support the development of networks of production?**
- Spreading the thought and realizing the benefits of networks of production; thinking about extending internationally [x7] - Co-operation, friendship, solidarity; overtaking an entirely individualist mindset [x7] - Open/efficient communication and mutual understanding amongst members and groups (i.e., knowing each other's profiles and needs and being able to act in an integrated and solidary manner) [x5] - Dedicating time to innovatively discuss and develop plans; forming secretariats [x5] - Participation and will to overcome discrimination (including gender), inequality and exploitation; empowerment of weaker groups by the stronger ones [x4] - Fostering trust amongst members and groups [x3] - Recognizing the current problems and taking responsibility to overcome them [x3] - Developing regulations and institutions (e.g., agreements amongst groups to buy part of each other's production; boards to advice on fair prices; etc.) [x3] - Training and competence building [x3] - Collective means of production [x3] - Commitment and hard work [x2] - Positive thinking - Registration	- Providing awareness and guidance (e.g., organizing seminar and workshops; presenting real cases of success; fostering balance of power, democracy and solidarity amongst members and groups; placing a board of experienced mentors at disposal; etc.) [x6] - Facilitating the initial organization of networks of production (e.g., mobilizing and encouraging groups; fostering discussion forums; helping with the analysis of activities and the identification of possibilities of integration; promoting the integration of new groups; etc.) [x6] - Providing training on effective communication, team cohesion, trust building, accessing (international) markets, innovation, general management, computers, etc. [x5] - Facilitating access to (international) markets and links between networks in different places and countries [x3] - Providing collective workspaces (e.g., spaces for production; offices; technical centres; showrooms; etc.) [x3] - Facilitating the access to collective means of production (e.g., machinery; vehicles for transporting goods/people; security equipment; computers; communication devices; capital for buying raw materials; etc.) [x3]
What are the potential fruits of implementing networks of production? (corresponds to the trees' branches)	**What is needed to further trust amongst people and groups in networks of production?** (two youth groups only)
- More guidance about what to produce and access to (international) markets; having reliable customers and suppliers [x6]	- Proper training as for building and reinforcing mutual trust [x2] - Proper communication and availability of information; transparency [x2]

- More jobs and less unemployment [x6] - More income [x5] - More unity, co-operation and solidarity [x5] - Sense of belonging and mutual care [x5] - Elimination of middlemen; freedom from extortion; breaking of market monopolization [x5] - More interaction amongst people; more avenues for partnering; more exchange of ideas and experiences (mutual learning) [x5] - Self-reliance [x4] - More equality (including gender) and democracy [x4] - Capability to participate in the community and to help or do something good for others; capability to pressure the government [x4] - A preserved environment and a better life; less poverty [x4] - More outputs (production) and economies of scale [x3] - More creativity [x3] - More education and know-how; opening of the mind; a better workforce [x3] - Empowerment [x3] - More motivation; reminding us of who we really are [x3] - Gaining respect and recognition; feeling competent and appreciated [x3] - Economic growth [x3] - Creating a good model of economic relation amongst groups; doing something unique (which attracts more people) [x2] - Having our voices heard; being in a good position to advocacy [x2] - Good governance; transparency and accountability [x2] - Enhanced technology - Better assets, facilities and infrastructure - More corporate social responsibility - More heath and sanitation - Reducing crime	- Equal participation [x2] - Respect for diversity and reinforcement of mutual appreciation [x2] - Co-operation; mutual support and affection [x2] - Commitment, diligence, accountability and perseverance [x2] - Short- and long-term goals which are clear [x2] - Feeling of ownership - Clear rules - Fairness, moral and integrity - Deference towards others, honesty and humour - Legitimate and trustworthy leadership - Proper time management (i.e., keeping a constant pace) - Good financial management (which ensures some liquidity) - Availability of productive resources - Technical and organizational expertise - Effectiveness and innovation as for operations and capability to access markets **Which mechanisms could prevent the loss of this mutual trust?** **(one youth group only)** - Frequent meetings and discussions - Culture of talking about problems and solving them together instead of masking them - Attitude of openly identifying and reducing risks - Instruments to ensure supply and payments on time - Financial transparency (e.g., integrated bank accounts; spending procedures which are clear; etc.) **How to regain this mutual trust after crises?** **(one youth group only)** - Persisting, not giving up when the first problems happen; keeping in mind that trust is something to be built and it takes time - Bringing mediators - Having a proactive attitude instead of blaming - Admitting the mistakes - Fostering tolerance and the culture of inclusion, but also bearing in mind that sometimes people or groups might need to be suspended for a certain time or in extreme cases even temporarily excluded

It seems that, being conscious of their socially disadvantaged situation and of their non-conducive milieu, youth group members in Nairobi, once exposed to the idea of networks of production, quickly turned out to perceive that

> Solidary enterprises usually form federations, in the form of local, regional, national or international associations. The impetus for this is based on the same set of factors that lead to the centralization of capital in large multinational companies and conglomerates: gains of scale (which allow costs to be reduced), the need to combine resources in order to develop new technologies and disseminate the best technology, as well as other high-cost and high-risk ventures. (Singer 2006: 5)

and that it raises an effective emancipatory alternative to enhance their income and wellbeing.

5.2 Wellbeing and Its Association with Collective Entrepreneurship

5.2.1 Income & Food, Clothing, Housing and Sanitation

Youth group members consider reasonable levels of work and income as essential aspects for their wellbeing [x6] and broadly point out their actual situation as unsatisfactory [x6]. Low income is also referred to as a cause of stress and disturbance of daily activities [x2]. In addition, having skills, being creative, and having the knowledge and the strength to implement were mentioned as essentials to generate income [x3]. During the discussions, it was possible to notice heterogeneity and even a certain tension amongst group members as for the kind of organization – a regular company or a co-operative group – and the right balance between levels of specialization and of participation/rotation of jobs which would be more likely to increase productivity and generate a satisfactory income, in value and constancy, to its employees or members [x4]. But in fact, it seems the majority of youth group members tend to see the idea of working as employees for regular companies in Kenya as not very promising as to income and wellbeing in general [x4]. Even so, being part of a youth group was pointed out as an element which increases one's chances of finding an external job [x2].

> "*we need more income, more investments, more business, so that when it comes to accumulation of work we can accumulate a sufficient portion for every member, so he can sustain himself or help his family*" (App. A: 103)

> "*more division of work and specialization in our group would be better… and when we are hired and the company increases, our salary also increases [laughs, people disagreeing]… [another group member:] no, it doesn't happen like that, to be your own boss is good, the salary is going to be this for me at that place, and you are under pressure, you don't have that freedom of working, you don't have that potentiality to work, you are just obeying, given a piece of work to do… if you are your own boss you can see about the flexibility, you can change from this activity to the other process, so you can produce a lot*" (App. A: 103)

Food, clothing, housing and sanitation tend to be the first spontaneously mentioned items when youth group members are asked about what is necessary so people can have a good life [x4] and are likely to be pictured as important elements to assure minimum degrees of normality and steadiness [x3]. The capability of securing and maintaining these items over the time was also referred to as a major issue [x3]. Finally, a broad international social compact for fighting poverty was mentioned by one group as desirable with reference to improving people's wellbeing, though material and psychological aspects of wellbeing are seen by part of group members as non-hierarchical and entangled [x3].

As for material needs, the results from the participatory activities on wellbeing broadly conform to what youth group members said in the exploratory phase. The following table (5.2.1-1) describes these results and also shows that youth group members perceive their

gap concerning fulfilling material needs as intense and that individual youth entrepreneurs share with them the same judgment.

Table 5.2.1-1: Importance and Satisfaction in Nairobi
Fulfilling Material Needs (Food, Housing, Security, Health and Education)

Importance		Gap (*)	Satisfaction	
Youth Group Members	**High** (App. D2: 197)	**Big**	**Low** (App. D2: 197)	Youth Group Members
Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)	**High** (App. B.2.11: 168)	**Big**	**Low** (App. B.2.11: 168)	Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)
Youth group members said they tend to consider food, sheltering, clothing, health and security as highly significant because they need these elements to be able to operate and develop [x3]. *"we cannot lie to ourselves… as much as we are not being washed in with material stuff, it is still a very important aspect, without this you die, food, security, health, because some things you must have"* (App. D: 199) (*) The general criteria adopted to estimate the gaps were: a) if the degree of importance is one level or more below the one of satisfaction (e.g., importance is medium, satisfaction is high) the gap is assumed as null; b) if the degree of importance is equal to the one of satisfaction (e.g., importance is medium, satisfaction is medium) the gap is assumed as small; c) if the degree of importance is one level above the one of satisfaction (e.g., importance is medium, satisfaction is low) the gap is assumed as medium; and finally d) if the degree of importance is two levels above the one of satisfaction (i.e., importance is high, satisfaction is low) the gap is assumed as big.			The few youth groups who expressed to be somewhat satisfied with their material situation [x2] justified it by being able to ensure minimum levels of income through their work activities and by having access to housing and to free basic health assistance and education. Members from most of the youth groups said to be generally unsatisfied because of lack of food security [x3], of sanitation [x3] and of affordable proper houses, due to exclusion from public health and education [x3], and because the police are not effective in poor areas [x3] and often mistake youth for criminals or despise them. *"you don't know if you are going to eat, you eat today, and then tomorrow you don't know if you are going to eat, you are not sure"* (App. D: 199) Finally, group members pointed out that being part of youth groups improves their material wellbeing since they are a source of some income [x3] and sometimes directly provide produces; however, members mention that income in youth groups is generally low and inconstant, and that innovating and trying to access new markets and clients who are better off can lead them to a enhanced material situation.	

5.2.2 Health and Education

Health and education are broadly referred to as vital and as intertwined with life, work, and their environments, and not simply as elements which can be bought in the market [x6]; two youth groups also defined their main aim as 'learn & earn'.

Concerning health, 'body' (physique) and 'mind' (psyche) also appear as inseparable [x3] and an unhealthy work environment was pictured as polluted and stressing, one that disturbs people's thinking and deteriorates their bodies, with fume, dust and noise and marked by pessimistic and destructive interactions amongst people. Co-operative organizations are generally seen by youth group members as environments where pressure is under acceptable limits and relations amongst people have a relatively positive nature whereas regular companies tend to be perceived as the opposite [x6]. Additionally, one youth group expressed the intention of developing for its members a scheme of preventive health support based on adequate nutrition and herbal medicine. Drawing from Hartley Dean's heuristic framework, it seems that youth group members in Nairobi describe themselves as embodied beings through

a mix of the organic and vulnerable discursive repertoires, so remaining in the solidaristic field.

> ❝ *in the [regular] company, when I was there, when I woke up in the morning, the way like we were being treated there, we were being insulted, you are being rushed to do this and that, and then you are confused, in fact you are getting out of the company too tired, dead* ❞ (App. A: 105)

As to education, youth group members referred to self-learning and to having control over the development of your own expertises as desirable factors [x3] and informal education – learning in a way wherein different people in different environments exchange and develop know-how or via seminars and workshops – tends to be seen by them as more advantageous than education in the school due to its practicality and its broader connection with aspects of daily life [x5], though it was pointed out by one youth group member as not systematic enough. Being part of a youth group is generally considered as conducive to the development of self-learning skills and to the acquisition of knowledge in general [x4]. In addition, one group member referred to the process of 'learning together' as capable of strengthening co-operative stances and reducing predatory competition, thus boosting the access to markets. Youth group members are inclined to talk about education in school as somehow disconnected from authentic everyday problems [x3] and as not accessible for everybody [x4]; however, its importance is recognised – especially concerning language proficiency [x3] – and the prospect of having access to it and centring it on a more practical approach, as to both technical and entrepreneurial expertises, is also considered as desirable [x6]. Finally, the lack of language and communication skills, including computer proficiency, was mentioned as a major obstacle to the development of people and groups [x3].

> ❝ *in this group some people have not gone to the school, but because of the environment of the group, they have made a very big step… it is very important and very educative to share ideas with others… and when I meet friends from high school, I see, unlike me, they are in the same level as before* ❞ (App. A: 106)

5.2.3 Possibility to Choose Self-fulfilling and Rewarding Lifestyles

Being self-managed [x4], having the capability and the time for being creative and innovative [x5] and having passion for the work [x4] were pointed out by youth group members as important elements as to individual and collective wellbeing; these elements tend to be described as practicable in youth groups [x6] – one group described its environment as having a 'new vibe' which could be sensed by visitors – and this kind of organization as more likely to engender equal development amongst the members [x6], whereas working for money in a regular company is expected to be frustrating since the work in it is pictured as imposed

and people there considered as under pressure and exhaustion [x5]. Working in a youth group tends to be regarded as preferable even if the salary is smaller than in a regular company [x3].

> ❝ *some of us have worked in companies, but what we are seeing is frustration, you are not going there because you have the passion, you are going there because you want to fit something in life, you do your stupid calculation, after three months doing that activity so I can buy a TV set, I can buy an AC… this is something most of us in our group really focus, being self-employed, and being self-managed, and being self-dependent, because at the end of the day you can work under someone, but are you really happy?* ❞ (App. A: 107)

> ❝ *society represses creativity, the ones who are creative do not have space in the traditional companies* ❞ (App. A: 108)

Focus, commitment, hard work and collectively breaking paradigms and changing thinking and practices – getting away from middlemen and having access to new markets are examples – are also depicted by youth group members as conducive to wellbeing [x4]. Engaging in something which leads to changes that people consider positive was as well pointed out as a factor likely to engender happiness. Youth group members broadly consider the youth group as an environment where they can express themselves and where they have significant freedom [x6], even though they can refer to this freedom as sometimes limited by the collective sovereignty. Youth groups are also described as flexible in terms of different levels/qualities of participation, so that members have room to explore other opportunities in their lives [x5]. In contrast, work relations in regular companies are broadly pointed out as exploitative and stagnating [x5] and at times as a cause of alienated families [x2]. These problems can be explained by youth group members as consequences of an undue emphasis on profit [x2]. In addition, power inequality in the value chain – mostly expressed by the presence of middlemen – is referred to as unfair [x4]. Finally, when asked about the possibility of leaving the youth group to work in a regular company for a considerably higher salary, youth group members produced three kinds of answer: a) a staunch refusal, b) doing it only if the youth group is stagnant and/or if my role in the company would be under my limits and moral, and c) doing it temporarily to save money and so be able to start my own business.

> ❝ *something important to have a good life is hard work, changing mentality, our daily thinking, the kind of activities that we are undergoing, for example we depend on middlemen, so we can just depend on them for a long time, unless we sit down and think about how can we move to another level* ❞ (App. A: 108)

Drawing from the group members' discourse and from Caillé's multidimensional perspective of human action, it appears that youth group members in Nairobi are somewhat able to privilege *aimance* and freedom and thus unleash extra levels of creativity, innovation and wellbeing by means of collective actions harmonized by spontaneity, enthusiasm and passion. Moreover, their liberating expressive practices allude to Paulo Freire's dialogics.

The outcomes from the participatory activities on wellbeing in Nairobi (detailed in the tables 5.2.3-1 and 5.2.3-2) also bring in interesting insights concerning the choice of self-fulfilling and rewarding lifestyles. First, it seems the perception of importance as to this aspect increases when people are less capable of fulfilling it. Second, youth group members

Table 5.2.3-1: Importance and Satisfaction in Nairobi
Deciding How to Work, Being Creative and Expressing Your Culture and Beliefs

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Youth Group Members	**Medium** (App. D2: 197)	-	**High** (App. D2: 197)	Youth Group Members
Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)	**Low** (App. B.2.11: 168)	-	**High** (App. B.2.11: 168)	Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)
As for autonomy in the work, youth group members judge it as moderately important, though the concern about this aspect seems to grow when people lack it [x2]. In addition, three groups pointed out autonomy as an element which puts people in a better position to reach other wellbeing aspects. One youth group mistook the idea of autonomy in the work for the thought of 'unlimited individual power' and gave it a negative sense. Finally, as to expressing one's culture and beliefs, group members seemed inclined to disregard its importance because in their urban context it carries mostly a destructive connotation [x3]. *"expressing your culture is more important in the rural area, not here"* (App. D: 201)			Concerning this aspect, youth group members' answers were three-fold: a) the ones who understood the aspect as autonomy in their youth groups said to be mostly satisfied [x5], b) youth group members who considered the idea of working for regular companies in Kenya judged the situation as intermediary [x2], and c) group members who thought of the broad social problems related to tribalism and foreign cultural/religious impositions in Kenya said to be predominantly unsatisfied [x4]. *"we can decide how to work and being creative, but we cannot express our culture and beliefs… you cannot express your culture everywhere"* (App. D: 200)	

Table 5.2.3-2: Importance and Satisfaction in Nairobi
Developing Yourself through the Work… Learning New Skills and Expanding Your Mind

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Youth Group Members	**Medium** (App. D2: 197)	-	**High** (App. D2: 197)	Youth Group Members
Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)	**High** (App. B.2.11: 168)	**Medium**	**Medium** (App. B.2.11: 168)	Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)
Group members expressed that developing yourself through the work is considerably important because it puts you in a better position to fulfil your material needs [x3], be autonomous [x2], innovate [x2], express yourself [x2], and influence people [x3]. They also tend to consider it as important simply because it makes people grow [x3]. *"if you have it, society will look at you, will now come to you, and respect you, naturally"* (App. D: 202) Finally, one group also mentioned that this aspect tends to have its relative importance reduced when people work in a youth group and have it. *"it is very important, but when you are working in a group and the group works well it is less important because the group ensures you develop yourself, it becomes less important compared to the other aspects"* (App. D: 203)			Youth group members tend to be satisfied with this aspect and directly associate it to the idea of collective entrepreneurship [x5], though they would like to have more access to formal education [x2], especially concerning expertises they could use to expand their markets. *"in our group there is room for developing ourselves… we have in-house trainings… when one member gets external training he reproduces it to the other members… being part of our group is what makes the difference… and if you are alone you cannot get any support"* (App. D: 202) *"we come from different ethnic communities, when I come here, through the work we are doing together, I can learn and share with the others… we learn new skills and new cultures from different members, we expand our minds"* (App. D: 202)	

in Nairobi tend to primarily associate the idea of expressing culture and beliefs to the destructive connotation of tribalism and thus to something which should be avoided in an urban context. However, this idea is also liable to be understood as resisting foreign cultural and religious impositions and hence as desirable. Finally, table 5.2.3-2 reveals that individual youth entrepreneurs judge their gap concerning *'developing yourself through the work… learning new skills and expanding your mind'* as intermediate whereas the youth group members' more collective practices seem to place the latter in a much better position.

5.2.4 Capability to Participate in Society

Youth group members continuously mention the relevance of participating in community activities with reference to wellbeing [x6]. Youth groups tend to be created to deal with the issues of lack of income and idleness, but also to solve broader social problems [x6], which is a sign of a certain blend between work and social life. Due to their collective character, the groups are described as somehow capable of both replacing the government in certain activities and pressuring it concerning others [x3]; though members recognize the importance of economic sustainability [x2] and the groups' limitations as for complex social issues. In addition, group members regularly point out their wish of being seen as a role model and as a source of inspiration for other people in the community [x5] and tend to believe that changing people's state of mind – instituting hope and mutual encouragement – can deeply improve the community [x4]. One group also expressed the importance of an intense and legitimate connection between the organization and its clients so that both can be satisfied.

> "*being in a group helps a lot, we are not seen as an individual but as an organization and the issues you are coming up with are the people's issues… and we want to show other youths or to make them responsible*" (App. A: 110)

> "*because look at us, we were raised like other young men over there but we came up… we were idle… when it comes to poverty, it is just a state of mind, so you can just change that aspect*" (App. A: 111)

Their concern as to instituting hope brings us to the frustration youths normally experience when they discover that their dreams and hopes are not realizable due to their non-conducive milieu – fact which immobilizes people or is even liable to develop into crime or conflict –; in this regard, re-establishing hope or re-enchanting youths turns out to be the restoring of the human condition, as asserted by Paulo Freire:

> It needs to be clear that the absence of hope is not the 'normal' way to be human. It is a distortion. I am not, for example, first of all a being without hope who may or may not later be converted to hope. On the contrary, I am first a being of hope who, for any number of reasons, may thereafter lose

> hope. For this reason, as human beings, one of our struggles should be to diminish the objective reasons for that hopelessness that immobilizes us. (1998: 69-70)

Group members are also inclined to criticize the governments not only for being inefficient and privileging people that are better off to the detriment of those who most need support, but also for at times actively disturbing the development of the most excluded ones [x6]. They point out that people's wellbeing can largely increase if this situation is changed and moderately position the youth group as a mechanism for exerting local governance in this regard [x3]. One youth group member also mentioned that politicians fail to create the conditions to attract foreign investments and this ends up being a cause of unemployment, however, he stated that this idea is something he has been hearing in the news and did not clearly express how convinced he is about this model of job generation.

When youth group members were asked if they would leave the slum if they had the chance, the answers varied from few absolute refusals to the situation wherein individuals would leave, but still find a way to help the community. In the case of groups, the tendency is that the group would remain [x5] unless it was forced to leave due to lack of space or security problems [x2]; moreover, the groups' expansion does not mean leaving the community, but opening branches in other places as a manner of accessing new markets [x3].

Concerning people's interactions with nature and the environment surrounding them, youth group members are likely to emphasise co-dependent and circular qualities [x4], as well as a strong connection between being environmentally friendly and collective wellbeing [x6].

> ❝ *we should be environmentally friendly in whatever we are doing… if we destroy plants, we will lose something because they can help, if we don't have plants around and a strong wind comes we can easily be thrown away, this is very important… cleaning the surrounds is also important… if we produce dust, people just send us away, we should be friendly at every level, you send on them, they also will send on us, so it is something which is circulating, we depend on each other* ❞ (App. A: 112)

One group suggested that organizations pollute because they do not know the means of avoiding it and even expressed the wish of helping them to deal with this issue – its members propose companies could mutually benefit if they recycled each other's waste as raw material for their operations. Finally, youth group members demonstrated to be critical of the situation in which a company emphasises profit to the detriment of the environment [x3] – some of them proposed that severe sanctions should be applied and expressed their predisposition to engage in public campaigns against it.

The participatory activities on wellbeing add some extra specificity to the youth group members' perceptions as for their capability to participate in society. The table 5.2.4-1 shows that since getting involved in traditional politics and pressuring the government is

largely seen by group members in Nairobi as nearly unattainable, they are likely to perceive the whole notion of participating in society as nonessential and their attention is diverted from the importance of taking part in community activities which was emphasized by them during the exploratory phase. Nonetheless, they still credit their youth groups with their satisfaction concerning the latter and this places them in a better position than individual youth entrepreneurs, who appear to be mostly discontent with any form of participation in society.

Table 5.2.4-1: Importance and Satisfaction in Nairobi
Participating in Society (Including Interacting with and Pressuring the Government)

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Youth Group Members	**Low** (App. D2: 197)	-	**Medium** (App. D2: 197)	Youth Group Members
Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)	**Low** (App. B.2.11: 168)	**Small**	**Low** (App. B.2.11: 168)	Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)
Youth group members' comments about this aspect's importance were ambiguous; on the one hand, taking part in traditional politics and pressuring the government is largely seen as nearly unattainable and thus not significant nor worthy of effort [x4], and still liable to engender public violence [x2]. *"the government ignores us, so it is not important"* (App. D: 204) *"instead of pressuring the government, we now look for other things, because even they won't listen to me… and you can get problems when you try to pressure them"* (App. D: 204) On the other hand, participating in society in general tends to be seen by them as moderately important [x3].			Part of the youth group members expressed to be mostly satisfied with their capability to interact with and influence the community and non-governmental organizations [x6] and it seems being part of a youth group helps in this regard [x3], but another part emphasised the idea of interacting with and pressuring the government and said to be mainly unsatisfied [x6]. *"participating in society… we are unsatisfied because of the government… but being part of the group helps a lot"* (App. D: 203)	

5.2.5 Feelings of Competence and Confidence

Youth group members stated that wellbeing is related to a sense of progress and realization [x3] and to a general feeling of being appreciated by other people [x4]. Concerning the former, they emphasize the importance of commitment, organization, innovative thoughts, hard work, determination, and mutual encouragement, as well as of generally being optimist and having a positive thinking [x3] about becoming free from life's restrictions. Regarding the latter, they highlight the wishes that people look at them in a positive manner [x3] and of becoming a role model in the community [x5].

> *"wellbeing is all about being organized, being liberated, being optimistic… this place, this was our dream, because initially we never had an office, so we came up and built the channels, so I think wellbeing is about committing, dreaming, and people liberated"* (App. A: 113)

Their discourse as to feelings of competence and confidence also reminds of Paulo Freire's dialogic conscientization: "the domination implicit in dialogue is that of the world by

the dialoguers; it is conquest of the world for the liberation of humankind" (2006a: 88). Finally, the table 5.2.5-1 adds minor remarks coming from the participatory activities on wellbeing.

Table 5.2.5-1: Importance and Satisfaction in Nairobi
Feeling Competent, Confident and Respected… Having a Positive Thinking

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Youth Group Members	**Low** (App. D2: 197)	-	**High** (App. D2: 197)	Youth Group Members
Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)	**Medium** (App. B.2.11: 168)	-	**High** (App. B.2.11: 168)	Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)
This aspect was considered significant by group members because it pushes people towards bolder achievements [x3] and also for being a sign of harmony in the group. *"feeling respected is important, it is a sign that the rules in the group are respected, for the group to respect people they have to respect the group, to respect each other"* (App. D: 205)			Youth group members tend to state they are satisfied as to this aspect and that their youth groups are the main reason for it [x6], though members who are less committed to the groups may not benefit as much from these feelings and lack of resources can limit what you are able to achieve and thus your sense of competence. Finally, one group member expressed that lack of money can also drop one's general feeling of being respected and regarded.	

5.2.6 Freedom from Humiliation

One youth group member generally defined freedom from humiliation as being amongst social relations characterized by respect to life and to the environment.

> "*it is the way like you carry yourself or the way you relate to people, and how people relate to you, and how you treat each other… so it is all about respecting life itself, you have to respect your environment and the environment will respect you back*" (App. A: 114)

Youth group members in Nairobi affirmed that work relations can be associated with people feeling humiliated and tend to express indignation as to it [x4]. Examples are: being paid low salaries [x2]; working excessive and inconvenient hours – 'being treated like someone who has not a life to live' – [x3]; being forced to work when you have a reason for not doing it; not having autonomy [x3]; being undervalued or not being able to talk to people because you are in a low position [x3]; being insulted [x3]; and feeling owned by another person. They also appear to consider people more vulnerable to be humiliated in regular companies than in youth groups [x4].

> "*companies here in Kenya… you do a lot of work and earn nothing… and you get there in the morning and after one minute [you hear]: you come here, take this, go there!! [in an authoritarian and humiliating tone]… the way like we were being treated, we were being insulted*" (App. A: 114)

When asked about how to organize the work in a way people are free from being humiliated, youth group members generally emphasise work relations balanced upon general equality and characterized by respect and recognition in spite of functions or positions [x6], although some members might question the limits of this idea for supposedly harming outputs.

> *“they think the CEO is the most important person in that office, but maybe it is the security officer down there, so the way we will relate to each other, the way we treat each other, the way we view each other, you know, there is a problem with human beings, we judge each other at first sight”* (App. A: 114)

Concerning freedom from humiliation, the participatory activities on wellbeing spontaneously changed the focus from work relations to general social questions such as discrimination and abuse of power. The table 5.2.6-1 details the group members’ view from this angle and shows that, although both youth group members and individual youth entrepreneurs seem to perceive a small gap between their goals and what they can presently achieve, the former appear to be somewhat shielded by their youth groups and less sensitive to humiliation.

Table 5.2.6-1: Importance and Satisfaction in Nairobi
Freedom from Being Humiliated

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Youth Group Members	**Low** (App. D2: 197)	**Small**	**Low** (App. D2: 197)	Youth Group Members
Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)	**Medium** (App. B.2.11: 168)	**Small**	**Medium** (App. B.2.11: 168)	Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)
Group members generally overlook this aspect’s importance because they tend to believe that, ultimately, the person can ignore others’ attempts to humiliate him or her and can just keep on with regular business [x5]. *“a lot of people try to humiliate you, and you feel like, ok, you humiliate me but at the end of the day I am doing what I like”* (App. D: 207) *“if you are free to express yourself, and expand you mind, learn new skills, it doesn’t matter if people try to humiliate you, since you are now open minded… this is other people’s feeling, doesn’t actually affect what you are doing”* (App. D: 207)			Youth group members’ levels of satisfaction concerning this aspect are inclined to be low and the reasons for it are rather heterogeneous; the few highly satisfied ones credit their youth groups with it [x2]. Causes of humiliation embrace sex, religious and ethnic discrimination, government and police abuse of power, living in a slum [x2], jealousy as for the others’ progress, differences of skills [x3], and work activity [x2]. *“here in the slum the police think we are criminals, they arrest you… when people hear you are from the slum, they despise you, think you are not human, not capable”* (App. D: 206) *“you feel like you are not a person, like us, we carry garbage, people pass by, they come along and maybe start saying we are cockroaches”* (App. D: 206)	

5.2.7 Feeling Socially Connected, Cared For and Significant to Others

The youth group members’ discourse demonstrated their belief in the idea that humans are emotional beings and need to feel connected with each other and function together so they can enjoy wellbeing [x5]. In addition, this would produce the conditions for

people to fulfil their need of expressing themselves. They also pointed out that being socially connected ensures the support and the reassurance people need during difficult moments in life [x5] and that being part of a youth group is likely to lead to this situation [x5]. Moreover, this practice would be self-reinforcing, since when people are helped they would be more inclined to help others too. Furthermore, it would have the potential to foster equality [x2] and engender mutual understanding [x3]. Here their discourse seems to emphasize Caillé's idea of *aimance* and its spontaneous harmonization of the collective action (2004: 160-161).

> ❝ *you cannot just operate in your own, we are all connected, people need others to operate for them to feel wellbeing, it is like a network, like a paragraph, you remove just one letter from it and it won't make sense to you… we the humans we have emotions and we have feelings, we need people to be in our lives for us to feel fully completed, so people need people, the more people the more wellbeing* ❞ (App. A: 115)

> ❝ *co-operating with others, from different environments, different tribes… if you are alone it will be difficult for you to understand others* ❞ (App. A: 115)

In addition, mutual respect [x3] and devotion [x3] concerning the way people relate to each other would also lead to the strengthening of social connections. The manner how someone is being treated – respectfully, fairly and equally –, his or her level of participation, and how others feel he or she is important to the group would define one's sense of belonging to that group [x3]. Trust amongst people was also mentioned as crucial for wellbeing [x3] and youth group members tend to express a sense of concern towards their groups even if they are about to leave regular operations [x4]. Finally, when questioned about what is unfair or misplaced concerning social connections, youth group members mentioned parents not having enough time or not sufficiently dedicating themselves to properly raise their children, as well as the spreading of destructive rumours in their social circles.

> ❝ *the way people feel you are important to that group, the more you have been put into operation, it makes you feel more part of it, you have a sense of belonging… it comes automatically from how people relate to you, how they communicate to you, how you relate to each other, that comes automatically, you don't have to be told, now you belong to here, it just comes* ❞ (App. A: 116)

> ❝ *trust, if you are not trusted people cannot work with you, I think trust is the most important thing for wellbeing* ❞ (App. A: 116)

The following table (5.2.7-1) describes the results from the participatory activities on wellbeing as for *'feeling socially connected, cared for and significant to others'*. Although neither youth group members nor individual youth entrepreneurs expressed discontentment about this aspect, the latter attributed a greater importance to it and this could be a sign of being less sure about their conditions or skills to have the aspect under control.

Table 5.2.7-1: Importance and Satisfaction in Nairobi
Feeling Socially Connected, Cared For and Significant to Others

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Youth Group Members	**Low** (App. D2: 197)	-	**High** (App. D2: 197)	Youth Group Members
Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)	**Medium** (App. B.2.11: 168)	-	**High** (App. B.2.11: 168)	Individual Youth Entrepreneurs (comparative reference)
Youth group members superficially mentioned that this aspect's absence does not block people from operating and that becoming socially connected is predominantly under one's control. *"it is very important, but we considered as not that important because it depends on you, it is up to you to control that"* (App. D: 208)			Youth group members who expressed to be satisfied with this aspect broadly associated it with being part of a youth group [x5], … *"we give each other support and care, if he gets arrested he will definitely call the group first, before maybe call his family… here we feel we are one team, as a family, we care for each other"* (App. D: 207) … though one group member expressed discontentment about the fact that his group does not extend its concern so as to envelop the members' families. Finally, one youth group expressed to be highly unsatisfied because some of its clients undervalue and mistreat the group members.	

5.2.8 Findings from the Quantitative Phase

This subsection presents the main findings from the quantitative phase as to how youths view the association between aspects of wellbeing and manners of structuring production and work relations. The first remarkable fact emerging from this phase was a general attractiveness amongst all categories of respondents for the idea of co-operative work relations: 79.1% of youths in high school, 75.9% of youth group members, and 47.9% of individual youth entrepreneurs answered that they would prefer to work in a co-operative organization (App. B: 155, 159). One youth group member explained it as:

> *"most of the guys in our group would like to work in a kind of co-operative organization, you work to achieve certain goals, you share kind of the same profit, each member, and everybody tends to be part, to own that kind of organization, you work together, you reach together… option C [to start your own small company] is kind of individual, you move and you succeed alone, but you look at option B [to be part of a co-operative organization] and it is kind of communion, we move one step at the time, if you fall we all fall, and option A is kind of a traditional company… what I know is that it is inherited, if your father is the director you are living knowing that one day you will assume, probably inherit, and most of us guys want to work in a team where you share ideas, you exchange and you work towards attaining certain goals"* (App. B: 175)

Moreover, another group member who initially expressed the tendency to prefer working as an individual entrepreneur demonstrated to be surprised and influenced by knowing that most of the group members said to prefer a co-operative organization:

> *"I expected people to choose more the C… I never expected question 8 [in which kind of company would you prefer to work?] to come up with B, because I thought*

> *most of the people would prefer to work as an individual… I personally ticked option C… now I see people want to work together and to one direction, maybe in terms of development, I think it is saying that youths have realized that working fully towards one direction can help them a lot… you alone is very hard, but when you are many and you co-operate it is much easier… I think it is a wake-up call to the group… it is good to know that people think if we get together we go far* ” (App. B: 175)

Youths also strongly considered that women are treated more equally and fairly in co-operative organizations than in regular companies (95.3% of all respondents) and did not express scepticism about the former's capability to be efficient: 82.9% of them considered that things are more organized in co-operatives than in regular companies.

When aspects of wellbeing are ranked through types of work relations (table 5.2.8-1), it is possible to notice that all classes of youth strongly suppose that being part of a co-operative organization (option B) places them in a good position as for *'feeling socially connected, cared for and significant to others'* and *'participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)'*. The same happens concerning *'developing yourself through the work… learning new skills and expanding your mind'*, though female individual youth entrepreneurs tend to see this link as weaker.

Table 5.2.8-1: Rankings of Wellbeing Aspects According to Types of Work Relations
All Categories of Youth in Nairobi

	All Youths		Youths in High School				Youth Group Members				Individual Youth Entrepreneurs			
	Wellbeing Aspects	(%)*	Wellbeing Aspects	All (%)*	Female (%)*	Male (%)*	Wellbeing Aspects	All (%)*	Female (%)*	Male (%)*	Wellbeing Aspects	All (%)*	Female (%)*	Male (%)*
Option B To be part of a co-operative organization	A7	80.8	A7	80.4	76.4	85.3	A7	84.8	87.9	83.8	A7	75.8	71.1	80.4
	A4	78.1	A4	78.6	77.8	79.4	A4	80.4	76.5	81.7	A4	73.7	60.5	82.1
	A3	69.3	A3	70.7	75.6	65.2	A3	76.8	72.7	78.1	A3	56.3	43.6	66.1
	A1	61.4	A1	67.7	75.3	57.4	A1	65.0	64.7	65.0	A1	45.8	41.0	50.0
	A5	56.3	A5	59.7	67.8	48.5	A2	64.7	78.8	60.2	A5	42.7	38.5	46.4
	A2	49.7	A2	44.9	49.4	39.7	A5	61.9	55.9	63.8	A6	41.5	52.6	34.5
	A6	42.5	A6	36.9	40.4	32.8	A6	49.6	48.5	50.0	A2	36.5	30.8	41.1
Option C To start your own small company (individually)	A2	45.1	A2	48.1	41.6	57.4	A2	30.9	18.2	35.0	A2	60.4	64.1	57.1
	A5	35.8	A5	35.2	27.8	45.6	A6	30.4	33.3	29.4	A1	49.0	56.4	44.6
	A1	34.0	A1	31.0	23.6	41.2	A5	28.1	26.5	28.6	A5	47.9	56.4	41.1
	A6	29.3	A6	21.7	11.2	35.8	A1	27.0	23.5	28.2	A6	40.4	34.2	43.6
	A3	22.8	A3	21.0	16.7	25.8	A3	16.7	9.1	19.0	A3	34.4	46.2	26.8
	A7	14.6	A7	15.2	18.0	11.8	A7	10.1	3.0	12.4	A7	20.0	21.1	19.6
	A4	12.5	A4	12.6	14.4	10.3	A4	9.4	2.9	11.5	A4	16.8	23.7	12.5
Option A To work in a regular company	A6	28.2	A6	41.4	48.3	31.3	A6	20.0	18.2	20.6	A6	18.1	13.2	21.8
	A4	9.4	A4	8.8	7.8	10.3	A4	10.1	20.6	6.7	A4	9.5	15.8	5.4
	A3	7.9	A3	8.3	7.8	9.1	A5	10.1	17.6	7.6	A3	9.4	10.3	7.1
	A5	7.9	A2	7.0	9.0	2.9	A1	8.0	11.8	6.8	A5	9.4	5.1	12.5
	A2	5.1	A5	5.0	4.4	5.9	A3	6.5	18.2	2.9	A1	5.2	2.6	5.4
	A1	4.6	A7	4.4	5.6	2.9	A7	5.1	9.1	3.8	A7	4.2	7.9	0.0
	A7	4.6	A1	1.3	1.1	1.5	A2	4.4	3.0	4.9	A2	3.1	5.1	1.8

* : Percentage of respondents who said the respective option is the best to fulfil the corresponding aspect of wellbeing

A1: fulfilling material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)
A2: deciding how to work, being creative and expressing your culture and beliefs
A3: developing yourself through the work… learning new skills and expanding your mind
A4: participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)
A5: feeling competent, confident and respected… having a positive thinking
A6: freedom from being humiliated
A7: feeling socially connected, cared for and significant to others

Note: this table is complemented (mainly concerning statistical significance) by the data in the section B.2

Although less intense, the same kind of general association appears between individually starting one's own small company (option C) and *'deciding how to work, being creative and expressing your culture and beliefs'*, however, this link is seen as yet feebler by youth group members and women (except for female individual entrepreneurs) who still tend to consider that option B makes them more capable of fulfilling their needs as to this aspect.

In addition, there is a modest propensity amongst youths in Nairobi to relate working in a regular company (option A) to *'freedom from being humiliated'*. Nonetheless, this tendency is more expressive amongst youths in high school (particularly girls) and becomes very feeble amidst youths involved in collective or individual entrepreneurial practices, especially female individual entrepreneurs (who surprisingly tend to consider option B as the best concerning this aspect).

Finally, regarding the aspects *'fulfilling material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)'* and *'feeling competent, confident and respected… having a positive thinking'*, youths in high school (especially girls) and youth group members tend to consider option B as the best (around 65%) but still moderately esteem option C (roughly 30%) whereas individual youth entrepreneurs see option C as slightly better that option B (about 50% vs. around 45% respectively).

In relation to sex, amongst youths in high school girls presented a general higher regard for option B than men. On the other hand, amidst individual youth entrepreneurs women appear to have an even stronger inclination for option C than men have. General tendencies were not identified as to differences of age and position in the group.

In general terms, these figures seem to support two previously mentioned ideas. First, that people's socioeconomic inclinations depend on their most frequent practices, which are induced by the social arrangement where the person grows up and lives (Singer 2005: 16). Second, it reinforces the idea that, in the given context, women – who earlier in high school express tendencies to esteem equality and co-operation – normally experience discrimination and exclusion from fairly collaborative socioeconomic practices and this turns out to hinder their general co-operative inclinations and hopes. In fact, we can suppose this same phenomenon is liable to influence any social or cultural group which is vulnerable to discrimination and exclusion. On the other hand, evidence presented all over this chapter also suggests that marginalised youths are attracted to recognize their common condition of exclusion and social disadvantage and to associate themselves and take the bet of trust in solidarity as a means of possibly reaching fairness and emancipation, re-establishing the hope which was once lost, and improving their individual and collective wellbeing. This brings us to the importance of extending inclusiveness when furthering association, co-operation and solidarity, as emancipatory and redemptive elements to dynamize and humanize people's actions. It carries within it the seeds to redeem both oppressors and oppressed from self-

destructive rational and behavioural patterns and to set people free from the domination of men by men.

5.2.9 Concluding Remarks

The most noticeable outcome from the fieldwork activities on wellbeing in Nairobi is that youth group members are as unsatisfied as individual youth entrepreneurs concerning material needs and that this aspect appears as the biggest wellbeing gap to both categories. On the other hand, youth group members seem to be in a better position considering almost all other aspects of wellbeing – especially *'developing yourself through the work… learning new skills and expanding your mind'* and '*participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)'* – and conscious of it, as demonstrated by their discourse and by the table 5.2.8-1. Even concerning *'deciding how to work, being creative and expressing your culture and beliefs'* – an aspect easily associable with individual entrepreneurship as also shown by the table 5.2.8-1 –, members describe their youth groups as environments highly characterized by receptivity and individual flexibility and thus surpass the widespread reductionisms of 'individual freedom' vs. 'collective subjection' and 'free market economy' vs. 'constrained planned economy'.

Moreover, the outcomes from the participatory activities on networks of production (exposed in the subsection 5.1.9) demonstrate that youth group members eagerly perceived the furthering of association, co-operation and solidarity into value chains as an effective and self-reliant alternative to enhance know-how and technology, eliminate middlemen and other forms of exploitation, boost access to markets, reduce costs, and consequently to fulfil their major wellbeing gap (*'fulfilling material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)'*); and, once again escaping dichotomies, nothing prevents grassroots individual entrepreneurs from also consciously betting in solidarity and joining or forming networks of production, and thus from possibly enjoying the benefits of dialogic association, spontaneity and additional creative enthusiasm in various levels while trust and reciprocity are built [59].

5.3 Supplementary Stage in Dar es Salaam

Youth groups in Dar es Salaam were established in this research mostly as a control group for the ones in Nairobi. However, to be able to qualify and contextualize the finding in

[59] Actually, drawing from Marcel Mauss and his classic book *The Gift* and from Granovetter and Swedberg's new economic sociology, Alain Caillé proposes that the notion of 'network' corresponds itself to a ensemble of people who sustain personal relations based on 'friendship or camaraderie' which allow them to maintain and to expect trust and fidelity (2004: 157).

Nairobi, it was essential that groups in Dar es Salaam corresponded to a similar phenomenon, i.e. were comparable to those in Nairobi. For this reason, activities with youth groups in Dar es Salaam began with short interviews to check their constitutive foundations as to purposes of association, equality, participation, knowledge distribution, and attainment of collective needs. Youth group members in Dar es Salaam said to associate themselves for reasons similar to those of their counterparts in Nairobi: to add up skills, knowledge, experiences, resources, and ideas [x6]; to learn from each other [x6]; to be able to access loans and grants [x5]; to be better positioned to access markets [x3]; and because it employs more people and battles idleness and crime [x2]. They also democratically elect the management teams [x7] – who do not receive extra financial compensation [x7] – and vital decisions are collectively taken in regular general meetings open for all members [x6]. Assets are also in general collectively owned [x6] and the distribution of revenue appears to follow the same logic as in Nairobi [x3]. Participation, again like in Nairobi, tends to be seen not only as a right, but also as a duty. Information concerning the youth group was also described as totally open and accessible to every member [x6]. Concerns about the community are as well commonly present amongst youth group members in Dar es Salaam [x4], and, as in Nairobi, group members demonstrated to differentiate good competition from bad competition – the latter associated with lack of co-operation and collapse of the non-winners – [x5]. As to the core sequence of this research block, the following tables [60] (5.3-1 to 5.3-7) describe the results from the participatory activities on wellbeing in Dar es Salaam.

Table 5.3-1: Importance and Satisfaction in Dar es Salaam
Fulfilling Material Needs (Food, Housing, Security, Health and Education)

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Y.G. Members in Nairobi	**High** (App. D2: 197)	**Big**	**Low** (App. D2: 197)	Y.G. Members in Nairobi
Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)	**High** (App. D3: 209)	**Medium**	**Medium** (App. D3: 209)	Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)
Youth group members in Dar es Salaam placed less emphasis on the importance of fulfilling material needs than their counterparts in Nairobi and expressed the tendency to see this aspect mostly as a consequence of professional development [x4] and of having working tools and autonomy in the work [x3]. *"they said if they can be satisfied with developing through the work, they can be able to satisfy the first one [fulfilling material needs]… if they have the working tools, the knowledge"* (App. D: 211) *"material needs… why it is not important? [laughs]… they said if you can decide how to work and develop yourself through the work you can fulfil this one"* (App. D: 211)			Members from most of the youth groups in Dar es Salaam also said to be generally unsatisfied with their material situation and linked it specifically with lack of food security [x4], exclusion from appropriate public health and education [x6], and high housing rent [x2]. However, in contrast to Nairobi, they did not mention dissatisfaction concerning poor sanitation, lack of security and police abuse. Being part of youth groups and diversification of activities were pointed out as factors which improve their material wellbeing. They also mentioned that income in youth groups is still generally low [x6], but attributed it mainly to the lack of working tools and professional training. Finally, one group mentioned that accessing international markets can enhance their material situation.	

[60] Quotes in the tables correspond to a translator summarizing what youths originally spoke in Swahili.

Table 5.3-2: Importance and Satisfaction in Dar es Salaam
Deciding How to Work, Being Creative and Expressing Your Culture and Beliefs

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Y.G. Members in Nairobi	**Medium** (App. D2: 197)	-	**High** (App. D2: 197)	Y.G. Members in Nairobi
Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)	**Medium** (App. D3: 209)	-	**High** (App. D3: 209)	Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)
As youth group members in Dar es Salaam tend to consider they have autonomy in the work and can express their culture and beliefs, their concern about these factors seems to be reduced. On the other hand, they are inclined to value their creativity and the means of developing and applying it. *"they said that if you have working tools, it means that you can be creative… and they don't have working tools"* (App. D: 213)			Concerning this aspect, youth group members in Dar es Salaam said to be essentially satisfied with expressing their culture and beliefs [x3] – problems related to tribalism were not mentioned – and with their autonomy in the work [x3], but pointed out that their capability of being creative is reduced due to the lack of education and professional training [x4], working tools [x3] and an appropriate working space [x3]. They mentioned they need support to develop their careers and partially attributed this role to the government [x2].	

Table 5.3-3: Importance and Satisfaction in Dar es Salaam
Developing Yourself through the Work… Learning New Skills and Expanding Your Mind

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Y.G. Members in Nairobi	**Medium** (App. D2: 197)	-	**High** (App. D2: 197)	Y.G. Members in Nairobi
Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)	**High** (App. D3: 209)	**Small**	**High** (App. D3: 209)	Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)
Group members in Dar es Salaam similarly expressed that this aspect is considerably important because it provides the basis for fulfilling material needs [x4], being autonomous [x2], and co-operating with other people or organizations [x3], but that it also depends on one's autonomy in the work and on one's capability of being creative.			As in Nairobi, youth group members in Dar es Salaam tend to be relatively satisfied with this aspect and directly associate it with the idea of collective entrepreneurship [x4], though they place additional emphasis on their necessity of professional training [x5] and of means of production – such as working tools [x3] and an appropriate physical space – and judge they need help with it, specially from the government.	

The tables 5.3-1, 5.3-2 and 5.3-3 reveal that youth group member in Dar es Salaam tend to highly emphasize the aspect *'developing yourself through the work… learning new skills and expanding your mind'* and the beneficial effects it has over other wellbeing aspects.

Table 5.3-4: Importance and Satisfaction in Dar es Salaam
Participating in Society (Including Interacting with and Pressuring the Government)

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Y.G. Members in Nairobi	**Low** (App. D2: 197)	-	**Medium** (App. D2: 197)	Y.G. Members in Nairobi
Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)	**Low** (App. D3: 209)	**Small**	**Low** (App. D3: 209)	Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)
As in Nairobi, this aspect's importance is likely to be disregarded since youth group members generally believe their voices are not heard and that waiting for support from the government is not practical [x4]. *"they form their groups, they are able to do their things in co-operation, that is why they are able to achieve their goals"* (App. D: 216)			Concerning this aspect, group members in Dar es Salaam fully centred their complains upon lack of voice and of support – mostly regarding training and access to means of production – from the government [x7]. They tend to see the local governments as the channel by which their voices should be heard and the national government as responsible for coordinating the implementation of policies.	

Table 5.3-5: Importance and Satisfaction in Dar es Salaam
Feeling Competent, Confident and Respected… Having a Positive Thinking

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Y.G. Members in Nairobi	Low (App. D2: 197)	-	High (App. D2: 197)	Y.G. Members in Nairobi
Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)	Low (App. D3: 209)	-	High (App. D3: 209)	Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)
As in Nairobi, this aspect was generally mentioned as important since it is seen as a necessary condition for accomplishing, though group members in Dar es Salaam tend to emphasize that this aspect is less important than others because they consider it as a direct consequence of professional training and creativity [x3].			As for this aspect, group members in Dar es Salaam also judged to be in a relatively good position since they respect each other and their youth groups are respected by society in general [x4] and because they have persistence to achieve their goals [x2]. However, they expressed that lack of income [x2], of know-how, and of regard by the government [x2] may hinder their confidence.	

Table 5.3-6: Importance and Satisfaction in Dar es Salaam
Freedom from Being Humiliated

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Y.G. Members in Nairobi	Low (App. D2: 197)	Small	Low (App. D2: 197)	Y.G. Members in Nairobi
Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)	Low (App. D3: 209)	-	Medium (App. D3: 209)	Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)
Group members in Dar es Salaam are likely to see this aspect essentially as a consequence of being esteemed and supported by the government and thus not especially relevant by itself [x3]. *"they expect the government to help them because they have very little capital… they need at least the starting point"* (App. D: 219)			Concerning freedom from being humiliated, unlike their counterparts in Nairobi, youth group members in Dar es Salaam demonstrated to understand this aspect – whether they are satisfied or not – as extremely related to the manner they are regarded by the government [x5], though the few satisfied ones also credit their youth groups with it [x3]. Finally, one group mentioned that older members sometimes mistreat the youngest ones.	

Table 5.3-7: Importance and Satisfaction in Dar es Salaam
Feeling Socially Connected, Cared For and Significant to Others

Importance		Gap	Satisfaction	
Y.G. Members in Nairobi	Low (App. D2: 197)	-	High (App. D2: 197)	Y.G. Members in Nairobi
Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)	Low (App. D3: 209)	-	High (App. D3: 209)	Y.G. Members in Dar es Salaam (comparative reference)
Group members in Dar es Salaam were likely to see this aspect as a consequence of having the three first ones (fulfilling material needs; deciding how to work…; and developing yourself through the work…) [x4] and of being valued and supported by the government [x3]. *"if you have the three first ones, this one will be easy to attain"* (App. D: 220)			Youth group members in Dar es Salaam are also inclined to associate this aspect with being part of a well-functioning youth group [x3], though, as in the preceding aspect (freedom from being humiliated), they particularly emphasized their relations with the government [x3] and justified if by pointing out the importance that governments have in providing expertise and care for citizens and in helping to organize their collective action.	

In addition, the six last presented tables show that another salient difference from perceptions in Nairobi is that youth group members in Dar es Salaam extensively highlight the role that the government should have in providing or facilitating the access to know-how and means of production for their citizens and in helping them to organize their productive

collective action, and demonstrate to be very much indignant about the fact that this is not happening.

> ❝ *local politicians promise to help them during election time, but at the end of the day they do nothing, they say what they are going to receive from them is just 'the work from the mouth', but nothing in practice… they said they don't want money from the government, but what they need, they want training, and working tools, they gave as example YITA, they want the government to do what YITA is doing, to support them in issues about working tools, issues about skills, how to organize their business, their activities* ❞ [61] (App. D: 215)

Concerning the participatory activities on networks of production, youth group members in Dar es Salaam also judged themselves insufficiently advanced in terms of commanding productive assets and of awareness, strategies and commitment as to working together and its benefits; however, unlike group members in Nairobi, they intensely demonstrated the impression that the major advantage of people in the Brazilian solidarity economy movement is the support they receive from the government as to the fosterage of co-operative work relations and of experience exchanges amongst people and co-operatives.

> ❝ *he said the guys in the movie [video about the network-based solidarity economy practices happening in Brazil] have high support, the issues of support from the governments or other organizations… they are saying that when the government spreads the idea of co-operation it is like a support… he is saying that the support is that, the way like you collect this movie, it means you take a certain portion from this group, another from this group, this is one of the supports, that is why they are here, so they are working this movie, from seeing the guys in Brazil, so they can get to know the manner how the guys are doing, this is a very important support… he said the guys in the movie are not benefiting directly, but it encourages us to work hard and form these economic units, this is the benefit that the guys in the movie are receiving, from the guys outside the country watching what they are doing they can have new partners* ❞ [61] (App. C: 191)

Finally, regarding the quantitative survey, the answers from the first part of the questionnaire – on how youth group members judge their groups' organization and how they would like it to be – essentially appear to produce the same patterns as in Nairobi (within the limits of statistic significance); however, a common tendency for differences of amplitude was identified: youth groups in Dar es Salaam generally tended to consider their youth groups as less collectivist and expressed higher desires of change towards collectivist elements (App. B: 141). The same phenomenon occurred as to the answers from the second part of the questionnaire – about the group members' view as for the associations between aspects of wellbeing and manners of structuring production and work relations – which also seem to reproduce the patterns of Nairobi, but revealed that the supremacy of the general association between being part of a co-operative organization and aspects of wellbeing was less ample in

[61] This quote corresponds to a translator summarizing what youths originally spoke in Swahili.

Dar es Salaam to the benefit of the link of the latter with individually starting your own small company, as shown by the following table (5.3-8):

Table 5.3-8: Rankings of Wellbeing Aspects According to Types of Work Relations Youth Group Members in Nairobi and in Dar es Salaam

Y.G. Members Nairobi		Y.G. Members Dar es Salaam		Y.G. Members Nairobi		Y.G. Members Dar es Salaam		Y.G. Members Nairobi		Y.G. Members Dar es Salaam	
Wellbeing Aspects	(%)*	Wellbeing Aspects	(%)*	Wellbeing Aspects	(%)*	Wellbeing Aspects	(%)*	Wellbeing Aspects	(%)*	Wellbeing Aspects	(%)*
Option B To be part of a co-operative organization				**Option C** To start your own small company (individually)				**Option A** To work in a regular company			
A7	84.8	**A7**	61.2	**A2**	30.9	**A6**	52.2	**A6**	20.0	**A4**	14.0
A4	80.4	**A4**	60.0	**A6**	30.4	**A2**	51.1	**A4**	10.1	**A1**	12.2
A3	76.8	**A3**	56.0	**A5**	28.1	**A5**	48.0	**A5**	10.1	**A7**	12.2
A1	65.0	**A1**	46.9	**A1**	27.0	**A1**	40.8	**A1**	8.0	**A3**	12.0
A2	64.7	**A5**	44.0	**A3**	16.7	**A3**	32.0	**A3**	6.5	**A6**	8.7
A5	61.9	**A2**	40.4	**A7**	10.1	**A7**	26.5	**A7**	5.1	**A2**	8.5
A6	49.6	**A6**	39.1	**A4**	9.4	**A4**	26.0	**A2**	4.4	**A5**	8.0

* : Percentage of respondents who said the respective option is the best to fulfil the corresponding aspect of wellbeing

A1: fulfilling material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)
A2: deciding how to work, being creative and expressing your culture and beliefs
A3: developing yourself through the work… learning new skills and expanding your mind
A4: participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)
A5: feeling competent, confident and respected… having a positive thinking
A6: freedom from being humiliated
A7: feeling socially connected, cared for and significant to others

Note: this table is complemented (mainly concerning statistical significance) by the data in the section B.2

The first observation which emerges out of these multi-method findings is that the data gathered in Dar es Salaam broadly confirm and reinforce most of what was observed in Nairobi. Secondly, the main divergence turns out to be the fact that, whereas in Nairobi group members seem to have lost most of their hope of receiving emancipatory assistance from the government and other aid institutions, youth group members in Dar es Salaam appear to be more confident in their self-reliant capabilities and consistently express that having access to technical and (collective) organizational expertise and to (collective) means of production – accesses which in their view should be both facilitated and institutionalized by the government – is all they need to flourish through their work and reach higher levels of wellbeing. As to this point, it is important to highlight what appears to be another disparity between youth groups in both cities: one of my main impressions out of the interactions with the youths in the slums of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam was that in the former they are more induced or compelled to deal with foreign-oriented organizations, and that, as suggested by Hearn (2008), Wallace (2004), and Manji and O'Coill (2002), this at present tends to hinder their hope of emancipation and to perpetuate immobilization, dependence and domination [62].

[62] A notable example which supports this impression took place during the quantitative phase in Nairobi, when, in the cases where the youth group leaders were asked to take the questionnaires to their groups and apply them to members, clusters of forms clearly or apparently filled out by the same person often returned amongst the samples (which were consequently excluded from the analyses). The

> *“we need to rely on external help… it is good for everybody, the government and the donors encourage the dependence”*
>
> (Youth Group Member in Nairobi)

> *“I went to an NGO workshop, at the end of the workshop they are giving you something, food, transport and everything, even if you never talk, you never answer anything, you are there for 30 minutes… if I work for a company, I work for 8 hours and at the end of the day they are giving me Ksh 150 (about U$ 1.80) for 8 hours, so I just thought these NGOs, they don’t know what to do with their money”*
>
> (Youth Group Member in Nairobi)

> *“before colonialism, it was socialism, we shared everything… selfishness was like a taboo, you can’t eat alone, we should work together, like brothers, there was food for all, nobody got hungry, but with this set of plans, how they are setting up things, setting up the government, whatever, oneself goes hungry beside you… a kind of an European style”*
>
> (Youth Group Member in Nairobi)

This impression is also a hypothesis liable to help explain why group members in Nairobi generally pointed out their groups as more collectivist in the quantitative survey, since higher levels of dependence might make them more vulnerable to social desirability bias – assuming that collectivist elements are sensed by these youths as socially desirable factors. Finally, another major impression was that, in spite of all apparently negative consequences of this presumed higher influence of foreign-oriented organizations on marginalised urban youths in Nairobi, youth group members in this city were also more influenced by Christian solidary values through some of them (the most church-based organizations), what could have indeed made their co-operative practices more deeply rooted in the notions of equality and organic solidarity (cf. Durkheim 1893), whereas youths in Dar es Salaam might have been more subjected to reminiscences of socialism-based instrumentalist co-operation. This second hypothesis could also explain why group members in Dar es Salaam gave less emphasis to the associations between being part of a co-operative organization and aspects of wellbeing in the second part of the quantitative survey, which suggests that co-operation tends to be seen as more effective in terms of generating wellbeing when it is further grounded in equality and solidarity – proposition very much aligned with Caillé’s idea of *aimance* as a drive to advance the harmonization of the collective action.

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reasons for that were later informally discussed with some group members and, in general, they appeared surprised that I cared about the fake forms. Moreover, one youth group member clearly expressed that most of the youth groups somewhat play the ‘NGOs’ game’ and suggested certain levels of complicity between the employees or researchers associated with these NGOs and local people in order to artificially fulfil the foreign aid industry’s conditionalities and expectations.

6. Final Considerations

Based on the evidence that the general strategy of liberalization – and in particular neo-liberal entrepreneurship – did not prove to be effective at reducing poverty in sub-Saharan Africa throughout the past three decades, this thesis ventured to re-examine the concept of entrepreneurship through the understanding of the perceptions of marginalized urban youth entrepreneurs in East Africa about a preliminary ideal-type model of 'grassroots collective entrepreneurship' and its potential to engender common wellbeing. First, it is important to notice that this study is not an evaluative comparison between individual and collective forms of entrepreneurship and that the methodology upon it was based was not designed to neutrally and positivistically judge which alternative is better – which could be done only via particular moralities –, but to envisage a potential emancipatory future hand-in-hand with a significant generation of youths who, given the present state of affairs, appear to have little chance in their lifetime to link themselves into the global economy in a situation other than semi-slavery. In this endeavour, the idea of neo-liberal entrepreneurship – in its small- and large-scale forms – was used simply as an opposite category to conjointly envisage the notion of grassroots collective entrepreneurship. As a result, this research's data collection instruments might have given the impression of romanticizing the latter. However, idealizing this notion was part of the strategy to make distinctions perceptible during intensive and extensive interactions with youth entrepreneurs, which strongly questioned dichotomies and deeply explored potentials and barriers in the context of informal settlements in urban East Africa; in effect, these activities' findings reinforce that individual or collective modes of entrepreneurship are seldom empirically isolated in their ideal forms.

Indeed, this last point brings us to the apparent fact that mainstream international development institutions and agents (including global and local NGOs) are likely to disregard that the North's economy itself is embedded in social and cultural relations (cf. Polanyi 1944; cf. Granovetter 1985) and organizations such as IMF, the World Bank and UNDP are often predisposed to advance pure notions of fiercely competitive private entrepreneurship and global trade as universal solutions to eradicate poverty in developing countries. Moreover, they frequently fail to notice that the most successful contemporary companies in their own countries are precisely those which are capable of internally and externally advancing spontaneity, enthusiasm and creativity through co-operation and fidelity (i.e., a sort of *aimance*) [63]. Furthermore, they also tend to neglect that in the last decades the Global North

[63] In fact, prominent business consultants in some of these countries often charge astronomical amounts for innovation techniques based on co-operative principles which are easily identifiable amongst the youth groups who participated in this research and especially in the practices of the Brazilian solidarity economy movement (cf. Jonash & Sommerlatte *The Innovation Premium*); however, these techniques

has experienced a general and progressive process that values subjectivity in order to restore human hope and vitality, which constitutes the core of all sorts of 'post-' movements and more recent social responsibility initiatives. All this resonates with Claude Lévi-Strauss' mention that societies are actually different from how they see and describe themselves – normally through their own myths or stereotypes (e.g., egotistic human nature, rationality, equal chances, plural civil society, good governance, democracy and freedom, universal human rights, etc.). Finally, their socioculturally biased essentialism and their disregard for 'non-selected' social and cultural elements become merged with the unfounded idea that developing countries should necessarily be disciplined to exert an intensive mechanistic rationality (i.e., pass through foreign-oriented, labour-intensive industrialization) before being capable of exercising human autonomy and creativity rooted in fellowship (i.e., developing a network-based information society) – subliminal hint of modernization theory.

This scenario as such suggests a certain inadequacy of the international development practitioners' typical discourse and actions in respect to moulding appropriate formal and informal socioeconomic institutional arrangements in sub-Saharan Africa. But when their essentially individualistic view of the social order is combined with the foreign aid industry's complicities and conditionalities previously discussed in the chapter 3, and this combination is contrasted with the broad context of exclusion and with the discourse and impressions of the youths who participated in this investigation, what was supposed inadequacy develops into evidence of semi-intentional unsuitability (at least in East Africa). A striking example is the fact that the figure of the middleman – expressively and recurrently pointed out by the youths as one of the most unfair and exploitative elements in their reality – is in essence very similar to the neo-liberal notion of the entrepreneur as a middle element between workers and the people's consumption who requires a Hobbesian authority to bring maximum collective efficiency to fruition. Also worrisome are current trends or technical recipes of development which universally 'push' microcredit disregarding genuine possibilities of business expansion or cultivate the 'sacredness' of business formality, and eventually not only conceal discrimination, social barriers, hopelessness and dependence, but also risk (or even involuntarily intend) to nurture these problems.

In fact, the youth group members' perceptions and practices exposed in the previous chapter demonstrated to be significantly and consistently rooted in equality and inclusive participation – though unfortunately not much extended to women – and considerably driven by collective motives and interest for the other. They confirmed also that, in an environment

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restrain their traces of loyal co-operation amongst strategic partners within certain boundaries of the value chains and normally have as main purposes to lock in customers and to lock out competitors. This example once again reinforces that solidarity may lead to perverse effects – i.e., the innovative solidary association of the strongest ones in order to dominate and subjugate the most weak – when not somehow and somewhat aiming to expand towards universal inclusiveness.

of socioeconomic exclusion in which economy and life appear as deeply intertwined, association, co-operation and solidarity turn into an attractive empowering and emancipatory option to enhance income and collective wellbeing. Moreover, the research's quantitative surveys confirmed that youths in high school and individual youth entrepreneurs in this same context tend also to be attracted to the idea of co-operative and solidary work relations and to associate it with wellbeing. This opens space to think that, in non-pure-liberal perspectives, everybody can be capable of somehow and somewhat becoming an entrepreneur.

In addition, drawing on Hartley Dean's heuristic framework (exposed in the section 2.2), these youths' discourse tends to be mostly oriented by "a collectivist view of the social order in which the priority is to sustain co-operative solidarity" (2003: 3) and predominantly founded on human attachments, self-actualisation and relatedness. Nonetheless, youth group members describe their practices as not unreasonably restricted by collectivism and seem able to escape conformist acquiescence, though somehow incapable of sharing amongst them in a fully inclusive and fairly dissimilarity-sensitive manner which pleases all. Finally, as to quality of life, my impression was that the identities of marginalized youth entrepreneurs in urban East Africa are slightly influenced by local traditions, but increasingly moulded by their social conditions and their interactions with foreign-oriented actors (mostly NGOs) – either to incorporate imposed categories or to reject them and build their own hybrids or opposites [64]. In this regard, introducing alternative interpretations of entrepreneurship (e.g., grassroots collective entrepreneurship, entrepreneur of the bet of trust in the others, etc.) appears to be a good initial idea when thinking of building possibly adequate socioeconomic institutions in the region; and a big step would be made if foreign or local co-opted organizations heighten self-reflexivity, acknowledge their own myths, stereotypes and complicities, and stop blocking alternative initiatives.

However, given the actual background of ideologies and conditionalities in which the international development and foreign aid industries are embedded and acknowledging that existing institutions have 'inertia', their current bodies and actors have little (though existent) space to introduce new references of entrepreneurship and welfare; and the same situation is increasingly forced upon local governments in sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, incorporating hitherto unacknowledged social initiatives into new formal institutional sections grows to be an unrivalled approach. This is exactly the historical underpinning of the Brazilian solidarity

[64] An expressive experience which supports this impression took place in Kenya when in a fortuitous encounter with a local man in his middle 20s' – who said to be a 'born entrepreneur' and deal with goats and honey – we started to chat. After few minutes, the young man defined himself as possessing the 'African skin', the 'Kikuyu strength' (Kenya's most populous ethnic group), and the 'white mind'. I promptly asked him what the meaning of 'white mind' is and he replied that it means you think 'time is money' and then proudly detailed his activities as those of a middleman who literally exploits disadvantaged small producers.

economy phenomenon, which started with an initiative of the World Social Forum, evolved into the Brazilian Solidarity Economy Forum (*FBES*), was formally institutionalized after Lula's election as the Brazilian Secretariat of Solidarity Economy (*SENAES*), ramified all over the country into local forums, governmental departments and academia, and has since then dynamically developed into multiple initiatives related to social awareness, mobilization, integration, competence building, legal framework, and access to credit, means of production and markets; some recent examples include the legal establishments in 2010 of the National System of Fair and Solidary Trade (*SNCJS*) – claimed to be the world's first of its kind – and of the National Grassroots Co-op Incubator Programme (*PRONINC*) – which organizes an in-place network of approximately 100 incubators. Indeed, these initiatives correspond closely to what youth group members answered in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam when asked how external organizations could support the development of solidary networks of production (table 5.1.9-1; App. C3: 190). It is also worth noting that, as institutional structures are often 'porous' and can at times absorb apparently contradictory paradigms, the Secretariat of Solidarity Economy is able to develop its medium-impact activities in spite of the liberal-oriented stance of the Brazilian Ministry of Finance and Central Bank, which in their turn are presently capable of promoting growth and stabilizing the macroeconomy and also find time to regulate and encourage experiences of alternative social currency and grassroots finance such as the expressive case of *Banco Palmas* in a shanty town in the outskirts of Fortaleza.

The Brazilian experience brings us to think of how similar phenomena could take place in other national and supranational contexts. In the case of East and maybe sub-Saharan Africa, the establishment of solidary networks of production seems to be promising in terms of concretely improving wellbeing and bringing about local semi-formal welfare institutions. As depicted by the youth group members, this would be an integrated initiative which has to start with the grassroots entrepreneurs and their groups and can be highly potentialized by external organizations and agents. Concerning this interaction, Paul Singer states:

> We owe this lapidary formulation to Paulo Freire: 'nobody educates anybody; we learn together'. This fully applies to the solidarity economy as a pedagogical act. […] And employing solidarity to collectively organize the economic activity when joining the knowledge and the life experiences of tens or hundreds of workers. And scholars of Psychology, Administration, Accounting, Law, Economy, and many other disciplines, joining their specific expertises and generic understandings into the collective knowledge which is built by the protagonists via solidarity. [65] (2005: 19)

[65] Original text in Portuguese: *Devemos a Paulo Freire esta formulação lapidar: 'ninguém ensina nada a ninguém; aprendemos juntos'. Isso se aplica inteiramente à Economia Solidária, enquanto ato pedagógico. […] E usando a solidariedade como organizador coletivo da atividade econômica, ao somar os saberes de dezenas ou mesmo centenas de trabalhadores, cada um com sua experiência de vida. E estudantes de Psicologia, Administração, Contabilidade, Direito, Economia e de tantas outras*

If supported by sections of international agencies which may be sympathetic to the idea of grassroots economic co-operation, existing bodies and organizations experienced in this alternative reference of entrepreneurship and welfare (e.g., *FBES*, *SENAES*, Mondragon, etc.) could be recruited into the presently porous and about-to-be-remodelled international structures in an attempt to extend their know-how, and even inclusiveness, to sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, this effort might extend into the creation of local or national supplementary governmental bodies which, given the actual conditions of the subcontinent, may perhaps turn out to assume important roles in its institutional contexts. Though social movements and inclination to collective action in sub-Saharan Africa might be presently misinterpreted as inexpressive when compared with those of Brazil or Latin America, the symbolic and material conditions which triggered the Brazilian solidarity economy experience are indeed much more apparent in the former. From this perspective, the notions of entrepreneurship which are advanced in sub-Saharan Africa become highly relevant in terms of producing emancipatory and redemptive changes or perpetuating immobilization, dependence and domination.

Finally, it is not impossible that (in)formal solidarity- and network-based economic initiatives might develop into a supranational bottom-up process capable of bringing pan-Africanism into a genuine contemporary revival. Nor that multiple bottom-up and top-down inclusive extensions of economic solidarity could engender mutual acknowledgement and approximation of social, political and cultural identities and of 'language games' on a global scale – significant step into reasonably making human existence less symbolically and materially oppressive and more generally sustainable.

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especialidades, adicionando seus saberes específicos e também os genéricos à sabedoria coletiva, solidariamente construída pelos protagonistas diretos.

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Appendix A - Exploratory Phase: Youth Group Member's Speech

This appendix presents most of the findings from the fieldwork's exploratory phase, which embodies the initial stage of the investigation. Its activities were carried out with youth group members in slums of Nairobi and have above all a qualitative nature. They consisted of collective interactions which dynamically and interchangeably assumed the formats of open dialogues, semi-structured interviews, and focus group discussions. The introductory guideline for these interactions was the research's operationalization table, going from its concepts to its indicators. Even though the discussed topics and ideas normally went far beyond its content, the operationalization table turned out to be a particularly appropriate instrument since most of the youths' spontaneous statements somehow fitted in its dimensions or variables. For this reason, the presentation of findings will be grouped around the elements of the operationalization table.

The main goal of the activities in the exploratory phase was to characterize what youths say or express about: a) what they think, b) what they do, and c) the reasons why they believe and act like that. Thus what will be exposed in this appendix represents essentially the youth group members' collective discourse under certain circumstances and cannot be assumed literally and completely as their actual perceptions. The chapter '5. Inverting Perspectives' confronts this discourse with information coming from other sources and/or of different natures, including the researcher's general impressions during his interactions with the youths.

The activities comprehended from 2 to 6 people, always members from the same youth group. These interactions constantly began with the proposition that they would take the format of a conversation between the researcher and youth group members wherein both sides would exchange thoughts and experiences in the most possibly equal manner, as well as that the general approach would be one of reflection and people would collectively and openly develop the issues. In general terms and acknowledging it has limits, this attitude was broadly maintained during most of the interactions.

The summarizing statements presented in the following frames represent the essence of what the youth group members expressed and are generally supported or complemented by quotes. Although these statements fundamentally represent qualities, they are accompanied by the number of different youth groups in which members somehow expressed the same idea or group of ideas (presented in the format '[xN]'; N is not presented if equal to 1). These cannot be assumed as accurate measurers, given that not every topic or subject was approached by or extensively discussed with all youth groups witch participated in the activities, but they can be considered as rough or preliminary indicators of importance or centrality. The quotes describe just qualities and are not proportionally associated with these indicators. Since these

were group activities, the quotes sometimes reproduce the literal say of a person, others a collective construction composed by pieces of talking from different individuals. The ellipsis sign (…) was used in the quotes to express either longer pauses, changes of narrator, or omissions of irrelevant pieces of discourse. A particular effort was employed during the transcriptions to assure that quotes accurately represent the thoughts people whished to express in the given contexts.

A.1 Engaging in Entrepreneurship in a Collective Manner

Activities carried out with 9 youth groups in Nairobi (37 men, 2 women): Be Smart Fashion (2 men, 2 women; 1h45m), Glucola Youth Group (6 men; 1h55m), Maasai Mbili Arts (4 men; 45min), Manygro (3 men; 55min), NGEI 1 (4 men; 1h30m), Rafiki (6 men; 25min), Victorious Youth Group (5 men; 2h20m), Yetu Jeans (4 men; 1h10m), and Zingaro Percussion (3 men; 1h20m)

A.1.1 Association

Youth group members explain they associate themselves when undertaking entrepreneurial activities…

- … to add up skills, knowledge, experiences, resources, and ideas [x8]; …

> "we are in a group, so we share ideas, what I know is not what he knows"

> "different people got different ideas, different capabilities, so when you join the capabilities together, so when we come together, we have enough man power, enough skills and enough resources… it [association] calls for diversity"

- … to encourage and insure each other [x6]; …

> "if I am starting a business, an individual business, if I go by myself somewhere, it will be hard to commit to continue, but if I have my friends, who give me that heart, who give me that moral, who tell me: hey, we started this because of this objective and this objective… so it will be easer for us to overcome the challenges"

> "it helps us in times of hardship, like a financial situation where someone needs money"

> "it brings strength… we encourage each other, we do not lose hope"

- … because it employs more people and battles idleness and crime [x4]; …

- … to overcome environmental barriers [x3]; …

> "the environment where we are living is not conducive for business, the environment is not helpful… so when you start a business alone it is really hard… when you start something in a group, they [government and society] see you, because they see this is a youth group"

- … because it is part of the local culture [x3]; …

> "being together is like our culture, our parents, our own fathers used to be like this, so it is part of our culture and part of our family coming together as a group and doing different things to boost our wellbeing"

- … to learn from each other [x2]; …

- … to be better positioned to access markets; …

- … and to be better prepared to engage in individual entrepreneurship in the future

> "many people work alone after working in a group, they acquire experience, courage, etc."

However, youths can mention that association sometimes is easier said than done because…

- … it can be time consuming…

> "sometimes people disagree… you have to convince people that what you say is valuable and actually can work, and this is somehow time consuming"

- … and people do not always have the same pace and dedication

> "when working in a group of people, some people are lagging behind, some people are not educated to do whatever work they are doing, so we are not following together… maybe they are also doing their stuff, some people are doing the group stuff and some people are doing their own stuff"

A.1.2 Equality

Youth group members broadly tend to describe themselves as equals [x9], …

> "generally we consider people equal, everybody can speak out his mind, we give room for the new people, they give us new ideas, we are democratic, we do have our elections for the management committee"

> "we are equal, because when we decide to work together, we have to be equal first, we have to work together as equals"

… although certain distinctions are raised concerning kind of activities performed [x6], …

> "in our case, everybody is equal, the only thing is that we have job descriptions… the whole perception is that we are all equal, what makes us different is what we do, we have different members and different kinds of activities"

> "everybody owns the group in the same way, apart from titles, a chairman has some power, a treasurer… but the group is open for each and everybody's opinion, the group is open for critiques"

… effort and skills [x4], …

> "yes, we are equal in the group, because we are all human beings and have similar needs, but in the other way we should not be equal, because in a group like this one we have different skills, different levels of understanding, so we should not share the same cake among ourselves… we have slow movers and high movers… we have records, such as productivity, punctuality, etc., that shows the participation and commitment and this defines how people progress in the group"

> "we consider everybody to be equal in the group, apart from when we are doing a certain kind of job and we are paid differently, it cannot happen that somebody who didn't work get the same share as somebody that has worked"

… and time in the group

> "we are all equal because we value our opinion, we value each other… our members' problems are my problems, our members' happiness is my happiness, when a member cries you also cry… but in terms of finances, we are not equal because you cannot be equal with a new member, because he started to save later and we started to save earlier… but opinion, values, we are all equal"

In addition, the idea that 'different people have dissimilar conditions and their particularities should be considered' seems to be excluded from the youth groups' praxis [x3]; as for this matter, one group member mentioned that, as a considerable number of activities performed by youth groups rely on physical strength, women tend to feel discriminated against because men are allocated more work and paid more

> "the business itself is the one that gives the conditions, what the business needs comes first"

> "in the case of personal problems, in case of money, people can go to the group, they have savings, but the newcomers don't have savings, so they depend on the goodwill of other members"

Assets are collectively owned (belong to the group) and their use is relatively open [x7], …

> "everyone can work in every machine… 100% of the production belongs to the group… people can use the machines for personal production at night"

> "we decide which assets should be bought with the group's savings in our monthly meetings [wherein every member participates]"

… but it seems old members tend to have more control over them [x2]

> "if you came on a latter date than others you will not have that encouragement to say I own that machine, because you know you came late… after two years you have the right to claim an asset"

Asset accountability can also be mentioned as necessary [x2]

> "we have guidelines for the use of assets… specific people are in charge of assets in different divisions… the members cans ask for permissions to use it, but have to be accountable"

The distribution of revenue is generally described as based on the following logic [x7]: first expenses and costs are deducted (either by discounting the corresponding percentage when the payment of an order is received or by periodical compulsory individual contributions), then the group decides if a fraction should be put aside for investing or saving, and finally what remains is divided amongst the members (based mostly on individual work contribution, in terms of both outputs and worked hours); the management teams do not receive any extra financial compensation [x8], although this point can be considered as a contentious issue in the case the group grows

> "we deduct the expenses and divide the remaining equally among people that have worked… the money is placed in the bank and members can get it when they need… the management does not receive any extra compensation"

> "when we get our money, a certain amount goes to the group account, and there is a certain percentage that goes to the person, but first you have to contribute to the group… we share the money depending on which type of work you did, maybe you did four pieces and you will get your money for four pieces"

> "allowances are based on the kind of work and the time [hours of work]… the management doesn't get any extra allowance, just the money from the basic activities… but we want to change it when the group grows"

In addition, members who bring clients and the most creative ones can also be entitled to a bonus

> "what we normally do, in a group first we are equal, because without the hand of that person, and

another person, we cannot make good production, so first we get an order, we know what is the amount after the deduction of expenses, so this is what we are going to divide, so after dividing we are going to know what percentages are going to be given to those who… the person who did the design, what percentage… people have to accept that because maybe next time another person comes with an idea, and this idea is what we are now going to sell… the difference is not very big, it is a little, just a little on top, like 1%"

A certain power imbalance originating by division of work seems acceptable as long as the general idea of equality is maintained [x7]; the main mechanisms for reducing power differences are described as: a) having leaders and people in privileged positions submitted and accountable to all members [x5], …

"there is no power difference in our projects, we have people that coordinate the projects, if anything arrives from the project you go and ask, share with him the information, it is an inclusive thing, even the managers are elected by the members"

"in our group, having power means like, you are the one that is teaching maybe someone how to do tailoring work, which is normal… in terms of other activities, you must have a leader, in any group you need someone to lead, without a leader the group cannot continue"

"we should be equal… so that is why we have come to an agreement in the group that our price will be set up, whoever is selling the standard will remain"

"we have department heads, and they have power, the group has given them that power to make sure the department is running well… but misbehaviour is discussed in the meetings and the person can be voted out… here, we don't want members to control others, to have more power than others, we just have that power to manage that department, it is our duty to make sure that the department is doing well, but not to exercise our power to sneak others, whenever the members see that, the person is voted out"

"the constitution guides everything… it states what kind of action should be taken against the one that abuses its power or misbehave"

… b) practices of rotating activities [x5], …

"we give loans to the individuals and they decide in which activity they want to work… people rotate activities, can even look for employment, as long as they keep the weekly contribution to the group"

… and c) the fact that people want to be trusted [x3]

"what avoids abuse of power is trust and accountability"

Differences amongst people are broadly treated through dialogue [x5] and can also be seen as an opportunity to learn [x2]

"we deal with the differences through discussions, we bring together all the thoughts of different people and we see how we can make them to be better, to be acceptable to the organization"

"differences among people generate small conflicts, but we learn through them"

A.1.3 Knowledge Distribution

Information concerning what happens in the group or relates to it is generally thought to be open and accessible to every member [x9]; …

"in our group we don't want to hide things, we share together and we share whatever we want to talk, we put it on the table and we talk it, so everybody has got more about how the group is managing the work"

… however, as spreading information can be time/effort consuming, people are supposed to be participating in the group activities and eager to acquire information [x6], …

"information is normally available to people, because if you are around the issue of concern, you will get each single information that is passing around… we normally say that information is for the available people and for the willing people, the ones eager for it, but when you are away nobody will just try and go look for you to give you that information… we have to give the information because you are concerned, and eager to know, and eager to make the group grow"

"this space is like our resource centre, if you want any information about the group you come here, information is for all members of our group"

"everybody has access to information, people have access to information depending on their participation and interest"

… and some information might not be seen as relevant to be shared amongst the whole group

"if it is information that all the members have to get, they have to get it, because if they don't it will be bad and will cause conflict, or it may lead to lack of transparency, but if it is something that maybe, it is less to you, so I come to the person that is in charge and talk to him about the issue and see if we can solve the issue, and if we cannot solve the issue, ok, I take it to the next level"

Specific cases involving financial issues [x3] and private conflicts [x2] were pointed out as motives for a certain confidentiality and discretion

"financial problems, financial situations… should not just be put before the members"

"there is a case, maybe, we get money somewhere, but we have not confirmed how much it is, maybe through donation, in that case you cannot tell the group we get money, unless you have confirmed this money is in our account, and you tell the group, because maybe you can tell the group, but people are different, some will start laughing, we have money!!! those are the things that can bring the group down"

A.1.4 Participation

In every analysed case youth group members elect the management team through direct vote [x9]; general meetings are regularly held and open for all members [x9] and decisions are largely based on discussion and negotiation [x6], often guided by the group's constitution [x2] and in cases of extreme disagreement made by vote [x3]

"first of all, our group is a democracy institution… if there is something awkward, people extend the issue to the table and then give it out, and then every equal member will be given chance to give his or her opinion, and then the officials will listen to him or her and after that if the opinion is positive to the group, to the development of the group, they will accept it… sometimes the people vote, when we cannot find the solution… but sometimes the people vote for something that cannot make the group develop, in this case what we need is to come up with a group idea… maybe we can get some money from outside, maybe the majority of the members would like this money to be distributed, all of the money to be distributed to them… but we may find other people

say the money should be distributed partially and then the rest will be through demand of the group proprietors, so this is where the leaders or the officials are coming off with a ruling, which is about the sake of the development of the group… in a group where people disagree to agree, that is where the development will be, that is our motto… we don't disagree to fight, but we disagree to solve the problem and then agree, so if we agree, that means that it will be good, because he has his opinion, I have my opinion, he has his opinion, but we collect all those opinions together and we sit and we discus them, we will weight them, so we will disagree with him, we will disagree with him, or with him, then we collect all those points, then we agree in one thing, we push the group on, yeah… and we respect the minority too"

"everybody participates, they get allowances and they have to contribute too… we do our monthly meeting where all the members meet here and they decide, everybody is allowed to talk, then we come to a conclusion, the right one"

"decisions are made by discussion and negotiation, sometimes by vote, what we call contentious issues… there are also issues that are part of the constitution, we go to the constitution and see what it is saying about the issue"

"sometimes we have two sides of opinions, and they really really disagree, at that point we call for election"

"we have a committee of five people who, in case of anything that comes up, we sit down and try to come up with ideas of how to work on it, people are elected… the committee first coming together, deciding on some issues, and the next meeting is a general meeting where every member comes to the meeting and the decision that was passed has to be shared among them… in some activities the participation is limited, for example, in exhibitions, we have to decide on few people to participate"

"participation will remain when the group grows, that is the umbrella, that is the organization structure, and then if it is the organization structure that every member is equal then it applies to everything under the group"

Deciding collectively was pointed out as becoming easer with practice and with the strengthening of bonds amongst people [x3]

"collective decisions… initially it is a bit difficult, when you are not bonded, the bond is weak and you are not strong together, when you are starting it, but once you are used [it gets easier]… that is why we are together, we act collectively"

In addition, participation in multiple operational aspects tends to be seen not only as a right, but as desirable and even as a duty [x4]

"participation in five years from now… when the group grows, the responsibilities are gonna be more demanding, you will have to do more, more sacrifices"

A.1.5 Attainment of Collective Needs

Regarding the duality 'profit vs. collective wellbeing', profit seems to emerge to youth group members primarily as a means of improving people's lives and the situation of the community [x7]; financial resources are considered essential in terms of generating collective wellbeing, but the thought of profit as an end by itself or as an absolute measure of success is strange to these youth entrepreneurs; moreover, having surplus is not part of their common reality [x7] and the aspiration of having more customers and accessing new markets seems to be more central than the ideal of making profit [x4]; finally, the collective motive is mostly present [x7] and the thought of investing also regularly appears in their minds [x6]

"in business you cannot forget profit, you cannot survive in business when you are getting loss, in everything we are doing we make sure that in the end of the day we benefit and we benefit in terms of profit, and the profit will generate another idea, will support another idea, and by doing that we find that the lives of the members will be improving… when the money is come, when the profit is come, we cannot divide everything among ourselves, we cannot do that because if you do that, if you put that first, we don't move… in our case we hold the business first… but our profit is too small, so it changes our lives slowly, slowly, slowly… we set our goal based on our abilities, maybe I am not able to buy a car, so I set a goal to buy a bicycle"

"once we have got an order, the money we get from that order will be shared for members, but first of all the members will sit down and think what kind of things should be done in the group, for example last month we didn't have our own electricity, so this is where we find that there is some part of the money that we will put aside for the development of the group, and then members receive their share… because many of our members are married and have children… how much can we allocate to each person to sustain his house in this order? we calculate and after we have done this calculations we give people a little amount and when you finish the production you come to the group again"

"when you make a profit, that is when you have a good life, and when you make loss, you have a rough life, but you can be making a loss and you have a good life because we are one in a group, we encourage each other, so your life cannot be very bad"

"more important than thinking of profit or good life for members is to have customers, clients"

"one benefit for our members is being able to access loans from the group… today we cannot provide many other services [education and health] to our members… but when we have faced all these challenges of marketing and things like that, if we can get continually markets for the group, to sustain the group members, I think therefore now we will also intervene these kinds of services for the group"

Two groups expressed concern about problems which might originate through the increase of revenue, such as breaking the union amongst people and loss of creativity or original values

"in five years to come, maybe we will have a lot of money in ours pockets, and this somehow will be prejudicial… money will be the problem, because I guess money, at the end, money can break the union, so having so much money in your pockets may be an advantage or disadvantage"

"in the end, with money and power, all creativity is gone… you had the creativity before, but now it is gone… you are going to congresses, you are going to do some things, you are just doing some stupid things, but you got the governments… you can't even tell the truth anymore"

Concerns about the community are largely present amongst youth group members [x7] and collectives tend to be seen as better positioned to pressure the government and the civil society [x3]

"whatever we are doing here, we aim at the community, we brought a lot of youths out from the streets, instead of being getting drunk and drugs, committing crimes… we try to teach them skills so they earn money"

"our main objective is to have a community in which youths are self-sustainable, very very environmentally conscious, and very much aware of member's wellbeing, self-independent"

"moving from Kibera? we would have a branch in town… I don't think we should leave here, our group is a Kibera thing, all together, something for the community… when we get wide and big enough, it's a chance for us to work even more with other youth groups, to create a kid's studio in

the community, this is more positive than just going to town"

"in our meetings we look at how the organization is running the projects and activities and if is there any new initiative we can come up with… we also look at the welfare of the members and of the community in general"

"one of the main problems in the community is the lack of toilets, as a group we are planning in the future maybe to help with the accommodation of toilets… about this things, they [government and civil society] understand group better than individual, if you are in a group you have a say, but if you are an individual what they need from you is money, money, money"

Group members in Nairobi generally assert that governments are not capable of providing services to the society [x6] and sometimes even become an obstacle to the wellbeing of youths and of the community in general [x3]

"when we started this group our aim was to improve the environment, and the community begins with us… the government itself is unable to improve the situation of the community, that is unrealistic… this is a group of young entrepreneurs coming together to discover what we have, what courage we have, and we want to explore our capabilities, we want to have different ideas… we are a community based organization, so we have to support ourselves and also to support the community"

"during elections, you sometimes come up with an idea, or with something to advocacy for the community and the group, and then, the politicians come here where we work, and sell their policies, so when they come we tell them the things that we need, together with the community members… but the challenge is that once you are in there… they forget"

"the houses we collect garbage from, they pay rent to the city council, and that money applies for garbage, for water, and they don't offer these services… people complain, but the government… you can't go to the government, you complain but at the end of the day there is nothing we gain from it… I can tell you, Kenya is a corrupt country, you can complain but no one listens to you"

"when the government helps people and their business, they don't really help the ones that need help… they still protect, to get someone from down-up, they still make sure they step you down"

"even if you send your products outside, the government still will inspect on your stuff, maybe you paid a lot of money to export these products or you bought a ticket to go to that country to make an exhibition, but maybe you come back with your stuff… there is someone down there that says it is not up to standard, you see… that is killing the moral of the youth… the government is corrupt and benefits only external companies"

The major expression of 'people contributing and being given back in non-direct or non-proportional manners' in youth groups is the fact that leadership/management activities in the youth groups are largely seen as having a voluntaristic nature and not as object of financial compensation [x7]; in addition, some groups foster the idea that every member should be a leader [x3], which demonstrates an intension of equalisation

"you need leaders who you can follow, and in that sense, everybody should be a leader"

Youths usually express that new people are welcome in the groups, and the general idea that every person should have the possibility to work seems to pervade the group members' view [x7]; the main criteria to be accepted as a new member are that the person is willing to work, has initiative, and is somehow an active member in the community [x4]; additionally, knowing the person's background also appears as essential [x3]; before becoming an effective member the person normally passes through a probation period and training [x6], and building trust seems to be an important element during this process [x3]; one

group mentioned having the policy of favouring new members concerning chances and opportunities; finally, encouraging youths from the community to form new youth groups was also pointed out as part of their practice

> "to become part of the group, people have to pay the registration fee, and after they get trained, but we must know the person's background, most of them we have taught before"

> "we try to incorporate youths gradually in the activities and with time they become members… the person has to volunteer in the group for some time, three or four months, but when he is accepted he becomes a full member, entitled to every right"

> "the most important aspects to be able to join the group are that we know the person and he participates in the community and has initiative… some people want to join the organization just to get personal benefits, not because they want to work and do something… and we also try to encourage people to form new youth groups"

> "new members have to be trained, don't get paid the same, only after the training… the time training takes depends on the person"

> "the group is always open to new people to join it… newcomers are treated in the same way, but it takes a while to build trust"

> "we do recruitments every year, some people go out and we have to replace them… when you are new you are not the same as the others, but slowly by slowly, people need four months to understand what is going on in the organization… but we prefer to give chances to the new members"

Youth group members typically have a positive first reaction towards the idea of competition [x7]; they state it brings inspiration, new ideas and innovation, and makes people work harder [x7]

> "competition is good, it is healthy, people come out with new ideas, it gets you out of the comfort zone"

> "competition is good, makes people work harder… you see what others are doing and get inspired by that… it brings innovation… when you go somewhere and there is no competition you are stagnant, you don't move, you are comfortable… it is healthy because it adds value, if I have a shop and I put a TV, it adds value compared to the ones that don't have it"

> "competition about who brings more plastic… my friend is the winner, maybe it should stimulate me to put more effort next time and see what made him come in front of me, next time I will use different ways"

> "sometimes there is competition inside the group, the expectation of the members is to get equal shares… so the production manager will say to members that you must compete with others to achieve and to get the equal share, and we find that it is very helpful"

Nonetheless, the youths quickly draw a line between what they consider good competition and bad competition [x6]; they point out that an attribute of good competition is when everybody somehow wins [x6]

> "competition is good, healthy, it brings new ideas… if you compete without fear, or favour, or without problems, it is good… but competition with problems, it is not good… we encourage competition inside the group because it will help many growing, if we compete among ourselves, maybe she will do a shirt better than me, next time I will improve"

> "good competition is bringing new ideas, with good intension, good motive… my intension is not to kill, but to do something new to the organization, just to add value and benefit all of us… we can have a competition where everybody is a winner, as long as we have a positive aspect to benefit, everyone… everybody is a winner, everybody achieves, the organization achieves… the goal is that everybody improves"
>
> "our happiness is to see the other groups growing, we don't compete to make the other groups go down, we compete healthy competition, where the other groups grow"
>
> "internal competition… if it is a positive competition, then it is good, for example, you organize an event and you want it to be the best ever"

In addition, it seems another trait of good competition is when leadership amongst competitors is not monopolized and people or groups have similar conditions and chances [x4]

> "if I am on the top for a certain length of time, and if someone might be the winner, at the end shake hands… I will be up to show how did we make it, I think that one is good… at least everybody at a certain point might become a winner, this is what I call healthy competition, it will make people work hard"
>
> "competition is good, brings inspiration, new ideas and development… prevents laziness… it challenges us, makes we work hard, helps the group to grow… but it is good when leadership among competitors alternates"
>
> "competition is bad when you compete with someone you are 100% sure you cannot defeat, you give up"

Moreover, certain levels of fairness and co-operation also appear as constituents of the notion of good competition [x3]

> "co-operation is also working together to achieve one objective, good competition you are pulling in one direction to reach a certain goal, I think they are more or less the same… in my understanding, good competition is sort of co-operative… you need to co-operate, the good competition is just the same as co-operation"
>
> "competitors can develop together, that would be good if both are making the same profit, but if they are making more profit than me, it can't work, one of us has to quit… if we are collaborating in a business and my organization is given equal opportunity in whatever we are doing I accept… we have to reach a mutual understanding, especially about expenses and income, it has to be fair"

Finally, the concern about what happens to the 'losers' is, as well, pointed out as part of the equation [x2]

> "I would like to see my competitors disappearing… someone is always winning, so it is better to be this one… it is good to be the one leading, the one in the top, the others are following me… but when you draw them out of the market they start to do immoral things… the crime rates go up… it should be two ways"

Bad competition is eventually explicitly characterized as when it becomes destructive [x5], primarily individualistic and selfish [x6], and merely focused on profit [x3]

> "competition is bad when you don't want the others to be successful, only you… you are doing each and every thing to make sure that my activity is as bad as possible"
>
> "bad competition is when you only do it for you own personal gain, not for the company or the co-

operative, not for the entire team, for your individual interests"

"when prices go too down and you don't plan yourself well competition can strike you… also you become a threat to other people, that is how they see you and they will do everything to put you down… people become your enemies and they make spiteful campaigns against you"

"if I want just to be on the top, not letting someone overtake me or inherit that position, it is bad"

"competition can be bad if you are not working as a team… it is negative, if there isn't group work"

"it [competition] can be bad when someone takes advantage of your weaknesses, when people just want to make money"

"bad internal competition is when people are competing for the elective posts in the group, I think competition in that area is not good, we saw during the election violence we had, it was due to competition… in a group, I think, when leaders compete, that is bad"

"bad competition is when people compete for leadership positions, it divides the group"

At last, one group expressed that companies which operate under the 'traditional idea of competition' should be educated to stop it

"this kind of [fierce] competition and the main objective of profit, they are being wrong, because when they compete like that and the others have to close down their business, we know they will suffer… companies that operate under a traditional competition should be educated to stop it"

The notion of solidarity seems to be broadly merged with the thoughts of union and brotherhood [x5]; the general idea is that its institutionalization involves sharing and shaping a common view [x4] and that this process normally happens from proximate to more distant relations [x5]

"solidarity is being together, being one, a member's problem is our problem… working as a team… but it should be limited to the group, if you are not a member of the group, you don't share the same ideas, the same view, the same goals, the same mission, the same objectives, so becoming one of that group is difficult"

"sharing the responsibilities within the group can give solidarity, anything new you share with your partners, we will create the solidarity within the group… and solidarity is also to keep some of our secrets inside the group"

"solidarity is the brotherhood, coming together, forgetting our differences, forgetting where we come from, our custom differences, forgetting our differences and we come together as brothers… first of all, it has to start with the group members, after with the community, and after with other youth groups"

"solidarity can also be extended… because we are specialized in some jobs, and we supply to our customers in the town, the interaction between us and them should be honest, so that they don't lose us and we don't lose them, we have to feel that solidarity, we have the friendship, we have to encourage"

"solidarity… we grew up together, we are more than just members, we are brothers… collaboration is possible and competitors can even share orders"

Moreover, solidarity amongst different youth groups was pointed out as largely possible [x5]

"yeah, different youth groups can come as one… we can exchange information and gain more customer and markets, expand our business and improve our income"

"it is easer for youth groups to work and be solidary with each other than with traditional companies because traditional companies require high qualifications… but working with youth groups, we find that we understand each other, we talk to solve the problems"

At last, solidarity was also mentioned as a means of producing social changes

"solidarity is being together, working together, sharing… here in Kenya, if you can be one, togetherness, you can achieve a lot… in Africa if you want to change the government you have to pressure it"

A.1.6 Trust

Trust appears to youth group members as an essential aspect in terms of strengthening a collective organization [x4]

"trust is the most important thing in this world, in order to do something you must be trusted or you must trust… when we first collapsed [the group had serious problems just after being formed], it was because of lack of trust, people didn't have trust, going somewhere collecting money and putting it in their pockets, so that was when elders came up and saw that if we have trust we will go far, so the first thing we did was to put trust first, and here we are now, because of trust"

"if you elect one person to go and be with a customer, and collect some money, because he will be back with the money we have the trust that wherever we send him, he will go and come back… we don't have any doubt that the person will not be back or something like that, that is giving the people a lot of courage in the group, putting the group forward"

"we grew up together, went to school together, we know each other, we know each other weaknesses, strengths and capabilities… and the members are the ones who elect the management team, and trust is one of the things people consider when they vote"

Union, openness to debate, and proper behaviour were pointed out as broad expressions of trust amongst people in a group [x3]

"by seeing someone's behaviour, that is from where trust is coming… most of our members grew up together, we know each other, we know our parents… togetherness, being together… and also when everything is put on the table"

Good coordination, transparency, accountability and record keeping, as well as delivering and performing, are seen as specific measures of trust [x4]

"measures of trust are good coordination, transparency and records about everything that happens in the organization… we have trustees for the assets… we keep trust among each other, but without putting something that will show that the trust is going on, it will be very difficult… maybe there is a loss, and you don't have any measure to show that there is a loss, I will assume that you have stolen the money, and maybe it is not true, maybe the number or customers is low… but if there are clear records, it is different, you see the records"

"signs of lack of trust are not having reports and receipts… also if you are given a certain job and you don't deliver, don't perform, or when you don't do what was agreed and you start lying to the group and making up excuses"

> "hard working, in a group we have hard working people and those that are not working hard, now the hard working people, they are now working in a group, they are associating in the group, which motivates people, you will find that at long term who follow the group are the hard working people… you have to trust that people are working hard"

Recognition by the group can also be seen as a sign of trust amongst the members

> "salary makes the group stronger… in a case I did something more important and the group accepted it, the group should add something on top of what I will be getting… it motivates people"

Moreover, youths acknowledge that trust is not absolute neither homogeneous and that knowing each other informs the limits of trust and guides expectations and the need of controls [x2]

> "you cannot trust anyone 100%, but you can learn about that person, his movements, how he is, so you will know him… the basic thing is to get information to guide trust, because, people, we are the people"

> "a sign of trust is actually if you can trust someone with your money… there is trust among ourselves, but it depends who particularly… if I can leave my phone here, go and come back and it is still here, I feel there is trust… but there are some individuals that make the trust level go down, maybe one or two, not everybody"

Youth group members state they normally deal with problems and misbehaviour through dialogue [x4] and, sporadically, through penalties or punishments

> "when someone does something wrong we take it to the committee to be discussed, to be solved by conversation, and make sure it doesn't happen again"

> "if you are working hard, but a bit slow in production, but you are working hard, so what we are going to try is how can you build more, at least more, because production also matters, there is a time when we need quantity, so how can we get quantity if you are working very slow"

> "misbehaviour results in penalties and punishment, normally fines… also when someone misbehaves we can talk to each other to make the person understand his behaviour is not good, we can talk among each other so that we can come to a solution"

A.1.7 Innovation

When questioned about the importance of constantly searching for new and better ways of dealing with the enterprise's issues, youth group members generally state it is a vital topic and tend to give examples of improvements they have implemented or of what they perceive as obstacles to the group's development [x5]; common examples of improvements are associated with product quality and features, meeting customer deadlines, advertisement, processes of production, logistics, networking, and communication amongst members; one group which deals with garbage collection expressed particular interest in the idea of producing biogas out of domestic garbage

They also usually highlight their initiatives on partnering with organizations which can provide them training and other forms of support [x5] …

> "that is why we have partnered with YIKE and other organizations, so we can learn and get new ideas"

… and are likely to foresee significant growth as to their groups [x4]

> "we see our group in the future very different, a bigger structure, ten times bigger, the production just have to be big to accommodate that"

When asked specifically about the idea of innovating through a process of reflection, questioning and dialogue, and having the human being as subject and purpose of the economic activity, youth group members largely reemphasized their practices of debate and their concerns about the members' wellbeing and about the community [x4], as well as the tendency youths have to challenge the actual structure [x2]

> "we talk about what we have done and feel proud of it, it makes we focus on our history, we can make a refreshing moment… talking, reflecting, this helps us to think where we want to go"

> "here life and work are blended… reflection is important, sometimes we just take a break, we sit outside here, with people that are not even part of the group, people that are just friends, we normally sit down and start to talk about issues, it automatically happens, it is our tradition… youths think in the same way, they question things… when the youths sit down, they normally start discussing about crime, maybe how the government has been acting, what is happening to the next neighbourhood… crimes, oppression from the government, the police"

With reference to the obstacles to the groups' development, the most mentioned issues were by far the lack of access to markets [x7], including international ones [x5], and the dependence on middlemen [x4]; lack of resources [x4] and social barriers tend to be pointed out as restraints concerning these issues

> "the middlemen are just people in our country, so we are trying to access where are they going to sell these our products, so this is our step now, we want to know who are the people they are selling to"

> "our aim is to come from a group and to make it in a company… we can have our own internet, everything… and export, this is our aim… we want to go away from the middlemen, because they are the people that make the company go down"

> "not having a computer makes it more difficult to get rid of the middleman and have access to new markets"

> "we need a kind of structure that would do the marketing outside the country, in Europe, those people, they would know how to make marketing there, so the only thing that they can practice is get our goods and sell them there, then they send the money, you know, that one is very good because it would sustain us, so we don't lack markets, we have growing markets, so it is very easy for us to budget or plan our things… it is hard for us to do it because we don't have money, this is what we need, because we don't have money… we have views, but you know, nowadays if you have a view everything must go with the money"

> "traditional companies see the market perspectives and try to explore it, the difference is their capacity and our capacity, we don't have that capacity"

> "there are barriers to work with traditional companies because of our level of education and the way like we communicate [lack of mastery over certain social codes]"

It seems that in the youths' view, discrimination towards people who live in the slums associated with the 'myth of informality' play a major role in terms of blocking to them the access to markets outside the slums [x4]

> "for us it is hard to provide services outside the slums, in town they just think we are slum people,

they say we are informal"

They generally consider that the barriers they face are disproportional to their groups' technical and organizational capabilities; this suggests the divide between markets these youth entrepreneurs can or cannot access has a much deeper social nature than it appears; as to the controversial question of defining (in)formality, the first intriguing evidence is that every youth group which participated in this investigation has somehow a legal form of registration, has a constitution, and is capable of issuing official receipts; when asked about the meaning of formal and informal and in which category their youth group would fit, youths tended to express a mix of discomfort and indignation and to state they believe they are formal organizations [x7]

> "people call us informal, it is a government thing, but us ourselves we know we are formal because we earn a living from the things we do, we are not different from the people who are tied to the offices, because they earn a living and we also earn a living, so I think we are formal… it is all about the system, the government system"

They justified their formality due to institutionalization [x4], stability [x2], organization [x3], having goals and objectives [x2], innovation [x2], planning [x3], quality in the work [x2], self-sustainability [x4], and progress [x2]

> "we are formal, because of the way activities are being run, the organization structure, everything in general actually, we are registered, we have a constitution, we are at our own 100%, we are partnering with NGOs, other youth groups, so I think we are formal… the group that is informal is the group that gets there by coincidence, they are there without a vision, they are doing anything anytime, maybe they are available sometimes, sometimes they are not available, they don't have a physical location, where you can trace them, they don't keep the records, they don't have a constitution to guide them, they don't know their direction, they are just there doing anything anytime"

> "we are formal, we don't depend on other people, we depend on ourselves"

> "we are formal, because most or the things we do are very well done… we try to come up with ideas, theses ideas are put in the table and we use the skills we have to come up with a long term policy… we are registered, we are legal, we are doing this thing legally… and then, the thing is that, we are progressing, we want to move from this step to another step… we are formal, do you see, informal means that you are not moving… and we are formal because we are not supported, we are supporting ourselves, we are not depending on maybe funds from somewhere, we are just using our funds, so that makes us formal"

In addition, some youth group members demonstrated to think people consider them as informal because they operate in a different way and under different values which might not be grasped.

> "I think we are formal, we are registered, we do everything according to the rules, we have goals, we plan things… people say we are informal because we operate like brothers, we are outside the box to do some things"

A.2 Wellbeing and Its Association with Grassroots Collective Entrepreneurship

Activities carried out with 6 youth groups in Nairobi (26 men): Glucola Youth Group (6 men; 1h40m), Maasai Mbili Arts (4 men; 35min), Manygro (3 men; 30min), Victorious Youth Group (6 men; 3h10m), Yetu Jeans (3 men; 50min), and Zingaro Percussion (4 men; 40min)

A.2.1 Income & Food, Clothing, Housing and Sanitation

Youth group members consider reasonable levels of work and income as essential aspects for their wellbeing [x6] and broadly point out their actual situation as unsatisfactory [x6]

> "we need more income, more investments, more business, so that when it comes to accumulation of work we can accumulate a sufficient portion for every member, so he can sustain himself or help his family… what we want is each and every member sustaining himself, having his own salary, earning from this group… every member wakes up in the morning and he knows he is supposed to go to the office, do some tasks there, and at the end of the month he is supposed to earn something"

Low income is also referred to as a cause of stress and disturbance of daily activities [x2]

> "if one member has a financial problem, it can even affect the organization as a whole, because you find that if you are stressed you may postpone meetings, postpone tasks in the group"

In addition, having skills, being creative, and having the knowledge and the strength to implement were mentioned as essentials to generate income [x3]

> "the knowledge on how to implement, the creativity, and all the skills you have, I think the combination of that leads to making money… if you have skills, you have strength, and the ability of demanding whatever you think of, I think this exhausts what you need to make money"

During the discussions, it was possible to notice heterogeneity and even a certain tension amongst group members as for the kind of organization – a regular company or a co-operative group – and the right balance between levels of specialization and of participation/rotation of jobs which would be more likely to increase productivity and generate a satisfactory income, in value and constancy, to its employees or members [x4]

> "more division of work and specialization in our group would be better… and when we are hired and the company increases, our salary also increases [laughs, people disagreeing]… [another group member:] no, it doesn't happen like that, to be your own boss is good, the salary is going to be this for me at that place, and you are under pressure, you don't have that freedom of working, you don't have that potentiality to work, you are just obeying, given a piece of work to do… if you are your own boss you can see about the flexibility, you can change from this activity to the other process, so you can produce a lot"

But in fact, it seems the majority of youth group members tend to see the idea of working as employees for regular companies in Kenya as not very promising as to income and wellbeing in general [x4]

> "what I saw is that being employed is very risky to yourself, because in Kenya you can work for a company so many years and one morning you go to the company and they say your job is over, it is a very mean way of doing things… you have to be psychologically, emotionally informed… like I myself, I worked in a company for two years and I was never given wellbeing, I worked 365 days, even on Sundays, and at the end of the day when the job came to an end, I just woke up and I heard, hey, give me the keys, your job is done… two years wasted… the salary was not even

enough to pay rent and food… instead of going to work in a company from 7 AM to 7 PM and earning a minimum wage why don't you just come up with an idea?"

Even so, being part of a youth group was pointed out as an element which increases one's chances of finding an external job [x2]

> "people that are in the group have better chances to get jobs outside, because they are seen as capable"

> "sometimes people even get other jobs because they are members of this organization [a youth group]"

Food, clothing, housing and sanitation tend to be the first spontaneously mentioned items when youth group members are asked about what is necessary so people can have a good life [x4] …

> "for us to have a good life, we should have food, we should have proper sanitation, water, an environment which is applicable for a human being to live… and proper clothing"

… and are likely to be pictured as important elements to assure minimum degrees of normality and steadiness [x3]

> "it is being normal, having a house, living a comfortable life, having food, just being normal… you are not operating as normal when you are not comfortable, you are just under pressure, you are not comfortable on what you are doing or how you are doing it, or where you are living, or how you sleep, you are not sleeping normally… your body is not healthy, it affects your mentality"

The capability of securing and maintaining these items over the time was also referred to as a major issue [x3]

> "after having enough food, enough clothing, and a good place for sleeping in a bed, what comes first is that you check on this having, because if you have these things but you don't live in a conducive environment you can't be comforted"

Finally, a broad international social compact for fighting poverty was mentioned by one group as desirable with reference to improving people's wellbeing, …

> "that is also important for wellbeing… that local and international communities get united to fight poverty, which is now the major course of denying people a better life"

… though material and psychological aspects of wellbeing are seen by part of group members as non-hierarchical and entangled [x3]

> "material and psychological aspects of wellbeing cannot be separated, one need the other"

A.2.2 Health and Education

Health and education are broadly referred to as vital and as intertwined with life, work, and their environments, and not simply as elements which can be bought in the market [x6]; two youth groups also defined their main aim as 'learn & earn'

> "health is vital, health is very vital… if the environment is not healthy you get sick, or you get stressed, or it has an effect on you emotionally, where you work affects your health"

> "education is important because once you get education you can go about life, about how you say things, everyday life… an open mind, where a person who is not educated views things in a different way"

> "education… for example, IT, computers, if you don't have that education it will be hard for you to proceed with life, so it means education also matters a lot"

Concerning health, 'body' (physique) and 'mind' (psyche) also appear as inseparable [x3] …

> "we are just a body and a mind, in order to your mind co-operate your body has to be healthy, a healthy body a healthy mind, your mind controls your body, so if the body is week then the mind cannot control a week body, would affect the mentality, so health is important"

… and an unhealthy work environment was pictured as polluted and stressing, one that disturbs people's thinking and deteriorates their bodies, with fume, dust and noise, and marked by pessimistic and destructive interactions amongst people

> "an unhealthy work environment… fumes… dust… noise… stressing, your thinking… you cannot concentrate on whatever you are doing, you won't come up with new ideas, you are not focused, your mind is being distorted… the relation between you and people, the people around you… if a person comes with maybe negative mentality about what you are doing, or negative mind about what is going around, even if it is not related to what you are doing it still affects you, it definitely affects you… a negative mind is something opposite to whatever you are doing, I come with a negative information from outside and spread it at work… about government complains, or about somebody who was shot yesterday, I start thinking myself, my mind automatically withdraws from whatever I am doing… a positive mind is, we have positive frames, we are thinking positive, people coming in with positive information… you tell me: by the way we are doing this… and they say your work is very good, you know, so I put effort on whatever I am doing because people are appreciating it, or maybe someone comes with information which is educative, maybe saw it in a documentary, maybe saw it in a movie, it will trigger the positive energy inside me, so I think that whatever I am doing, I will be more concentrated on it"

Co-operative organizations are generally seen by youth group members as environments where pressure is under acceptable limits and relations amongst people have a relatively positive nature whereas regular companies tend to be perceived as the opposite [x6]

> "in the [regular] company, when I was there, when I woke up in the morning, the way like we were being treated there, we were being insulted, you are being rushed to do this and that, and then you are confused, in fact you are getting out of the company too tired, dead"

Moreover, one youth group expressed the intention of developing for its members a scheme of preventive health support based on adequate nutrition and herbal medicine

> "we are discussing a way of implementing health through the group, based on nutrition and herbal medicine… we are about to get a piece of land where we can plant and base it"

As to education, youth group members referred to self-learning and to having control over the development of your own expertises as desirable factors [x3] …

> "education is also very very important… education in which you develop your own skills… I can do what I wish at anytime, and I can do it by myself"

… and informal education – learning in a way wherein different people in different environments exchange and develop know-how or via seminars and workshops – tends to be seen by them as more

advantageous than education in the school due to its practicality and its broader connection with aspects of daily life [x5], …

> "informal education is better than formal education, informal you get if from a more practical thing, you know what to do, so it is more practical than the formal one… the education in the school can become more practical, sure, but the problem is that it will take a long, a very long time"

> "on my side I can say I have gained a lot by going to seminars, that is where I have been knowing that I should do this thing exactly, from other people's teach, from other people's points, I can know where to be, where to go… you have to walk around to see how people do something, that is how you add knowledge from other people"

> "we know that we are craftsmen, we know that in Kenya we have other craftsmen, if every member, we decide to go out and visit every area where there is craftsman… you interact with them, talk to them, change ideas, and bring that idea which you got there into the group, we talk about it, if this works it can help you to develop in your group"

> "another which I can add is to acquire knowledge from expert people, for example, facilitators, we collaborate with them and they train us on how we can improve our standard of whatever we are doing, I think that would also help us"

… though it was pointed out by one group member as not systematic enough

> "education outside the school… it is not systematic, it is not according to the procedure you can get from the school, because today I can approach you, you tell me that your thing is made out of wood, another person I meet can tell me this one is made out of metal, so out of the experience I don't know it deeply, if this thing is metal or wood… in school you learn the steps of doing something, check if it is good"

Being part of a youth group is generally considered as conducive to the development of self-learning skills and to the acquisition of knowledge in general [x4]

> "before we joined ourselves together to form our group we were a lot more different in terms of exchanging the ideas or learning from other people, there were a lot of things we were unable to get ourselves, for example things about marketing, things about payment, things about competition and another business partner… in this group some people have not gone to the school, but because of the environment of the group, they have made a very big step… it is very important and very educative to share ideas with others in terms of knowledge, because we have gained a lot of knowledge from outside the school… and when I meet friends from high school, I see, unlike me, they are in the same level as before"

In addition, one group member referred to the process of 'learning together' as capable of strengthening co-operative stances and reducing predatory competition, thus boosting the access to markets

> "if we manage to learn together, first we grow in the quality of what we are producing, the second one, the competitors will be reduced because we are together, so competitors will not be as many as when you are an individual, and in the market side, you can easily access markets since we share the ideas together"

Youth group members are inclined to talk about education in school as somehow disconnected from authentic everyday problems [x3] and as not accessible for everybody [x4]; however, its importance is recognised – especially concerning language proficiency [x3] – …

> "knowledge people learn in the school [collective sceptical laughs]… it is important, but 50%,

right? [collective sceptical laughs]… [another group member:] I can say it is very very important also, because the paths you are able to challenge, you need to talk to people… you have to know how to talk to them, and that one, you learn it from school, how to talk in English, how to talk in Swahili, but here I guess you can find that we people, our parents don't have money to get us to the school, they can only manage this low level"

… and the prospect of having access to it and centring it on a more practical approach, as to both technical and entrepreneurial expertises, is also considered as desirable [x6]

> "education in the school is majorly made on academic performance, but they can also include the skill of craft, because people have different capacities, some cannot perform well in academic performance but if you come to fields like crafting they can perform well… if you learn craft deep in the second level, you can manage to start your own business"

> "teaching more about entrepreneurship in the school… yes, but the problem is the capital, because in the school you are taught entrepreneurship, you can also have your own business, but people lack the capital, you can't risk it, the business you want to start building… but it can also matter, because it can help those who have capital… it can be introduced as a subject, but there you just do it theoretically, not practically, you find out at the long term the business collapse"

Finally, the lack of language and communication skills, including computer proficiency, was mentioned as a major obstacle to the development of people and groups [x3]

> "I guess we interact with many people but we cannot manage to go to high levels and find a way of how can we do it ourselves… in school we first acquire languages, which is a mean of communication, you can use it anywhere, because if you know language you go abroad, you can talk to people… we are also taught in school how to use things like Goggle, how we can even use them as our model of merchandise"

> "the person who is not educated doesn't receive information, because for most of the information you need to acquire about life you have to have education, because a lot of things are just passing by, because a lot of information is written information, you know, language, to know a different language… once you acquire education, knowledge, the world will be bigger"

A.2.3 Possibility to Choose Self-fulfilling and Rewarding Lifestyles

Being self-managed [x4], having the capability and the time for being creative and innovative [x5] and having passion for the work [x4] were pointed out by youth group members as important elements as to individual and collective wellbeing; these elements tend to be described as practicable in youth groups [x6] – one group described its environment as having a 'new vibe' which could be sensed by visitors – and this kind of organization as more likely to engender equal development amongst the members [x6], whereas working for money in a regular company is expected to be frustrating since the work in it is pictured as imposed and people there considered as under pressure and exhaustion [x5]; working in a youth group tends to be regarded as preferable even if the salary is smaller than in a regular company [x3]

> "autonomy on how to work… it is very important for our wellbeing, very very important, because we are also trying to run away from just being employed, we are also trying to be self-employed and be creative, so autonomy gives us time to design and come up with things we can do in our own that in a way we can improve our social wellbeing… I think it is really important because in companies, many people don't go to work in companies because the work is imposed, but here we are doing what we like ourselves, that is also very important, doing what you like, not doing what you are forced to do… some of us have worked in companies, but what we are seeing is frustration, you are not going there because you have the passion, you are going there because you want to fit something in life, you do your stupid calculation, after three months doing that activity

so I can buy a TV set, I can buy an AC, you are not going there because you want to work… this is something most of us in our group really focus, being self-employed, and being self-managed, and being self-dependent, because at the end of the day you can work under someone, but are you really happy?"

"society represses creativity, the ones who are creative do not have space in the traditional companies"

"here in our group, the quality, the rules, the regulations, whatever, are the members who have come up with, we are the ones who have come up with everything… we have divided ourselves in departments, the work of that department makes sure that what is supposed to be done is done, so it is not a matter of forcing somebody to do, because it is something that is coming to our hart, it is a passion… in the [regular] company the owner of the company is the one that comes up with what is supposed to be done, but in our case is not the chairman who is supposed to come up with all that, people are the ones that say what is supposed to be done… and after people are given duties and the chairman makes sure the duty has been performed"

"we feel what is wrong, we question what comes from outside through our feelings and reject external ideas if we feel they are wrong"

"having a social life… in our group we can socialize, we don't work all the time… and working hours are not separated from life"

"working under pressure is not good, what you produce is low quality… you cannot feel free but on the other hand you make more money, so I think where you can feel free, that one is worth"

"I think we should be in a place where you grow as one, you contribute to equality, some shouldn't be left behind whereas others grow… I think in our group people think we should grow together… everybody works for that, equality"

Focus, commitment, hard work and collectively breaking paradigms and changing thinking and practices – getting away from middlemen and having access to new markets are examples – are also depicted by youth group members as conducive to wellbeing [x4]; engaging in something which leads to changes that people consider positive was as well pointed out as a factor likely to engender happiness

"we need to be innovative in a way so that we can sustain ourselves, we come with business oriented prospects or objectives… it will lead us, the members committed in the group… we can now feed us and we can now say we have done it"

"something important to have a good life is hard work, changing mentality, our daily thinking, the kind of activities that we are undergoing, for example we depend on middlemen, so we can just depend on them for a long time, unless we sit down and think about how can we move to another level… I see this step can lead us to get markets, and that can lead us to get money and this money will improve our lives, so it is like collecting ideas, when we join it, we put together… so I think to have a better life is like developing some new ideas on the activities that we are doing… engaging on something that leads to changes is good, it makes we feel happy"

Youth group members broadly consider the youth group as an environment where they can express themselves and where they have significant freedom [x6], even though they can refer to this freedom as sometimes limited by the collective sovereignty

"people here can express what they think, it is democratic, if you see something, you think of something you want, you are allowed to express it to the members… if you think of creating something, maybe creating a design, you can go ahead and try it, if you think of the way you wish to live, we can also debate on it and how to reach that level… we have also that freedom, all those

freedoms, freedom of speech, freedom of doing things, but you cannot just come and do anything, you also have to seek from the people, today we are doing what?"

Youth groups are also described as flexible in terms of different levels/qualities of participation, so that members have room to explore other opportunities in their lives [x5]

> "if you find a job outside and a high salary… you might go, because there are some other things maybe you would like to be doing in your life… but the thing is that you are not losing the membership, you are still a member… you can even start your own business, and if you can earn more than what you are earning here, we are encouraging that… there are members of this organization who are in the college, and after finishing the college they get a job… we don't have many resources so that we can give our members big salaries, we don't have that capacity… so we normally encourage our members to be entrepreneurs, they should come out with business ideas, do you see, and we can try to finance and execute it together"

In contrast, work relations in regular companies are broadly pointed out as exploitative and stagnating [x5] and at times as a cause of alienated families [x2]; these problems can be explained by youth group members as consequences of an undue emphasis on profit [x2]

> "when it comes to these companies, a lot of companies here in Kenya, you can do a lot of work and at the end of the day you earn nothing… so it is a lot of time there for nothing and when you go home, if you have a family, you see the family is split, because you come late… the parents put all the effort on how to pay the house, the basic needs, you don't see anything apart that, they leave the house early, arrive at home tired… it is hard for them to follow up their children"

> "in a company, you may work there for a long time and making profit to that company, whereas here in our organization this profit you make will be shared among these people and with time you find yourself making a huge impact and improvement, whereas there you are just dormant or stagnating, no any improvement, progress or whatever in your life"

> "another difference between us and the companies is that the companies' role is to make profit, so that is why you see some cash workers being downward"

In addition, power inequality in the value chain – mostly expressed by the presence of middlemen – is referred to as unfair [x4]

> "the first issue we see that is unfair to us is these middlemen, the price we are selling to them is low comparing to the work we are doing… I also have something that really scares me out of, one of your partners, he can promise us that when we produce these things we will sell these things at this price, so that we can have a better life, but later you find out that he is only trying to turn you upset-down… you think you can have a better life in the future, but you find out you are only working hard and the price that at first was maybe 50, you find out that it is coming down, 30, sometimes 20, so that is really unfair to us"

Finally, when asked about the possibility of leaving the youth group to work in a regular company for a considerably higher salary, youth group members produced three kinds of answer: a) a staunch refusal, b) doing it only if the youth group is stagnant and/or if my role in the company would be under my limits and moral, and c) doing it temporarily to save money and so be able to start my own business

> "if things are stagnant here [youth group], you can easily go, but if there is a way that I am looking at, you will not got… and I would ask what are the roles and see if it is under my limits and moral"

> "I would work there [regular company], follow the rules of the company, but besides the working hours I would put my business under the money which is now being paid, once I have completed

my work I will be free at my own time… there is a time for everything, so I just accept"

A.2.4 Capability to Participate in Society

Youth group members continuously mention the relevance of participating in community activities with reference to wellbeing [x6]

> "being able to participate in society and helping to decide things is very important for the wellbeing, life in the community has to be suitable, if it is not suitable you have to do something about it, the wellbeing of the whole community to be better"

> "after having food, clothing, and shelter, you must check on what surrounds you, if people can have these things in the surroundings… if you don't relate to your neighbours well you can't have peace… the next stage is thinking about something in the community, if I can see members of our group have already changed, they have gotten what they wanted, because the group has something to do with the community, now how can the community also move from this step to other step? … another point is model of development, you have to be in a position of thinking, for example, on how to stop famine, of developing something"

> "besides material needs, you need to have a vision, a social one… sharing ideas about life and our common social problems"

Youth groups tend to be created to deal with the issues of lack of income and idleness, but also to solve broader social problems [x6], which is a sign of a certain blend between work and social life; due to their collective character, the groups are described as somehow capable of both replacing the government in certain activities and pressuring it concerning others [x3]; though members recognize the importance of economic sustainability [x2] and the groups' limitations as for complex social issues

> "here in our group, the main purpose of why the group was created, was because we didn't have anything to do… and we find many youths are engaging in anti-social activities, drug abuse, criminal activities, things like that… so we saw that chance, if we come together and come as one, as a group, and then speak with one voice people can hear… in our work we have being replacing the government in some issues, like cleaning and garbage collection and also IT, and we are doing social activities, we are trying to emphasise the community on issues that affect us and by doing these things the community has accepted us and seen us as maybe their option, nowadays we find members of the community coming here and bringing some cases as if we were the chief or maybe the police, that shows the community has seen us as an option and they can share the problems they have with us, what we do is, we don't waste any opportunity, we as a group, if we want to go there or there, we go, if we want to go, maybe to the area mayor, we go and talk to him… being in a group helps a lot, we are not seen as an individual but as an organization and the issues you are coming up with are the people's issues… one problem in our community is that many people are computer illiterate… we won't just sit down and blame whoever was supposed to do that, but we are trying to play our part… and we want to show other youths or to make them responsible, to do something which also can help them to help their community"

> "in Kenya, if you live in a slum… no electricity, no water… if it is security, you will see one policeman patrolling at 3 PM and then he never shows up, on a daily basis there are crimes, people are stealing everywhere, because of that we just saw and then we came up with something like that, security, patrolling, we employ our own guard, you are doing it for the sake of the community and the community is really appreciating"

> "we want also to build a centre to rehabilitate people… a part where there is the rehabilitation and a part where we will be doing business… and also a centre of doing cultural things, that is our dream… we want to be the one leading in that kind of society, we have found that besides doing

all the things we are doing, at the same time we are in a business… the thing is that you want to be sustainable, if someone is out there and making money, we want to compete with them, you have to make some changes, also you have to grow… and sometimes you cannot do everything the community would like you to do, you have to do what you can"

"we give chance to youths to bring projects to us and support it if it is a good idea"

In addition, group members regularly point out their wish of being seen as a role model and as a source of inspiration for other people in the community [x5] and tend to believe that changing people's state of mind – instituting hope and mutual encouragement – can deeply improve the community [x4]

"every member works, and at the end of the month he is supposed to earn something and go back home and be proud of the organization, it only creates inspiration for other youths… it can be a motivation to somebody who is living here in the slum, I can be like a mentor to him or to her, so we can have a big impact on the slum population and Nairobi as a whole"

"another important aspect is giving about to the society and showing the people that there is still hope, because look at us, we were raised like other young men over there but we came up… we were idle… when it comes to poverty, it is just a state of mind, so you can just change that aspect so that we can empower them"

"we have to show the community by acting, for example engaging ourselves in collecting garbage… and we talk to people one by one to change the mentality of the community"

"we are proud that we can produce things out of waste and make nice products… to be a role model, because in anything we are doing we have to involve the community, because our group is there so people have a better life"

One group also expressed the importance of an intense and legitimate connection between the organization and its clients so that both can be satisfied

"most of our customers are young people, and they have a certain public culture, we connect with them, an important connection because we have certain values… culture, that is urban culture… it doesn't matter where you come from… creativity, people defy each other in a kind of healthy competition… if you move alone most likely you start producing mass, and it only carries you on for a certain time, then it turns people to sufferance, because you find that rate of customer satisfaction is gone"

Group members are also inclined to criticize the governments not only for being inefficient and privileging people that are better off to the detriment of those who most need support, but also for at times actively disturbing the development of the most excluded ones [x6]; they point out that people's wellbeing can largely increase if this situation is changed and moderately position the youth group as a mechanism for exerting local governance in this regard [x3]

"exercising governance over the government, so their focus becomes supporting innovative and creative people in the slums… it is hard for you to start your own business… you have to have a license, in the first day you have to contact the area chief… these are things that are supposed to be eliminated, this local chief, he doesn't help, and even the person that makes less than one dollar a day has to pay that tax, all they want is the money… and you have to have money to get money, you cannot get a loan if you don't have money… today, the environment where we are, you have to be wealthy for you to be assisted… the environment, they have to make the environment for people to start their business… the most important thing is that they have to encourage people in the community"

"let's talk about politics, you find that in our system of governance we lack leadership, because we

have got politicians but you lack leadership… there is corruption… the ministers themselves, some of them do not even qualify to run these positions, somebody is a professor in mathematics and is given a docket of police, there is conflict, he cannot do that job well… in the transport, it is private and the price is exorbitant, the government should come up with its own vehicles, at a lower rate, which at least can boost the poor people"

"the group makes the members stronger to interact with the local government and go over administrative issues"

One youth group member also mentioned that politicians fail to create the conditions to attract foreign investments and this ends up being a cause of unemployment, however, he stated that this idea is something he has been hearing in the news and did not clearly express how convinced he is about this model of job generation

"politicians promise thousands of jobs but the poverty level is just increasing, what I have been hearing in the news is that investors are running away from our country due to high taxation, electricity tariffs are higher, the investors do not see the reason to invest in this country… if they can attract the investors there might be creation of jobs"

When group members were asked if they would leave the slum if they had the chance, the answers varied from few absolute refusals to the situation wherein individuals would leave, but still find a way to help the community; in the case of groups, the tendency is that the group would remain [x5] unless it was forced to leave due to lack of space or security problems [x2]; moreover, the groups' expansion does not mean leaving the community, but opening branches in other places as a manner of accessing new markets [x3]

"leaving the slum… to me if there is an opportunity to change your life I think the person should not wait, and maybe this kind of opportunity will also come to the community and change other people's lives in the community… if I leave and make some money, after that, I will come back to the community and find where I can also help… try to make sure children won't suffer anymore… you can leave the community and still help it"

"our group, we might be forced to leave, for example, the land where we are is not ours, it belongs to the government, but otherwise [we stay], because the group has ties to the community members… but security is a problem, it could force us to move too… in our group we have a vision of moving to another level, we have planned to expand… opening a branch in town would be expanding, the production process would also be expanding… the model of marketing, if we move to town, we can easily access various places than if we are here… but we can also help the community, because if we expand the enterprise it means we need more labour, so we can employ"

Concerning persons' interactions with nature and the environment surrounding them, youth group members are likely to emphasise co-dependent and circular qualities [x4], as well as a strong connection between being environmentally friendly and collective wellbeing [x6]

"we should be environmentally friendly in whatever we are doing… if we destroy plants, we will lose something because they can help, if we don't have plants around and a strong wind comes we can easily be thrown away, this is very important… cleaning the surrounds is also important… if we produce dust, people just send us away, we should be friendly at every level, you send on them, they also will send on us, so it is something which is circulating, we depend on each other"

One group suggested that organizations pollute because they do not know the means of avoiding it and even expressed the wish of helping them to deal with this issue – its members propose companies could mutually benefit if they recycled each other's waste as raw material for their operations

"if you work in a company that makes a lot of pollution to the environment, you can see means

and ways of controlling that pollution, so maybe they make more pollution because they don't know the measures they can take to reduce the pollution, but us in our group we know what we can do so that we can decrease the rate of pollution, we can implement that and apply it, so that you can help them to reduce the course of pollution if you are able… their waste products can be raw materials for other companies somewhere, they can find those companies that can use their waste product to recycle as their raw material… it benefits both and reduces the rate of pollution to the environment"

Finally, youth group members demonstrated to be critical of the situation in which a company emphasises profit to the detriment of the environment [x3] – some of them proposed that severe sanctions should be applied and expressed their predisposition to engage in public campaigns against it

> "caring just about profit and not about the environment… in that case the company is materialistic, so, if they can reduce that measure, so they can become less materialistic, they have helped, if they can't, it is just the environment that suffers… if not, the area concerned should arrest them, because they are polluting the environment, they don't want to take care of the environment, they should be arrested… they can't earn a lot of money to risk other people's lives, I think instead of working for that company, I can find some more ways and followers to advocate for this company to be shut down, because to nature, you cannot be happy to be rich in a place where people suffer… for me to go and work for this company I think it is like going to kill people, so I will quit the money and find some ways to stop this company"

A.2.5 Feelings of Competence and Confidence

Youth group members stated that wellbeing is related to a sense of progress and realization [x3] and to a general feeling of being appreciated by other people [x4]; concerning the former, they emphasize the importance of commitment, organization, innovative thoughts, hard work, determination, and mutual encouragement, as well as of being generally optimist and having a positive thinking [x3] about becoming free from life's restrictions; regarding the latter, they highlight the wishes that people look at them in a positive manner [x3] and of becoming a role model in the community [x5]

> "wellbeing is all about being organized, being liberated, being optimistic, as you can see, this place, this was our dream, because initially we never had an office, so we came up and built the channels, so I think wellbeing is about committing, dreaming, and people liberated, being well organized, I think these are some of the things for any human being to be successful, hard work and determination, because sometimes we thought of giving up, because the institution is so tight… and at the end of the day we find that determination, that self-confidence… one day we will be there, although you are not there, we will be moving"

> "it is all about appreciation, when you feel you are appreciated you feel you are competent… how people live life is important for wellbeing, how other people look at you… it makes you feel respected"

> "dignity for us is that we become a role model in the community, they can view us as their example and they can decide to follow us… to be self-dependent, we are depending on ourselves, everything we are doing is decided by ourselves… we encourage ourselves, because we as a group, we have the capability of making things, we go and seek the idea of how we can develop whatever we are doing… and lack of dignity… lack of money… we lack the idea of how to move from one stage to another… being unsuccessful in whatever we plan to achieve, if we fail to achieve what we have planed so people won't talk about our group anymore, they will talk about the successful groups they see, they will only talk about us in negative ways"

> "we should always try to have a positive thinking, that is one major thing… so we can achieve something meaningful in life"

A.2.6 Freedom from Humiliation

One youth group member broadly defined freedom from humiliation as being amongst social relations characterized by respect to life itself and to the environment

> "it is the way like you carry yourself or the way you relate to people, and how people relate to you, and how you treat each other, what type of community you want for living and you want people to live in, so it is all about respecting life itself, you have to respect your environment and the environment will respect you back"

Youth group members affirmed that work relations can be associated with people feeling humiliated and tend to express indignation concerning it [x4]; examples are: being paid low salaries [x2], working excessive and inconvenient hours – 'being treated like someone who has not a life to live' – [x3], being forced to work when you have a reason for not doing it, not having autonomy [x3], being undervalued or not being able to talk to people because you are in a low position [x3], being insulted [x3], and feeling owned by another person; they also appear to consider people more vulnerable to be humiliated in regular companies than in youth groups [x4]

> "humiliation… it can be related to the way like people work, or how people compete, it is all about how you treat each other, how you relate to each other in the work, how you are telling people the way they are going to work… sometimes people are humiliated when it comes to money, maybe they are being paid low salaries, maybe they will be given more work than they get paid, or the time people have to work, it is too early to them, it is too late for them… maybe my boss will force me to work until 10, but I have to come to work at 7, so I feel humiliated, I feel treated like a person who hasn't a life to live, it is like my life is just as work, you know, and how people treat each other in that organization or company, according to the ranks, the ranks make feel that they own them, between them, when it comes to the working place, maybe I can't talk to this person because I am low class, working class, I won't talk to the big persons in the office, I have no authority to go and talk to him about life itself or talk about something else, in the company I am just working you know, in the work place most of the people feel like robots, that you are being programmed, if you are late the boss complains: you were supposed to be reporting here, what happened? … maybe you feel like you need some time from work, but you will be forced to come, so you feel humiliated, you feel like you are not appreciated as a worker"

> "companies here in Kenya… you do a lot of work and earn nothing… and you get there in the morning and after one minute [you hear]: you come here, take this, go there!! [in an authoritarian and humiliating tone]… the way like we were being treated, we were being insulted"

> "you are performing a low level activity, so at that place you can lack that your dignity, because having some people at a higher level will not dignify you, if they don't see that a useful activity will be there, that one can also lead to lack of dignity"

When asked about how to organize the work in a way people are free from being humiliated, youth group members generally tend to emphasise work relations balanced upon general equality and characterized by respect and recognition in spite of functions or positions [x6], although some members might question its limits for supposedly harming outputs

> "relationship, communication… how you communicate in that organization, in that company, communication is very important, how you communicate or how you balance the relation between you workers and you co-workers, it is very important… maybe I am a watchman in a company, a low man in security, at the gate, it is very important that people make me feel important, the way they talk to me, maybe the big people in the company won't even talk to the security people down there… they recognize you are doing a good job, it will make people feel they are part of the company… they think the CEO is the most important person in that office, but maybe it is the

security officer down there, so the way we will relate to each other, the way we treat each other, the way we view each other, you know, there is a problem with human beings, we judge each other at first sight… that is a weakness of the human being, we normally don't have that open mind… so I would say it is all about communication, how you relate to each other in that company or organization, make people feel they are important, and also improve their salaries"

"humiliation… when people in a group are competing to be better than others, the losers might feel humiliated, but this competition can be good for the group… [another member disagrees:] everyone could be in the position of doing anything, this idea that some are better than others is bad… [first member:] here some activities are only let for the specialist, not everybody is allowed to do it because they are very important and require special skills… people who do these activities, for example, design, are better than others in skills… [second member contests again:] for our dignity, we have also to try, and where you are put to do work, you do it with your own effort"

A.2.7 Feeling Socially Connected, Cared For and Significant to Others

The youth group members' discourse demonstrated their belief in the idea that humans are emotional beings and need to feel connected with each other and function together so they can enjoy wellbeing [x5]

"you cannot just operate in your own, we are all connected, people need others to operate for them to feel wellbeing, it is like a network, like a paragraph, you remove just one letter from it and it won't make sense to you, so, people need people for their wellbeing, because we the humans we have emotions and we have feelings, we need people to be in our lives for us to feel fully completed, so people need people, the more people the more wellbeing"

In addition, this would produce the conditions for people to fulfil their need of expressing themselves

"people have to feel that they are part of the community, to give their option… to give them a chance to express all of their views, ideas and opinions"

They also pointed out that being socially connected ensures the support and the reassurance people need during difficult moments in life [x5] and that being part of a youth group is likely to lead to this situation [x5]; moreover, this practice would be self-reinforcing, since when people are helped they would be more inclined to help others too

"wellbeing… we believe in what we call brotherhood forever, we believe that we are one, so whenever you get kind of a problem or something, the group comes as a whole and we try to look on ways to help you solve your problem… we give each other psychological support, show you can recover"

"people caring for you… that one is very important because, when someone cares for you, you know if you miss what you wanted to reach or you are going down, that one will help you… if you are helped you are also going to help someone if the need arrives, so people need to be helped by others"

Furthermore, it would have the potential to foster equality [x2] and engender mutual understanding [x3]

"many people are suffering like we people… somebody hears this discussion, he or she might be willing to find the way their group can help us, fight this poverty, we want to get educated so that we will be at a position of meeting many people, or finding on our own we can help many people"

"co-operating with others, from different environments, different tribes… if you are alone it will be difficult for you to understand others"

Mutual respect [x3] and devotion [x3] concerning the way people relate to each other would also lead to the strengthening of social connections

> "a person should also be self-disciplined, as a group now we find it very easy to communicate and to talk to your fellows, because you disciplined yourself, in the end you find yourself running that respect amongst the individual members"

> "our culture, I was always brought up in a community way, so we respect each other, if somebody is older automatically gets respect, and the older listen to us, so dignity comes when we respect each other, if somebody feels respect he feels dignified"

> "the sacrifices I make for myself and the group, it determines how well the group will be"

The manner how someone is being treated – respectfully, fairly and equally –, his or her level of participation, and how others feel he or she is important to the group would define one's sense of belonging to that group [x3]

> "what makes you feel part of a group is the way you are being treated, the way you are being appreciated, the way people communicate to you, the way people feel you are important to that group, the more you have been put into operation, it makes you feel more part of it, you have a sense of belonging… it comes automatically from how people relate to you, how they communicate to you, how you relate to each other, that comes automatically, you don't have to be told, now you belong to here, it just comes"

> "and the most important, equality… equal distribution… that will make people feel that they are part of the group… it is also important coming together and sharing different ideas"

Trust amongst people was also mentioned as crucial for wellbeing [x3] …

> "trust, if you are not trusted people cannot work with you, I think trust is the most important thing for wellbeing"

> "other needs besides material ones… trust among the people… being honest, as a group, as an individual, be honest to yourself… and talk to each other"

… and youth group members tend to express a sense of concern towards their groups even if they are about to leave regular operations [x4]

> "I could leave for a big salary, but first I would make sure the others at the group are not going to fall down, first ensure that there is a person I left where I was"

Finally, when questioned about what is unfair or misplaced concerning social connections, youth group members mentioned parents not having enough time or not sufficiently dedicating themselves to properly raise their children, as well as the spreading of destructive rumours in their social circles

> "parental responsibility… the way like people are being brought up… without values, the parents cannot take care of the youngs, of their children… for you to be decent, for you to be a responsible person in the community… these days most of our parents don't have enough time with their children… they should understand their children better, accompany the progress of the children, teach them the importance of going to school, avoiding drugs, knowing what is wrong or right"

> "maybe you have some people that are working under your group, and then another people come and start talking to these people about the group, about your organization, which maybe can scare the people who are working or the people who are in the group, and even some people can run

away, so I think this is unfair for the group or the community, when external people come and say something that could create problems"

A.3 Comparability Check for Youth Groups in Dar es Salaam

Youth groups in Dar es Salaam were established mostly as a control group for the ones in Nairobi and thus did not effectively participated in the exploratory phase. However, to be able to qualify and contextualize the finding in Nairobi, it is imperative that groups in Dar es Salaam correspond to a similar phenomenon, i.e. are comparable to those in Nairobi. For this reason, activities with youth groups in Dar es Salaam began with short interviews to check their constitutive foundations concerning purposes of association, equality, participation, knowledge distribution, and attainment of collective needs.

Activities carried out with 7 youth groups in Dar es Salaam (20 men, 5 women): Function Masters (3 women; 25min), Mikazi Arts Group (2 men; 30min), Ndame Boxing Club (3 men; 20min), Ngao Youth Group (3 men, 1 woman; 50min), Tan Hope Arts Group (2 men; 12min), Uyoga Boga (4 men, 1 woman; 35min), and Vijana Fenicha (6 men; 40min)

Note: since youth group members in Dar es Salaam were established mostly as a control group for the ones in Nairobi, their answers are summarized in relation to the latter's ones; in addition, due to the fact that qualitative activities in Dar es Salaam were carried out with the assistance of a translator, the quotes correspond to a third person succinctly describing in English the youths' blocks of speech (originally in Swahili)

A.3.1 Association

Youth group members in Dar es Salaam said to associate themselves for reasons similar to those of their counterparts in Nairobi: to add up skills, knowledge, experiences, resources, and ideas [x6]; to learn from each other [x6]; to be able to access loans and grants [x5]; to be better positioned to access markets [x3]; and because it employs more people and battles idleness and crime [x2]

> "issues about getting opportunities, they said when you are in a group there are a lot of opportunities, access to capital, and sharing of ideas and skills, and being able to win the markets, because there is less competition on price [since people co-operate]"

> "sharing of ideas, skills and knowledge… for easy implementation, they said in a group it becomes easier because of segregation of duties… it is easier to form a group… it generates more income than if you go by yourself… and access to finance, it is easier for financial institutions to provide you a loan because you are in a group"

> "to get donations… and you get paid regularly and daily"

> "share ideas, knowledge, their skills, co-operate for decision making, it is difficult for you to handle all your issues on your own… even the government wants them to form groups to simplify their works"

> "to generate jobs… get knowledge and skills from the fellow members… access to credit, the group can guarantee it… and market, you can be able to expand your market"

> "sharing of skills and knowledge, easy access to everything, and to be able to co-operate in the group and with other groups"

> "exchange of skills… expansion, and they speak about solidarity, to co-operate, so as to be able to get access to information, skills, knowledge, new issues… if you are working in a group it is easer

for you to expand your markets, rather than operate in a individual level… if they form a group it is easer to get a loan, the issue of collateral… it helps to improve their living standards, some of their members used to be thieves, but now with their friends, now they are able to earn an income and decided to leave that situation"

A.3.2 Equality, Participation and Knowledge Distribution

Groups members in Dar es Salaam also democratically elect the management teams [x7] – who do not receive extra financial compensation [x7] – and vital decisions are collectively taken in regular general meetings open for all members [x6]; assets are also in general collectively owned [x6] and the distribution of revenue appears to follow the same logic as in Nairobi [x3]

> "decision making… first of all the leaders are supposed to seat and discuss the matter, them provide the information concerning the issues to the other members, so the decision can be efficient… members have to approve before the money is spent, in general meetings, by vote"
>
> "if they want to implement a decision, the leaders sit down to discuss the issue, then they have to vote the matter during the meetings… the leaders are elected in the meetings too"
>
> "the leaders, who were elected by the members, discuss and after take the issues to the other members, to see if they agree, if they disagree they have to discuss again"
>
> "they have meetings, several meetings, to decide what to do… if one third of the group agree then the issue must be implemented, otherwise not"
>
> "they make meetings to discuss and decide things, once a week, all members participate… disagreements are treated through deeper discussions and the leaders act as mediators"

Participation, again like in Nairobi, tends to be seen not only as a right, but also as a duty

> "they said one of the challenges they are facing is about the perception of the members, they expect to receive something when they participate… otherwise some members don't wanna participate… the leaders say that the members are supposed to be there, on their own cost, no one can support you, you are supposed to be there, as a group… it is a issue of commitment, leaders need to have the members' commitment"

Information concerning the youth group was also described as totally open and accessible to every member [x6], respecting a certain discretion about sensitive information such as financial issues or punishment of members [x2]

> "they said information is fully accessible, no secrets"
>
> "everything is publicly available, every piece of information they share together"
>
> "they have an information board, and they communicate by cell phone… information which should not go outside the group is discussed by all members in the general meetings"
>
> "information is generally accessible for all members… financial information should be presented to all members in the meetings, but not to people isolated"
>
> "information about money expenditures and new business ventures they may want to establish should be available for all members… but if someone in the group needs to be punished, the issue should be discussed by the management team first, before others get to know"

A.3.3 Attainment of Collective Needs

Concerns about the community are as well commonly present amongst youth group members in Dar es Salaam [x4], …

> "they want to have their training centre, to train youths in the community"
>
> "they want to remove any level of dependence, from government or donors… and they said they want to expand their members, to have more members and fight the issues of unemployment"
>
> "they said they want to see the group working for the community, providing services and developing the community, this is very important to them"
>
> "most of their activities aim at the community, have to do with community development"

… and, as in Nairobi, group members demonstrated to differentiate good competition from bad competition – the latter associated with lack of co-operation and collapse of the non-winners – [x5]

> "they said competition expands your thinking about innovation, having new products and the way you do it, the improvement of the quality, so you can have more customers… but there is a bad side, fights and misunderstandings among groups, sabotage… loss of market… and the cost of improving your products, so you can be able to compete with your competitors, costs of improving the products, promotion, selling"
>
> "competition… quality improves, and issues about creativity… but if you lose the market the group will collapse"
>
> "competition… they said when you cannot win the market, when you are not strong enough, you cannot be able to survive… co-operation is better, it improves people's situation, people know each other, it increases creativity, and you learn from other groups and other members"
>
> "in a competition you are able to know your strength, weakness, and even to exploit opportunities in the environments… but the bad side is the collapse of other groups, and the lack of development if the group is losing, loss of markets"
>
> "they said that business competition is supposed to be there, because now we are in the free market, so you cannot stop someone from establishing a business that resembles your business, so it is supposed to be there so as you have a challenge, you need to understand your strength and your weakness to have the opportunities… competition is fine to be there, but it must be in a good manner, it has to be within the borders and rules of agreements"

Appendix B - Quantitative Phase: Surveys with Youths

The appendix B describes the fieldwork's quantitative phase and its results. This phase's conceptualization was largely rooted in findings from the exploratory stage and for the most part it aspires to test, specify, elaborate and to some extent generalize these findings. Its self-administered surveys were applied to youth group members, individual youth entrepreneurs and youths in high school in slums of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. In Nairobi, 408 youths from the three categories and carrying out their activities in the regions of Mathare and Kibera participated in the surveys and had their answers considered as reasonably reliable; in Dar es Salaam the valid sample corresponds to 50 youth group members situated in the Manzese area. All respondents were between 15 and 35 years old. Finally, in Nairobi, a brief qualitative stage was subsequently carried out in order to gain basic awareness on how group members see the surveys' main outputs.

Picture B-1: Youth Group Members in Nairobi and in Dar es Salaam

Concerning youth group members in Nairobi, the questionnaires were applied directly – the researcher personally explained and monitored the filling – and indirectly – the group leaders were asked to take the forms to their groups and apply them to members. In Dar es

Salaam all questionnaires were directly applied. As for individual youth entrepreneurs, respondents were randomly found in streets of Mathare and Kibera and had to conform to the following criteria: a) fit the age range, b) be an owner of an informal or formal small business with no more than 3 people (including employees and owners), and c) be able to read; the questionnaires were for the most part applied indirectly through research assistants recruited amongst youth group members. Regarding youths in high school, the questionnaires were directly applied to classes of students in two schools of Kibera (St. Michael and St. Secilia Academies). At last, substantial time was continually dedicated to the clarification of the surveys' purposes and questions and of how the forms were supposed to be filled out – through a deeply reflective attitude.

Picture B-2: Youths in High School in Nairobi

Finally, all indirectly applied forms passed through a rigorous filtering process. An extensive analysis comparing writings and tick patterns and checking consistencies was carried out and each suspected case was eliminated. All forms were scanned and pieces of image corresponding to group name, activity, age, phone number, and few tick fields were extracted through specially developed macros and placed in spreadsheets in a way they could

be associated with the forms' answers and easily sorted and compared [66]. It came up that, particularly in the case of youth groups in Nairobi, clusters of forms clearly or apparently filled out by the same person returned amongst the samples; the reasons for that were later informally discussed with some group members and interesting insights could be raided to be added to the chapter '5. Inverting Perspectives' under the researcher's general impressions. At last, all directly or indirectly applied forms which presented a substantial amount of mistakes concerning how they should be filled out were also discarded. In total, around 240 forms were somehow considered as not reasonably reliable and excluded from the analysis.

Picture B-3: Individual Youth Entrepreneurs and Their Business in Nairobi

[66] The subsection 'B.2.14 Data' presents some of these image fields.

B.1 Questionnaires

This section presents the questionnaires which were applied in the quantitative phase. In the case of youth group members, the questionnaire was divided into two parts. The first intended to understand how they judge their groups' organization and how they would like it to be. The second part aimed mostly at picturing their view as for the associations between some manners of structuring production/work relations and a number of aspects of wellbeing. As youths in Nairobi presented a significant mastery of English and even considered themselves as more skilled at reading in it than in Swahili, the former language was adopted. However, due to a restricted level of English proficiency amongst youths in Dar es Salaam, the questionnaire applied to them was translated into Swahili. Regarding individual youth entrepreneurs and youths in high school, the questionnaires consisted nearly of the second part of the one applied to youth group members; the only difference was that, since youths in these two categories were less used to the idea of co-operativism than youth group members, their questionnaires contained cartoons [67] which evoked the main statements. Finally, one last supplementary questionnaire was elaborated to gain understanding of the individual youth entrepreneurs' perceptions about: a) their levels of satisfaction as for aspects of wellbeing, and b) these aspects' relative importance.

[67] Specially elaborated by the cartoonist Paulo Batista to illustrate the questionnaires. The cartoons' design was inspired by the essential ideas of: a) a company wherein relations are absolutely based on the principles of individual freedom and unrestricted private property, and b) an organization in which relations are completely founded on the thoughts of universal equality and co-operation. These two essential ideas also to some extent correspond to how youth group members in Nairobi described regular companies and youth groups during the exploratory phase.

What is your Youth Group like???
How would you like your Youth Group to be???

Reflect before answering!!!

Example of how to answer the questions:

	People never express their opinion	Half/Half	Everybody gives their opinion about everything
a) What is the situation in your Group?	☒	☐	☐
b) How would you like it to be?	☐	☒	☐

Question 1

	Only very few people know everything that happens in the company	Half/Half	Everybody has access to all information about the company (maximum transparency)
a) What is the situation in your Group?	☐	☐	☐
b) How would you like it to be?	☐	☐	☐

Question 2

	Very few people give orders… most people obey	Half/Half	Everybody participates in the management of the company… in an equal way
a) What is the situation in your Group?	☐	☐	☐
b) How would you like it to be?	☐	☐	☐

Question 3

	There is the owner and the employees… the owner hires the employees	Half/Half	Everybody is an owner… everybody is an equal member
a) What is the situation in your Group?	☐	☐	☐
b) How would you like it to be?	☐	☐	☐

Question 4

Most of the earnings go to the owner and to other few people in the company	Half/Half	The earnings are fairly divided among the members or applied to improve their lives
a) What is the situation in your Group? ☐	☐	☐
b) How would you like it to be? ☐	☐	☐

Question 5

The managers work to increase the owner's profit	Half/Half	The leaders work to improve the members' wellbeing
a) What is the situation in your Group? ☐	☐	☐
b) How would you like it to be? ☐	☐	☐

Question 6

People compete more… and the losers end up being excluded	Half/Half	People cooperate more… and everybody wins
a) What is the situation in your Group? ☐	☐	☐
b) How would you like it to be? ☐	☐	☐

Question 7

When the company grows, the owner gets richer and more powerful… the employees remain in the same situation	Half/Half	When the company grows, all members benefit and develop together
a) What is the situation in your Group? ☐	☐	☐
b) How would you like it to be? ☐	☐	☐

Question 8

New people are welcome in the company only if they can increase the owner's profit	Half/Half	New people are welcome when they can help to build a better life for all the members
a) What is the situation in your Group? ☐	☐	☐
b) How would you like it to be? ☐	☐	☐

Are you in a position of leadership in your Youth Group? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Gender: ☐ Female ☐ Male Age: ____ Youth Group's Name: _____

Which kind of company generates more wellbeing???

Reflect before answering!!!

Read the three options below…

Option A: to work in a company where:	**Option B:** to be part of a company where:	**Option C:** to start your own small company (individually)
There is the owner and the employees… the owner hires the employees	Everybody is an owner… everybody is an equal member	
Only very few people know everything that happens in the company	Everybody has access to all information (maximum transparency)	
Very few people give orders… most people obey	Everybody participates in the management of the company… in an equal way	
Most of the earnings go to the owner and to other few people in the company	The earnings are fairly divided among the members or applied to improve their lives	
The managers work to increase the owner's profit	The leaders work to improve the members' wellbeing	
People compete more… and the losers end up being excluded	People cooperate more… and everybody wins	
When the company grows, the owner gets richer and more powerful… the employees remain in the same situation	When the company grows, all members benefit and develop together	
New people are welcome in the company only if they can increase the owner's profit	New people are welcome when they can help to build a better life for all the members	

… and now, based on your opinion and experience, answer the questions:

Mark only one option!!!

1) Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

2) Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

3) Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work… of learning new skills and expanding your mind?

☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

4) Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?

☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

5) Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected… and have a more positive thinking?

☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

6) Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?

☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

7) Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?

☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

8) In which kind of company would you prefer to work?

☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

9) How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?

☐ Equally
☐ Based on skills
☐ Based on experience
☐ Based on efforts
☐ Based on results
☐ Based on creativity
☐ Other: _____

Mark only one option!!!

10) In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?

☐ Option A ☐ Option B

11) In which kind of company are things more organized?

☐ Option A ☐ Option B

Are you in a position of leadership in your Youth Group? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Gender: ☐ Female ☐ Male Age: ____ Youth Group's Name: _____

Kikundi chako kikoje???
Ungependa kikundi chako kiweje???

Tafakari kabla ya kujibu!!!

Mfano wa jinsi ya kujibu maswali:

	Watu hawatoi maoni yao kamwe	Kiasi	Kila mtu anatoa maoni juu ya kila kitu
a) Hali ya kikundi ikoje?	☒	☐	☐
b) Ungependa iweje?	☐	☒	☐

Swali 1

	Watu wachache wanajua kila kitu kinachoendelea katika kampuni	Kiasi	Kila mtu ana nafasi ya kupata taanfa zote za kampuni
a) Hali ya kikundi ikoje?	☐	☐	☐
b) Ungependa iweje?	☐	☐	☐

Swali 2

	Wachache wanaa mua… wengi wanatii	Kiasi	Kila mtu anashiriki katika uongozi wa kampuni kiusawa
a) Hali ya kikundi ikoje?	☐	☐	☐
b) Ungependa iweje?	☐	☐	☐

Swali 3

	Kuna mmiliki na waajiriwa… mmiliki anaajiri watu	Kiasi	Kila mtu ni mmiliki… kila mtu ana uanachama sawa
a) Hali ya kikundi ikoje?	☐	☐	☐
b) Ungependa iweje?	☐	☐	☐

Swali 4

	Faida kidogo yanaendelea kwa waajiliwa na mapato mengi yanaendelea kwa mmiliki	Kiasi	Faida yanagawanywa sawa kwa wanachama ama kuboresha maisha yao
a) Hali ya kikundi ikoje?	☐	☐	☐
b) Ungependa iweje?	☐	☐	☐

Swali 5

	Waajiriwa wanafanya kazi kuongeza faida ya mmiliki	Kiasi	Viongozi wanawajibika kuboresha ustawi wa wanachama
a) Hali ya kikundi ikoje?	☐	☐	☐
b) Ungependa iweje?	☐	☐	☐

Swali 6

	Watu wanashindana na anayeshindwa hutengwa	Kiasi	Watu wanashirikiana kila mtu anaridhika
a) Hali ya kikundi ikoje?	☐	☐	☐
b) Ungependa iweje?	☐	☐	☐

Swali 7

	Kadri kampuni inavyokua mmiliki anakuwa tajiri zaidi na waajiliwa wanabaki pale pale	Kiasi	Kampuni ikikua, wanachama wote wanaendelea pamoja na kunufaika
a) Hali ya kikundi ikoje?	☐	☐	☐
b) Ungependa iweje?	☐	☐	☐

Swali 8

	Watu wapya watakaribishwa endapo wataongeza faida ya mmiliki	Kiasi	Watu wapya wanakaribishwa endapo wanaweza kusaidia kujenga maisha bora kwa wanachama wote
a) Hali ya kikundi ikoje?	☐	☐	☐
b) Ungependa iweje?	☐	☐	☐

Wewe ni kiongozi kalika kikundi chenu? ☐ Ndio ☐ Hapana

Jinsia: ☐ Mke ☐ Mme Umri: ____ Jina la kikundi: _____

Ni aina gani ya kampuni inaleta ustawi zaidi???

Tafakari kabla ya kujibu!!!

Soma sehemu tatu za kuchagua hapa chini…

Chaguo A: kufanya kazi kwenye kampuni ambayo:	**Chaguo B:** kuwa sehemu ya kampuni ambayo:	**Chaguo C:** kuanzisha biashara binafsi
Kuna mmiliki na waajiriwa… mmiliki anaajiri watu	Kila mtu ni mmiliki… kila mtu ana uanachama sawa	
Watu wachache wanajua kila kitu kinachoendelea katika kampuni	Kila mtu ana nafasi ya kupata taanfa zote za kampuni	
Wachache wanaa mua… wengi wanatii	Kila mtu anashiriki katika uongozi wa kampuni kiusawa	
Faida kidogo yanaenda kwa waajiliwa na mapato mengi yanaenda kwa mmiliki	Faida yanagawanywa sawa kwa wanachama ama kuboresha maisha yao	
Waajiriwa wanafanya kazi kuongeza faida ya mmiliki	Viongozi wanawajibika kuboresha ustawi wa wanachama	
Watu wanashindana na anayeshindwa hutengwa	Watu wanashirikiana kila mtu anaridhika	
Kadri kampuni inavyokua mmiliki anakuwa tajiri zaidi na waajiriwa wanabaki pale pale	Kampuni ikikua, wanachama wote wanaendelea pamoja na kunufaika	
Watu wapya wakakaribishwa endapo wataongeza faida ya mmiliki	Watu wapya wanakaribishwa endapo wanaweza kusaidia kujenga maisha bora kwa wanachama wote	

… na sasa, kulingana na maoni na uzoefu wako, jibu maswali yafuatayo:

Weka alama ya vema kwenye chaguo moja!!!

1) Chaguo lipi linakuwezesha kukidhi mahitaji yako ya msingi (chakula, malazi, ulinzi, afya na elimu)? ☐ Chaguo A ☐ Chaguo B ☐ Chaguo C

2) Chaguo lipi linakuwezesha kuamua jinsi ya kufanya kazi, kuwa mbunifu na kuelezea utamaduni na imani yako? ☐ Chaguo A ☐ Chaguo B ☐ Chaguo C

3) Chaguo lipi linakuwezesha kujiendeleza kupitia kazi… kujifunza taaluma mpya na kuongeza fikra yako?

☐ Chaguo A ☐ Chaguo B ☐ Chaguo C

4) Chaguo lipi linakupa fursa ya kushirikiana na jamii na kuweza kushiriki katika jamii (ikiwa pamoja na kushirikiana na kushinikiza serikali)?

☐ Chaguo A ☐ Chaguo B ☐ Chaguo C

5) Chaguo lipi linakufanya ujisikie bora, uwezo kujiamini na kuheshimiwa… na kuwa na mawazo chanya?

☐ Chaguo A ☐ Chaguo B ☐ Chaguo C

6) Chaguo lipi litakufanya usiwe katika mazingira ya kunyanyaswa?

☐ Chaguo A ☐ Chaguo B ☐ Chaguo C

7) Ni chaguo lipi linakufanya ujisikie unajaliwa na unajumuishwa na watu zaidi, na una umuhimu kwa wengine?

☐ Chaguo A ☐ Chaguo B ☐ Chaguo C

8) Katika aina ipi ya kampuni ungependa kufanya kazi?

☐ Chaguo A ☐ Chaguo B ☐ Chaguo C

9) Ni vipi faida ya kampuni igawanye kwa waajiliwa?

☐ Sawa
☐ Kulingana na ujuzi
☐ Kulingana na uzoefu
☐ Kulingana na juhudi
☐ Kulingana na matokeo
☐ Kulingana na ubunifu
☐ Mengineyo: _____

Weka alama kwenye chaguo moja tu!!!

10) Katika aina ipi ya kampuni wanawake wanajaliwa kiusawa?

☐ Chaguo A ☐ Chaguo B

11) Katika aina ipi ya kampuni mambo yanapangiliwa vizuri?

☐ Chaguo A ☐ Chaguo B

Wewe ni kiongozi kalika kikundi chenu? ☐ Ndio ☐ Hapana

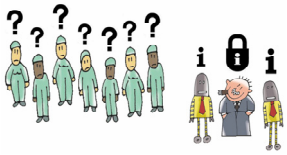
Jinsia: ☐ Mke ☐ Mme Umri: ____ Jina la kikundi: _____

Which Kind of Company Generates More Wellbeing???

Read the three options below…

Option A - to work in a company where:

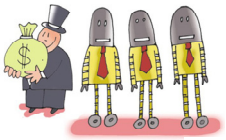
There is the owner and the employees… the owner hires the employees



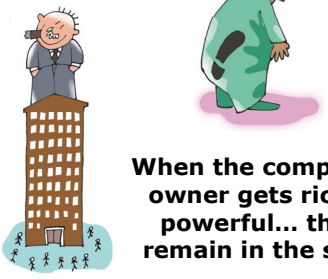
Only very few people know everything that happens in the company

Very few people give orders… most people obey

Most of the earnings go to the owner and to other few people in the company



The managers work to increase the owner's profit



People compete more… and the losers end up being excluded

When the company grows, the owner gets richer and more powerful… the employees remain in the same situation

New people are welcome in the company only if they can increase the owner's profit

Option B - to be part of a company where:

Everybody is an owner… everybody is an equal member

Everybody has access to all information (maximum transparency)

Everybody participates in the management of the company… in an equal way

The earnings are fairly divided among the members or applied to improve their lives

The leaders work to improve the members' wellbeing

People cooperate more… and everybody wins

When the company grows, all members benefit and develop together

New people are welcome when they can help to build a better life for all the members

Option C - to start your own small company (individually)

… and now, based on your opinion and experience, answer the questions in the back

Reflect before answering!!!

Mark only one option!!!

1) Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

2) Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

3) Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work… of learning new skills and expanding your mind? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

4) Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

5) Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected… and have a more positive thinking? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

6) Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

7) Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

8) In which kind of company would you prefer to work? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

9) How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?

Mark only one option!!!

☐ Equally
☐ Based on skills
☐ Based on experience
☐ Based on efforts
☐ Based on results
☐ Based on creativity
☐ Other: _____

10) In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B

11) In which kind of company are things more organized? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B

How many TVs do you have at home? ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ More than 3 ▪ Your Age: ____

Your Gender: ☐ Female ☐ Male ▪ You consider yourself: ☐ Wealthy ☐ Middle Class ☐ Deprived

Activity: _____ ☐ Sales ☐ Products ☐ Services ▪ Phone: _____

Reflect before answering!!!

How satisfied are you?

Tick the three most important ones:	Concerning…	Not Satisfied at All — Completely Satisfied
☐	**Fulfilling material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)**	
☐	**Deciding how to work, being creative and expressing your culture and beliefs**	
☐	**Developing yourself through the work… learning new skills and expanding your mind**	
☐	**Participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)**	
☐	**Feeling competent, confident and respected… having a positive thinking**	
☐	**Freedom from being humiliated**	
☐	**Feeling socially connected, cared for and significant to others**	

How many TVs do you have at home? ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ More than 3 ▪ Your Age: ____

Your Gender: ☐ Female ☐ Male ▪ You consider yourself: ☐ Wealthy ☐ Middle Class ☐ Deprived

Activity: _____ ☐ Sales ☐ Products ☐ Services ▪ Phone: _____

Which Kind of Company Generates More Wellbeing???

Read the three options below…

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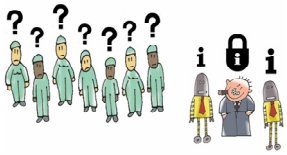
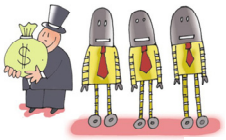
There is the owner and the employees… the owner hires the employees



Only very few people know everything that happens in the company

Very few people give orders… most people obey

Most of the earnings go to the owner and to other few people in the company



The managers work to increase the owner's profit

People compete more… and the losers end up being excluded

When the company grows, the owner gets richer and more powerful… the employees remain in the same situation

New people are welcome in the company only if they can increase the owner's profit

Option B - to be part of a company where:

Everybody is an owner… everybody is an equal member

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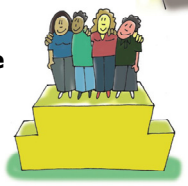
Everybody participates in the management of the company… in an equal way

The earnings are fairly divided among the members or applied to improve their lives

The leaders work to improve the members' wellbeing

People cooperate more… and everybody wins



When the company grows, all members benefit and develop together

New people are welcome when they can help to build a better life for all the members

Option C - to start your own small company (individually)

… and now, based on your opinion and experience, answer the questions in the back

Reflect before answering!!!

Mark only one option!!!

1) Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

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6) Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

7) Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

8) In which kind of company would you prefer to work? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B ☐ Option C

9) How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?

Mark only one option!!!

☐ Equally
☐ Based on skills
☐ Based on experience
☐ Based on efforts
☐ Based on results
☐ Based on creativity
☐ Other: _____

10) In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B

11) In which kind of company are things more organized? ☐ Option A ☐ Option B

How many TVs do you have at home? ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ More than 3 ▪ Your Age: ____

Your Gender: ☐ Female ☐ Male ▪ You consider yourself: ☐ Wealthy ☐ Middle Class ☐ Deprived

Are you part of a Youth Group? ☐ Yes ☐ No If Yes, what is the Group's name? _____

B.2 Results

This section exposes the results from the quantitative phase. They are presented through graphs and grouped by city (Nairobi; Dar es Salaam), sex (female; male), position in the youth group (non-leaders; leaders), age (from 15 to 24 YO; from 25 to 35 YO), and category of youth (youth group members; individual youth entrepreneurs; youths in high school). The figure below (B.2-1) clarifies the standard of presentation of results:

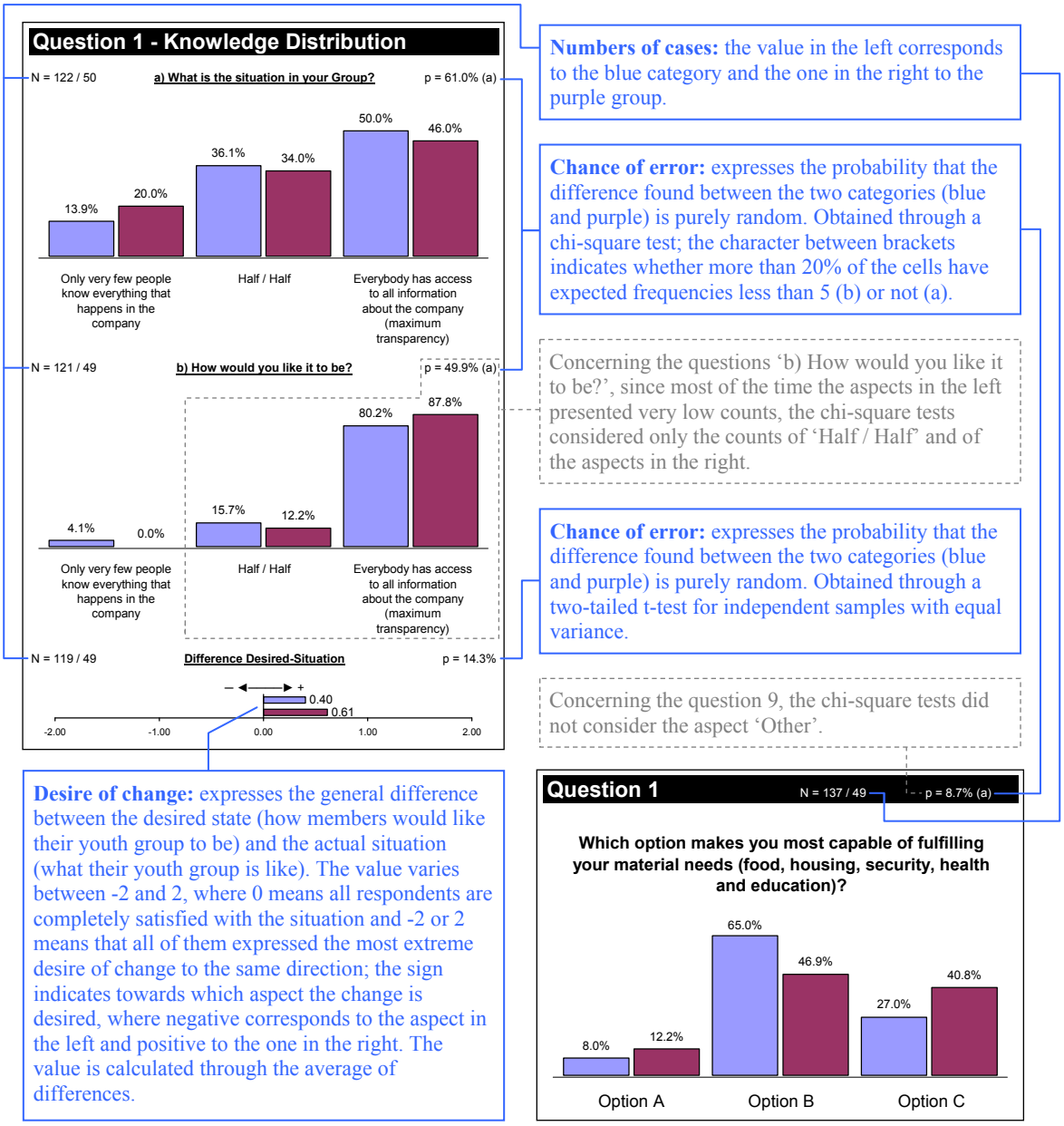


Figure B.2-1: Standard of Presentation of Results

This study will normally consider as relevant every difference which is superior to 10% and has less than 20% of probability of being purely random (chance of error);

frequency distributions wherein more than 20% of the cells had expected frequencies less than 5 were discarded. All relevant occurrences [68] will appear in the graphs highlighted in red. Finally, since some frequency distributions presented significant differences but did not fit the criterion of minimum expected frequencies, attempts at eliminating possible disturbing aspects were carried out and in the cases where they were successful the aspects still included in the chi-square test will appear highlighted in blue (all non-highlighted cases follow the standard previously described in the Figure B.2-1). The figure below (B.2-2) exemplifies the highlighting pattern:

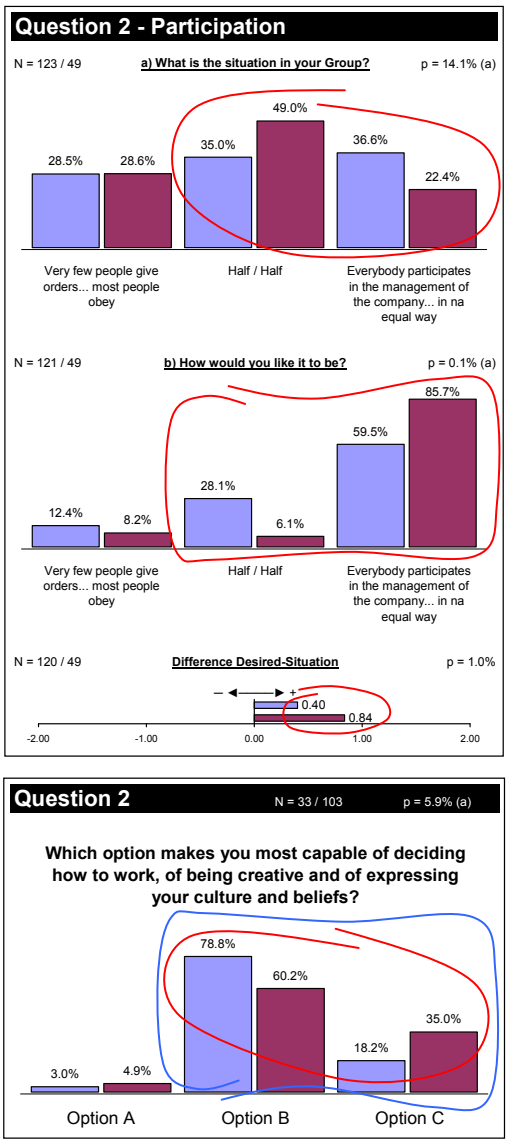


Figure B.2-2: Highlighting Pattern

[68] The relevant occurrences where tested and seem to persist when sex, position in the group and age are used as control variables for each other's effects. However, the number of respondents was frequently insufficient to allow effective elaboration analyses. The reasons for the criteria of relevance are deeply explained in the chapter '4. Methodology'.

Finally, the following tables (B.2-1, B.2-2, B.2-3, and B.2-4) present the numbers of valid respondents by category:

Table B.2-1: Number of Respondents by Category
Youth Group Members in Nairobi

(N=139)		Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-declared
Female	< 25 YO	15	5	3
	25 YO or More	2	8	
	Non-declared			1
Male	< 25 YO	19	16	6
	25 YO or More	18	31	5
	Non-declared	1	3	6
Non-declared	< 25 YO			
	25 YO or More			
	Non-declared			

Table B.2-2: Number of Respondents by Category
Individual Youth Entrepreneurs in Nairobi

(N=110)	< 25 YO	25 YO or More	Non-declared
Female	18	23	
Male	21	45	2
Non-declared		1	

Table B.2-3: Number of Respondents by Category
Youths in High School in Nairobi

(N=159)	Female	Male	Non-declared
	90	68	1

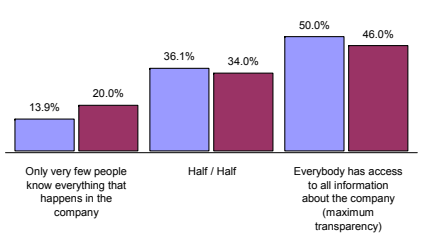
Table B.2-4: Number of Respondents by Category
Youth Group Members in Dar es Salaam

(N=50)		Non-leaders	Leaders	Non-declared
Female	< 25 YO	1	2	1
	25 YO or More	2	1	
	Non-declared		1	
Male	< 25 YO	16	4	1
	25 YO or More	6	10	2
	Non-declared			
Non-declared	< 25 YO	1		1
	25 YO or More	1		
	Non-declared			

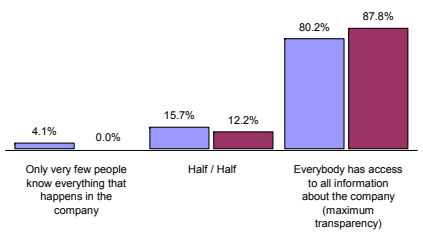
What is your Youth Group like and how would you like it to be? (N = 125) Nairobi (N = 50) Dar es Salaam

Question 1 - Knowledge Distribution

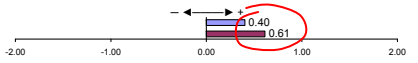
N = 122 / 50 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 61.0% (a)



N = 121 / 49 b) How would you like it to be? p = 49.9% (a)

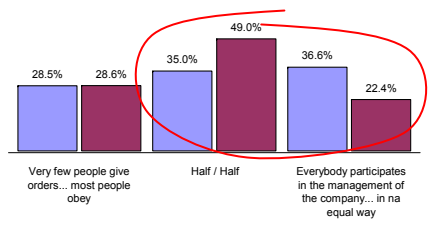


N = 119 / 49 Difference Desired-Situation p = 14.3%

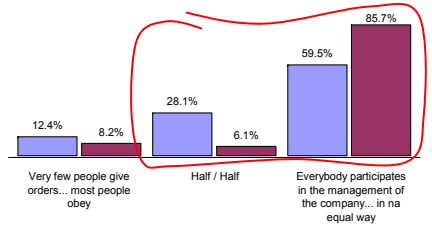


Question 2 - Participation

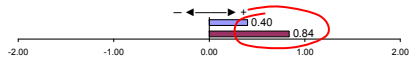
N = 123 / 49 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 14.1% (a)



N = 121 / 49 b) How would you like it to be? p = 0.1% (a)

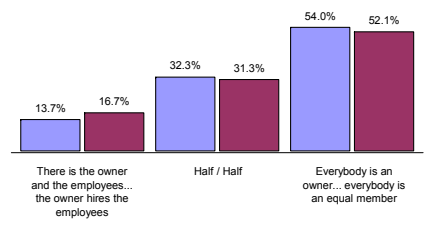


N = 120 / 49 Difference Desired-Situation p = 1.0%

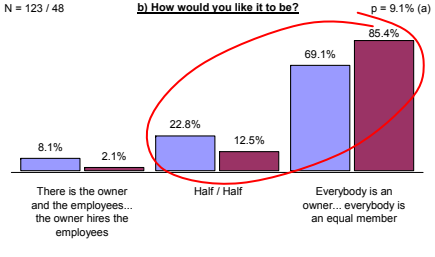


Question 3 - Ownership

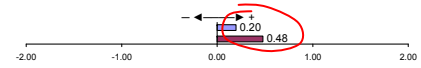
N = 124 / 48 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 88.5% (a)



N = 123 / 48 b) How would you like it to be? p = 9.1% (a)

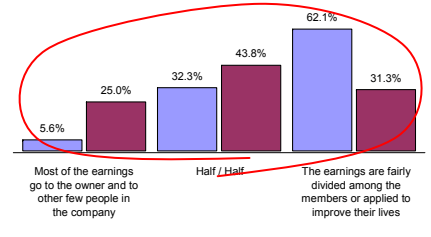


N = 122 / 48 Difference Desired-Situation p = 3.2%

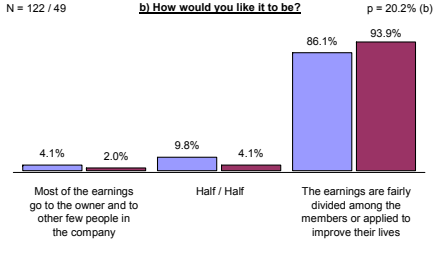


Question 4 - Earnings Distribution

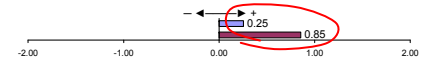
N = 124 / 48 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 0.0% (a)



N = 122 / 49 b) How would you like it to be? p = 20.2% (b)

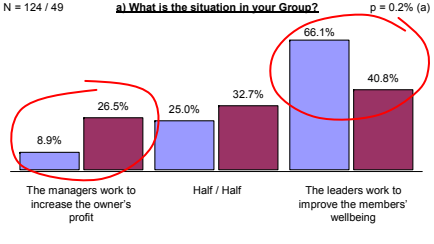


N = 122 / 48 Difference Desired-Situation p = 0.0%

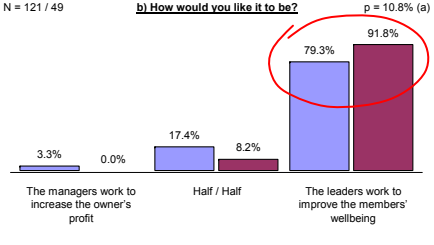


Question 5 - Leaders' Orientation

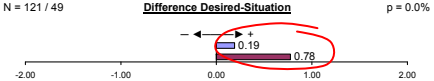
N = 124 / 49 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 0.2% (a)



N = 121 / 49 b) How would you like it to be? p = 10.8% (a)

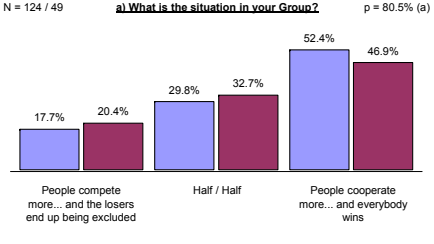


N = 121 / 49 Difference Desired-Situation p = 0.0%

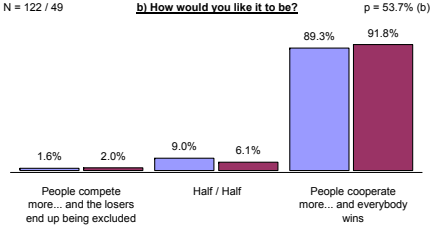


Question 6 - Competition & Co-operation

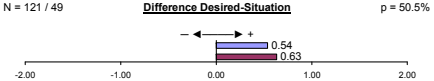
N = 124 / 49 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 80.5% (a)



N = 122 / 49 b) How would you like it to be? p = 53.7% (b)

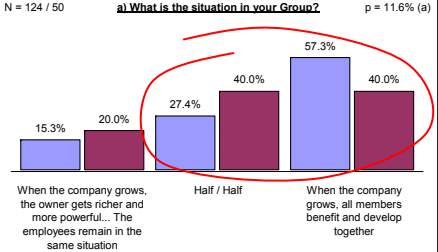


N = 121 / 49 Difference Desired-Situation p = 50.5%

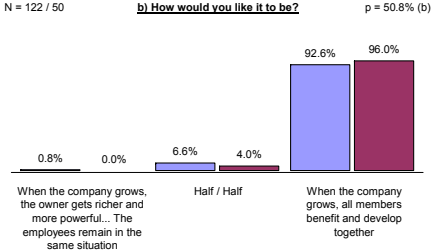


Question 7 - Course of Development

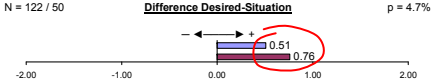
N = 124 / 50 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 11.6% (a)



N = 122 / 50 b) How would you like it to be? p = 50.8% (b)

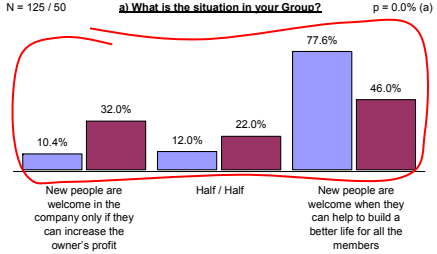


N = 122 / 50 Difference Desired-Situation p = 4.7%

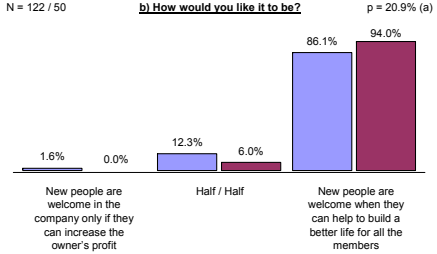


Question 8 - Taking People In

N = 125 / 50 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 0.0% (a)



N = 122 / 50 b) How would you like it to be? p = 20.9% (a)



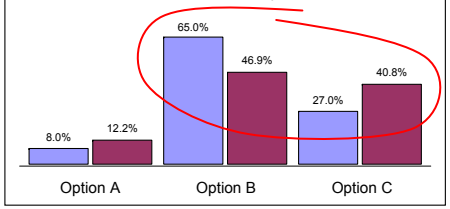
N = 122 / 50 Difference Desired-Situation p = 0.0%

Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

(N = 139) Nairobi (N = 50) Dar es Salaam

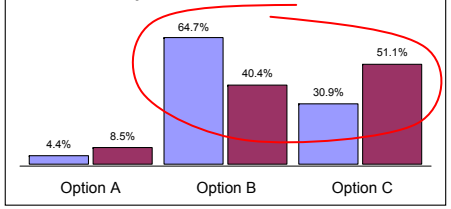
Question 1
N = 137 / 49 p = 8.7% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)?



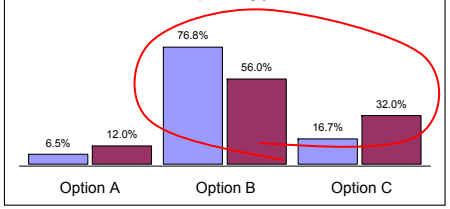
Question 2
N = 136 / 47 p = 1.4% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs?



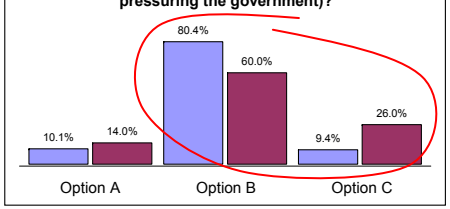
Question 3
N = 138 / 50 p = 2.1% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work... of learning new skills and expanding your mind?



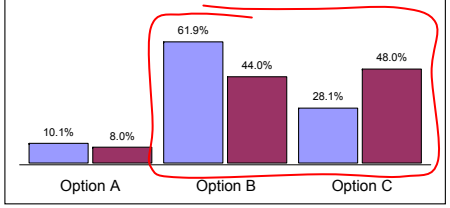
Question 4
N = 138 / 50 p = 0.7% (a)

Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?



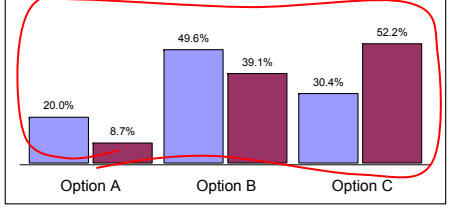
Question 5
N = 139 / 50 p = 3.7% (a)

Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected... and have a more positive thinking?



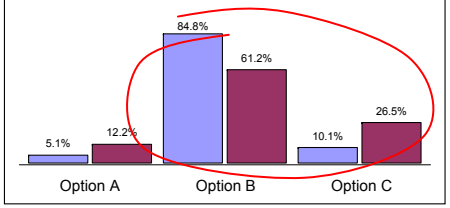
Question 6
N = 135 / 46 p = 1.9% (a)

Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?



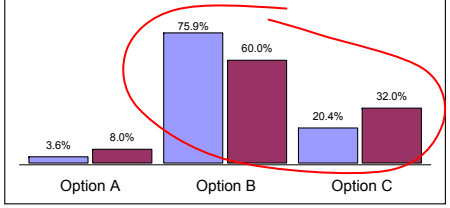
Question 7
N = 138 / 49 p = 0.3% (a)

Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?



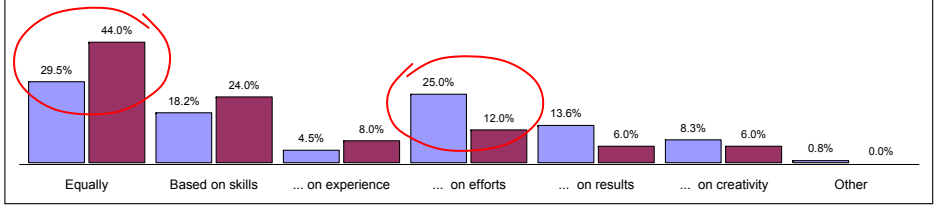
Question 8
N = 137 / 50 p = 9.0% (a)

In which kind of company would you prefer to work?



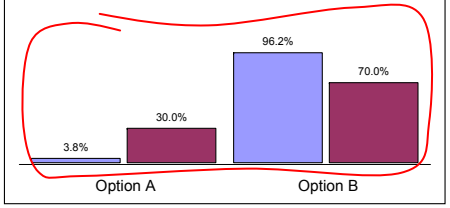
Question 9
N = 132 / 50 p = 12.7% (a)

How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?



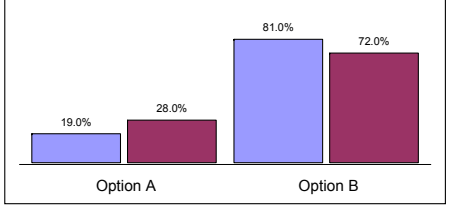
Question 10
N = 132 / 50 p = 0.0% (a)

In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?



Question 11
N = 137 / 50 p = 18.3% (a)

In which kind of company are things more organized?

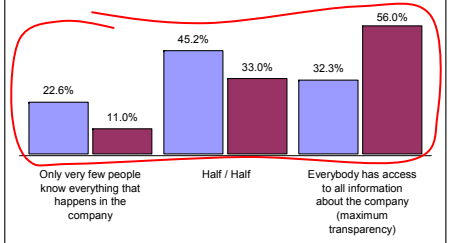


What is your Youth Group like and how would you like it to be?

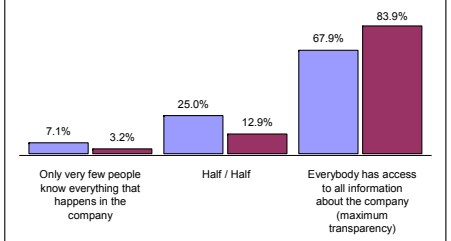
(N = 31) Female (N = 94) Male

Question 1 - Knowledge Distribution

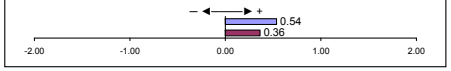
N = 31 / 91 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 5.5% (a)



N = 28 / 93 b) How would you like it to be? p = 9.9% (b)

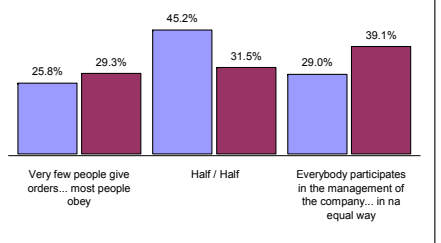


N = 28 / 91 Difference Desired-Situation p = 32.2%

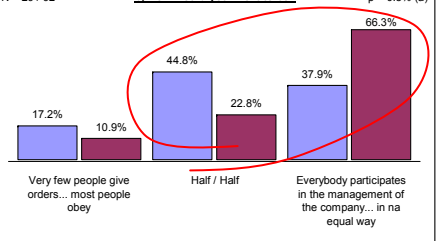


Question 2 - Participation

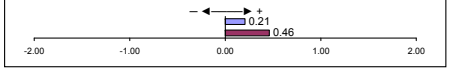
N = 31 / 92 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 37.1% (a)



N = 29 / 92 b) How would you like it to be? p = 0.8% (a)

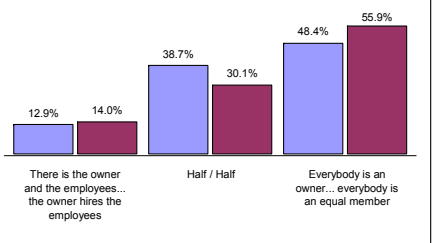


N = 29 / 91 Difference Desired-Situation p = 21.7%

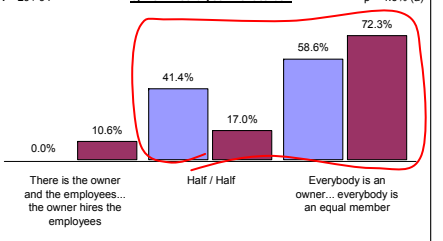


Question 3 - Ownership

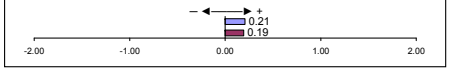
N = 31 / 93 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 67.1% (a)



N = 29 / 94 b) How would you like it to be? p = 1.6% (a)

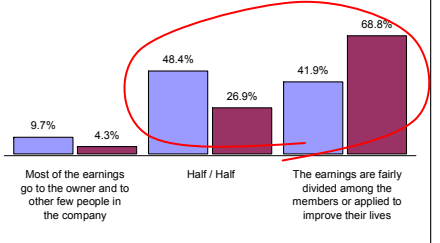


N = 29 / 93 Difference Desired-Situation p = 93.0%

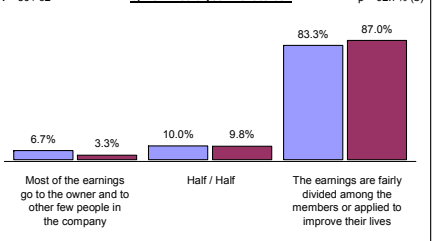


Question 4 - Earnings Distribution

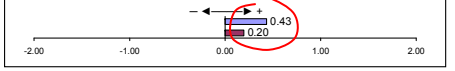
N = 31 / 93 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 2.7% (a)



N = 30 / 92 b) How would you like it to be? p = 92.7% (b)

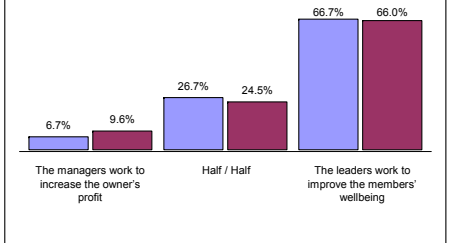


N = 30 / 92 Difference Desired-Situation p = 9.4%

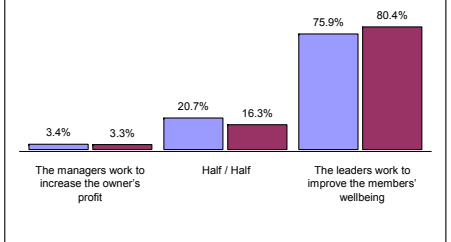


Question 5 - Leaders' Orientation

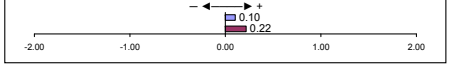
N = 30 / 94 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 87.7% (a)



N = 29 / 92 b) How would you like it to be? p = 58.2% (a)

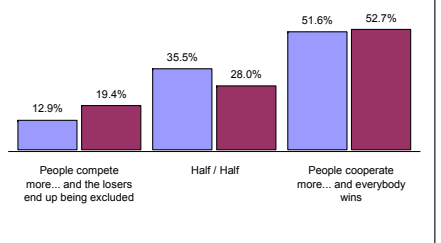


N = 29 / 92 Difference Desired-Situation p = 50.5%

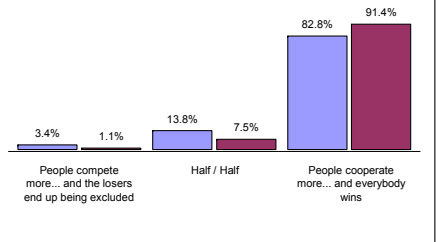


Question 6 - Competition & Co-operation

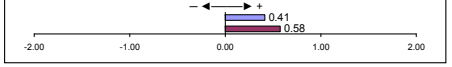
N = 31 / 93 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 60.9% (a)



N = 29 / 93 b) How would you like it to be? p = 28.4% (b)

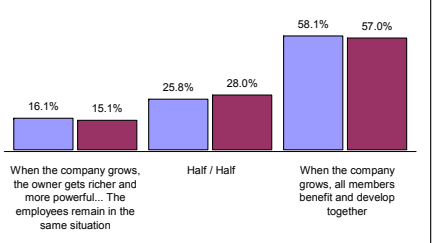


N = 29 / 92 Difference Desired-Situation p = 35.3%

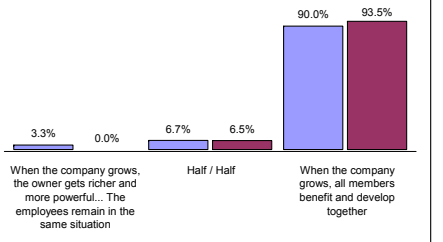


Question 7 - Course of Development

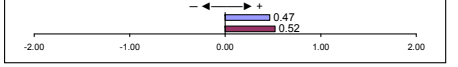
N = 31 / 93 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 97.0% (a)



N = 30 / 92 b) How would you like it to be? p = 94.4% (b)

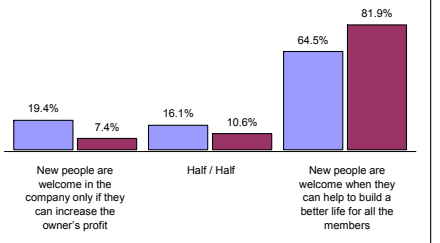


N = 30 / 92 Difference Desired-Situation p = 72.5%

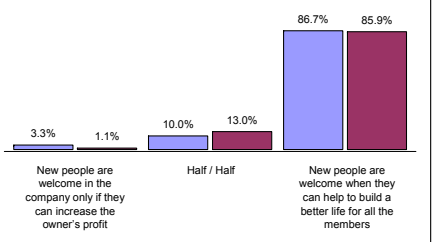


Question 8 - Taking People In

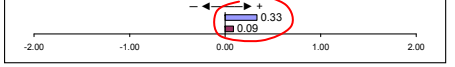
N = 31 / 94 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 9.7% (b)



N = 30 / 92 b) How would you like it to be? p = 68.7% (b)



N = 30 / 92 Difference Desired-Situation p = 11.1%

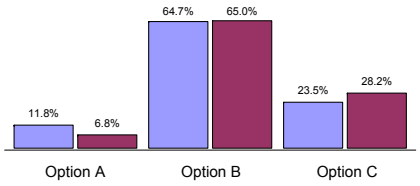


Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

(N = 34) Female (N = 105) Male

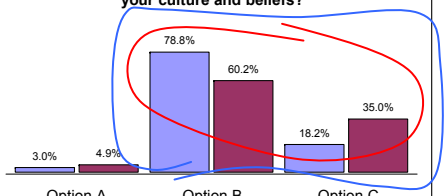
Question 1
N = 34 / 103 p = 61.0% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)?



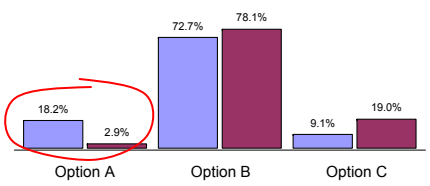
Question 2
N = 33 / 103 p = 5.9% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs?



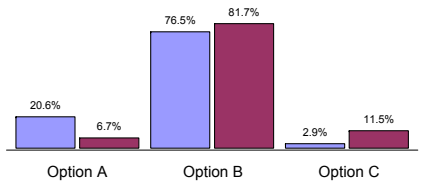
Question 3
N = 33 / 105 p = 0.5% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work... of learning new skills and expanding your mind?



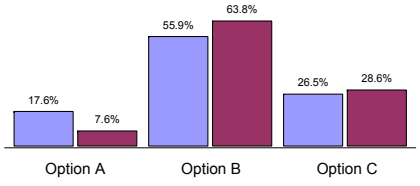
Question 4
N = 34 / 104 p = 3.1% (b)

Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?



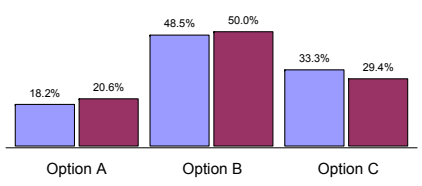
Question 5
N = 34 / 105 p = 23.9% (a)

Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected... and have a more positive thinking?



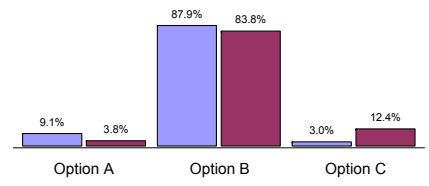
Question 6
N = 33 / 102 p = 90.0% (a)

Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?



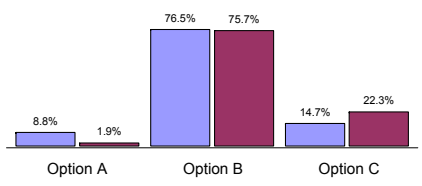
Question 7
N = 33 / 105 p = 16.6% (b)

Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?



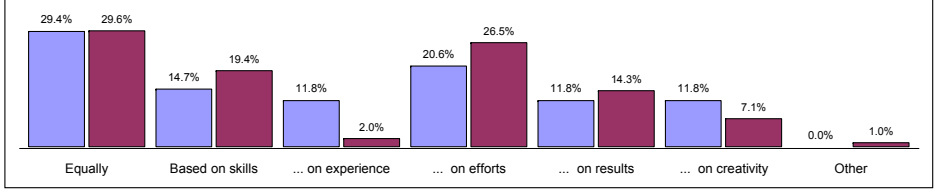
Question 8
N = 34 / 103 p = 13.2% (b)

In which kind of company would you prefer to work?



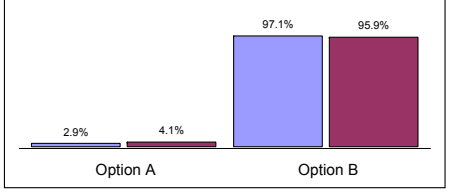
Question 9
N = 34 / 98 p = 24.9% (b)

How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?



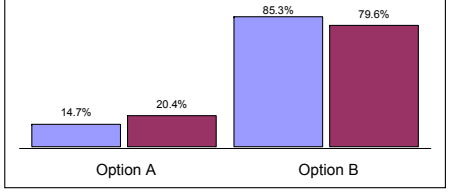
Question 10
N = 34 / 98 p = 76.4% (b)

In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?



Question 11
N = 34 / 103 p = 46.4% (a)

In which kind of company are things more organized?

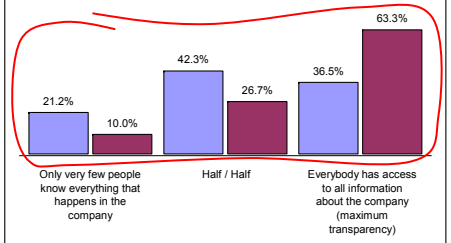


What is your Youth Group like and how would you like it to be?

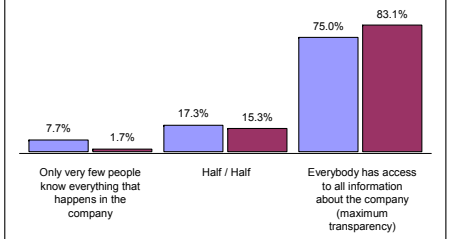
(N = 54) Non-Leaders (N = 61) Leaders

Question 1 - Knowledge Distribution

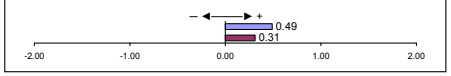
N = 52 / 60 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 1.6% (a)



N = 52 / 59 b) How would you like it to be? p = 65.9% (a)

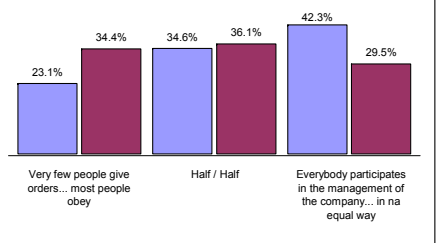


N = 51 / 58 Difference Desired-Situation p = 25.3%

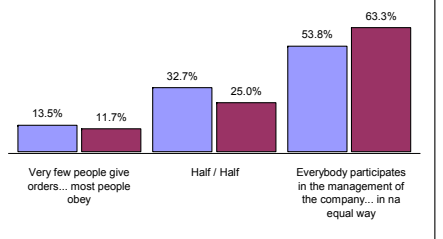


Question 2 - Participation

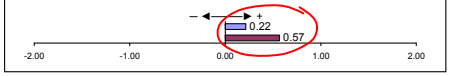
N = 52 / 61 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 27.9% (a)



N = 52 / 60 b) How would you like it to be? p = 31.9% (a)

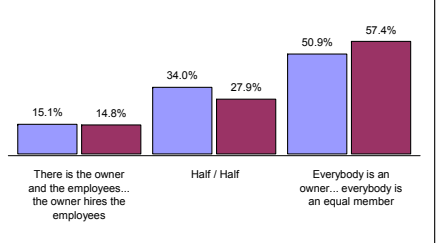


N = 51 / 60 Difference Desired-Situation p = 6.1%

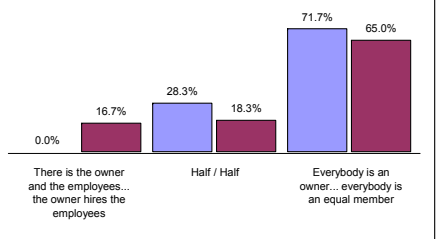


Question 3 - Ownership

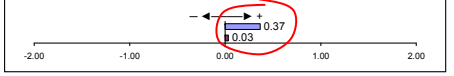
N = 53 / 61 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 75.5% (a)



N = 53 / 60 b) How would you like it to be? p = 46.2% (a)

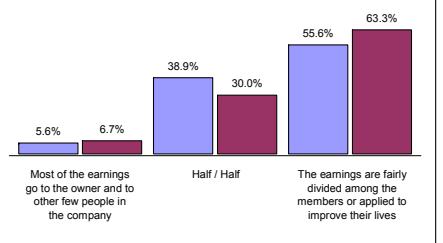


N = 52 / 60 Difference Desired-Situation p = 1.4%

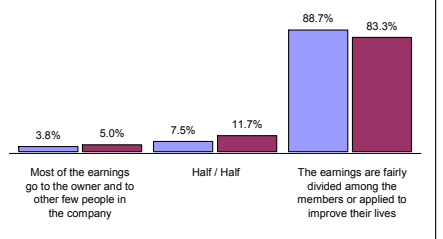


Question 4 - Earnings Distribution

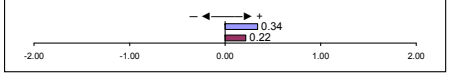
N = 54 / 60 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 60.6% (b)



N = 53 / 60 b) How would you like it to be? p = 44.7% (a)

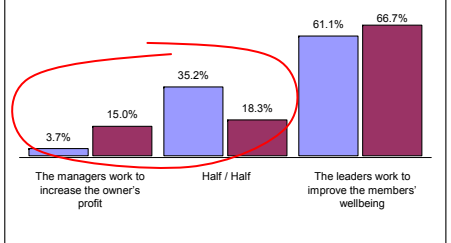


N = 53 / 60 Difference Desired-Situation p = 34.3%

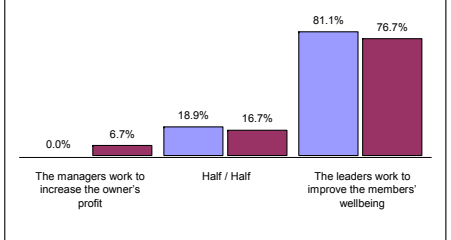


Question 5 - Leaders' Orientation

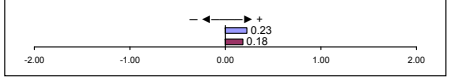
N = 54 / 60 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 3.1% (a)



N = 53 / 60 b) How would you like it to be? p = 89.2% (a)

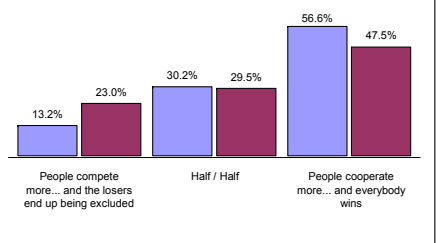


N = 53 / 60 Difference Desired-Situation p = 78.0%

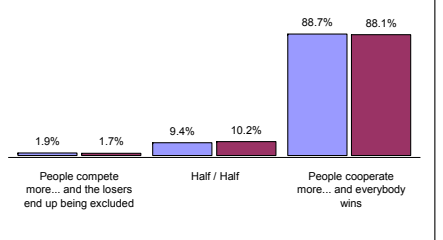


Question 6 - Competition & Co-operation

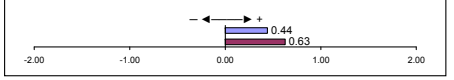
N = 53 / 61 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 38.4% (a)



N = 53 / 59 b) How would you like it to be? p = 89.9% (a)

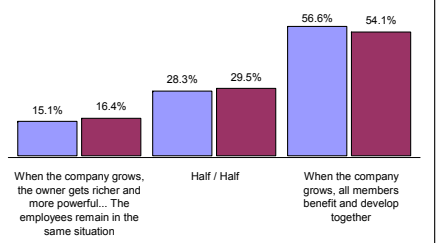


N = 52 / 59 Difference Desired-Situation p = 24.3%

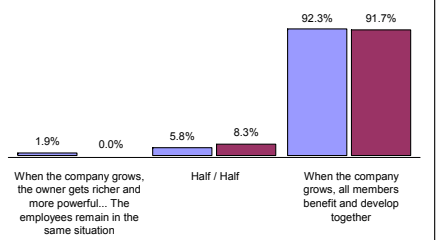


Question 7 - Course of Development

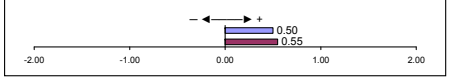
N = 53 / 61 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 96.2% (a)



N = 52 / 60 b) How would you like it to be? p = 61.9% (b)

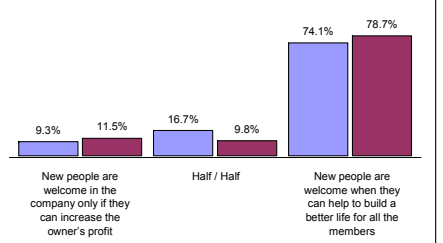


N = 52 / 60 Difference Desired-Situation p = 72.6%

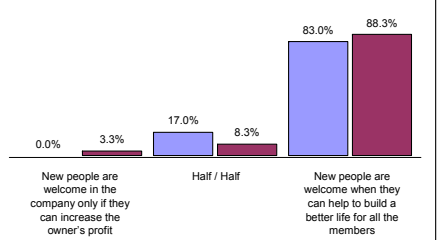


Question 8 - Taking People In

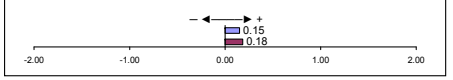
N = 54 / 61 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 53.8% (a)



N = 53 / 60 b) How would you like it to be? p = 18.5% (a)



N = 53 / 60 Difference Desired-Situation p = 82.1%

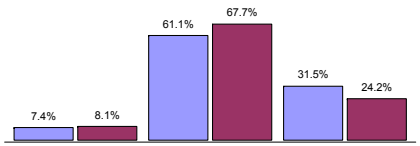


Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

(N = 55) Non-Leaders (N = 63) Leaders

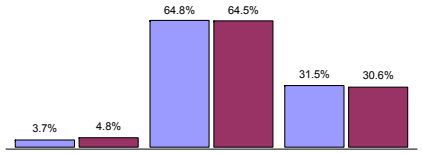
Question 1
N = 54 / 62 p = 68.1% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)?



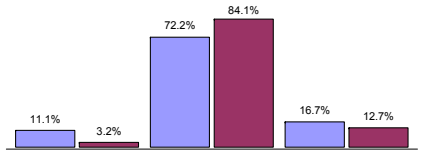
Question 2
N = 54 / 62 p = 95.4% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs?



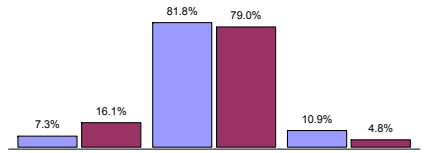
Question 3
N = 54 / 63 p = 17.2% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work... of learning new skills and expanding your mind?



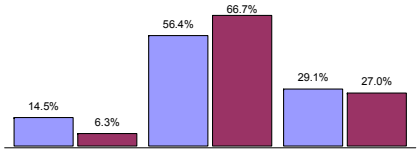
Question 4
N = 55 / 62 p = 18.9% (b)

Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?



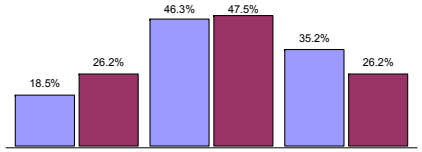
Question 5
N = 55 / 63 p = 28.8% (a)

Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected... and have a more positive thinking?



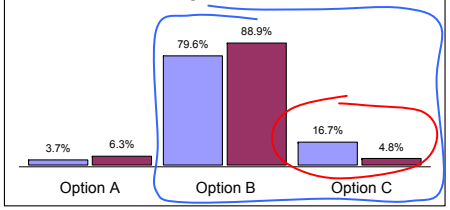
Question 6
N = 54 / 61 p = 46.8% (a)

Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?



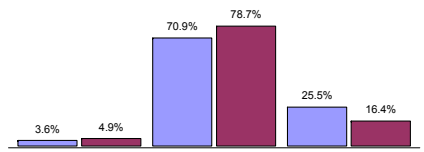
Question 7
N = 54 / 63 p = 3.9% (a)

Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?



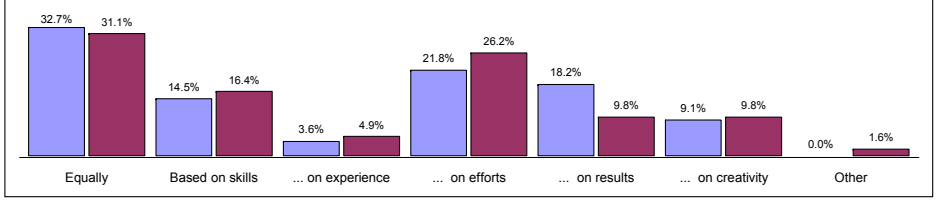
Question 8
N = 55 / 61 p = 47.4% (b)

In which kind of company would you prefer to work?



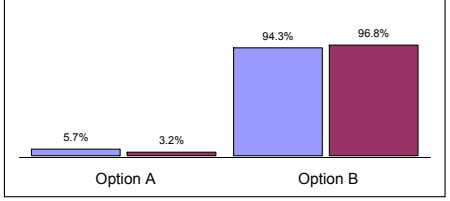
Question 9
N = 55 / 61 p = 86.3% (a)

How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?



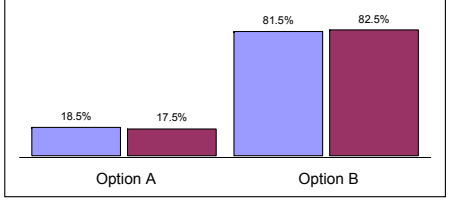
Question 10
N = 53 / 63 p = 51.1% (b)

In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?



Question 11
N = 54 / 63 p = 88.2% (a)

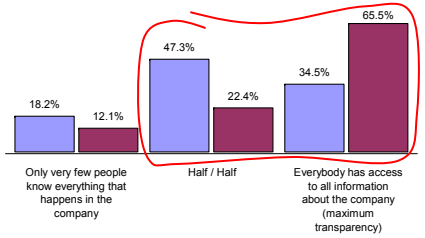
In which kind of company are things more organized?



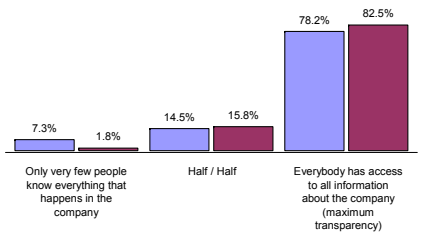
What is your Youth Group like and how would you like it to be? (N = 57) < 25 YO (N = 59) 25 YO or More

Question 1 - Knowledge Distribution

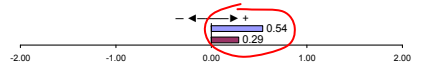
N = 55 / 58 — a) What is the situation in your Group? — p = 0.4% (a)



N = 55 / 57 — b) How would you like it to be? — p = 95.7% (a)

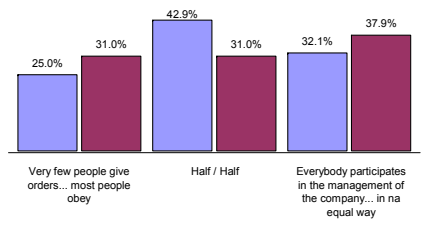


N = 54 / 56 — Difference Desired-Situation — p = 10.7%

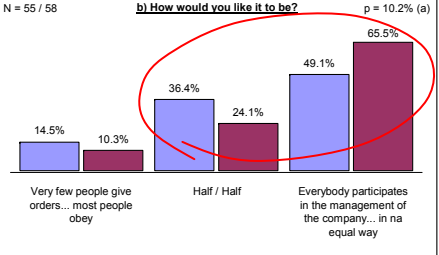


Question 2 - Participation

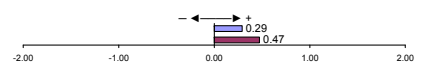
N = 56 / 58 — a) What is the situation in your Group? — p = 42.3% (a)



N = 55 / 58 — b) How would you like it to be? — p = 10.2% (a)

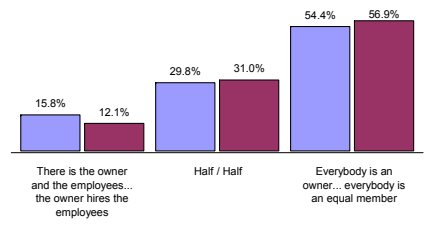


N = 55 / 57 — Difference Desired-Situation — p = 32.1%

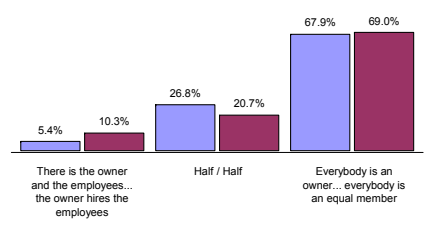


Question 3 - Ownership

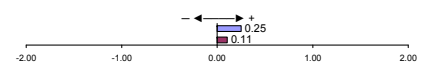
N = 57 / 58 — a) What is the situation in your Group? — p = 84.7% (a)



N = 56 / 58 — b) How would you like it to be? — p = 54.0% (a)

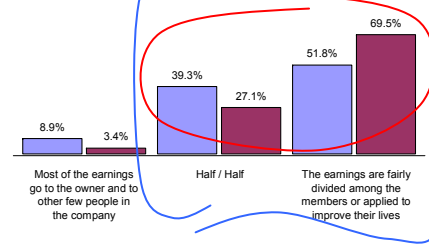


N = 56 / 57 — Difference Desired-Situation — p = 28.1%

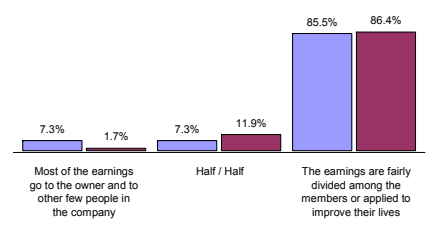


Question 4 - Earnings Distribution

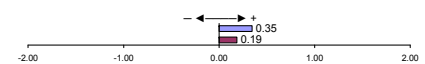
N = 56 / 59 — a) What is the situation in your Group? — p = 10.2% (a)



N = 55 / 59 — b) How would you like it to be? — p = 46.5% (a)

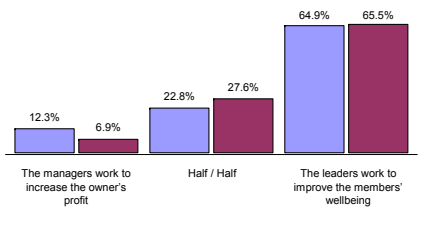


N = 55 / 59 — Difference Desired-Situation — p = 21.3%

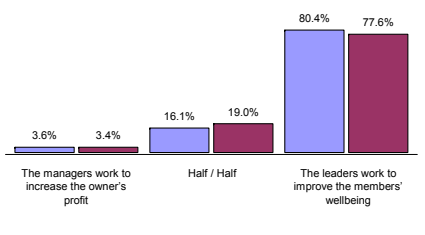


Question 5 - Leaders' Orientation

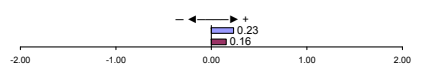
N = 57 / 58 — a) What is the situation in your Group? — p = 56.7% (a)



N = 56 / 58 — b) How would you like it to be? — p = 68.6% (a)

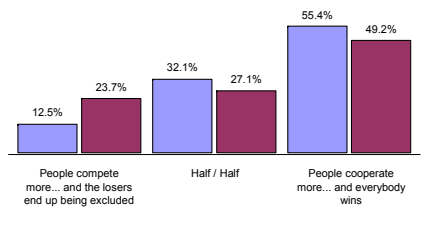


N = 56 / 58 — Difference Desired-Situation — p = 61.3%

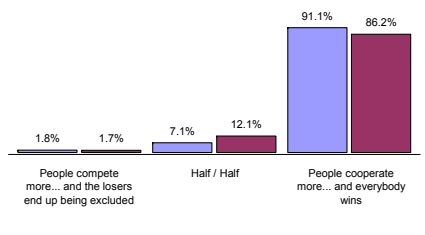


Question 6 - Competition & Co-operation

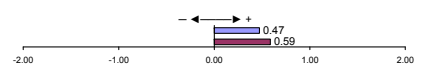
N = 56 / 59 — a) What is the situation in your Group? — p = 29.5% (a)



N = 56 / 58 — b) How would you like it to be? — p = 37.3% (a)

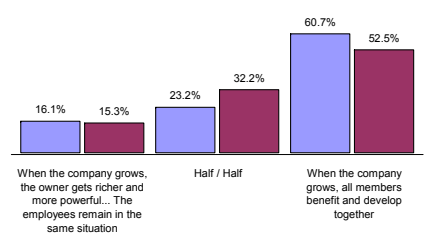


N = 55 / 58 — Difference Desired-Situation — p = 46.7%

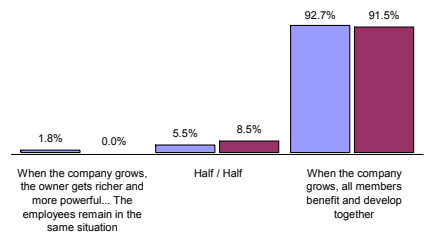


Question 7 - Course of Development

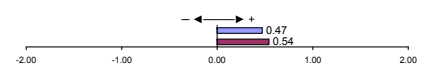
N = 56 / 59 — a) What is the situation in your Group? — p = 55.3% (a)



N = 55 / 59 — b) How would you like it to be? — p = 54.6% (b)

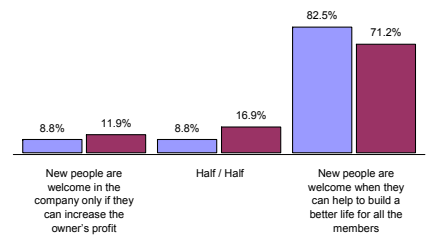


N = 55 / 59 — Difference Desired-Situation — p = 61.9%

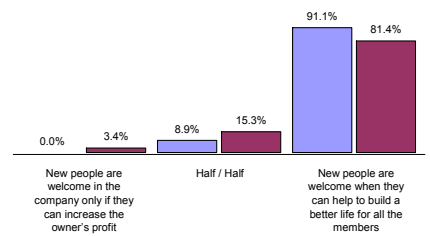


Question 8 - Taking People In

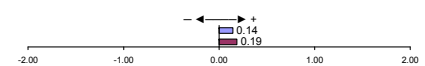
N = 57 / 59 — a) What is the situation in your Group? — p = 32.5% (a)



N = 56 / 59 — b) How would you like it to be? — p = 26.8% (a)



N = 56 / 59 — Difference Desired-Situation — p = 75.6%

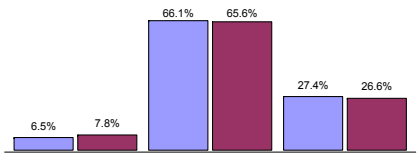


Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

(N = 64) < 25 YO (N = 64) 25 YO or More

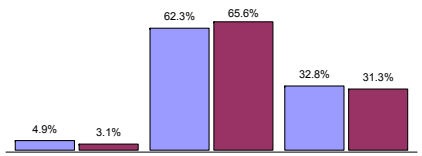
Question 1
N = 62 / 64 p = 95.5% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)?



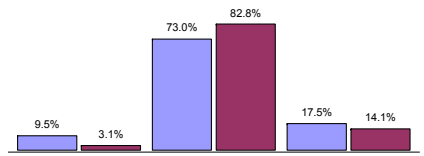
Question 2
N = 61 / 64 p = 84.9% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs?



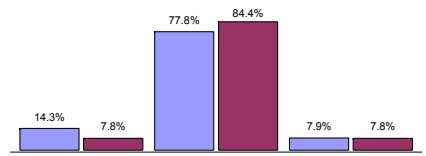
Question 3
N = 63 / 64 p = 26.1% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work... of learning new skills and expanding your mind?



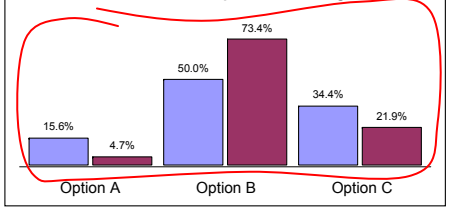
Question 4
N = 63 / 64 p = 50.2% (a)

Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?



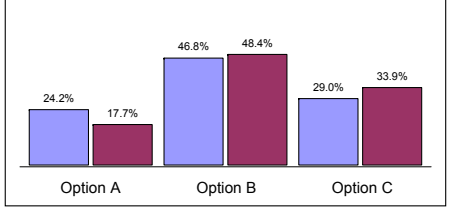
Question 5
N = 64 / 64 p = 1.5% (a)

Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected... and have a more positive thinking?



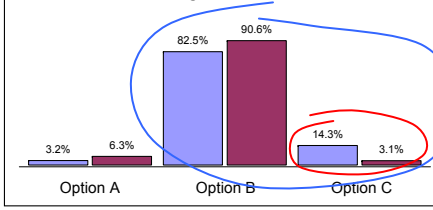
Question 6
N = 62 / 62 p = 65.0% (a)

Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?



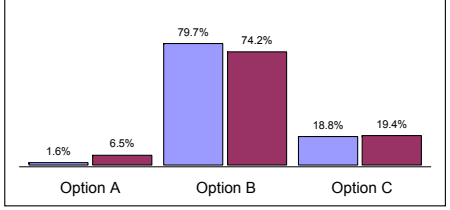
Question 7
N = 63 / 64 p = 2.9% (a)

Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?



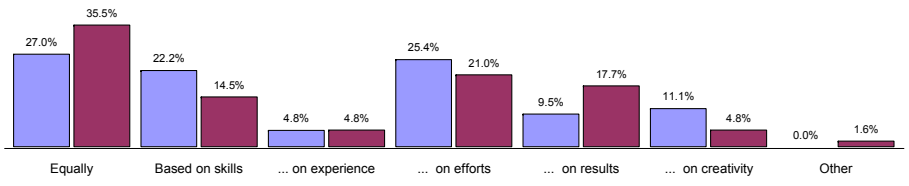
Question 8
N = 64 / 62 p = 36.3% (b)

In which kind of company would you prefer to work?



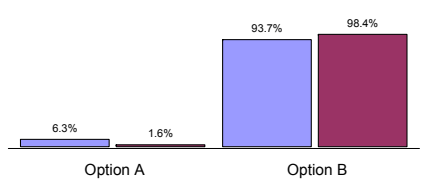
Question 9
N = 63 / 62 p = 40.6% (b)

How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?



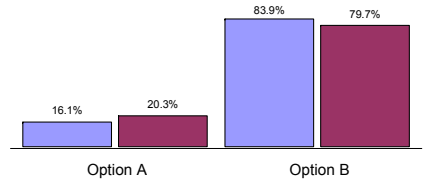
Question 10
N = 63 / 63 p = 17.1% (b)

In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?



Question 11
N = 62 / 64 p = 54.3% (a)

In which kind of company are things more organized?

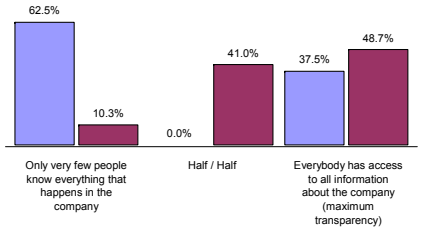


What is your Youth Group like and how would you like it to be?

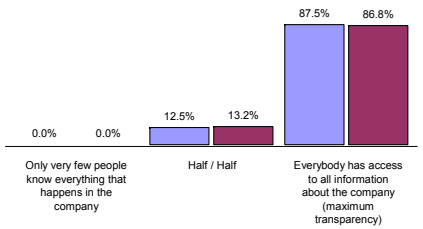
(N = 8) Female (N = 39) Male

Question 1 - Knowledge Distribution

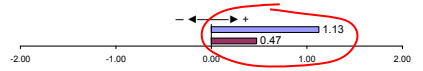
N = 8 / 39 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 0.2% (b)



N = 8 / 38 b) How would you like it to be? p = 96.0% (b)

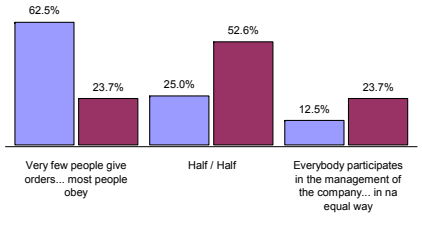


N = 8 / 38 Difference Desired-Situation p = 6.5%

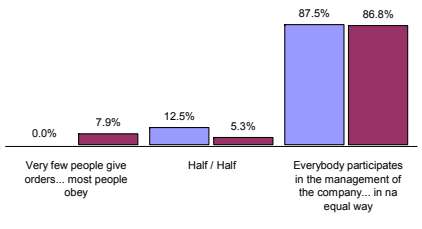


Question 2 - Participation

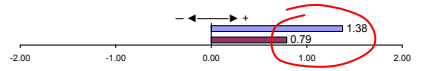
N = 8 / 38 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 9.5% (b)



N = 8 / 38 b) How would you like it to be? p = 49.7% (b)

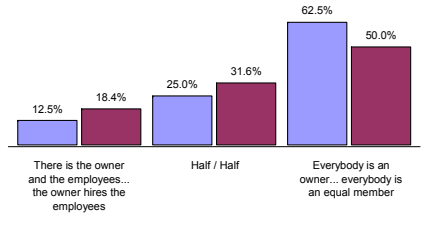


N = 8 / 38 Difference Desired-Situation p = 13.1%

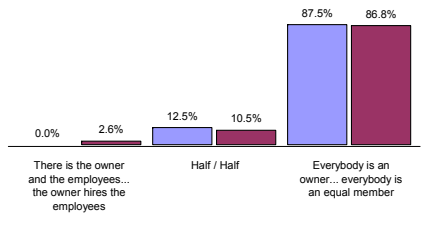


Question 3 - Ownership

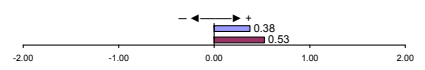
N = 8 / 38 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 80.9% (b)



N = 8 / 38 b) How would you like it to be? p = 89.0% (b)

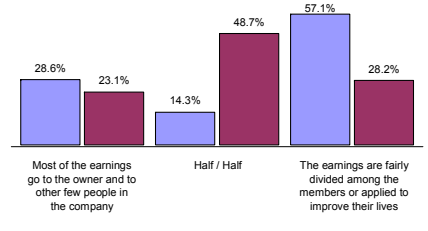


N = 8 / 38 Difference Desired-Situation p = 66.6%

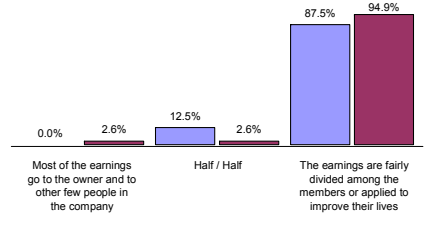


Question 4 - Earnings Distribution

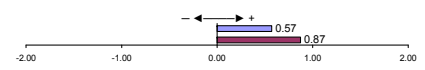
N = 7 / 39 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 20.0% (b)



N = 8 / 39 b) How would you like it to be? p = 21.3% (b)

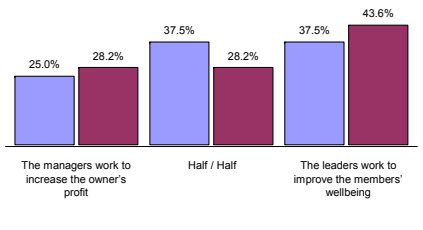


N = 7 / 39 Difference Desired-Situation p = 38.1%

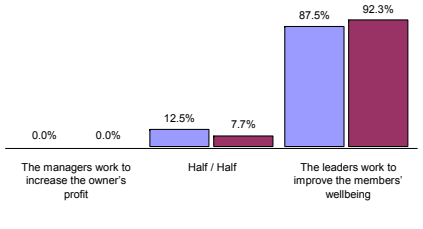


Question 5 - Leaders' Orientation

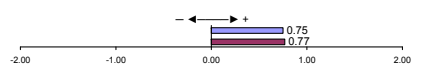
N = 8 / 39 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 87.2% (b)



N = 8 / 39 b) How would you like it to be? p = 65.7% (b)

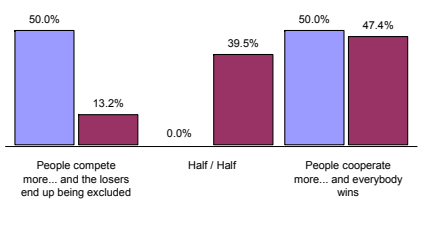


N = 8 / 39 Difference Desired-Situation p = 95.7%

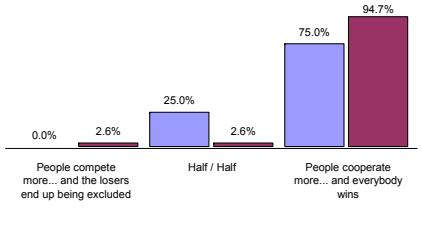


Question 6 - Competition & Co-operation

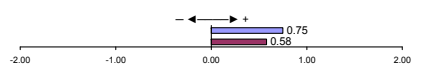
N = 8 / 38 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 2.1% (b)



N = 8 / 38 b) How would you like it to be? p = 2.2% (b)

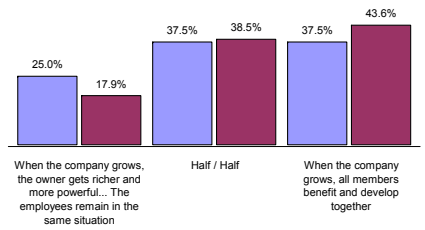


N = 8 / 38 Difference Desired-Situation p = 63.3%

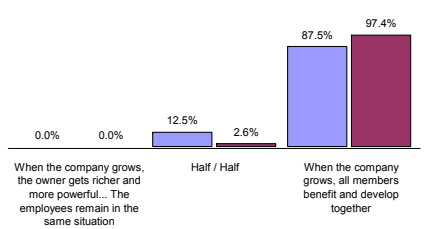


Question 7 - Course of Development

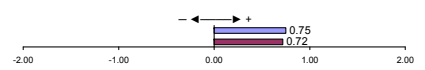
N = 8 / 39 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 89.1% (b)



N = 8 / 39 b) How would you like it to be? p = 20.5% (b)

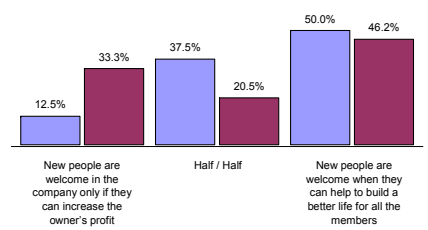


N = 8 / 39 Difference Desired-Situation p = 91.6%

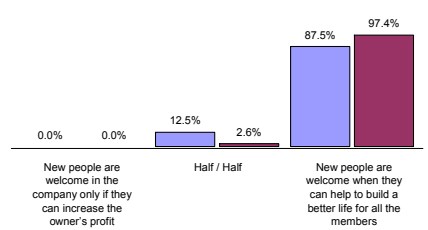


Question 8 - Taking People In

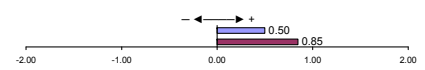
N = 8 / 39 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 40.5% (b)



N = 8 / 39 b) How would you like it to be? p = 20.5% (b)



N = 8 / 39 Difference Desired-Situation p = 31.8%



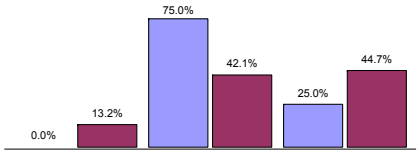
Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

(N = 8) Female (N = 39) Male

Question 1

N = 8 / 38 p = 20.5% (b)

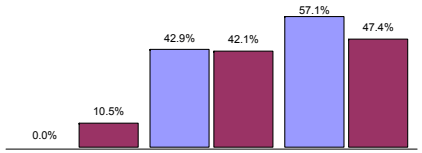
Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)?



Question 2

N = 7 / 38 p = 65.3% (b)

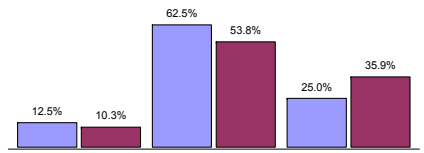
Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs?



Question 3

N = 8 / 39 p = 83.8% (b)

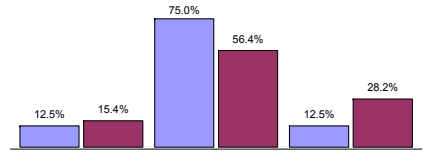
Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work... of learning new skills and expanding your mind?



Question 4

N = 8 / 39 p = 58.8% (b)

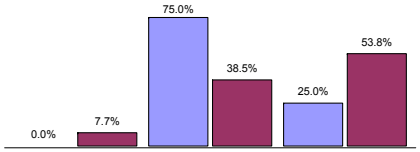
Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?



Question 5

N = 8 / 39 p = 15.5% (b)

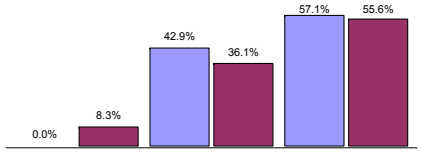
Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected... and have a more positive thinking?



Question 6

N = 7 / 36 p = 72.0% (b)

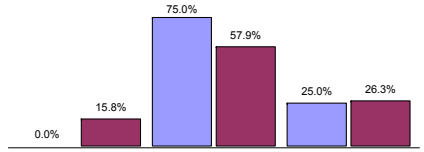
Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?



Question 7

N = 8 / 38 p = 45.3% (b)

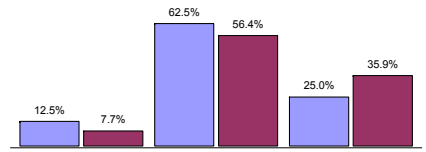
Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?



Question 8

N = 8 / 39 p = 79.7% (b)

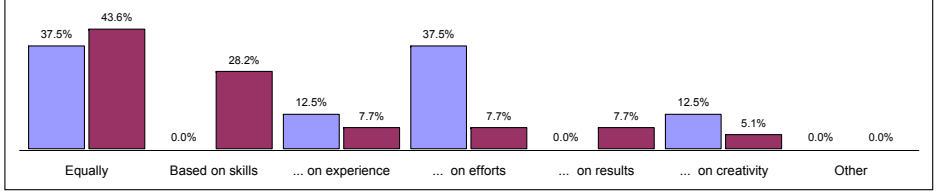
In which kind of company would you prefer to work?



Question 9

N = 8 / 39 p = 14.1% (b)

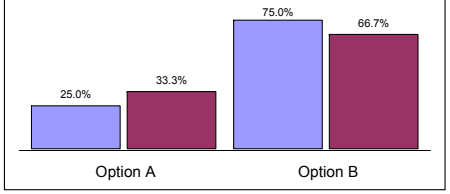
How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?



Question 10

N = 8 / 39 p = 64.5% (b)

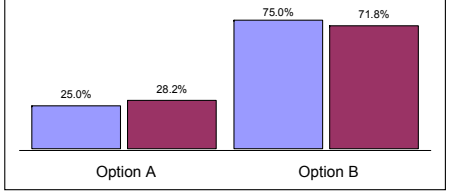
In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?



Question 11

N = 8 / 39 p = 85.4% (b)

In which kind of company are things more organized?

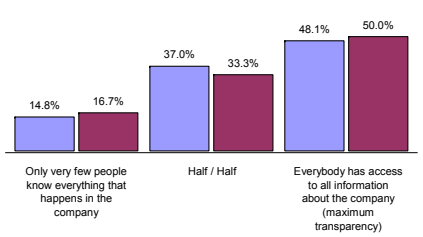


What is your Youth Group like and how would you like it to be?

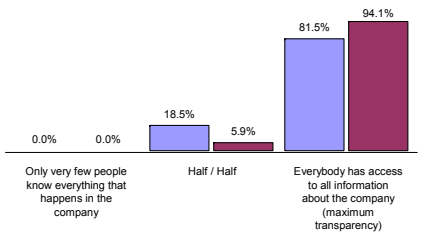
(N = 27) Non-Leaders (N = 18) Leaders

Question 1 - Knowledge Distribution

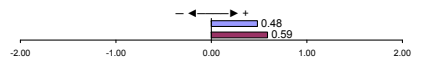
N = 27 / 18 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 96.4% (b)



N = 27 / 17 b) How would you like it to be? p = 23.4% (b)

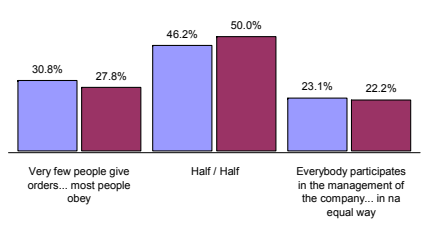


N = 27 / 17 Difference Desired-Situation p = 69.9%

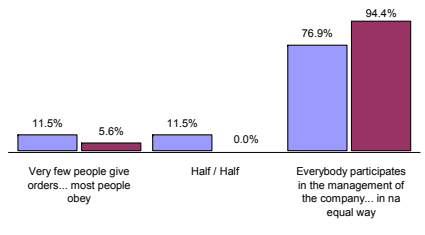


Question 2 - Participation

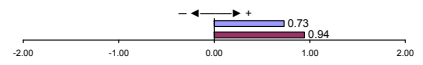
N = 26 / 18 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 96.6% (a)



N = 26 / 18 b) How would you like it to be? p = 12.2% (b)

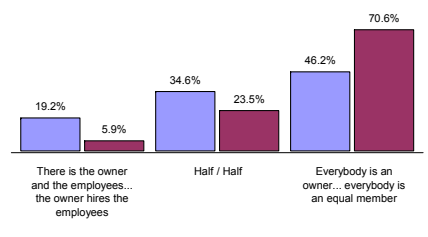


N = 26 / 18 Difference Desired-Situation p = 52.7%

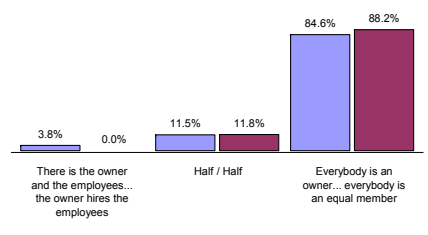


Question 3 - Ownership

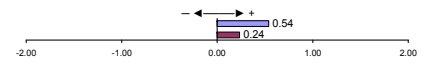
N = 26 / 17 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 24.3% (b)



N = 26 / 17 b) How would you like it to be? p = 98.2% (b)

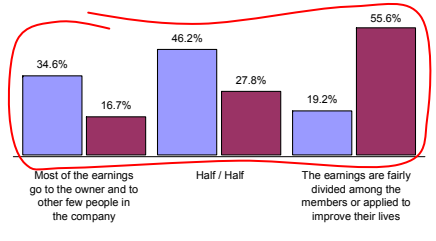


N = 26 / 17 Difference Desired-Situation p = 25.9%

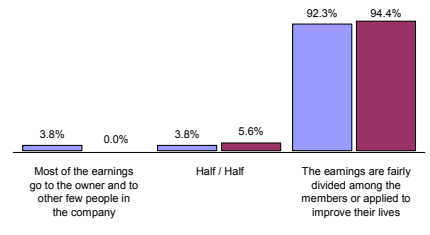


Question 4 - Earnings Distribution

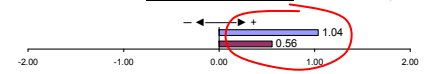
N = 26 / 18 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 4.3% (a)



N = 26 / 18 b) How would you like it to be? p = 81.1% (b)

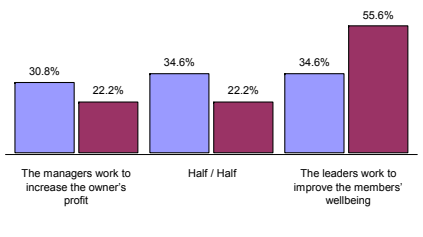


N = 26 / 18 Difference Desired-Situation p = 6.7%

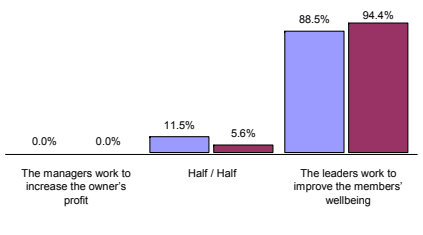


Question 5 - Leaders' Orientation

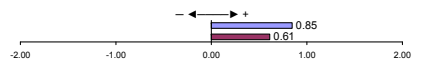
N = 26 / 18 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 38.3% (a)



N = 26 / 18 b) How would you like it to be? p = 49.7% (b)

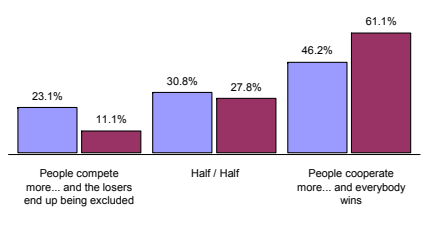


N = 26 / 18 Difference Desired-Situation p = 41.0%

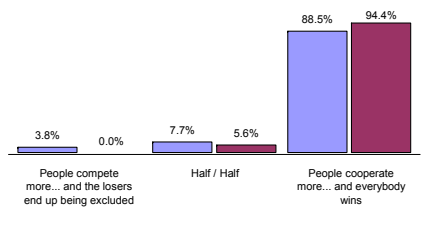


Question 6 - Competition & Co-operation

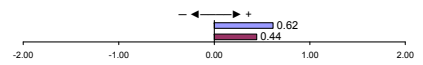
N = 26 / 18 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 51.6% (b)



N = 26 / 18 b) How would you like it to be? p = 75.6% (b)

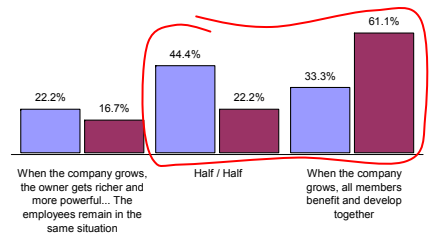


N = 26 / 18 Difference Desired-Situation p = 54.2%

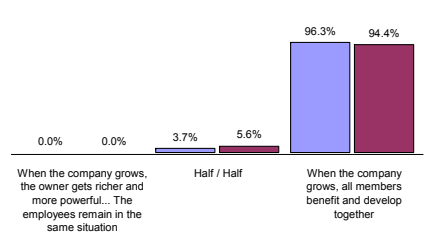


Question 7 - Course of Development

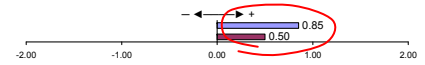
N = 27 / 18 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 17.0% (a)



N = 27 / 18 b) How would you like it to be? p = 76.8% (b)

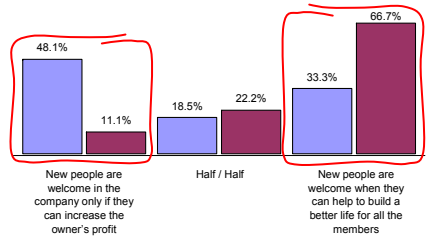


N = 27 / 18 Difference Desired-Situation p = 14.4%

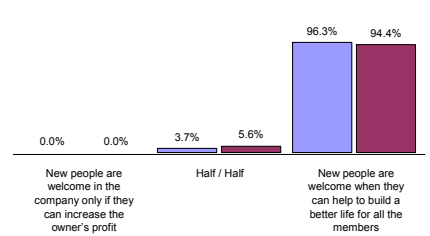


Question 8 - Taking People In

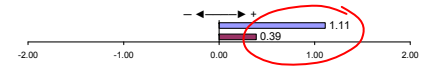
N = 27 / 18 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 2.9% (a)



N = 27 / 18 b) How would you like it to be? p = 76.8% (b)



N = 27 / 18 Difference Desired-Situation p = 0.8%

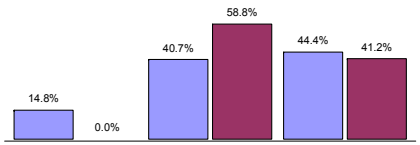


Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

(N = 27) Non-Leaders (N = 18) Leaders

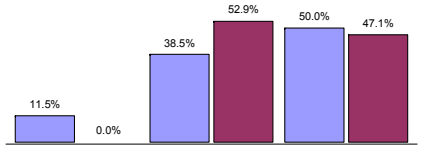
Question 1
N = 27 / 17 p = 19.6% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)?



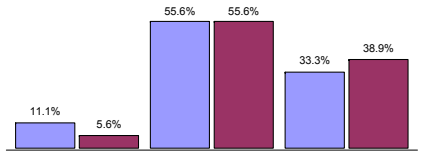
Question 2
N = 26 / 17 p = 29.1% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs?



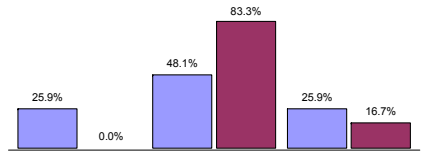
Question 3
N = 27 / 18 p = 79.1% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work... of learning new skills and expanding your mind?



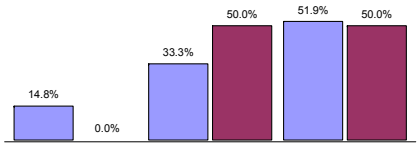
Question 4
N = 27 / 18 p = 2.7% (b)

Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?



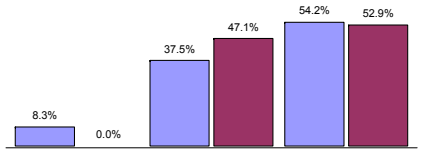
Question 5
N = 27 / 18 p = 18.1% (b)

Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected... and have a more positive thinking?



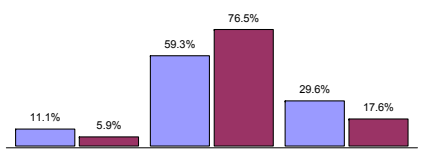
Question 6
N = 24 / 17 p = 44.1% (b)

Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?



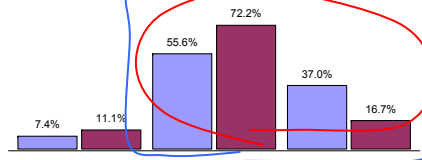
Question 7
N = 27 / 17 p = 50.1% (b)

Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?



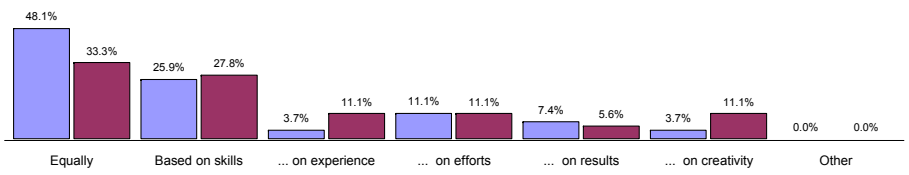
Question 8
N = 27 / 18 p = 15.4% (a)

In which kind of company would you prefer to work?



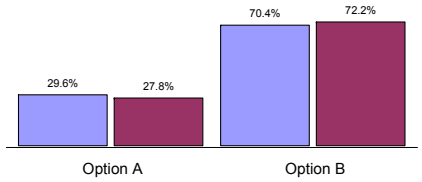
Question 9
N = 27 / 18 p = 79.0% (b)

How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?



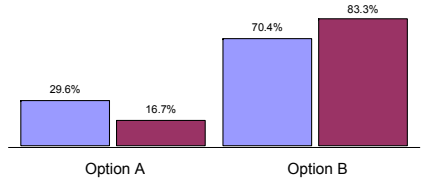
Question 10
N = 27 / 18 p = 89.3% (a)

In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?



Question 11
N = 27 / 18 p = 32.2% (b)

In which kind of company are things more organized?

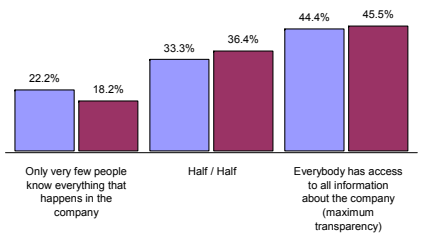


What is your Youth Group like and how would you like it to be?

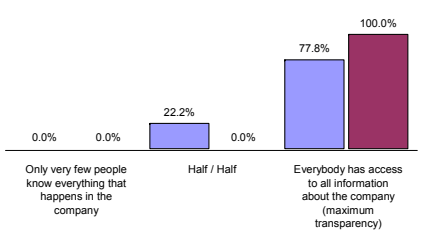
(N = 27) < 25 YO (N = 22) 25 YO or More

Question 1 - Knowledge Distribution

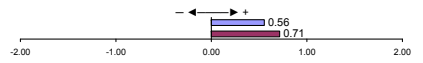
N = 27 / 22 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 93.6% (a)



N = 27 / 21 b) How would you like it to be? p = 2.1% (b)

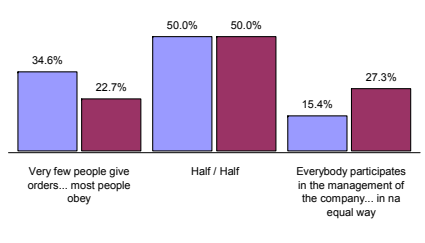


N = 27 / 21 Difference Desired-Situation p = 55.6%

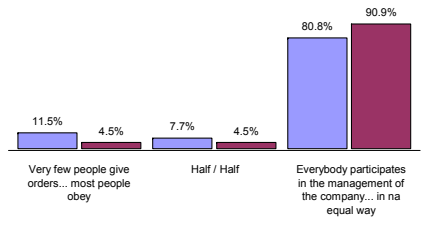


Question 2 - Participation

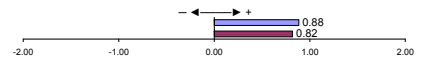
N = 26 / 22 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 50.0% (a)



N = 26 / 22 b) How would you like it to be? p = 60.5% (b)

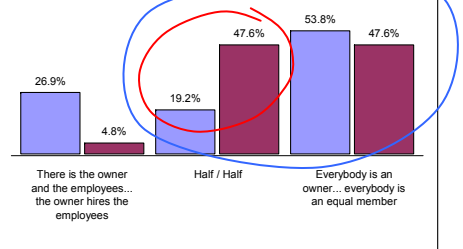


N = 26 / 22 Difference Desired-Situation p = 83.0%

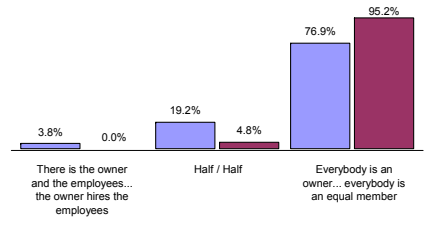


Question 3 - Ownership

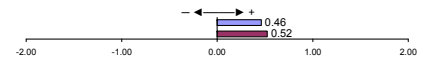
N = 26 / 21 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 12.9% (a)



N = 26 / 21 b) How would you like it to be? p = 12.6% (b)

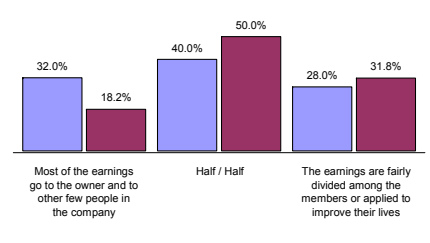


N = 26 / 21 Difference Desired-Situation p = 81.8%

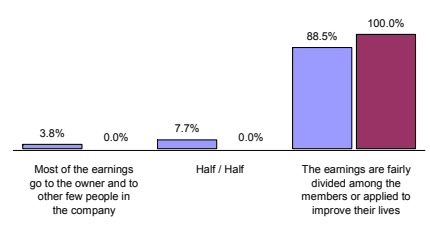


Question 4 - Earnings Distribution

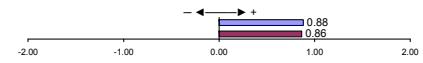
N = 25 / 22 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 55.0% (a)



N = 26 / 22 b) How would you like it to be? p = 17.5% (b)

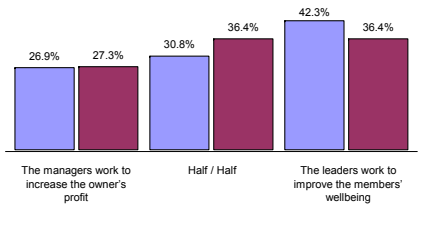


N = 25 / 22 Difference Desired-Situation p = 94.7%

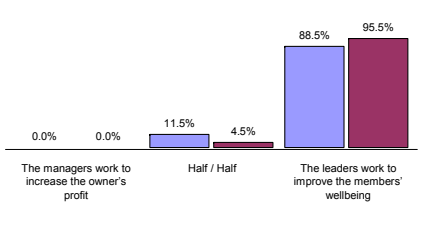


Question 5 - Leaders' Orientation

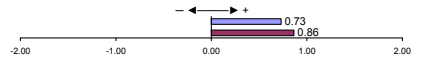
N = 26 / 22 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 89.6% (a)



N = 26 / 22 b) How would you like it to be? p = 38.2% (b)

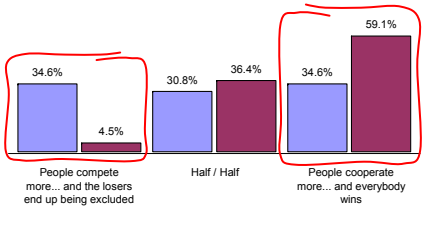


N = 26 / 22 Difference Desired-Situation p = 61.5%

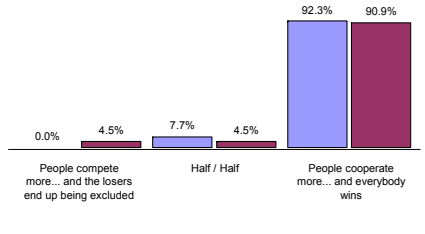


Question 6 - Competition & Co-operation

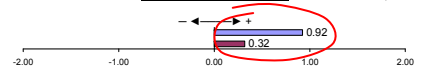
N = 26 / 22 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 3.3% (a)



N = 26 / 22 b) How would you like it to be? p = 68.3% (b)

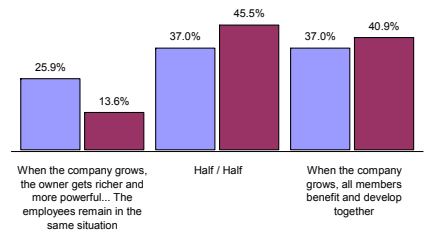


N = 26 / 22 Difference Desired-Situation p = 2.0%

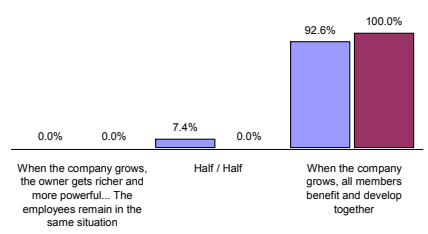


Question 7 - Course of Development

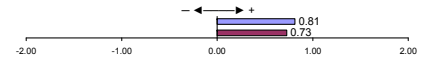
N = 27 / 22 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 56.1% (a)



N = 27 / 22 b) How would you like it to be? p = 19.2% (b)

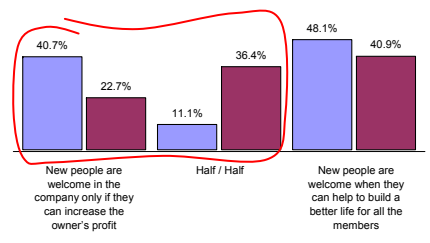


N = 27 / 22 Difference Desired-Situation p = 69.7%

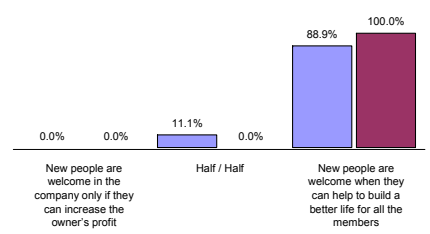


Question 8 - Taking People In

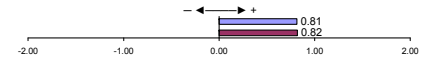
N = 27 / 22 a) What is the situation in your Group? p = 9.1% (a)



N = 27 / 22 b) How would you like it to be? p = 10.7% (b)



N = 27 / 22 Difference Desired-Situation p = 99.0%

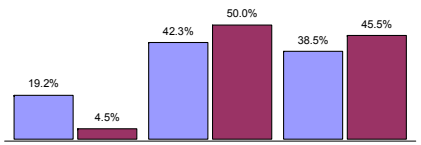


Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

(N = 27) < 25 YO (N = 22) 25 YO or More

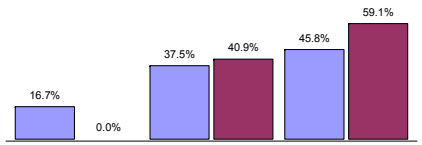
Question 1
N = 26 / 22 p = 30.9% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)?



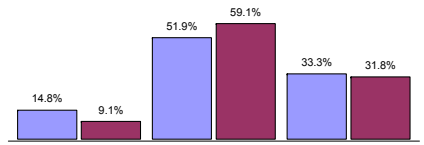
Question 2
N = 24 / 22 p = 13.0% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs?



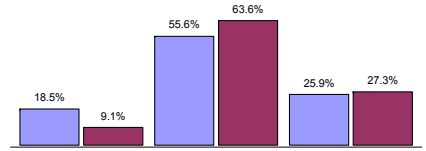
Question 3
N = 27 / 22 p = 79.9% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work... of learning new skills and expanding your mind?



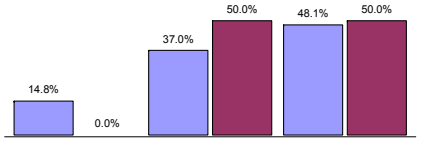
Question 4
N = 27 / 22 p = 63.9% (b)

Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?



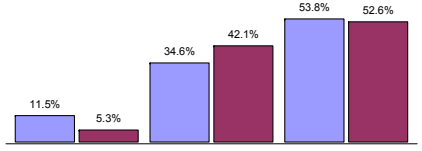
Question 5
N = 27 / 22 p = 15.4% (b)

Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected... and have a more positive thinking?



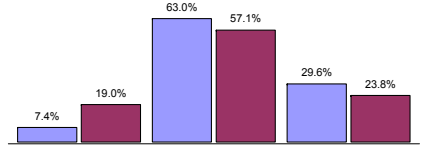
Question 6
N = 26 / 19 p = 72.2% (b)

Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?



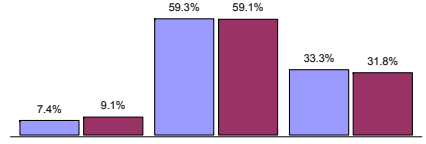
Question 7
N = 27 / 21 p = 47.4% (b)

Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?



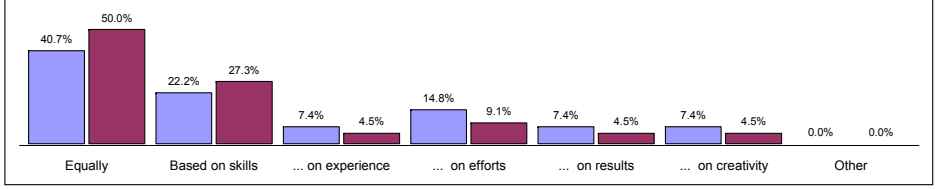
Question 8
N = 27 / 22 p = 97.5% (b)

In which kind of company would you prefer to work?



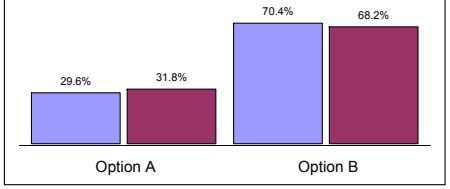
Question 9
N = 27 / 22 p = 94.8% (b)

How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?



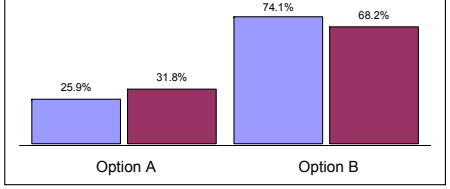
Question 10
N = 27 / 22 p = 86.9% (a)

In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?



Question 11
N = 27 / 22 p = 65.0% (a)

In which kind of company are things more organized?



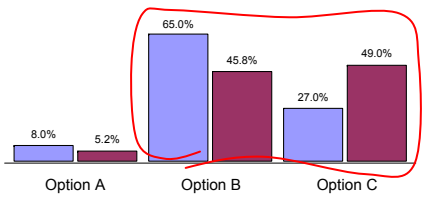
B.2.8 Nairobi

Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

(N = 139) YG Members (N = 96) Individual YEs

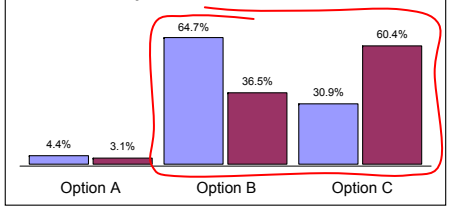
Question 1
N = 137 / 96 p = 0.3% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)?



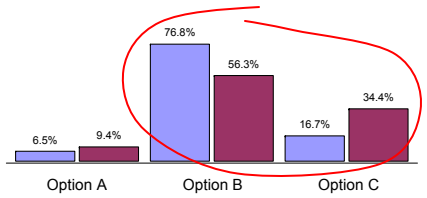
Question 2
N = 136 / 96 p = 0.0% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs?



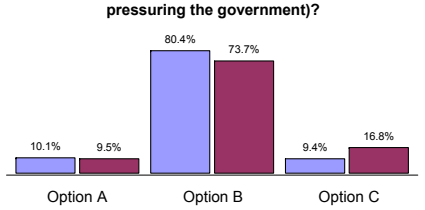
Question 3
N = 138 / 96 p = 0.3% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work... of learning new skills and expanding your mind?



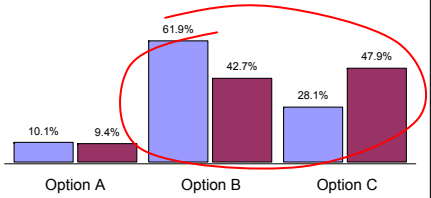
Question 4
N = 138 / 95 p = 24.1% (a)

Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?



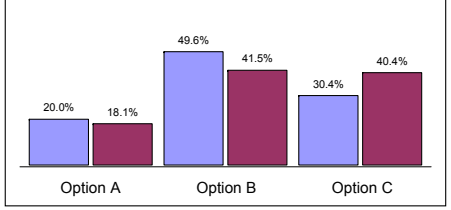
Question 5
N = 139 / 96 p = 0.6% (a)

Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected... and have a more positive thinking?



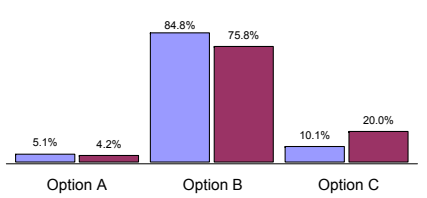
Question 6
N = 135 / 94 p = 28.3% (a)

Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?



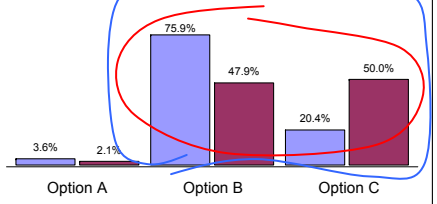
Question 7
N = 138 / 95 p = 10.5% (a)

Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?



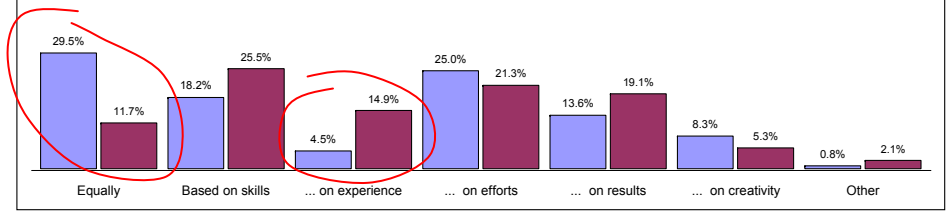
Question 8
N = 137 / 96 p = 0.0% (a)

In which kind of company would you prefer to work?



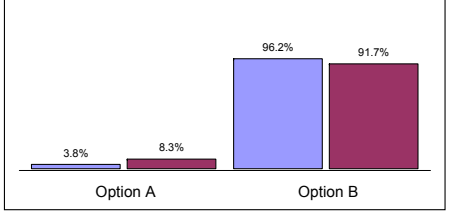
Question 9
N = 132 / 94 p = 0.3% (a)

How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?



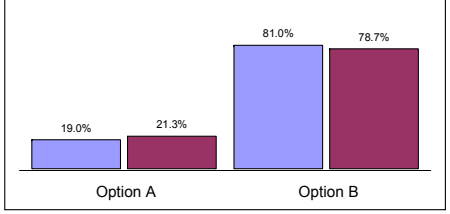
Question 10
N = 132 / 96 p = 14.4% (a)

In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?



Question 11
N = 137 / 94 p = 66.7% (a)

In which kind of company are things more organized?



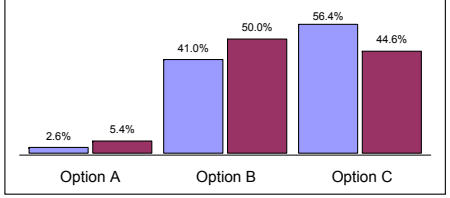
B.2.9 Individual Youth Entrepreneurs in Nairobi

Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

(N = 39) Female (N = 56) Male

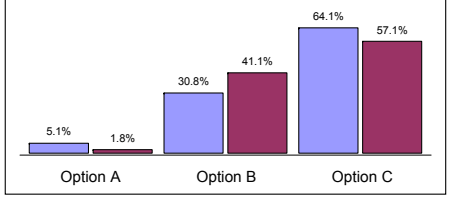
Question 1
N = 39 / 56 p = 48.0% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)?



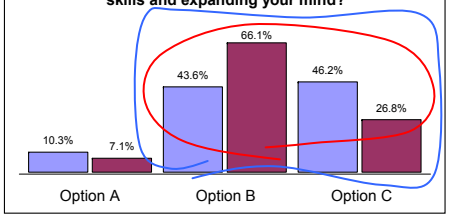
Question 2
N = 39 / 56 p = 43.6% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs?



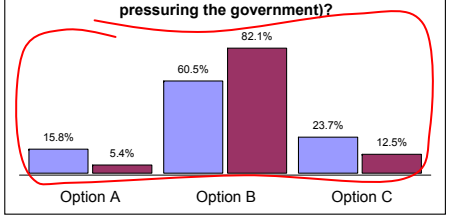
Question 3
N = 39 / 56 p = 3.3% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work... of learning new skills and expanding your mind?



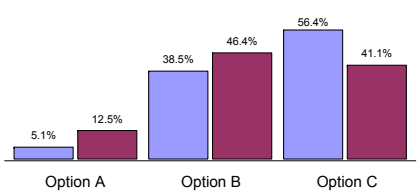
Question 4
N = 38 / 56 p = 5.8% (a)

Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?



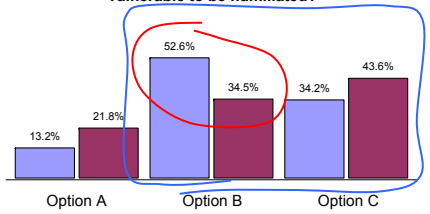
Question 5
N = 39 / 56 p = 24.7% (a)

Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected... and have a more positive thinking?



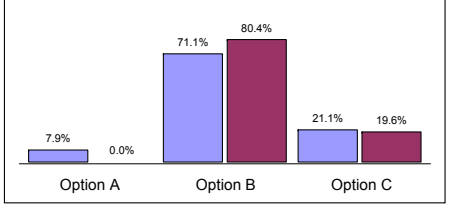
Question 6
N = 38 / 55 p = 15.6% (a)

Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?



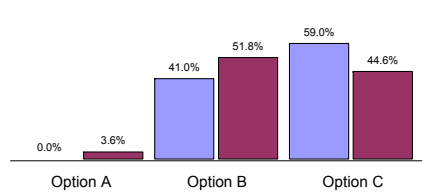
Question 7
N = 38 / 56 p = 9.5% (b)

Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?



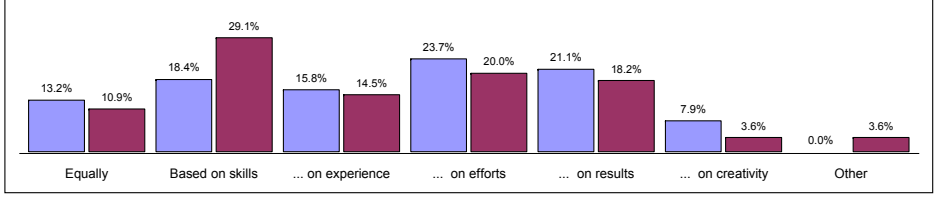
Question 8
N = 39 / 56 p = 23.6% (b)

In which kind of company would you prefer to work?



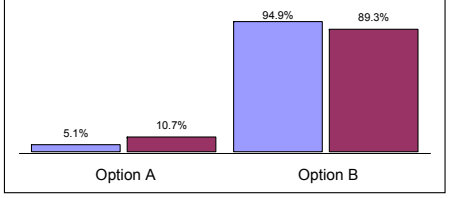
Question 9
N = 38 / 55 p = 83.4% (b)

How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?



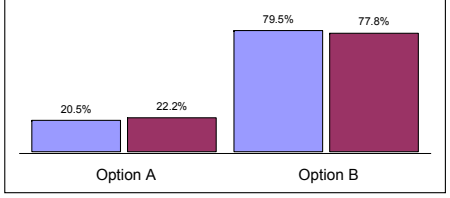
Question 10
N = 39 / 56 p = 33.5% (b)

In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?



Question 11
N = 39 / 54 p = 84.3% (a)

In which kind of company are things more organized?



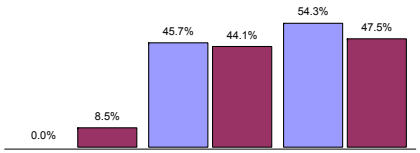
B.2.10 Individual Youth Entrepreneurs in Nairobi

Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

(N = 35) < 25 YO (N = 59) 25 YO or More

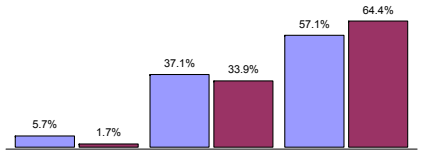
Question 1
N = 35 / 59 p = 20.3% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)?



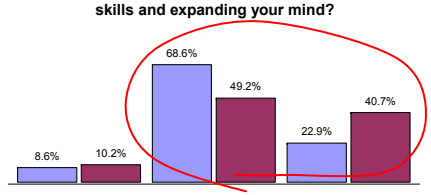
Question 2
N = 35 / 59 p = 50.5% (b)

Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs?



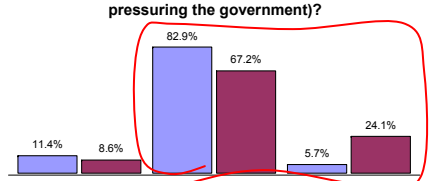
Question 3
N = 35 / 59 p = 16.7% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work... of learning new skills and expanding your mind?



Question 4
N = 35 / 58 p = 7.4% (a)

Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?

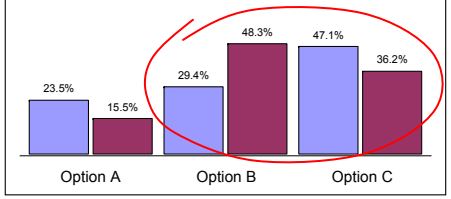


Question 5
N = 35 / 59 p = 15.1% (a)

Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected... and have a more positive thinking?

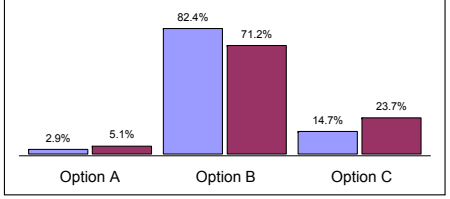
Question 6
N = 34 / 58 p = 20.0% (a)

Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?



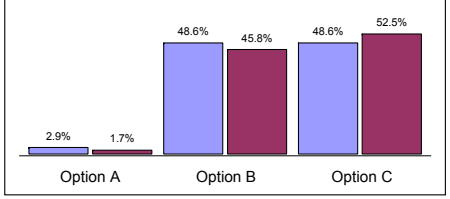
Question 7
N = 34 / 59 p = 48.5% (b)

Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?



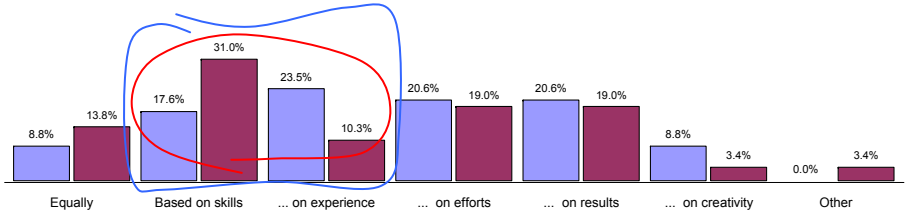
Question 8
N = 35 / 59 p = 88.5% (b)

In which kind of company would you prefer to work?



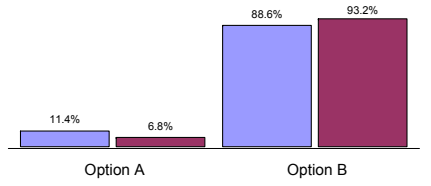
Question 9
N = 34 / 58 p = 4.8% (a)

How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?



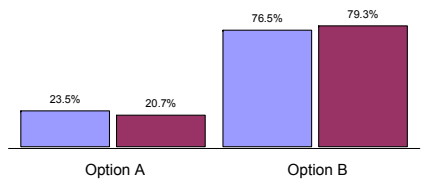
Question 10
N = 35 / 59 p = 43.5% (b)

In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?



Question 11
N = 34 / 58 p = 75.0% (a)

In which kind of company are things more organized?

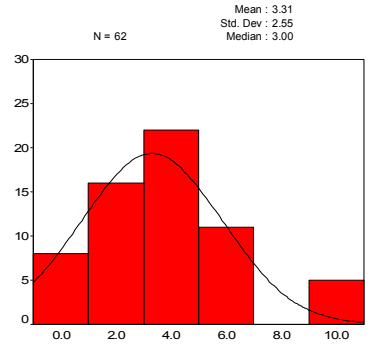


B.2.11 Individual Youth Entrepreneurs in Nairobi - Satisfaction and Importance as for Wellbeing Aspects

Note: the histograms and the normal curves were generated with SPSS 11.0.1

Aspect 1

Histogram of Satisfaction



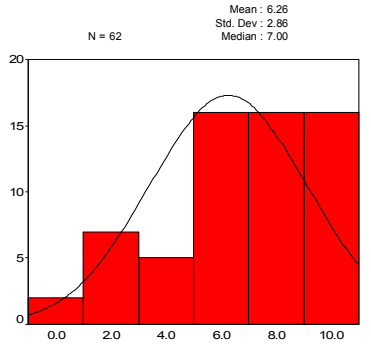
Level of Importance

High

Fulfilling material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)

Aspect 2

Histogram of Satisfaction



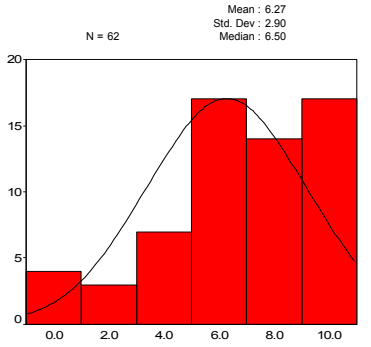
Level of Importance

Low

Deciding how to work, being creative and expressing your culture and beliefs

Aspect 3

Histogram of Satisfaction



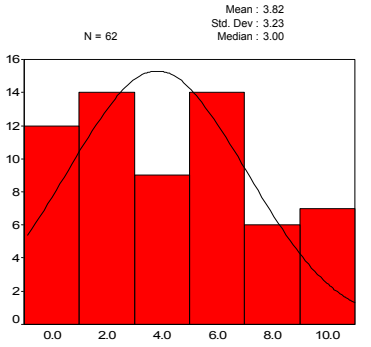
Level of Importance

High

Developing yourself through the work… learning new skills and expanding your mind

Aspect 4

Histogram of Satisfaction



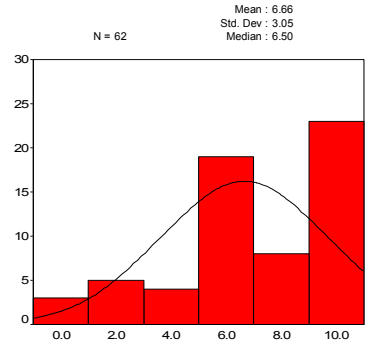
Level of Importance

Low

Participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)

Aspect 5

Histogram of Satisfaction



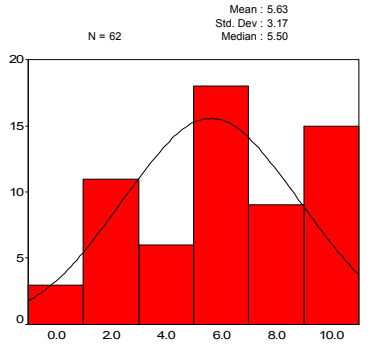
Level of Importance

Medium

Feeling competent, confident and respected… having a positive thinking

Aspect 6

Histogram of Satisfaction



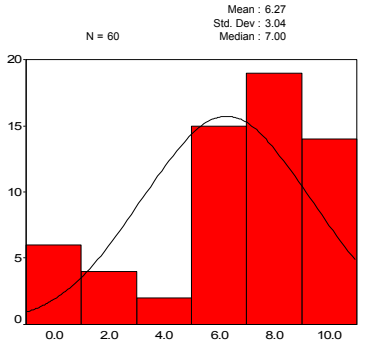
Level of Importance

Medium

Freedom from being humiliated

Aspect 7

Histogram of Satisfaction



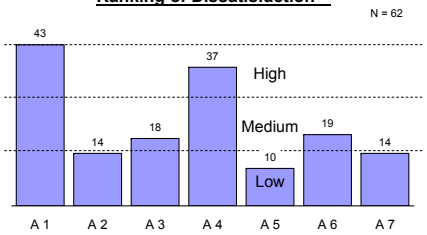
Level of Importance

Medium

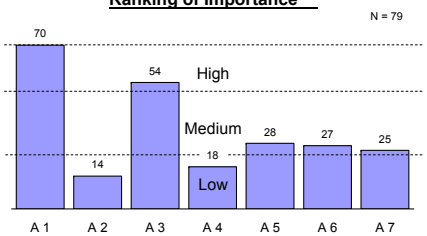
Feeling socially connected, cared for and significant to others

All Aspects

Ranking of Dissatisfaction (*)



Ranking of Importance (**)



(*) Based on the amount of times the aspect was certainly mentioned amongst the three ones the respondent was most unsatisfied with

(**) Based on the amount of times the aspect was mentioned amongst the three most important ones

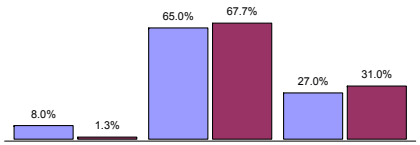
B.2.12 Nairobi

Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

(N = 139) YG Members (N = 159) Ys in H. School

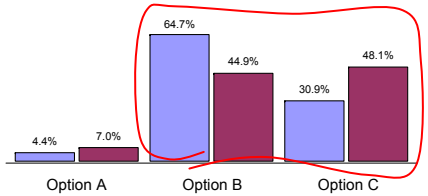
Question 1
N = 137 / 158 p = 1.7% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)?



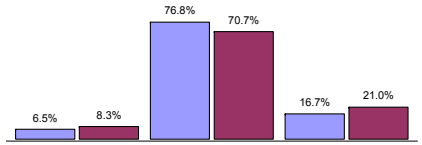
Question 2
N = 136 / 158 p = 0.3% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs?



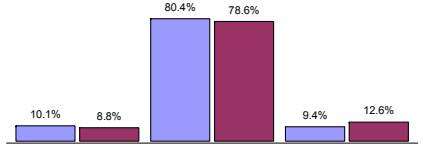
Question 3
N = 138 / 157 p = 49.4% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work... of learning new skills and expanding your mind?



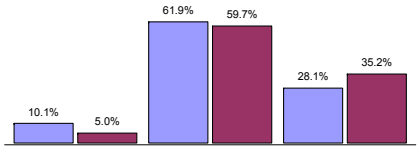
Question 4
N = 138 / 159 p = 65.9% (a)

Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?



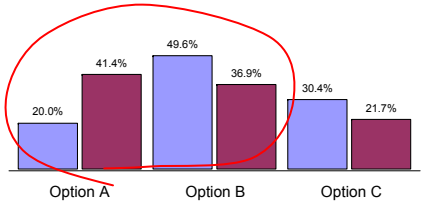
Question 5
N = 139 / 159 p = 15.0% (a)

Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected... and have a more positive thinking?



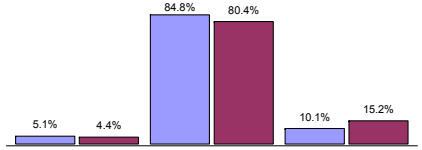
Question 6
N = 135 / 157 p = 0.0% (a)

Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?



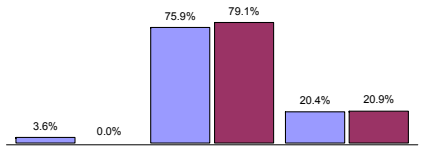
Question 7
N = 138 / 158 p = 42.8% (a)

Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?



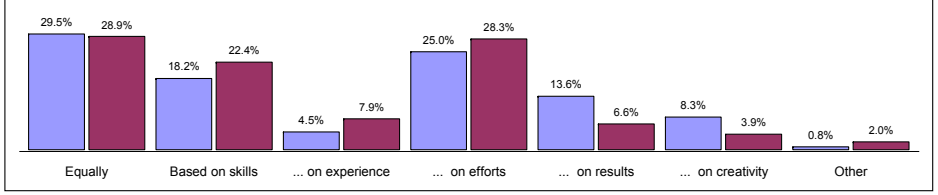
Question 8
N = 137 / 158 p = 5.3% (b)

In which kind of company would you prefer to work?



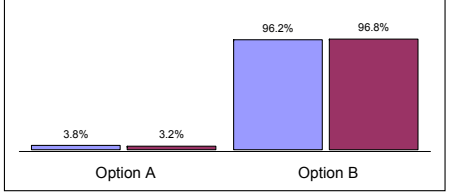
Question 9
N = 132 / 152 p = 15.8% (a)

How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?



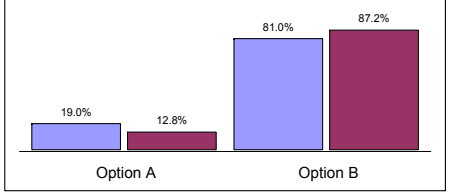
Question 10
N = 132 / 158 p = 77.2% (b)

In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?



Question 11
N = 137 / 156 p = 14.8% (a)

In which kind of company are things more organized?



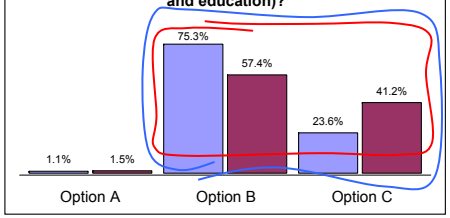
B.2.13 Youths in High School in Nairobi

Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

(N = 90) Female (N = 68) Male

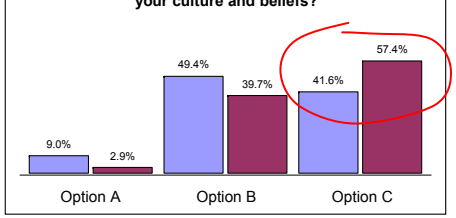
Question 1
N = 89 / 68 p = 1.7% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of fulfilling your material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)?



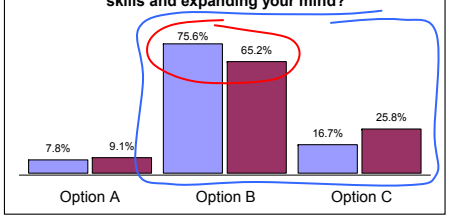
Question 2
N = 89 / 68 p = 8.2% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of deciding how to work, of being creative and of expressing your culture and beliefs?



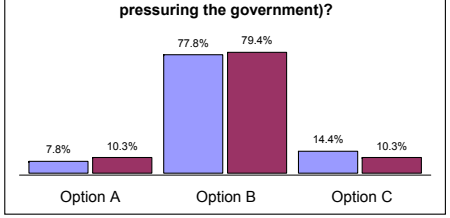
Question 3
N = 90 / 66 p = 14.6% (a)

Which option makes you most capable of developing yourself through the work... of learning new skills and expanding your mind?



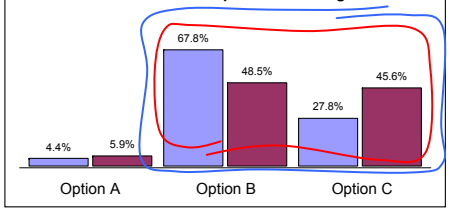
Question 4
N = 90 / 68 p = 66.5% (a)

Which option makes you more predisposed and capable of participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)?



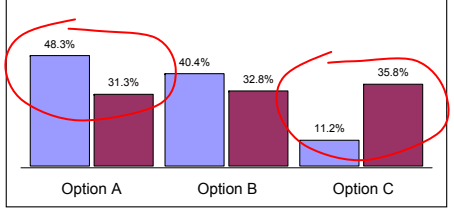
Question 5
N = 90 / 68 p = 1.5% (a)

Which option makes you feel more competent, confident and respected... and have a more positive thinking?



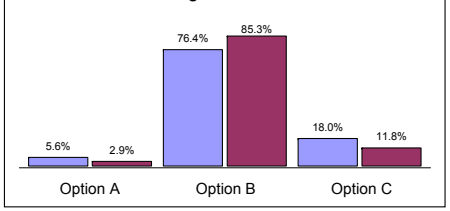
Question 6
N = 89 / 67 p = 0.1% (a)

Which option makes you less vulnerable to be humiliated?



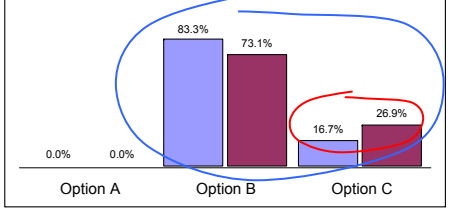
Question 7
N = 89 / 68 p = 37.3% (b)

Which option makes you feel more socially connected, cared for and significant to others?



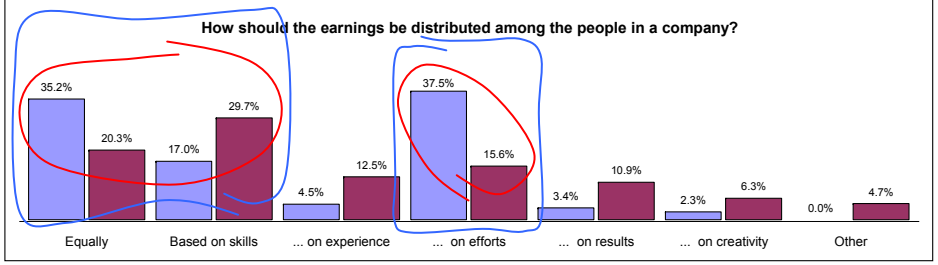
Question 8
N = 90 / 67 p = 12.1% (a)

In which kind of company would you prefer to work?



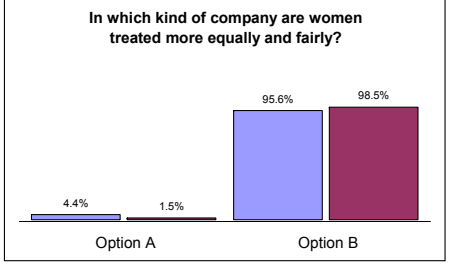
Question 9
N = 88 / 64 p = 0.8% (a)

How should the earnings be distributed among the people in a company?



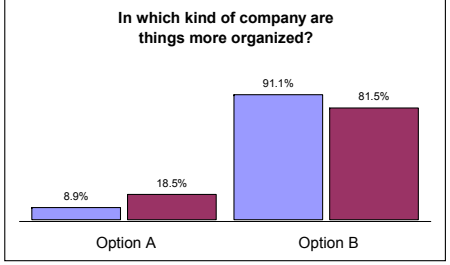
Question 10
N = 90 / 67 p = 29.7% (b)

In which kind of company are women treated more equally and fairly?



Question 11
N = 90 / 65 p = 7.9% (a)

In which kind of company are things more organized?



What is your Youth Group like and how would you like it to be?

* 1: Option in the Left 2: Half / Half 3: Option in the Right

Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

** 1: Option A 2: Option B 3: Option C

*** 1: Equally 2: Based on skills 3: Based on experience 4: ...

n: No y: Yes

f: Female m: Male

Note: image fields are shown only for indirectly applied forms

	* Q1_a	* Q1_b	* Q2_a	* Q2_b	* Q3_a	* Q3_b	* Q4_a	* Q4_b	* Q5_a	* Q5_b	* Q6_a	* Q6_b	* Q7_a	* Q7_b	* Q8_a	* Q8_b	** Q1	** Q2	** Q3	** Q4	** Q5	** Q6	** Q7	** Q8	*** Q9	** Q10	** Q11	Leader?	Gender	Age
1																	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2		f	
2																	2		2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2		f	19
3																	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2		m	20
4																	3	2	2	2	1	3	2	2	4	2	1		m	25
5																	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2		m	20
6																	3	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	4	2	2		f	19
7																	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2		m	25
8																	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2		m	25
9																	2	2	2	3	3	1	2	2	3	2	2		m	27
10																	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2		m	
11																	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2			m	20
12																	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	y	m	30
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15	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	5	2	2	n	m	28
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21	1	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	1	1	1	3	2	2	3	2	1	n	f	21
22		2	2	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	y	m	24
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24	1	3	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	n	m	21
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29	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	n	m	25
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51	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4		1			m	
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86																	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	y	m	22	
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93	1	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	1	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	n	m	31	
94	3	3	3	1	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	n	m	30	
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108	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	y	m	32
109	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	1		2	n	m	27
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111	3	2	3	3	1	1	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	3		1	1	3	2	1	y	m	30
112	3	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	n	m	20
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115																	3	1	1	2	1	3	3	2	2	2	1	n	m	23
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133	3		1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	2	2	y	f	29
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138	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	5	2	2	n	m	28
139	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	n	m	23
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What is your Youth Group like and how would you like it to be?

* 1: Option in the Left 2: Half / Half 3: Option in the Right

Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

** 1: Option A 2: Option B 3: Option C

*** 1: Equally 2: Based on skills 3: Based on experience 4: ...

n: No y: Yes

f: Female m: Male

	Q1_a *	Q1_b *	Q2_a *	Q2_b *	Q3_a *	Q3_b *	Q4_a *	Q4_b *	Q5_a *	Q5_b *	Q6_a *	Q6_b *	Q7_a *	Q7_b *	Q8_a *	Q8_b *	Q1 **	Q2 **	Q3 **	Q4 **	Q5 **	Q6 **	Q7 **	Q8 **	Q9 ***	Q10 **	Q11 **	Leader?	Gender	Age
1	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	n	f	18
2	1	3	1	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2		2	2	1	2	2	n	f	25
3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	1	2	2	y	f	35
4	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	2	y	m	29
5	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	y	m	24
6	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	1	y	m	27
7	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	2	n	m	25
8	1	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	2	n	m	22
9	3	3	1	3			1	3	1	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	2		1	3	1	1	1	y	m	35
10	3	2			1	3	1	3	3	3			1	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	2	3	1	1	2	n	m	16
11	2	3	1	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	1	n	m	19
12	2	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	1	2	1	2	n	m	18
13	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	1	2	1	2	3	2	3	2	1	1	1	n	m	18
14	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	1	3	2	3	1	3	3	1	2	1	3	1	2	3	1	2	1	n	m	19
15	1	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	2	3	1	3	1	1	2		m	27
16	1	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	1	n	m	20
17	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	1	2	1		m	35
18	1	3	1	3	2	3		3	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	2		2	2	2	2	2	2	4	1	1		f	20
19	3	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	1	3	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	n		30
20	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	2		1	2	2	2	1	n	m	29
21	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	3	2		1	2	2	2	y	m	28
22	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	5	2	2	y	m	29
23	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	y	m	27
24	1	3	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	3	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	2	1			21
25	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	n	m	24
26	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	y	m	24
27	2	3	2	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	3	3	1	3	1	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	1	2	2	n	m	20
28	2	3	1	3	3	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	2	2	n	m	24
29	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	y	f	
30	1	3	1	2	2	3	1	3	1	3	3	2	1	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	4	2	1	n	f	26
31	2	3	3	1							1	3	1	3	1	3	1		2	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	n		20
32	3	2	2	1	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	1	3	1	3	3	1	3	3	1	2	1	2	1	n	m	24
33	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	y	m	25
34	2	3	2	1	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3			3	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	y	m	22
35	2		3	3	3	2	1	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	2	3	2	2	1	6	1	2	y	m	29
36	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	3	3	1	2	1	2	1	n	m	30
37	3	3	3	2	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	1	1	1	3	1		2	2	3	2	2	n	m	17
38	1	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	y	f	20
39	3	3	2	3	3	3	1	2	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	5	2	2	n	m	20
40	3	3	3	3	1	3	2	3	3	3	1	3	1	3	3	3	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	3	3	2	2		m	17
41	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	1	2	n	m	25
42	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	6	2	2	y	f	21
43	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	y	m	32
44	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	y	m	28
45	3	2	1	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	6	2	2	n	m	22
46	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	y	m	24
47	3	3	3	1	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	1	2	3	1	3	2	2	2	3	2	1	2	3	1	2	2	n	m	32
48	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	1	2	2	n	m	28
49	3	2	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	5	2	2	n	m	18
50	3	3	2	3	1	3	3	1	2	3	1	3	3	3	1	3	2	1	2	1	1	2	3	3	2	2	2	n	m	21

Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

** 1: Option A 2: Option B 3: Option C
*** 1: Equally 2: Based on skills 3: Based on experience 4: ...

f: Female
m: Male

	** Q1	** Q2	** Q3	** Q4	** Q5	** Q6	** Q7	** Q8	*** Q9	** Q10	** Q11	Gender	Age	
1	3	2	2	2	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	m	23	e:
2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	m	32	e:
3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	m	35	e:
4	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	m	22	e:
5	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	1	2	m	22	e:
6	3	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	4	2	2	f	31	e:
7	2	3	3	3	2	2	3	2	5	2	2	m	26	e:
8	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	m	26	e:
9	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	2	1	f	29	e:
10	3	3	2	2	3		2	3	5	2	1	m	23	e:
11	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	1	2	m	28	e:
12	3	3	2	1	2	1	2	3	5	2	2	m	24	e:
13	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	2	1	m	33	e:
14	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3		2	1	f	28	e:
15	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	5	2	2	m	29	e:
16	2	3	1	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	f	18	e:
17	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	7	2	2	m	29	e:
18	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	4	2	2	m	26	e:
19	3	2	2	1	3	3	2	3	3	1	1	m	24	e:
20	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	m	28	e:
21	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	m	30	e:
22	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	1	f	26	e:
23	3	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	4	2	1	m	28	e:
24	3	3	2	2	1	1	2	1	3	2		m	24	e:
25	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	1	2	2	m	32	e:
26	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	2	2	m	30	e:
27	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	m	26	e:
28	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	m	26	e:
29	2	2	2	2	1	1	3	2	3	2	1	m	20	e:
30	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	4	2	1	m	21	e:
31	2	2	2	2	3	1	2	2		2	2	m	22	e:
32	2	3	1	1	3	2	2	3	2	2	1	f	27	e:
33	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	5	2	2	m	26	e:
34	1	3	1	2	2	3	3	1	2	2	2	m	26	e:
35	3	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2		m	33	e: 0729
36	2	2	3	3	2	1	1	3	6	2	1	f	30	e:
37	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	6	2	1	m	29	e:
38	1	3	1	2	3	3	1	2	2	2	2		35	e:
39	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	5	2	2	f	29	e:
40	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	m	33	e:
41	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	m	32	e:
42	3	3	2	2	3	1	3	3	2	2	1	m	30	e:
43	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	f	20	e:
44	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	f	27	e:
45	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	2	2	f	27	e:
46	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	1	f	21	e:
47	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	2	2	f	29	e:
48	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	f	29	e:
49	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	f	24	e:
50	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	f	23	e:

51	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	1	f	17	e:
52	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	4	2	1	f	21	e:
53	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	5	2	2	f	21	e:
54	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	5	2	2	m	34	e:
55	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	5	2	2	m	24	e:
56	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	m	35	s:
57	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	7	1	2	m	27	s:
58	2	2	2	3	3	1	2	2	3	2	2	f	29	s:
59	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	f	24	e:
60	3	3	3	1	3		3	3	5	1	2	f	29	e:
61	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	27	s:
62	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	2	2	f	20	e:
63	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	4	2	2	f	20	s:
64	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	5	2	2	f	27	e:
65	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	f	24	s:
66	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	f	33	s:
67	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	6	2	2	f	24	e:
68	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	6	2	2	f	21	s:
69	2	3	3	1	2	1	2	3	5	1	2	f	23	s:
70	2	3	3	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	2	f	32	e:
71	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	f	33	e:
72	2	3	2		3	2	2	2	1	2	2	f	34	s:
73	2	1	2	1	2	3		2	1	2	2	f	20	s:
74	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	f	34	s:
75	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	2	2	f	18	e:
76	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	2	2	f	35	s:
77	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	5	2	1	m	31	e:
78	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	m		e:
79	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	4	2	2	m	33	e:
80	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	m	30	e:
81	2	3	3	2	3	1	2	3	3	2	2	m	27	e:
82	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	m	19	e:
83	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	4	2	2	f	27	e:
84	3	3	2	2	3	1	3	3	2	2	2	m	28	e:
85	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	m	31	e:
86	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	m	23	e:
87	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	m		e:
88	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	m	31	e:
89	2	3	2	2	1	3	2	2	6	2	1	m	23	e:
90	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	m	18	e:
91	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	2	2	m	29	e:
92	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	2	2	m	21	
93	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	1	m	28	s:
94	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	m	21	e:
95	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	4	2	2	m	20	e:
96	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	m	29	e:
97														
98														
99														
100														
101														
102														
103														
104														
105														
106														
107														

How satisfied are you? Concerning...

* 0: Not Satisfied at All ~ 10: Completely Satisfied

** Ranking of Insatisfaction (1: First 2: Second 3: Third)

Tick the three most important ones:

*** A1 ~ A7

f: Female
m: Male

	* A1	* A2	* A3	* A4	* A5	* A6	* A7	** A1	** A2	** A3	** A4	** A5	** A6	** A7	*** A...	*** A...	*** A...	Gender	Age	
1	5	9	9	5	10	9	9	1			1				1	5	6	m	23	e: 07[illegible]
2	2	9	9	1	5	1	6	2			1		1					m	28	e: 07[illegible]
3	0	8	10	0	5	8	5	1			1				1	5	7	m	28	e: 0716[illegible]
4															1	3	5	f	26	e: 0716-[illegible]
5	2	10	10	10	6	2	3	1					1	2	1	3	6	m	30	e: 0721[illegible]
6	0	10	5	10	10	10	10	1		2					3	6	7	m	28	e: 0714[illegible]
7	0	0	0	0	5	6	5								2	3	6	m	24	e: 0721[illegible]
8	5	7	6	5	8	7	7	1		2	1				1	3	4	m	32	e: 0716-[illegible]
9															1	3	4	f	30	e: 07166[illegible]
10	4	5	4	3	6	6	6	2		2	1				1	3	7	f	26	e: 0721[illegible]
11	4	6	5	6	8	8	10	1		2					1	4	7	m	26	e: 0712[illegible]
12	3	5	6	5	6	5	6	1							1	6	7	m	26	e: 0721-[illegible]
13	4	10	10	0	0	10	0				1	1		1	1	3	6	m	20	e: 0712[illegible]
14	3	9	10	10	5	5	2	2						1	1	3	7	m	21	e: 0729[illegible]
15	3	10	10	10	10	7	1	2					3	1	1	3	5	m	22	e: 0729[illegible]
16	2	5	2	7	10	5	10	1		1					1	3	5	f	27	e: 0712[illegible]
17	5	4	7	2	8	2	8		2		1		1		1	3	5	m	26	0728249
18	3	4	8	2	10	10	8	2	3		1				1	3	5	m	26	e: 0722[illegible]
19	3	6	4	10	10	5	0	2		3				1	1	3	6	m	30	e: 0729[illegible]
20	3	6	5	6	10	10	8	1		2					3	4	7	m	26	e: 0726[illegible]
21	5	6	4	8	6	10	8	2		1					1	3	6	f	30	e: 0717[illegible]
22	3	6	4	2	9	10	7	2		3	1				1	3	6	m	29	e: 0724[illegible]
23	4	7	5	3	2	2	2					1	1	1	1	3	6	m	35	e: 0715[illegible]
24	2	9	1	0	0	1	0				1	1		1	1	3	4	m	27	e: 0713[illegible]
25	3	5	8	3	7	6	9	1	2		1				1	5	7	m	31	e: 0722[illegible]
26	1	1	0	0	1	1	0			1	1			1	1	3	5	m	29	e: 0721[illegible]
27															1	3	6	m	33	e: 0732[illegible]
28															2	4	7	f	20	ne: 0716[illegible]
29	3	8	5	5	6	4	10	1					2		1	2	7	f	27	0726[illegible]
30	5	7	8	4	9	7	10	2			1				1	2	5	f	27	ne: 0721[illegible]
31	2	8	10	3	10	5	6	1			2		3		1	3	5	f	21	ne: 0722[illegible]
32	4	1	5	4	9	8	8	2	1		2				5	6	7	f	29	ne: 0721[illegible]
33	0	7	7	5	10	7	8	1			2				1	2	5	f	29	ne: 0[illegible]
34	2	8	6	8	7	4	9	1		3			2		1	3	7	f	24	0726[illegible]
35	0	7	7	5	10	6	7	1			2		3					f	23	ne: 0716-[illegible]
36	10	8	10	1	10	9	8		2		1			2	1	3	5	f	17	ne: 0[illegible]
37	5	5	5	5	0	0	0					1	1	1	1	3	4	f	21	ne: 0729[illegible]
38	10	10	0	0	10	0	10			1	1		1		1	2	5	f	21	ne: 0729[illegible]
39															1	2	3	m	34	: 0725[illegible]
40	1	5	10	1	6	1	5	1			1		1		1	3	4	m	24	: 0729 [illegible]
41	1	10	10	10	10	10	10	1							1	3	6	m	35	: 0729[illegible]
42															3	6	7	m	27	0724 [illegible]
43	1	8	8	1	10	10		1			1				1	3	7	f	29	: 0713[illegible]
44	5	10	5	5	5	10									1	3	6	f	24	: 0738 [illegible]
45	3	9	7	0	6	9	9	2			1	3			1	3	6	f	29	: 0[illegible]
46	4	8	5	0	6	9	10	2		3	1				1	3	6	f	27	: 0[illegible]
47															1	3	5	f	20	: 0[illegible]
48															1	2	6	f	20	: 0[illegible]
49															1	3	6	f	27	: 0[illegible]
50															1	3	5	f	24	: 0[illegible]

51																	1	2	4	f	33	
52																	1	4	7	f	24	
53																	1	3	6	f	21	
54																	1	3	7	f	23	
55	5	5	4	0	3	4	10				1	2					1	4	6	f	32	
56	2	0	9	1	10	8	8	3	1		2						1	5		f	33	
57																	1	3	5	f	34	
58																	1	3	7	f	20	
59																	1	3	6	f	34	
60																	1	4	7	f	18	
61																	1	3	4	f	35	
62	1	1	0	0	1	1	0			1	1				1		1	3	6	m	30	
63	2	9	9	1	5	1	6	2			1		1				1	3	6	f	26	
64	10	2	9	5	7	5	5		1								1	3	5	m	34	
65	3	8	4	2	5	6	7	2		3	1						1	3	7	m	31	
66	10	5	7	5	3	6	8		2		2	1					1	4	7	m	27	
67	3	9	8	3	10	4	8	1			1		2				1	4	5	m	26	
68	5	7	7	2	7	1	5				2		1				1	2	5	m	33	
69	0	5	5	5	9	5	9	1									2	3	4	m	28	
70	6	9	8	2	9	2	5				1		1	2			1	5	7	f	31	
71	0	5	7	2	6	5	2	1			2			2			1	3	7	m	23	
72	4	1	5	1	4	0	7		2		2		1				1	2	7	m	27	
73	1	3	10	10	10	10	8	1	2					3			2	3	5	m	31	
74	4	10	10	0	8	3	7	3			1		2				1	3	6	m	29	
75	5	4	7	5	6	4	6		1				1				1	3	5	m	24	
76	1	2	3	3	2	5	4	1	2			2					1	4	7	m	27	
77	9	8	9	3	4	6	6				1	2					1	2	3	m	22	
78	1	5	5	8	6	8	7	1	2	2							1	4	5	f	23	
79	4	2	6	7	5	5	6	2	1								1	5	6	m	29	
80	4	8	6	0	10	10	7	2		3	1						3	6	7	m	20	
81	0	4	1	7	2	5	5	1		2		3					1	3	5	m	30	
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Which kind of company generates more wellbeing?

** 1: Option A 2: Option B 3: Option C
*** 1: Equally 2: Based on skills 3: Based on experience 4: ...

f: Female
m: Male

	** Q1	** Q2	** Q3	** Q4	** Q5	** Q6	** Q7	** Q8	*** Q9	** Q10	** Q11	Gender	Age
1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	m	18
2	2	3	1	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	1	m	17
3	2	3	2	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	m	17
4	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	m	18
5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	m	21
6	2	2		2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	m	17
7	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	5	2	2	m	19
8	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	4	2	1	m	18
9	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	3	4	2	2	m	17
10	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	4	2	2	m	17
11	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	m	17
12	3	2	2	2	3	1	2		5	2	2	m	17
13	1	2	2	2	1	3	2	2	5	2	2	m	17
14	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	m	17
15	3	3	2	2	3	1	3	2		2	2	m	16
16	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	6	2	2	m	18
17	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	m	16
18	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	m	18
19	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	7	1	1	m	17
20	3	3	1	2	1	3	2	2	1	2	1	m	18
21	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	3	5	2	2	m	17
22	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	m	18
23	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	m	17
24	2	3	2	2	3	1	2	3	5	2	1	m	18
25	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	m	17
26	2	3	3	3	2	1	2	2	4	2	2	m	17
27	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	5	2	1	m	17
28	2	2	2	3	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	f	17
29	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	f	18
30	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	1	2	2	f	17
31	3	1	2	2	3	1		2	2	2	2	f	17
32	2	3	3	2	2	1	3	2	5	2	2	f	17
33	2	1	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	f	17
34	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	f	16
35	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	f	17
36	2	3	2	3	3	1	2	2	1	2	2	f	17
37	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	4	2	2	f	17
38	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	f	16
39	2	2	2	3	2	1	2	3	3	2	2	f	17
40	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	f	17
41	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	5	1	2	f	17
42	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	f	17
43	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	f	
44	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	17
45	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	2	2	f	17
46	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	f	17
47	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	2	1	1	2	f	17
48	2	3	3	3	2	1	2	2	4	2	1	f	17
49	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	4	2	2	f	17
50	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	f	17

51	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	4	2	2	f	17
52	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	f	19
53	3	3	2	1	2	1	3	2	6	2	1	f	17
54	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	1	f	17
55	2		2	2	1	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	18
56	3	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	1	f	17
57	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	f	17
58	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	4	2	2	f	17
59	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	f	18
60	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	4	2	2	f	19
61	2	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	f	18
62	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	f	18
63	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	f	18
64	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	f	17
65	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	4	2	2	f	18
66	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	18
67	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	19
68	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	f	18
69	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	2	2	f	18
70	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	17
71	2	2	2	2	2		2	2	4	2	2	f	18
72	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	f	18
73	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2		2	2	f	18
74	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	f	18
75	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2		2	2	f	17
76	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	2	2	f	18
77	3	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	4	2	2	f	17
78	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	18
79	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	2	2	f	16
80		2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	f	17
81	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	18
82	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	18
83	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	19
84	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	18
85	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	17
86	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	f	17
87	2	3	2	2	3	1	2	3	4	2	2	f	
88	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	m	18
89	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3		2	2	m	
90	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	m	20
91	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	2	2	m	18
92	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	m	19
93	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	6	2	2	m	20
94	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	2			m	18
95	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	m	18
96	2	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	4	2	2	m	17
97	3	3	3	2	2	3	2	2		2	2	m	18
98	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	m	18
99	2	3	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	2		m	19
100	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	7	2	2	m	18
101	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	m	18
102	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	2	2	m	
103	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	m	
104	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	m	17
105	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	m	18
106	2	2		2	1	1	2	2		2	1	m	17
107	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	m	18

108	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	m	19
109	3	1	3	2	3	3	1	3	3	2		m	21
110	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	m	20
111	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	m	17
112	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	m	18
113	2	3	3	1	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	m	17
114	3	3	1	2	3	1	3	3	2	2	2	m	19
115	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	m	18
116	1	2	2	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	2	f	18
117	2	1	3	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	1	f	15
118	3	2	2	1	3	3	2	3	1	2	2	m	17
119	3	2	2	2	3	1	3	2	1	2	2	m	18
120	2	3	1	2	1	1	3	3	1	2	2	f	15
121	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	m	18
122	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	f	16
123	2	3	1	1	3	1	3	2	1	2	1	f	16
124	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	f	16
125	2	3	1	1	2	1	3	2	1	2	2	f	16
126	3	1	3	1	1	3	2	3	3	2	2	m	16
127	2	1	2	3	3	1	3	2	2	2	1	f	16
128	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	f	17
129	3	2	3	2	3	1	3	3	4	2	2	f	15
130	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	6	2	2	f	15
131	3	2	3	2	2	1	2	3	4	2	2	f	18
132	2	3	3	1	3	2	3	3	4	2	2	f	16
133	3	1	1	2	3	1	2	2	1	1	2	f	16
134	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	3	1	2	2	f	15
135	2	1	2	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	2	f	15
136	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	4	2	1	f	
137	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	f	15
138	2	3	2	2	3	1	2	2	4	2	2	f	16
139	2	3	2	2	3	1	2	2	4	2	2	f	15
140	2	3	2	2	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	f	15
141	2	1	3	2	2	1	3	3	2	2	2	f	16
142	2	3	2	2	3	1	2	2	3	2	2	m	17
143	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	f	17
144	2	1	3	2	2	1	2	2		2	2		20
145	3	2	3	1	3	2	2	3	1	2	2	m	17
146	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	4	2	2	f	15
147	3	2	2	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	2	f	15
148	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	1	2	2	m	16
149	2	3	2	3	3	2	1	2	7	2	2	m	16
150	3	3	2	1	3	3	2	3	1	2	2	m	17
151	3	2	2	2	3	1	3	3	1	2	2	f	17
152	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	m	20
153	3	2	2	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	1	m	15
154	3	3	2	2	3		3	3	5	2	1	m	21
155	3	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	f	18
156	2	3	2	3	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	f	20
157	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	f	20
158	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	f	20
159	3	2	1	3	3	1	3	2	3	2	2	m	18
160													
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B.3 Comments on the Results

Activities carried out with 4 youth groups in Nairobi (15 men, 1 woman): Manygro (3 men; 50min), Myto (5 men; 40min), NGEI 1 (2 men, 1 woman; 15min), and Victorious Youth Group (5 men; 45min)

Note: though more succinct and superficial, this section follows the same analytical and descriptive standard applied in the exploratory phase (appendix A)

B.3.1 About Women and Men

Issues: women's stronger wish that earnings be more fairly divided and feebler inclination to consider that information is fully accessible

Male group members mentioned part of the reason why women feel excluded is that they are a minority in the groups and though easily overtaken by men in the decisions; in addition, one member declared to believe that women are passive and do not speak their voice by reason of being less educated than men

> "girls thinking they are discriminated against… [from a man:] I think what is leading to that is their number, we have few ladies in the organization, in a debate in the group it is more difficult to them, the male use their number to win most of the things in the group… and the ladies, they are also not that aggressive enough to come out and speak out their voice, what they want, they are not aggressive to say they want to be equal… most of the females in Africa or in Kenya are not as educated as men, they feel excluded by males"

Moreover, women were said to be unsatisfied with their inexpressive representation in the groups' management positions

> "in terms of elections, women want the management posts to be shared, but they are not that active, and do not attend properly the meetings"

Furthermore, men pointed out that women are allocated less work for being physically weaker, are consecutively paid less, and are not happy about this situation

> "usually the disagreement comes when we are distributing work… the female members will feel not satisfied because we expect males to be the ones carrying out things… in terms of physical activities, men are usually stronger, and they do a lot of work, in a couple of time they can do a lot of work, and maybe working in that kind of time, their payment, we need to pay these men maybe a bigger amount than the ladies, because these ladies, where they engage themselves not in this physical act, during the payment they also come up and they need to be given a certain amount, when it comes to an agreement, men will come and say that they have done the big job, so they need to be paid more, the ladies will think the part should be equal, so there will be disagreement… in their mind they think we are still equal, even though you have done this kind of job, we are still members and we need to share the same amount"

Men also stated women commit less to the group [x2], are lazy, and do not participate unless they earn money – one group member speculated that a reason for this last point is that some women have children to look after

> "normally girls are not committed to the group, they depend on their jobs, like today, we invited everybody in our weekly meeting but only men came, our ladies, sometimes is they own mistake, they don't like to participate… if they don't earn money they don't participate… maybe because some of them have children"

> "they come with ideas to us, business ideas, we understand, we organize them, it is a project now, you can carry on, we can help you in another way, but they are lazy… so what can we do now? … we invite them to the meetings and at the end they don't come, you don't come but you are at the house… they don't commit themselves"

Finally, in the only group where a female representative was present, she strongly disagreed with the men's explanations and pointed out that men tend to believe in a male supremacy and that part of the reason why few women take part in mixed youth groups is that boyfriends do not want their girlfriends to join a group which has men as members

> "[from a man:] nature… nature tends to reduce women's participation in the groups… [a woman disagrees:] for me, that supremacy, men tend to believe it… that they need to be there to things to work out… boyfriends are also a problem, they don't want girls to join a group that has many men… this inequality needs to change, the girls can do any activity… [from another man:] we are bringing in woman friendly activities in our group"

B.3.2 About Non-Leaders and Leaders

Issues: leaders' bold desire for full participation; non-leaders' deeper wish for equal ownership and flatter inclination to consider information as fully accessible

During discussions in which non-leaders and leaders were considerably well represented, youth group members mentioned that part of the non-leaders tend to have a passive stance [x2], lack understanding concerning the group issues [x3], and are likely to become somehow dependent on others [x2]

> "the leaders may want to participate more in other departments which are run by different leaders and improve it, the non-leaders don't see well the issues of other departments and what can be improved… it is like the government and the people, all in the government will defend itself, its plans, everything, and the rest of the people in the country also will like more to be given to them, very few will check if the government has done a good job"

> "part of the members do not participate or show up in the activities… this is lack of co-operation"

> "for example, learning the difficulties of the group, this is where the officials are much more engaged than the members"

Leaders were pointed out as more urging and visionary

> "the leaders have to pull the rest of the team so as to attain, always as a leader you aim higher, you aim higher, and the rest of the team thinks it is enough, you see, we have reached, we have done what we were supposed to do, but as a leader you have to be visionary"

In addition, it was said that space to participate in the groups' management is available [x2] and commitment, involvement and effort can lead any member into becoming a leader

> "we have different activities and we have different leaders also, everyone is a leader, but it depends on how you commit to the group, if you want to be a leader you come to a meeting and call yourself a leader, do you see… you can come and ask what is going on, understand, and get involved… part of the problem is when people don't understand what is going on… part of the non-leaders don't commit themselves and they don't put effort on participation, if they want to participate more they would have space… they have space, they have, but they don't use this space… some people, if they have the leaders they just relax… we have to get together and talk about this… we also need more business, and more leaders"

> "the leaders participate hard… the leaders move fast… they are more aware of what is going on in the group… other members, they were also supposed to attend the meetings, members can participate more"

They also mentioned that as leaders normally assume the responsibility for executing what was collectively decided, it is somehow expected that their participation be more intense…

> "if something is supposed to be implemented, and the discussion has been carried out, the leaders have to make sure it follows the way like it was discussed, so they have to participate more than the members, they have to make sure it will be implemented"

… and that they express the desire of being supported by the members' commitment

> "non-leaders have space to participate, they are giving out the result, and the leaders make sure there is enough result… the leaders might have a problem somehow, given something I am supposed to do, I require support from the members"

Finally, one leader mentioned the wish of being more pressured by the members and said it leads both non-leaders and leaders to a systematic growth

> "members have to pressurize me by giving me tough advise… if there is a proper background from the members I will follow what they say, and if I add my skill for how I can do it, you find they will grow up with the system… members and leaders have to work together, members should be in watch on what the leaders are doing, and the leaders should not do their willing without the efforts from the members, so it is something that works systematically"

B.3.3 About Younger and Elder Youth Group Members

Issues: younger group members' lower propensity to consider that information is fully accessible and earnings fairly distributed

Differences of perceptions between younger and elder group members were discussed with one youth group only and the main notion which emerged was that younger people tend to be more dynamic, to have a craving for trying out new things, to look for changes, and to have a higher sense of urgency, whereas older persons would emphasise experience and longer examination of matters

> "younger people, they have young ideas, brilliant ideas… they have innovative ideas which they need to implement, they just say that, I have a brilliant idea, I have to share it with you, and initiate it immediately, as opposed to this older people, they tend to think like it is king of just enough, yes, we need change, but it is not that immediately… the younger people want urgency, changes, experiment things themselves at the instant, opposed to the older, who emphasize experience, who would like to analyze things more, for a longer period of time, and come to a conclusion"

B.3.4 About Youth Group Members' Preference for Working in Co-operatives

Issue: youth group members' substantial preference for working in a co-operative organization

One youth group member explained this preference as:

> "most of the guys in our group would like to work in a kind of co-operative organization, you work to achieve certain goals, you share kind of the same profit, each member, and everybody

> tends to be part, to own that kind of organization, you work together, you reach together… option C [to start your own small company] is kind of individual, you move and you succeed alone, but you look at option B [to be part of a co-operative organization] and it is kind of communion, we move one step at the time, if you fall we all fall, and option A is kind of a traditional company… what I know is that it is inherited, if your father is the director you are living knowing that one day you will assume, probably inherit, and most of us guys want to work in a team where you share ideas, you exchange and you work towards attaining certain goals"

In addition, another group member who initially expressed the tendency to prefer working as an individual entrepreneur demonstrated being surprised and influenced by knowing that most of the group members said to prefer working in a co-operative organization

> "I expected people to choose more the C… I never expected question 8 [in which kind of company would you prefer to work?] to come up with B, because I thought most of the people would prefer to work as an individual… I personally ticked option C… now I see people want to work together and to one direction, maybe in terms of development, I think it is saying that youths have realized that working fully towards one direction can help them a lot… you alone is very hard, but when you are many and you co-operate it is much easier… I think it is a wake-up call to the group… it is good to know that people think if we get together we go far"

Appendix C - Participatory Activities: Networks of Production

This appendix describes the fieldwork's participatory activities concerning the idea of networks of production. The conceiving of this phase was informed by findings from the exploratory stage and by practices from the Brazilian solidarity economy movement and aimed at understanding the youth group members' perceptions about: a) the similarities and differences between the network-based Brazilian solidarity economy movement and youth groups' practices; b) the potential fruits of implementing networks of production; c) the obstacles to the development of networks of production; d) the currently present elements which are incentives to the development of networks of production; e) what is needed to breed and boost networks of production; and f) how external organizations (governments, NGOs, etc.) might support the development of networks of production.

Picture C-1: Activities in Nairobi and in Dar es Salaam

These activities consisted of collective participatory interactions with youth group members in Nairobi which comprehended from 2 to 7 people, always members from the same group. In the case of Dar es Salaam, a single workshop was carried out with 7 members from 6 different youth groups. Due to the complex and abstract nature of this venture, the most

challenging element turned out to be the capability of converting the notion of network of production into an appropriate and concrete 'language game' which could be shared by the youths and the researcher. Three elements were employed for this purpose. The first of them was a four-minute evocative video specially designed to portray the network-based solidarity economy practices happening in Brazil – edited out of sections of promotion/mobilization materials produced by the Brazilian National Secretariat of Solidarity Economy (*SENAES*) and by the Brazilian Solidarity Economy Forum (*FBES*). The second element was a chart (presented in the picture C-3) designed to illustrate in a practical manner the idea of network of production, which was based on entrepreneurial activities in fact performed by youth groups that are part of YIKE's programme (each circle in the chart was inspired by an existing youth group). Finally, the 'tree instrument' from the Reflect methodology was employed to simply and systematically drive the discussions into a deeper level [69]. In the first stage of the interaction, the group watched the video (normally two times) and members were asked to reflect, discuss and express: a) their general impressions, and b) how they view the similarities and differences as for their practices.

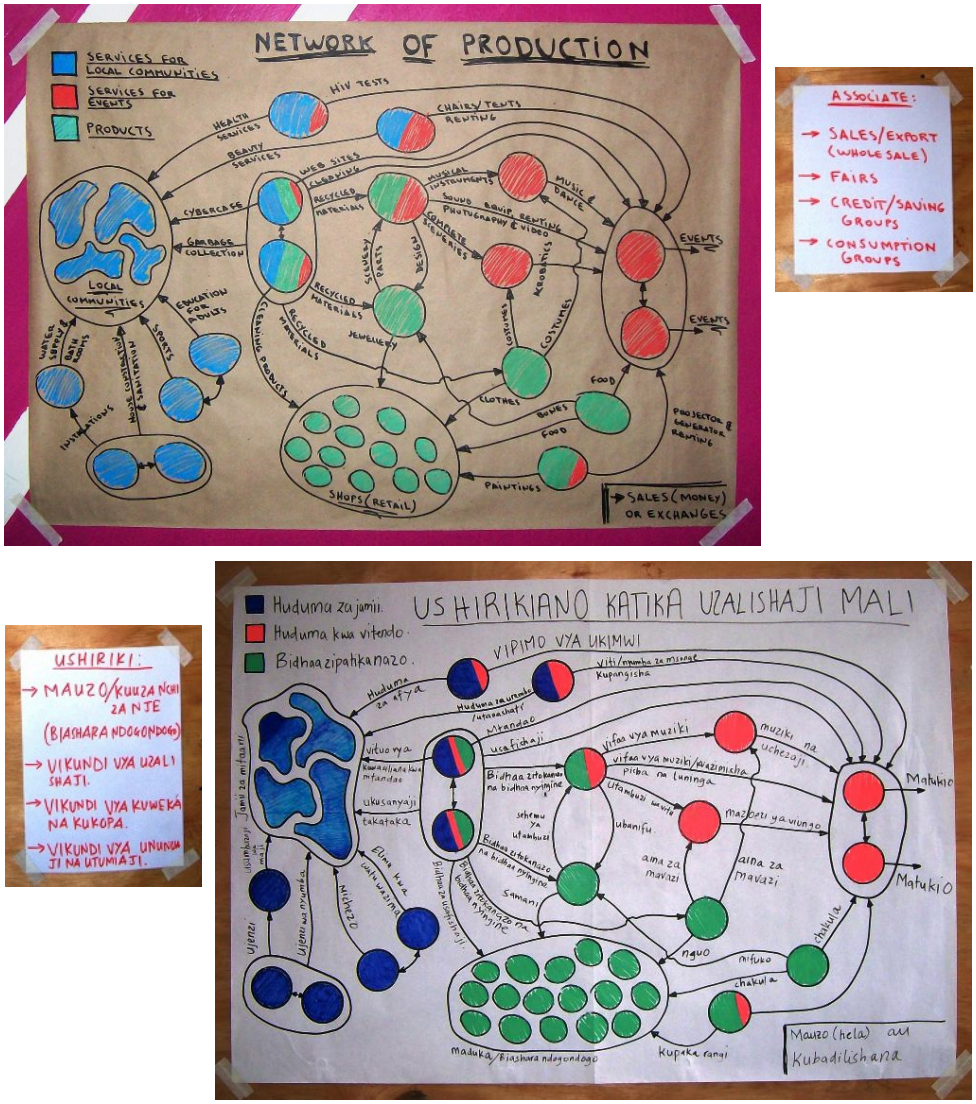
http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=D4T7SqX_GLM http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=ndR62yVONa8

Picture C-2: Evocative Video with Subtitles in English and in Swahili

In the second stage, the chart was presented and explained. This process consisted of drawing attention to the following points: a) the circles represent youth groups; b) the arrows represent products and services being transacted; c) the colours represent categories of services or products; d) pairs inscribed within bigger circles correspond to similar groups working mostly through co-operative relations instead of intensely competing; e) transactions could happen by means of sales (using money) or exchanges; f) relations amongst groups

[69] "A tree is a universally recognised symbol with clear metaphorical meanings, which people can use to explore issues or processes from a new angle; […] the various elements of a tree working together in a cycle are a basic metaphor for almost any situation to be analysed: the trunk usually symbolises the situation to be studied; the roots represent inputs, whether causes of a situation, past events leading up to it, or things necessary for its existence, or income; [and] the branches are the consequences or outputs of the situation, or expenditure". (CIRAC 2003: I003)

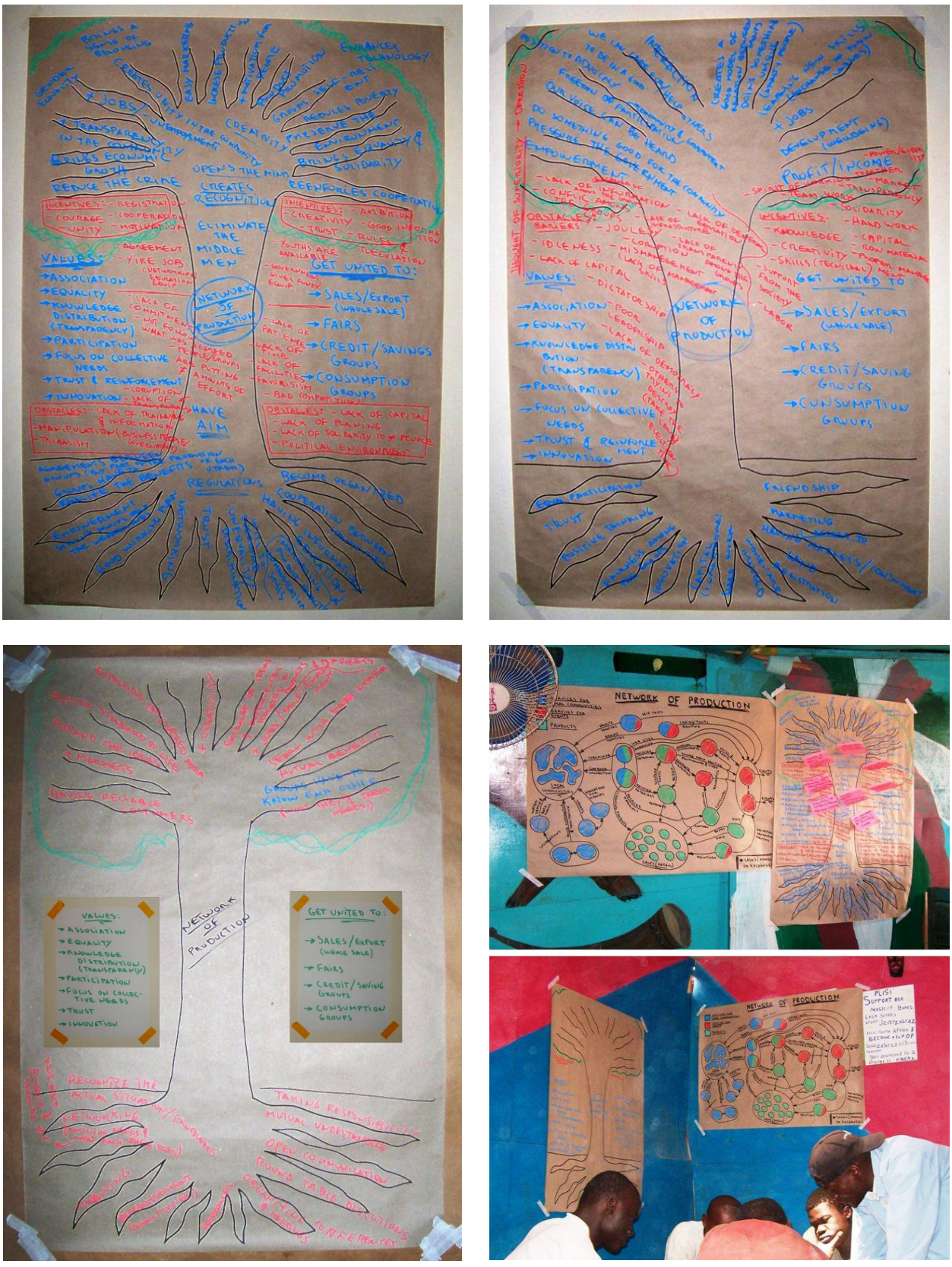
would be ruled by equality, knowledge distribution, participation, attainment of collective needs, trust, and innovation; and g) the levels of association might embrace different blends of production, sale and export, saving, obtainment of credit, and consumption.



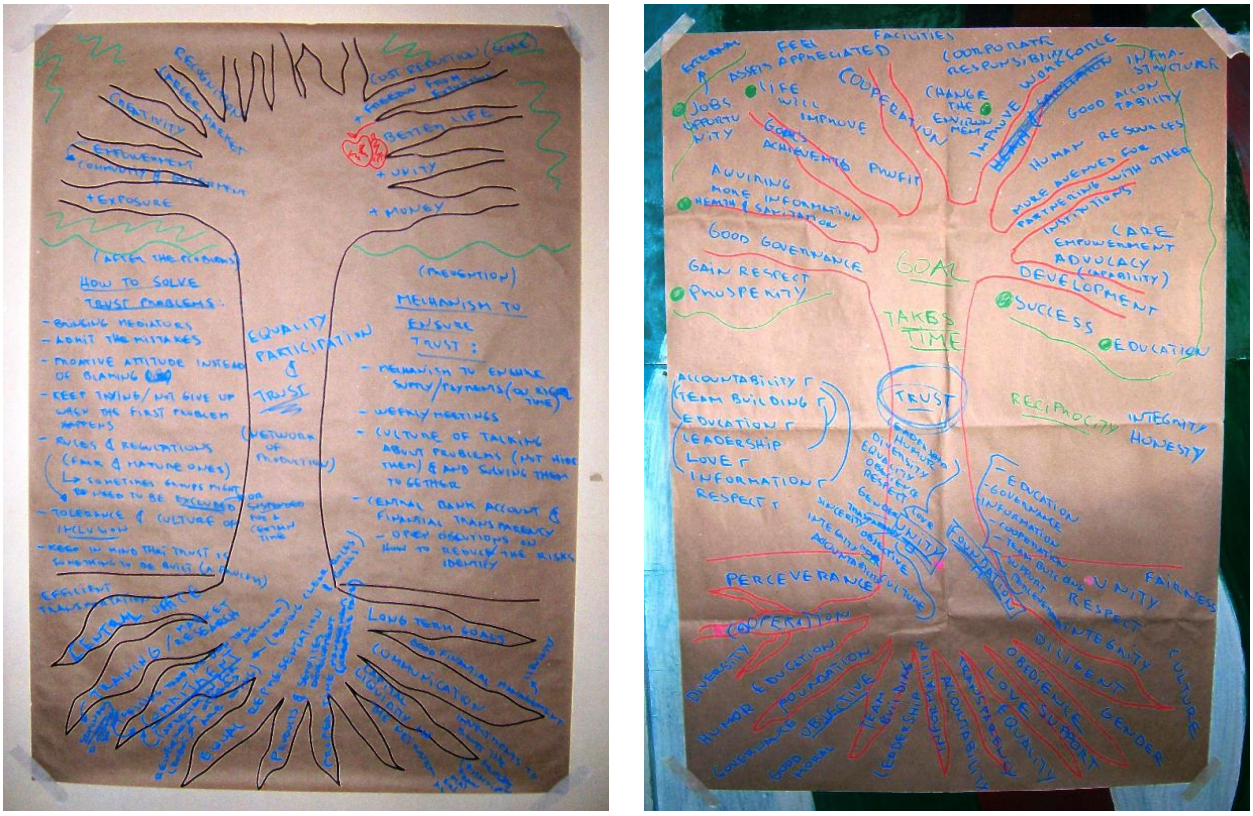
Picture C-3: Charts Designed to Illustrate the Idea of Network of Production in Nairobi (English) and in Dar es Salaam (Swahili)

Finally, group members were once again asked to reflect, discuss and express their views about the networks of production's benefits, requisites, obstacles and incentives, as well as on how external organizations could support their development. In this stage, the tree instrument was employed with 3 youth groups in Nairobi and in the workshop in Dar es Salaam; in addition, due to the centrality of the aspect 'trust' as to the coordination of collective action, the instrument was also employed with 2 youth groups in Nairobi to analyse 'trust in the network of production' (the outputs from the activities based on the tree instrument are presented in the section C.1).

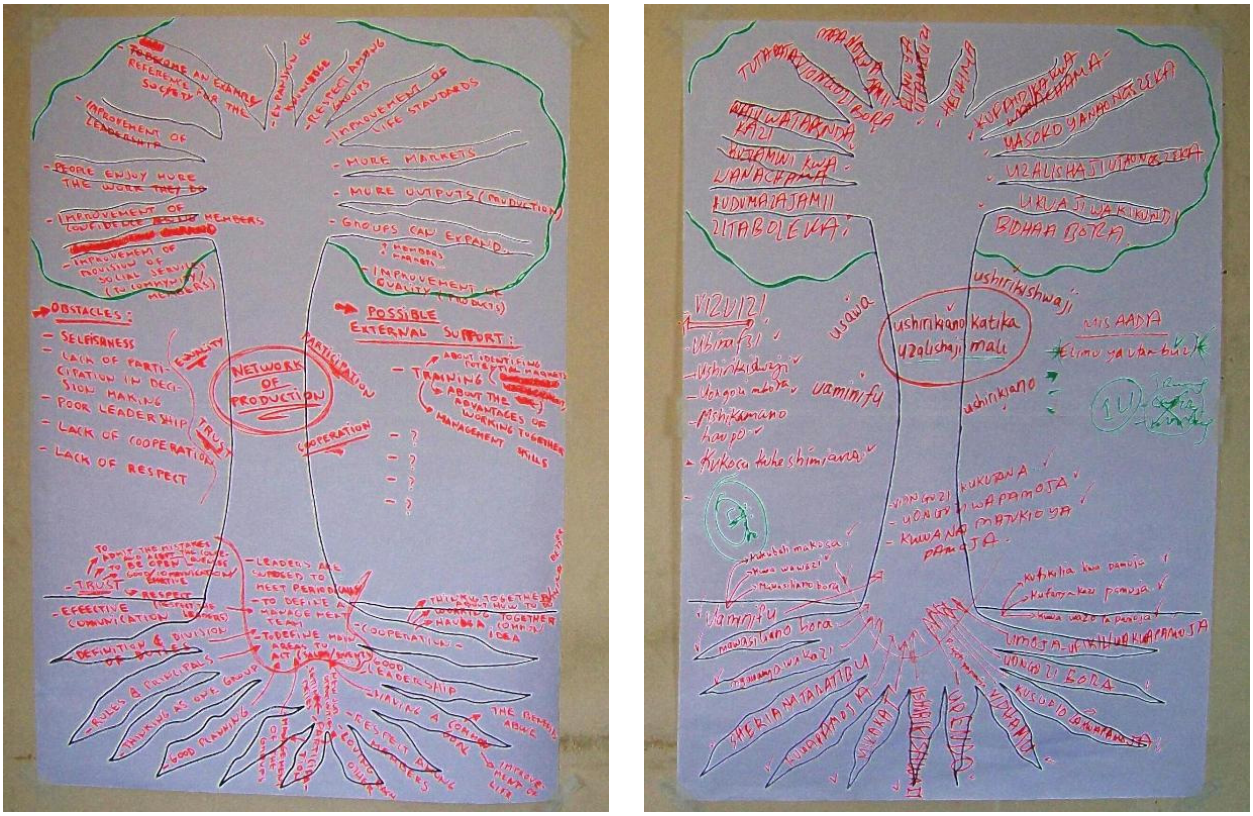
C.1 Visualization Tools - Trees



Picture C.1-1: Outputs from the 'Tree' Activities in Nairobi - Network of Production



Picture C.1-2: Outputs from the 'Tree' Activities in Nairobi - Trust in the Network of Production



Picture C.1-3: Outputs from the 'Tree' Activity in Dar es Salaam - Network of Production (Filled Out Simultaneously in English and Swahili)

C.2 Outcomes from Activities in Nairobi

Activities carried out with 7 youth groups in Nairobi and with members of YIKE's training department (37 men, 4 women): Be Smart Fashion (2 men; 40min), Fahari Afrika (5 men, 2 women; 1h00m), Glucola Youth Group (7 men; 2h00m), Maasai Mbili Arts (4 men; 35min), Myto (5 men; 40min), Victorious Youth Group (6 men; 1h45m), Yetu Jeans (3 men; 2h10m), and YIKE (5 men, 2 women; 1h25m)

Note 1: in the following summary, the numbers between brackets ([xN]) represent the quantity of different youth groups in which members somehow expressed the same idea or group of ideas; YIKE was counted as a youth group in this section

Summary

What are the obstacles to the development of networks of production?	**Which currently present elements are incentives to the development of networks of production?**
- Lack of information about it and of communicative and collaborative skills [x6] - Bad competition (i.e., a fiercely/destructively competitive mindset) [x5] - Selfishness, jealousy and fear; a conflictual mindset; a destructive political environment [x5] - Lack of organization, regulations and planning [x4] - Lack of appropriate education and training [x4] - Lack of working tools/machinery, facilities and capital [x4] - Lack of commitment; idleness [x4] - Thought of superiority [x3] - Lack of solidarity towards different people or groups; favouritism; tribalism [x3] - Concentration of power and lack of democratic thought [x3] - Lack of time and patience [x2] - Poor leadership [x2] - Lack of trust; people or groups concealing the problems [x2] - Lack of transparency [x2] - Corruption [x2] - Members or groups putting different amounts of effort - Disrespecting what was agreed - External manipulation (from people who fear losing power)	- Desire to improve life and readiness to work [x5] - Availability of youths and youth groups [x3] - Urban youths face the same problems and have a unified identity and a common way of communicating [x3] - Some awareness concerning the benefits of joining efforts [x3] - Spirit of working and reaching together; some solidarity [x3] - Motivation and courage [x3] - Existing market needs (especially as to specific international segments and excluded local areas) [x2] - Youth groups already connect themselves (in a feeble extent) [x2] - Complementarity of activities and of interests [x2] - Creativity [x2] - Some technical/management skills [x2] - Some transparency and trust [x2] - Some rules and regulations - YIKE's job (on training, networking and access to equipment) - Some support from governments (on funds) - Some productive resources (e.g., equipment; capital; raw materials; electricity; etc.) - Existing talents amongst youths - Support from society - Youth groups are registered
What is needed to breed and boost networks of production? (corresponds to the trees' roots)	**How could external organizations (governments, NGOs, etc.) support the development of networks of production?**
- Spreading the thought and realizing the benefits of networks of production; thinking about extending internationally [x7] - Co-operation, friendship, solidarity; overtaking an entirely individualist mindset [x7] - Open/efficient communication and mutual understanding amongst members and groups (i.e., knowing each other's profiles and needs and being able to act in an integrated and solidary manner) [x5] - Dedicating time to innovatively discuss and develop plans; forming secretariats [x5] - Participation and will to overcome discrimination (including gender), inequality and exploitation; empowerment of weaker groups by the stronger ones [x4] - Fostering trust amongst members and groups [x3] - Recognizing the current problems and taking responsibility to overcome them [x3]	- Providing awareness and guidance (e.g., organizing seminar and workshops; presenting real cases of success; fostering balance of power, democracy and solidarity amongst members and groups; placing a board of experienced mentors at disposal; etc.) [x6] - Facilitating the initial organization of networks of production (e.g., mobilizing and encouraging groups; fostering discussion forums; helping with the analysis of activities and the identification of possibilities of integration; promoting the integration of new groups; etc.) [x6] - Providing training on effective communication, team cohesion, trust building, accessing (international) markets, innovation, general management, computers, etc. [x5] - Facilitating access to (international) markets and links between networks in different places and countries [x3] - Providing collective workspaces (e.g., spaces for production; offices; technical centres; showrooms; etc.) [x3]

- Developing regulations and institutions (e.g., agreements amongst groups to buy part of each other's production; boards to advice on fair prices; etc.) [x3] - Training and competence building [x3] - Collective means of production [x3] - Commitment and hard work [x2] - Positive thinking - Registration	- Facilitating the access to collective means of production (e.g., machinery; vehicles for transporting goods/people; security equipment; computers; communication devices; capital for buying raw materials; etc.) [x3]
What are the potential fruits of implementing networks of production? (corresponds to the trees' branches)	**What is needed to further trust amongst people and groups in networks of production?** (two youth groups only)
- More guidance about what to produce and access to (international) markets; having reliable customers and suppliers [x6] - More jobs and less unemployment [x6] - More income [x5] - More unity, co-operation and solidarity [x5] - Sense of belonging and mutual care [x5] - Elimination of middlemen; freedom from extortion; breaking of market monopolization [x5] - More interaction amongst people; more avenues for partnering; more exchange of ideas and experiences (mutual learning) [x5] - Self-reliance [x4] - More equality (including gender) and democracy [x4] - Capability to participate in the community and to help or do something good for others; capability to pressure the government [x4] - A preserved environment and a better life; less poverty [x4] - More outputs (production) and economies of scale [x3] - More creativity [x3] - More education and know-how; opening of the mind; a better workforce [x3] - Empowerment [x3] - More motivation; reminding us of who we really are [x3] - Gaining respect and recognition; feeling competent and appreciated [x3] - Economic growth [x3] - Creating a good model of economic relation amongst groups; doing something unique (which attracts more people) [x2] - Having our voices heard; being in a good position to advocacy [x2] - Good governance; transparency and accountability [x2] - Enhanced technology - Better assets, facilities and infrastructure - More corporate social responsibility - More heath and sanitation - Reducing crime	- Proper training as for building and reinforcing mutual trust [x2] - Proper communication and availability of information; transparency [x2] - Equal participation [x2] - Respect for diversity and reinforcement of mutual appreciation [x2] - Co-operation; mutual support and affection [x2] - Commitment, diligence, accountability and perseverance [x2] - Short- and long-term goals which are clear [x2] - Feeling of ownership - Clear rules - Fairness, moral and integrity - Deference towards others, honesty and humour - Legitimate and trustworthy leadership - Proper time management (i.e., keeping a constant pace) - Good financial management (which ensures some liquidity) - Availability of productive resources - Technical and organizational expertise - Effectiveness and innovation as for operations and capability to access markets **Which mechanisms could prevent the loss of this mutual trust?** (one youth group only) - Frequent meetings and discussions - Culture of talking about problems and solving them together instead of masking them - Attitude of openly identifying and reducing risks - Instruments to ensure supply and payments on time - Financial transparency (e.g., integrated bank accounts; spending procedures which are clear; etc.) **How to regain this mutual trust after crises?** (one youth group only) - Persisting, not giving up when the first problems happen; keeping in mind that trust is something to be built and it takes time - Bringing mediators - Having a proactive attitude instead of blaming - Admitting the mistakes - Fostering tolerance and the culture of inclusion, but also bearing in mind that sometimes people or groups might need to be suspended for a certain time or in extreme cases even temporarily excluded

Note 2: the next subsections follow the same analytical and descriptive standard applied in the exploratory phase (appendix A)

C.2.1 General Impressions about Networks of Production

After being presented to the thought of network or production, group members demonstrated great enthusiasm towards it [x8] and in general immediately identified themselves with the idea and started discussing and exploring possible links amongst youth groups; they predominantly associated it with economic inclusion and business boost – by means of solidary mutual supply and access to (international) markets – [x6] and with fairness and emancipation [x5]

> "this idea of working together and supplying to each other… this idea is very good, in terms of business, because through networking you can know what to produce, where and how you can sell it, all this you can understand through networking… and like that the market is not monopolized… solidarity, team work and transparency are present in youth groups, the spirit of working together and reaching together… and we also have the support from the society"
>
> "the main thing that I see is networking, and uniting, people united together to generate income ideas and then participate in economy, and the way of participating is very special, solidarity, the solidarity that people have in the work is meaning a lot, it is producing economy… and democracy, and equitability… and if people unity themselves they also have a chance to participate in society"
>
> "I think it is realistic… this thing realistically can work, as long as we have tried the things that lead us there… for me, this network, it starts to remind me of who we are, you know, sometimes you can know who you are, but we can not exactly know who are you [laughs], so it reminds of who we are, which kind of people are we, which kind of organizations exist and what we are supposed to do… the first picture that is coming to me is the video that we saw in the beginning… from the video I feel that without knowing we are doing the right thing… connecting and collaborating with other groups is now the main challenge, something we have to work on"
>
> "[group applauded after seeing the video]… what we are seeing is that any group, to be able to grow, needs other groups… they need services and products from each other, and also if they want to go internationally… this is possible, the groups complement each other"
>
> "I think it is something which can happen, we just need to organize it together with them, so that they can feel they are part of the decisions, not something which came from the top, from YIKE, I think it is something possible and it is needed, because when people are connected, especially in a co-operative way, you can do more than individually, and it prevents against market failure, a lot of market failures, especially about products and services that they don't know how to supply to the market, but once you are connected, you can see how to do it… like one of the interesting points is the fairs, the trade fairs" (YIKE)
>
> "it is also a possibility to eliminate middlemen… we just have to put a strong effort to make it work" (YIKE)
>
> "in a long run, everything is based locally, can be found within reach, everything here, I mean the groups are there… economy and ecology together, every aspect of it is reachable, it is realistic, very realistic, yeah, yeah!"
>
> "equality and power balance in the network can be quite difficult… you know, activities are different between the groups, when we are talking about equality we find sometimes that your group can be richer than other groups, according to your activity… this is against equality… but

the idea of equality is better, we don't want to show that we are richer than other groups so we can oppress them… we have to sit and work together to improve what we do, or how to do whatever we want to do, so groups can be free to network and co-operate"

"forming a network of production… it is interesting and it is something we already do in a certain extent"

"the network, to me, it helps for more solidarity, you know, when we are together here, ok, we can go far, but when there are people we are collaborating with, we can be even more strong than we are here, so the network helps a lot… about exchanges among the groups, we can exchange products and services, we already do it sometimes, we also need money, but exchanges help"

"the idea is very good, it can really work… the problem is that in our area we lack this information, this is very good information that can take people somewhere else, but the problem is that people don't have that information… so if we organize ourselves in this network of production and work together, do exchange of goods, marketing, it can make us grow"

"in the way we work, we need one another, so that we can attain what we are doing, have customers… these networks could be implemented, yes, why not? it is a good idea and we can practice it, because is good… you know, the problem is, in Kenya, we have so many youth groups, but we don't have partners that help us to know them… there is a lot of youth groups, if we come to know one another we can develop much faster… if we have like a community centre, an organization that helps youth groups with working together, producing new products, organizing events, it encourages us"

"it is about integration, socializing, not about the profit only… bringing the community together… that we need to work together, not only for the cash value, so it is like a network whereby one needs the other, so that we become more co-operative and competitive… and urban youths understand each other… they have their certain ways of communicating, I think that is an incentive, because youths of now can integrate among them… there are a lot of talents around here, among the youths… some of them don't realize, but there are a lot of talents"

C.2.2 Similarities between Solidarity Economy in Brazil and Youth Groups' Practices

Youth group members expressed that in both cases people work together [x6] – in an equal and solidary manner [x2] – to overcome a common condition of unemployment [x4] and economic exclusion [x2] and to improve their lives and the lives of people in the community [x3]

"what it similar is solidarity, coming together and working together… they are not afraid of unemployment anymore, like us, we are not afraid of unemployment because we employ ourselves… they are generating revenue and contributing to the economy, we are also equal… and no employees nor employers, we may have leaders, but we all do the same things"

"this is somehow similar to what we do here… working together, one doesn't have to rely on employment… and forming the partnerships"

"it is similar… yes… unity, having no bosses or employees, working together, a unified identity… working hard to achieve our cause, work together, handwork, life… not only the material side, but socially"

"people in the video have created their own way of employment, they are growing in their own… and they work in something like a network, the network helps them to do what they are doing, and they are talking about solidarity, without being together they cannot go far, so they are together and they are doing their work together… for me what they are doing is not so different from what

we are doing here"

"people sell what they are doing, and they have to go to the markets, to find a way to sell… and they are also in groups, and out of these groups we are seeing the improvements"

"the activities in the video are similar to ours… a lot of them are also craftsmen… they form co-operatives, they are connected, like us"

"what the groups have in common is that they want to improve their lives and the lives of the people in the community, so that all have a better life, I think that is what we share in common, all the youth groups… the difference between youth groups and companies is on how they are operating… we fight for the change, for a better life"

"we also have that focus of working together… we also want to set an example for other people… to share with the community"

"I think we share the same vision, we share the same problems with them, we feel what we call unemployment… so I think that is why we share the same views"

C.2.3 Differences between Solidarity Economy in Brazil and Youth Groups' Practices

As for differences, group members had the impression that, in the Brazilian solidarity economy movement, the establishment of networks drove association, co-operation and solidarity to reach a further level which converts these elements into an emancipatory economic alternative instead of just a survival palliative [x4]; in addition, they mentioned that the Brazilian movement also embraces older and more experienced people [x3] and seems to command better means of production and to be more economically productive [x4]; …

"for me, I am seeing that they are more advanced, because of the kind of network that they have… they are producing goods, there are a lot of people being employed there… here we are self-employed because we don't have any alternative, but these people have decided to employ themselves"

"right now the groups are not trading among themselves, I think it is happening in a very weak level… it is a interesting opportunity… based on healthy competition" (YIKE)

"differences… the language, culture… they involve elder people too… and here, because of the competition, we are not able to survive if we don't compete, we are forced to compete… and clients in Kenya do not hire us directly, they have colleagues [middlemen] and they send these colleagues to our group"

"the intensity in Brazil is bigger, more widespread, different sectors"

"but here there is less solidarity… there people do co-operate more, work together under co-operation, while here, in Kenya, the majority of people work more individually, not us in the group, but in the country… here, the groups that have worked with YIKE for more than two years have come to realize the importance of working as a team under co-operation"

"their capacity of production, I think it is also different… it is higher that ours at the moment… and they have better machines"

"they are older than us, more experienced… we also aim for a better future, but we don't want to wait for a long time, though without knowing how we can capture it"

… however, one youth group demonstrated scepticism towards the idea that co-operatives formed by poor people in a developing country could independently operate in an environment free from the influence of donors and NGOs

> "the differences… they are adults [from a group member who is 30 years old]… and here the money is not enough to save and invest… in Brazil they don't depend so much on donors and NGOs like us?!! … hahaha… oook! [expressing disbelief]"

C.2.4 Obstacles to the Development of Networks of Production

> "when groups get a job together the problem comes with negotiation, something like that… the groups compete more than co-operate, so it is hard to work together"

> "lack of time, the members work during the morning and we practice in the afternoon, nobody wants to volunteer to do extra activities, everybody is selfish sometimes… and low level of education, lack of marketing skills"

> "self-interests of each group, groups are so self-interested in their own achievements that they won't look for another group, they won't care for networking, the society has been formed in a way that you want just to grow yourself up and then look at the others down there, so, it is like, there is a social barrier there… communication tools is another barrier, a huge one also"

> "and about funds… if the people are really waiting for funds, even us as a group we would not be there, we were never given any fund, to start up, so every time we will be getting funds and we will be sitting down, waiting for another funds, without doing any real work…"

> "their perceptions, most of these groups have never thought of themselves as customers to other groups… it requires a shift of perception… and right now the groups have problems sharing the information with other groups, and this network requires that you share information on what you do, what is required… and lack of cash in the network, but in this case exchanging products and services is an alternative" (YIKE)

> "some other barriers are competition among the groups and communication problems… and the groups have to realize the benefits of it and be willing to build it" (YIKE)

> "competition among the groups… groups that are more established, more advanced in income generation don't want to partner with the least advanced ones… people compete more than co-operate, the mindset here is based on competition, not in co-operation… and all groups lack money, especially the new groups"

> "we have a lot of groups around here, a lot o groups doing different things, but we are not so much in touch with each other… the problem is that we don't have that so much collaboration, do you see"

> "manipulation, from people who fear solidarity, you know, a lot of people have their own interests, they are dealing with a lot of money, they are dealing with a lot of business, so if they see you coming together, you want to form a network, they start taking you apart, because they know if you are together, they know you are strong, so they will do everything to take you apart… some of them are business people and politicians"

> "lack of solidarity, is when you find that, lets say, if a person is born from another tribe, and we are not in good terms or good communication… another thing is when people are richer than others, and because of that we cannot come together to do something"

"we had an alliance, with many youth groups, but during general election [2007-2008 Kenyan crisis], the political environment brought some influence, one group of people was supporting a certain politician, and another group of people was supporting another politician, so we found that we were divided in this political whatever, we forgot the reason why we were joining together"

"it is a good idea [networks of production]… it can help us to sell more, expand, develop… and to fight unemployment… it helps the groups to be creative, so that what they produce can also benefit the others… it is a very good idea, but it has some challenges, for example, if different groups co-operate and there is one particular group that is doing marketing and sales for all groups, it may be a problem, create dependence and inequality… we also need to have a common understanding and our activities have to be somehow complementary"

"people may want to get your land, right now there are people claiming that the land where we are belongs to them… and political parties, when they are doing campaigns there is a lot of destruction"

"when we think of superiority, it oppresses people, I think so, because in a group where we help each other no one should be superior, judge yourself superior… for example, about going to school or not, people have different ways of learning and no one is really superior"

"another barrier is lack of motivation… when people and groups don't commit themselves"

"the external pressure, to push the idea that individualism will lead to happiness… it is all part of a system, you need to step back to see it"

"according to our education system, we are trained, educated in a way that when we clear school we are waiting for a vertical job… we were not prepared to get involved in something and organize ourselves… and the government doesn't put money on education, doesn't care… just imports models of education that are not suitable, doesn't care about the wellbeing of students"

"some challenges… cultural differences… lack of a management structure… how you divide the earnings… distance, poor communication… and lack of trust"

"most groups avoid saying that there are problems, do you know what I mean? … they will say there is no problem, no problem, no problem, and everyone else is depending on it"

C.2.5 Implementation of Networks of Production

"I don't think it has not been happening, it has to be made stronger… sit down with the others, form a secretariat with leaders from each group… know better what the groups do… more co-operation between the groups"

"groups themselves coming up together, identifying each other, sitting down, getting organized, brainstorming issues, and also evaluating the needs of every group and the demands, if we identify the needs and the demands it is very easy to come together and to do something at that level"

"overtaking this individualist mindset… one example is a group coming out and just being on awareness about this matter, setting out workshops, we should just inform the groups themselves, and have this workshop within the groups itself… and improving communication, until we communicate, until we meet each other, talk about this issue"

"the groups getting more like… one vision, we have to network to do this and this, I think from there it can happen… in our case it would be better to be part of a international network because

we don't sell many products for locals, but for foreigners… [another person:] no, it also would be good to network with everybody"

"it is about creating working relationships, do you see… to show your profile to another group and to find what they do, so that you can find possible areas to work together" (YIKE)

"the groups should dedicate time to talk about this, right now they meet only for a brief time during YIKE meetings to talk about very specific issues" (YIKE)

"ok, actually, the system can work, but you know, the problem is that first we need to draw this thing in the mind of the youth… and to bring a kind of structure"

"it can be implemented… concerning the trust, it is possible, we can trust each other, now it is not there, some groups are being oppressed while others [mostly middlemen] benefit from their work, but it can change… I believe it can be done if we are sharing particular goals"

"and also what is important in this case is transparency and trust, and if not trust, we can have a monetary board, maybe an organization to manage the prices among the groups so that they are fair… if groups start to oppress others it is possible that at sometime they will be oppressed too"

"I think it depends on the values of the youth, how to get the youths to understand it… I think one thing is to spread the information, how to get this information to them and to make them understand… they need to have a change of attitude, because the system we have been brought up with is a system of… where your condition is going for a job, but not the issue of co-operatives… so the youths are not so much in co-operatives, so we have to force ourselves to accommodate that attitude of forming co-operatives and creating our own means of earning a living or developing our own skills, it will take some time, but it is very very possible, and very positive, I think we can live better"

"I think it is all about commitment… believing in another environment, because if you acquire those values, most of people will act like that… the barrier now is not about government or politicians, it is about people, changing their mind… the change is not that difficult, you just have to treat it as important… if we present it to youths, few of them will say they don't have enough time, or that it is not important, or that they don't have skills, or even that they don't want to do something different from what they were conformed to in school or what is expected from them, but the majority of youths will think it is possible… because youths here in Nairobi or in Kenya, they want to speak, to see things happening, the results, things transforming, to believe in what they are doing"

C.2.6 External Support in the Implementation of Networks of Production

"if external organizations want to help us with building this kind of network, I think first of all they have to go through the activities of the groups, analyze how groups can integrate… and the second thing, the markets, access to markets, help with marketing… and provide courage too"

"NGOs could organize events that bring most of the groups together… and let the group members attending the meetings control the agenda"

"we go there [to YIKE's meetings], we talk about some issues, then everything is just divided… when we meet other groups at YIKE it is usually about YIKE's plans, and after that we will be dispersed, if they set this forum [about networks of production] they are going to have the youth groups working together… YIKE can organize the groups and help with improving communication"

"external organizations have to create awareness about this [the idea of networks of production], you are creating awareness in your research, few of them think of doing it"

"YIKE should also be in a position to make the teams link up more with themselves… and while we want to work communication, we need YIKE also, for promoting the interactions"

"what YIKE could do… networking the groups, organizing the network in the beginning so that maturity is developed… mobilization… organizing events to spread the idea, and special training concerning it" (YIKE)

"bringing these groups together is hard sometimes, but governments and NGOs are in a good position to do it, to come up with a formation structure, and help people to realize some of the advantages, and make sure that these goals arrive"

"you know, only bringing people together sometimes is not enough, sometimes you need also some experts, you know, to come and share experiences and techniques from real cases"

"another important point is to foster the links, the links within these networks… and link a network in Kenya and a network in another country"

"first of all, we have to spread the idea among other youth groups… external organizations can help… and they have to think of the groups as capable of producing"

"they can help with accessible credit… training… creating market opportunities… and with developing partnerships, with knowing what other groups are doing"

"organizations normally want to lend funds… but it does not help, because there is no support on training and organization, on suitable capacity building… it becomes all advertisement, making names"

"if an organization like Mondragon wants to help, I think an organization like that, that has the expertise, can help with developing talents, creating opportunities… I think it is a very good idea, how youths and youth groups can get organized in a co-operative way, show us a different model, spread the idea… it can make a very good impact… but it would have to be done through youths themselves, because they speak the same language, and in a practical way, maybe mixed with culture and arts… and based on the urban youth's needs… with their experience and their inputs we could work together on that, yeah!"

C.3 Outcomes from Activities in Dar es Salaam

One workshop carried out with members from 6 different youth groups in Dar es Salaam (6 men, 1 woman; 2h45m): Function Masters, Mikazi Arts Group, Ndame Boxing Club, Ngao Youth Group, Tan Hope Arts Group, and Vijana Fenicha

Summary

What is needed to breed and boost networks of production? (corresponds to the trees' roots)	**What are the potential fruits of implementing networks of production?** (corresponds to the trees' branches)
- Co-operation (i.e., working together, thinking as one group and having a common idea, and thinking together about how to do things better) - Having common goals towards: a) the improvement of life in general, and b) the specific potential fruits of networks of production - Having affection for each other; respect amongst people and groups; mutual encouragement - Effective communication - Equal participation in the management of the networks, in setting prices, and in new job opportunities - Trust (basis for trust: being open; effective communication; respect – including respect for the leaders; and admitting the mistakes and accepting their consequences) - Participatory development of principles, rules and constitutions - Good leadership - Leaders meeting periodically - Defining main areas to act (e.g., sales; events; etc.) - Defining teams to manage the networks; developing good plans - Defining and dividing duties	- More people employed (more members) - Expanding knowledge and experience - Leadership improvement - More outputs (production) - Better products and services - More markets - Better life standards - People enjoying more the work they do - More provision of social services (to community and to group members) - More respect amongst people and groups - More confidence amongst group members - Becoming a role model for the society
What are the obstacles to the development of networks of production?	**How could external organizations (governments, NGOs, etc.) support the development of networks of production?**
- Lack of co-operation - Selfishness - Lack of respect - Poor leadership - Lack of participation in decision making	- Providing awareness as for the advantages of working together; spreading and encouraging the idea - Providing training on team building, leadership and democratic management, innovation, and how to access new markets - Providing working tools and collective working spaces to combine the groups' production (idea of a collective factory)

Note 1: the next subsections follow the same analytical and descriptive standard applied in the exploratory phase (appendix A)

Note 2: since youth group members in Dar es Salaam were established mostly as a control group for the ones in Nairobi, their answers are summarized in relation to the latter's ones; in addition, due to the fact that qualitative activities in Dar es Salaam were carried out with the assistance of a translator, the quotes correspond to a third person succinctly describing in English the youths' blocks of speech (originally in Swahili)

C.3.1 General Impressions about Networks of Production

As in Nairobi, youth group members in Dar es Salaam were likely to associate the idea of solidary networks of production with attaining a better life for all members by means of high levels of co-operation and communication

> "he said first of all, the movie teaches them about co-operation, the output from one production means can be input for other production means, by the co-operation, and by working together"

"he was emphasizing the advantages of forming co-operations… the raw materials and articles from the farmers may become the raw material for the industries, and the industries at the end of the day, it is based on processing materials, that they are going now to see again to the farmers, it is like a chain of economic activities, and in this chain you can be able to inform other members, so at the end of the day you improve the level of living for the guys"

"he said that the movie shows, all the guys are showing in the movie, that they want to improve the living standards for all members in their groups"

C.3.2 Similarities between Solidarity Economy in Brazil and Youth Groups' Practices

Youth group members in Dar es Salaam identified themselves with the Brazilian solidarity economy movement in terms of having co-operation as a principle and as for types of economic activity

"he is saying that here there is also good co-operation"

"they said that one similarity is the segregation of duties, somebody gets allocated to do something, another one gets allocated to do something, at the end of the day you are supposed to account how things went"

"he said another similarity is about the type of economy, the activities the guys are doing, he said it is similar to them what they are doing, dancing, furniture, etc."

C.3.3 Differences between Solidarity Economy in Brazil and Youth Groups' Practices

Group members in Dar es Salaam also judged themselves less advanced in terms of commanding productive assets and of awareness, strategies and commitment as to working together and its benefits, …

"he said that the guys in the movie, it seems that they have more education, more knowledge about how they develop their groups and the advantages of forming their groups with others, rather than working individually"

"the guys in the movie have high morality, working together rather than competing… he said the main problem is that there is no much co-operation between their groups, they are not working together, that is the difference"

"he said the people in the youth groups here are not high committed so as to achieve their goals, they work in co-operation, but they are not so high committed"

"ok, he is basing about the working tools, he said that all of their issues are the same, but the difference is about the working tools, the groups here don't have working tools"

… although, unlike youth group members in Nairobi, they intensely demonstrated the impression that the major advantage of people in the Brazilian solidarity economy movement is the support they receive from the government as to the fosterage of co-operative work relations and experience exchanges amongst people and co-operatives

"he said the guys in the movie have high support, the issues of support from the governments or other organizations… they are saying that when the government spreads the idea of co-operation it is like a support… he is saying that the support is that, the way like you collect this movie, it means you take a certain portion from this group, another from this group, this is one of the supports, that is why they are here, so they are working this movie, from seeing the guys in Brazil,

so they can get to know the manner how the guys are doing, this is a very important support… he said the guys in the movie are not benefiting directly, but it encourages us to work hard and form these economic units, this is the benefit that the guys in the movie are receiving, from the guys outside the country watching what they are doing they can have new partners"

C.3.4 Obstacles to the Development of Networks of Production

"he said the main problem that we have in youth groups is that people may be selfish, one group can try to compete with another one rather than to co-operate, he said that this is one of the main problems"

"he said that here, the main problem is the interaction among youth groups… they said there are few groups who work together"

"they said the main obstacles to make it happen are selfishness, lack of participation in decision making, lack of co-operation and lack of respect"

C.3.5 Implementation of Networks of Production

"they said mutual encouragement is needed to implement it… when others are encouraged there will be more co-operation among groups… thinking, to have the common idea… to share together how to improve what we do, how to improve our living standards… it should respect the prices of their products, he said he does not support the market to manage the prices of their products rather than the group sit down and decide the prices… and the management of the group, it is all about mutual respect"

"rules and principles should be developed and reviewed in the general meetings, with the participation of all members… it starts when the groups and networks are formed and constitutions are created"

"trust can be increased through talking and agreements… thinking the consequences of what you do… and respect among members"

"in practical terms, they said the idea can be accomplished by creating a constitution linking all groups… the leaders of the different groups are supposed to meet regularly… to set one management team… group leaders have to set different days to discuss about specific ideas, for example, how to sell, how to organize events, etc."

"they thought about a kind of collective factory, to have a collective working space to combine their issues about production"

C.3.6 External Support in the Implementation of Networks of Production

"they said that if external organizations would help with this, they should provide more encouragement and training on entrepreneurial skills and these group issues, the advantages of working together, participation, avoid selfishness, how to access new markets, on how to know the location of potential markets, management, leadership… and also supply working tools, facilities and capital, in order to strengthen the group activities and the network of production"

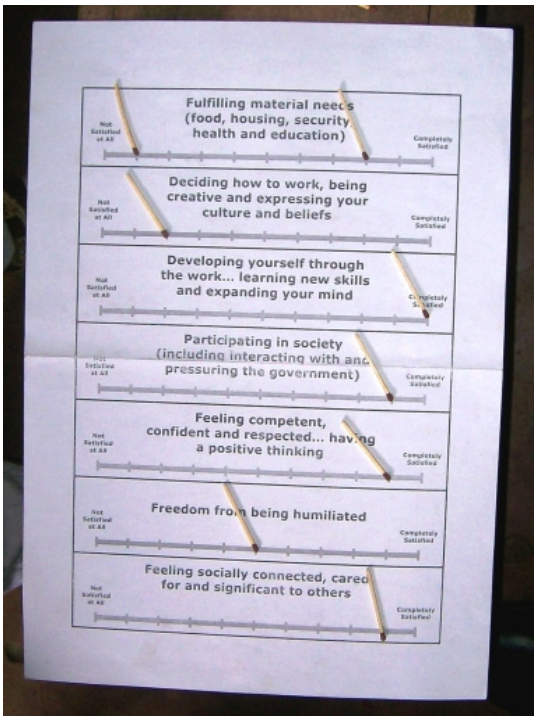
Appendix D - Participatory Activities: Wellbeing

This appendix describes the fieldwork's participatory activities concerning wellbeing. The conceiving of this phase was largely based on findings from the exploratory stage and aimed at understanding the youth group members' perceptions about: a) their levels of satisfaction as for aspects of wellbeing, b) these aspects' relative importance, and c) how collective entrepreneurship and wellbeing can be possibly associated.

Picture D-1: Activities in Nairobi

These activities consisted of collective participatory interactions with youth group members in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam which comprehended from 2 to 15 people, always members from the same group. In the first stage of the interaction, the group was given a set of fire matches and a sheet presenting seven different aspects of wellbeing beside scales of satisfaction. They were asked to reflect, discuss, and try to come up with their collective assessments on their present level of satisfaction with each aspect. They were also said that they should try to come up with one single value for each aspect of wellbeing; but, if an agreement could not be reached, they were still allowed to point out two or more positions in the scale. The picture D-3 exemplifies the output from this first part of the interaction.

Picture D-2: Activities in Dar es Salaam

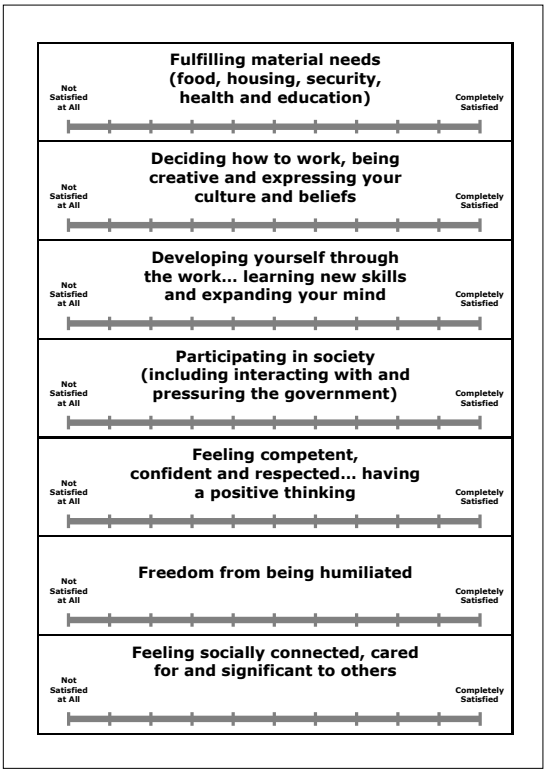


Picture D-3: Example of Output Activity as to Satisfaction

Picture D-4: Example of Output Activity as to Importance

After the performing of this first activity, brief debates concerning the reasons for the answers were carried out (these discussions emphasised extreme levels, disagreements, and possible connections with the practice of collective entrepreneurship). Following, the group received 35 peanuts and a different sheet presenting the same aspects of wellbeing beside empty spaces. They were again asked to reflect, discuss, and try to come up with a collective judgment on how the peanuts should be distributed amongst the aspects so that they would best represent the aspects' relative importance. The picture D-4 exemplifies the output from this third part of the interaction. Finally, the last activity consisted of a new round of debates about the reasons for the answers regarding importance.

D.1 Visualization Tools - Matrices



Fulfilling material needs (food, housing, security, health and education)	
Deciding how to work, being creative and expressing your culture and beliefs	
Developing yourself through the work... learning new skills and expanding your mind	
Participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)	
Feeling competent, confident and respected... having a positive thinking	
Freedom from being humiliated	
Feeling socially connected, cared for and significant to others	

Figure D.1-1: Matrices Used with Youth Group Members in Nairobi

Kukidhi mahitaji yako ya msingi (chakula, malazi, ulinzi, afya na elimu)	
Kuamua jinsi ya kufanya kazi, kuwa mbunifu na kuelezea utamaduni na imani yako	
Kujiendeleza kupitia kazi... kujifunza taaluma mpya na kuongeza fikra yako	
Kushiriki katika jamii (ikiwa pamoja na kushirikiana na kushinikiza serikali)	
Uwezo, kujiamini na kuheshimiwa... na kuwa na mawazo chanya	
Uhuru wa kutoka kwenye manyanyaso	
Hisia za kushirikishwa, unajaliwa, unajumuishwa na watu zaidi, na una umuhimu kwa wengine	

Figure D.1-2: Matrices Used with Youth Group Members in Dar es Salaam

D.2 Outcomes from Activities in Nairobi

Activities carried out with 10 youth groups in Nairobi (37 men, 6 women): Be Smart Fashion (3 men; 20min), Community Transformers (4 men, 3 women; 25min), Fahari Afrika (3 men, 1 woman; 15min), Maasai Mbili Arts (2 men; 15min), Manygro (6 men, 1 woman; 50min), Myto (5 men; 25min), NGEI 1 (2 men, 1 woman; 30min), Nzumari (2 men; 25min), Victorious Youth Group (5 men; 40min), and Yetu Jeans (3 men; 35min)

Summary

	Satisfaction (from 0 to 10)							Ranking of Dissatisfaction						
	Fulfilling material needs (food…	Deciding how to work, being…	Developing yourself…	Participating in society…	Feeling competent…	Freedom from being humiliated	Feeling socially connected…	Fulfilling material needs (food…	Deciding how to work, being…	Developing yourself…	Participating in society…	Feeling competent…	Freedom from being humiliated	Feeling socially connected…
Youth Group 1	5	10	5	0	10	10	5	2	3	2	**1**	3	3	2
Youth Group 2	8	10	10	7	2 7	5	2	4 4	5 5	5 5	3 3	**1** 3	**2** **2**	**1** **1**
Youth Group 3	2	3	5	5	5	1	6	**2**	**3**	4	4	4	**1**	5
Youth Group 4	2	5	7	6	9	0	5	**2**	3	5	4	6	**1**	3
Youth Group 5	1 8	2	10	9	9	5	9	**1** **3**	**2** **1**	5 5	4 4	4 4	**3** **2**	4 4
Youth Group 6	5	8	8	3	5	1	9	3	4	4	**2**	3	**1**	5
Youth Group 7	2	10	10	5	10	7	5 8	**1** **1**	4 5	4 5	**2** **2**	4 5	3 **3**	**2** 4
Youth Group 8	4	7	6	7	8	5	9	**1**	4	**3**	4	5	**2**	6
Youth Group 9a (*)	2	6	8	2	6	5	8	**1**	3	4	**1**	3	**2**	4
Youth Group 9b (*)	4	2	5	3	6	4	5	3	**1**	4	**2**	5	3	4
Youth Group 10a (*)	3	5 10	8	8	3 6	0	5	**2** **2**	3 6	4 5	4 5	**2** 4	**1** **1**	3 **3**
Youth Group 10b (*)	2 5	10	7	3	9 10	5	6 9	**1** **2**	7 5	5 3	**2** **1**	6 5	**3** **2**	4 4
Median	3.5	7.0	7.5	5.0	7.0	5.0	6.0	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲
Mode	2.0	10.0	5.0	3.0	10.0	5.0	5.0	[x8]	[x3]	[x1]	[x6]	[x0]	[x9]	[x1]
Average	3.8	6.8	7.4	4.8	7.0	4.0	6.5							
St. Dev.	2.2	3.2	1.9	2.7	2.6	3.0	2.2							

	Total of peanuts ▼	Importance							Ranking of Importance						
		Fulfilling material needs (food…	Deciding how to work, being…	Developing yourself…	Participating in society…	Feeling competent…	Freedom from being humiliated	Feeling socially connected…	Fulfilling material needs (food…	Deciding how to work, being…	Developing yourself…	Participating in society…	Feeling competent…	Freedom from being humiliated	Feeling socially connected…
Youth Group 1	(34)	7	3	8	5	5	2	4	**2**	5	**1**	3	3	6	4
Youth Group 2	(35)	11	7	6	2	3	3	3	**1**	**2**	**3**	5	4	4	4
Youth Group 3	(35)	7	4	5	4	5	5	5	**1**	3	2	3	2	2	2
Youth Group 4	(35)	7	4	5	6	5	4	4	**1**	4	3	**2**	3	4	4
Youth Group 5	(35)	8	1	7	4	7	1	7	**1**	4	2	3	2	4	2
Youth Group 6	(35)	11	4	4	4	4	4	4	**1**	2	2	2	2	2	2
Youth Group 7	(35)	10	4	4	4	5	5	3	**1**	3	3	3	**2**	**2**	4
Youth Group 8	(35)	6	6	6	4	5	4	4	**1**	**1**	**1**	3	2	3	3
Youth Group 9a (*)	(28)	5	7	6	2	4	1	3	**3**	**1**	**2**	6	4	7	5
Youth Group 9b (*)	(28)	7	6	4	1	2	3	5	**1**	**2**	4	7	6	5	**3**
Youth Group 10a (*)	(35)	9	3	6	5	4	2	6	**1**	5	**2**	3	4	6	**2**
Youth Group 10b (*)	(35)	9	5	4	4	4	5	4	**1**	**2**	3	3	3	**2**	3
									▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲
									[x12]	[x5]	[x5]	[x1]	[x1]	[x2]	[x2]

High Med. Low

N : this format indicates that the respective aspect is: a) certainly amongst the three ones the group was most unsatisfied with, or b) certainly amongst the three ones the group considered the most important

(*) In activities where more than 5 youth group members were present, participants were divide into two clusters and treated as two different youth groups

Note: the next subsections follow the same analytical and descriptive standard applied in the exploratory phase (appendix A); in addition, the values presented after the quotes express: a) the scores the groups attributed to their satisfaction concerning the respective wellbeing aspects, and b) the positions they ranked the aspects as for their importance (1 meaning the most important stratum)

D.2.1 Fulfilling Material Needs (Food, Housing, Security, Health and Education)

Satisfaction:

The few groups who expressed to be somewhat satisfied with their material situation [x2] justified it by being able to ensure minimum levels of income through their work activities and by having access to housing and to free basic health assistance and education

> "we receive money from the activities we do and it covers our material needs" [Score: 8]

> "some of the members are not in main activities, so they are not in a position to raise any money… but even if we don't have much income for the material needs, nobody completes a day without taking breakfast, at least you can afford something… breakfast, lunch, dinner, something… people can live in a house, they don't stay outside in Nairobi… security… there is not that good security… health… there are free hospitals and you are able to access… education is 50/50… you can afford to go to the school for primary education" [Scores: 1 and 8]

Members from most of the youth groups said to be generally unsatisfied because of lack of food security [x3], of sanitation [x3] and of affordable proper houses, due to exclusion from public health and education [x3], and because the police are not effective in poor areas [x3] and often mistake youth for criminals or despise them

> "we can get the food, but not guaranteed, we can get breakfast and supper, get breakfast and lunch, and supper maybe, he [the other member] can get the three of them, and me, I am not getting all, so we tended to disagree from there, but we came to an agreement, at least there is some time in my life and his life we miss one meal… and security, depending on the local government, we are not guaranteed full security, they mistake us for maybe turds, or anything, whenever something happens… to the youth the problem is the police, the police think all the youths are turds, they see every youth from an area and they suspect… and also health, it is a pocket matter, if you are not good enough to pay for your health, then it means your health will deteriorate, and if you want to have a health cover, you have to be paying, and it is the same for education" [Score: 5]

> "sometimes we don't have the money to buy food, at times you have it… and we lack money for the other things too" [Score: 5]

> "our level of income is not enough to provide a satisfactory material life… the cost of living in a big city is a bit high, and what we earn is modest because most of our clients here are not very well off financially" [Score: 4]

> "we are lacking material needs, but not lacking totally, food, getting food in Mathare is quite cheap, people are poor but accessing food is not a big issue or a big problem… housing, here in Mathare, we need so many and houses are cheap, but in the same way they are cheap, to pay the rent is quite expensive… then security, the government, they don't like to pay attention to the slums so much, in terms of security, they just pay attention to rich areas, we believe because in Mathare there is lack of employment, guys nowadays tend to do crime activities so they can get their earnings… in terms of health Mathare is not good, because like, sewage, latrines, they are not good, dumping sites, they are not well conditioned… then education, we can't access enough

education, simply because we are lacking like school fees, books, and even teachers in Mathare, compared to other developed areas" [Score: 3]

"you don't know if you are going to eat, you eat today, and then tomorrow you don't know if you are going to eat, you are not sure" [Score: 2]

"everything is missing… we lack money, things are there but we cannot manage to buy… people, the majority live in slum areas… the people who were supposed to secure on ourselves do not help" [Score: 2]

"here we have a lot of slums" [Score: 2]

Finally, group members pointed out that being part of youth groups improves their material wellbeing since they are a source of some income [x3] and sometimes directly provide produces; however, members mention that income in youth groups is generally low and inconstant, and that innovating and trying to access new markets and clients who are better off can lead them to a enhanced material situation.

"materially, in our group we have urban agriculture, if a member has nothing to take for lunch, for dinner, maybe he can come, talk to the person in charge of the garden, then he will be given kale, spinach… and when we do garbage collection, we earn some cash" [Score: 3]

"to some extent the income from our group helps… we depend on people to call us to perform, maybe to have a concert, but sometimes we don't have this performances, so we have to be creative to get more work, we get a lot of work in December, but we have to save the money for January, because January is dry to this field of entertainment" [Score: 5]

"finding new and more clients… it would help a lot, most of our customers are youths, we depend so much on youths, and they depend on their parents for money, we are not actually dealing with the working class, we are dealing with people who are not working, we cannot charge them a high amount… it is not enough for us, but we just have to work with this… we are thinking on new ways of finding clients, we are doing it, directly and indirectly, like when we make a product for you [the researcher], you just put it on, and someone likes it, and you become our marketing model, but on the direct front we would like to dress other hip-hop artists like us, also dress ourselves, we market ourselves, and we just try to network as much as possible… we are also trying to create new products" [Score: 4]

Importance:

Youth group members said they tend to consider food, sheltering, clothing, health and security as highly significant because they need these elements to be able to operate and develop [x3]

"this is basic needs, it has to be there, because for you to think positively, for you to do all this, you must be at least having adequate food, a proper diet, you must be sleeping in a shelter, the security of the place must be good, and also health, for you to think positively" [Ranking: 1]

"for you to live you need to have three basic factors, food, sheltering and clothing… and security, you can't live in a place where there isn't security, you will be living in a world of fear, then health, it is a very important thing in our life so you can live a longer life" [Ranking: 1]

"we cannot lie to ourselves… as much as we are not being washed in with material stuff, it is still a very important aspect, without this you die, food, security, health, because some things you must have" [Ranking: 1]

"we are jobless, so we have to hassle to get this" [Ranking: 1]

D.2.2 Deciding How to Work, Being Creative and Expressing Your Culture and Beliefs

Satisfaction:

Concerning *'deciding how to work, being creative and expressing your culture and beliefs'*, the answers were three-fold: a) the ones who understood the aspect as autonomy in their youth groups said to be mostly satisfied [x5], …

> "if we want to create something, we come together, we talk amongst ourselves, exchange ideas, get a team to work on it, and we put it in practice… and one can express himself, his culture and beliefs" [Score: 10]

> "we have autonomy… people can create in the group according to and through their culture, it doesn't matter the tribe" [Score: 10]

> "in our group we decide on how to express what we have and what we believe in through what we perform… and we perform dances from many tribes, and we have members from different tribes, if you come from a certain tribe we give you a chance to express your culture and we put it in our performance, we have that freedom, and we can be creative and do it our own way… think outside the box, you will be creative in one point or the other… and we have general meetings, once a month… we decide what are the new dances we are supposed to perform, new instruments if we need any, what kind of costume do we need, so we ask the members, they agree or disagree, and after we continue the meeting… and also we evaluate and see what we have done for that month, and see if it is satisfactory, or if it has pulled us down, so what point we can do to move up again… and we try to see the financial report, how much have we made in that month, how much have we consumed, how much have we saved… and how much we are intending to get in the coming month, and how we can get that money, by marketing or whatever, socializing, networking" [Score: 8]

> "we have creative minds, we are open, and we share the cultural aspect, because we are from different tribes and cultures, and we are like brothers" [Score: 7]

… b) youth group members who considered the idea of working for regular companies in Kenya judged the situation as intermediary [x2], …

> "half of the companies in Kenya, you are allowed to express your ideas, and your positive thinking, and you culture and beliefs as long as you are working to improve the company, and there are other companies that they only take some specific tribes and cultures to work for them… if you have your company, you can do anything you want, you can express your culture, you can do anything you want, but if you are employed you cannot do anything, you have to work under conditions… but in our group we are completely satisfied, because we don't recruit people with their tribe, you just have to be willing to co-operate with other members… and we are the ones who come up with and implement the ideas, we decide how to work, it is in our hands" [Scores: 5 and 10]

… and c) group members who thought of the broad social problems related to tribalism and foreign cultural/religious impositions in Kenya said to be predominantly unsatisfied [x4]

> "our culture has changed a lot due to Christianity, you don't know much about our culture, the origins of our tribes, and all that, and the periods also… and deciding how to work is about inspiration, it is not easy for me, I am a visual artist, it is not easy for me to decide I want to draw this or that… but I have the freedom to decide" [Score: 3]

> "we can decide how to work and being creative, but we cannot express our culture and beliefs…

you cannot express your culture everywhere" [Score: 2]

"we are not satisfied because expressing your own culture and beliefs creates conflict" [Score: 2]

Importance:

As for autonomy in the work, youth group members judge it as moderately important, though the concern about this aspect seems to grow when people lack it [x2]

"deciding how to work and being creative is important, expressing culture and beliefs is not very important" [Ranking: 3]

"deciding how to work is not very important because when you are working in a group you can do it" [Ranking: 3]

"being able to decide how to work makes you feel competent and respected" [Ranking: 1]

"it is very important for us… they [some of their clients and governments, through their rules,] impose you the dressing code, don't give you autonomy, especially about showing the body" [Ranking: 2]

In addition, three groups pointed out autonomy as an element which puts people in a better position to reach other wellbeing aspects

"when you have this aspect it helps you to achieve all the others" [Ranking: 1]

"your mind is not enclosed to such certain things, you are open minded, you can say I want to change from the normal and do this and likely get orders from someone there… once you get that power to decide how to work, you try this and it works, lets try another thing and see if it works" [Ranking: 1]

One group mistook the idea of autonomy in the work for the thought of 'unlimited individual power' and gave it a negative sense

"you can't go somewhere and decide how to work, you have to do what improves the organization and the society… it encourages corruption, if you are the one deciding there is no checks and balances… but when decisions are collective and everybody decide it together it is good! … when we are more than one, the outcome is positive" [Ranking: 4]

Finally, as to expressing one's culture and beliefs, group members seemed inclined to disregard its importance because in their urban context it carries mostly a destructive connotation [x3]

"expressing your culture is more important in the rural area, not here" [Ranking: 5]

"if you express your culture and beliefs, you will have less customers, for example, if I have a shop and I am Catholic, and I feel bad when a Muslim comes to my shop with his outfit, the way like they dress, it will bring a bit of disagreement, and I will have less customers" [Ranking: 5]

"expressing the culture and beliefs is the cause of conflict… tribalism" [Ranking: 4]

D.2.3 Developing Yourself through the Work… Learning New Skills and Expanding Your Mind

Satisfaction:

Youth group members tend to be relatively satisfied with the aspect *'developing yourself through the work… learning new skills and expanding your mind'* and directly associate it to the idea of collective entrepreneurship [x5], …

> "when we are working as a group, everyone has a different idea… people will borrow each other's ideas, and then we can introduce new things… we learn new skills from one another… we learn new skills through the work and we can develop ourselves through the group" [Score: 10]
>
> "in our group there is room for developing ourselves… we have in-house trainings… when one member gets external training he reproduces it to the other members… being part of our group is what makes the difference… and if you are alone you cannot get any support" [Score: 10]
>
> "we are satisfied because we are part of a youth group" [Score: 8]
>
> "in our community we have this chance, we share more in our community, we exchange ideas with other groups and other people and are able to expand and learn… being part of our group helps, it gives us more access to the community, like the local chief" [Score: 8]
>
> "we come from different ethnic communities, when I come here, through the work we are doing together, I can learn and share with the others… we learn new skills and new cultures from different members, we expand our minds" [Score: 8]

… though they would like to have more access to formal education [x2], especially concerning expertises they could use to expand their markets

> "we want to expand our skills in a more formal way, and we lack money for it… skills to increase our exposure, to advertise" [Score: 6]
>
> "we lack money for learning new skills" [Score: 5]

Importance:

Group members expressed that *'developing yourself through the work… learning new skills and expanding your mind'* is considerably important because it puts you in a better position to fulfil your material needs [x3], be autonomous [x2], innovate [x2], express yourself [x2], and influence people [x3]

> "if you learn new skills you can better fulfil your material needs… you learn new skills first, expand your mind first, than you will be able to fulfil health, education, food, etc" [Ranking: 1]
>
> "it makes you grow in any sense, physically, mentally and even financially… and you need it to be able to innovate… once your mind is expanded and you have learned new skills you are also in a better position to have autonomy and it also makes you know how to express what you can do and your culture, maybe if there is a group which doesn't like your culture, it puts you in a position that you would be able to better express your abilities and culture for them to understand" [Ranking: 2]
>
> "it is always good to explore more things, and get new ideas, better ideas of doing stuff, without new ideas, new skills, without new input, you can stagnate… that is how life is, you have to get something new" [Ranking: 1]
>
> "it makes you capable of reaching the other aspects" [Ranking: 2]
>
> "if you have it, society will look at you, will now come to you, and respect you, naturally" [Ranking: 1]

They also tend to consider this aspect as important simply because it makes people grow [x3]

> "it makes us grow" [Ranking: 3]
>
> "from learning new skills you will be able to grow… the world is changing, you have to cope with it" [Ranking: 2]

Finally, one group also mentioned that this aspect tends to have its relative importance reduced when people work in a youth group and have it

> "it is very important, but when you are working in a group and the group works well it is less important because the group ensures you develop yourself, it becomes less important compared to the other aspects" [Ranking: 3]

D.2.4 Participating in Society (Including Interacting with and Pressuring the Government)

Satisfaction:

Concerning the aspect *'participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)'*, group members also understood it in more than one fundamental aspect; part of them expressed to be mostly satisfied with their capability to interact with and influence the community and non-governmental organizations [x6] and it seems being part of a youth group helps in this regard [x3], …

> "we have to work with the members of the community so that we can provide our services, or we have to recruit people from here to help us, you have to teach people, and we are in good terms with them… the government calls us for meetings too… 'tell me and I will forget, but involve me and I will understand', so we in our group, we have tried our best to involve the community" [Score: 8]
>
> "for people living here, we are able to participate in so many activities that are organized by different organizations, you are able to interact with so many people from the society… and also for the government, if you participate in most of the activities… I believe we are able to interact and put some pressure in the government… even when we have clean-ups, the government gives us tools… that is how we pressure them" [Score: 9]
>
> "we are happy about participating in society in general, but the government needs to take the youths seriously, understand and help more, there isn't space in politics" [Score: 7]

… but another part emphasised the idea of interacting with and pressuring the government and said to be mainly unsatisfied [x6]

> "participating in society… we are unsatisfied because of the government… but being part of the group helps a lot" [Score: 6]
>
> "we are happy about participating in the community, but we feel we don't have space with the government" [Score: 5]
>
> "to interact with the government is difficult, bureaucratic, and it takes time… like now, when we are going out for the outreaches, we use speakers, and there is a law that says we should not make noise, that is one of the things the government is pulling us down… and when we need to travel out of the country, some people don't have all the relevant signatures for travelling, and the government doesn't assist us… and we are registered under the government, if we pressure them, they will cancel our certificate… but the community receives us well, the people around, they do

receive us well… the society appreciates what we are doing, they come every time we call them" [Score: 3]

"we participate in society… most people can talk here, but not really pressure the government" [Score: 2]

"pressuring the government, it is not possible at all… and we are not very satisfied with participating in society and partnering with other groups either… not satisfied in any level, only with the interaction with youths themselves" [Score: 0]

Importance:

Comments about this aspect's importance were also ambiguous; on the one hand, taking part in traditional politics and pressuring the government is largely seen as nearly unattainable and thus not significant nor worthy of effort [x4], …

"when it comes to pressure the government, you just cannot" [Ranking: 7]

"the government ignores us, so it is not important" [Ranking: 5]

"the importance is just here, this part of participating in society, including interacting, but not pressuring the government, instead of pressuring the government, we now look for other things, yeah… we don't have time for pressuring the government, that time… they cannot even listen to us, so instead of spending a lot of time trying to pressure the government, I am going to look for food, housing, security, health and education, have more time on this, than pressure the government, I don't have that time for pressuring the government, because even they won't listen to me… and you can get problems when you try to pressure them" [Ranking: 3]

… and still liable to engender public violence [x2]

"it brings some negative aspects… in the elections there was rioting, violence" [Ranking: 3]

On the other hand, participating in society in general tends to be seen by them as moderately important [x3]

"why should you be a mediator between government and society, why shouldn't you be the government and decide, you try to change from yourself and give others example… in that traditional participation aspect, you may be recognized, you may not be recognized, it is 50/50, it is risky" [Ranking: 3]

D.2.5 Feeling Competent, Confident and Respected… Having a Positive Thinking

Satisfaction:

As for *'feeling competent, confident and respected… having a positive thinking'*, group members tend to state they are satisfied and that their youth groups are the main reason for it [x6], …

"we are satisfied because we are part of this group, we are a group with many ideas, for example, within our area, our group is well known in a positive aspect, because of the hard work we have achieved so far, you hear people talking about the group and our development, we feel respected and we show the community that courage… we know we are confident and our confidence leads us where we have to be… and having positive thinking is what we are" [Score: 10]

"you need to have confidence in anything you do, so you can achieve more, this is what we do in

our group" [Score: 10]

"we have the capability to find a way and go by the problems… and we are respected… we have achieved that because of the group" [Score: 9]

"participating in something… giving efforts… competing… feeling that you can do something… people recognize what you did and respect it… you feel what you are doing is positive, changes society and improves the community… we have skills and experience, it makes us feel competent… our group is the most important concerning feeling like that" [Score: 9]

"out time here is very positive… and customers talk good things about us" [Score: 8]

"we feel competent because we serve the community" [Score: 6]

… though members who are less committed to the groups may not benefit as much from these feelings…

"part of the group is satisfied, the ones that are taking the group more seriously and in a more professional way" [Scores: 2 and 7]

… and lack of resources can limit what you are able to accomplish and thus your sense of competence

"we feel competent to some extent, the problem is maybe the resources we can explore, you can be confident, but not competent according to the resources that you have, we have to compete with bigger groups, they have all the instruments, all things they need, so they are given priority, because they have that resources, and our resource is limited" [Score: 5]

Finally, one group member expressed that lack of money can also drop one's general feeling of being respected and regarded

"here in Kenya, if you don't have money, you cannot be respected, but if you have money, when you speak other people will listen… it doesn't matter if people have positive or negative ideas, the ones with money are always listened, you cannot be confident if you don't have money… money counts for the biggest part of it… [another member:] I think it depends on what you give to the community, so they will respect you, and you have to be confident in order to any project to succeed, if you don't have confidence people think your project is completely irrelevant" [Scores: 3 and 6]

Importance:

This aspect was considered significant because it pushes people towards bolder achievements [x3] and also for being a sign of harmony in the group

"positive thinking takes you to achieve great things in your life… in the end of the day you will achieve everything" [Ranking: 2]

"feeling respected is important, it is a sign that the rules in the group are respected, for the group to respect people they have to respect the group, to respect each other" [Ranking: 2]

D.2.6 Freedom from Being Humiliated

Satisfaction:

Concerning *'freedom from being humiliated'*, youth group members' levels of satisfaction are inclined to be low and the reasons for it are rather heterogeneous; the few highly satisfied ones credit their youth

groups with it [x2]

> "in our group we don't feel humiliated, because of the group" [Score: 10]

Causes of humiliation embrace sex, religious and ethnic discrimination, government and police abuse of power, living in a slum [x2], jealousy as for the others' progress, differences of skills [x3], and work activity [x2]

> "not all people treat you equally… there are those that try to undermine you and there are those who try to respect you… and it is not always that you get positive answers from the community, your friends, people… and women are also humiliated by men, sometimes men think they are superior" [Score: 5]
>
> "sometimes the government comes here… they can walk in and do anything they want, we don't have that freedom, no… the other thing is tribalism, someone can humiliate you because you are from this tribe, they say if you are not from that tribe they cannot give you that job… and sometimes our hair [rastafari]" [Score: 1]
>
> "here in the slum the police think we are criminals, they arrest you… when people hear you are from the slum, they despise you, think you are not human, not capable" [Score: 0]
>
> "here where we are living, you are like enemies, we are living in such an environment where, if I see you buying a new thing, I will be jealous, if I see your business growing and expanding, I will try each and every way to bring you down, I will be saying some funny words to bring you down… we just want to remain in that poverty… unless you change the residential area… I believe guys in Mathare are so jealous… they don't feel good if you are growing, they just want to be here, to be down down here… it is just a mentality, an attitude, they have been in poverty for so many years, now if they see you growing, they say like no, why are you growing and we are not, they just want to be in poverty, poverty, poverty… [another member:] if you have a shop, and you start growing, people will stop buying from you, they want people to be at the same level… but in any activity you do, or in any project you carry out, you will always find people who will start saying funny words and funny things about you, so you feel like you are not a person, like us, we carry garbage, people pass by, they come along and maybe start saying we are cockroaches… it all goes with the mentality of the people and of the community" [Score: 0]
>
> "humiliation, we are looking in all aspects, like we said before, when we go out performing, we can be arrested because we don't have the license to make noise, that is a humiliation, it causes an embarrassment on us, and other teams which are better prepared, they have everything, they down look upon you, like if there was nothing you are doing, that is humiliation… and there is nothing you can do, if somebody humiliates you, there is no one you can report him to, there is no any law, so anybody can humiliate you in the way he feels" [Score: 1]
>
> "in our group we have not levelled our skills, we are not equal in our skills, some don't know what others know, there are the first lot and the second lot… they feel they are inferior to the first lot" [Score: 7]
>
> "as much as we are in one group, we are still different personalities… and outside the group one can say that we do woman's work [sewing], going on the machine, doing stuff" [Score: 5]

Importance:

Group members generally overlook this aspect's importance because they tend to believe that, ultimately, the person can ignore others' attempts to humiliate him or her and can just keep on with regular business [x5]

"if you try to humiliate me, I am ok with that, it is up to me to feel humiliated" [Ranking: 6]

"a lot of people try to humiliate you, and you feel like, ok, you humiliate me but at the end of the day I am doing what I like" [Ranking: 4]

"you can ignore things around you" [Ranking: 4]

"you want to start a business in your area, and guys are being jealous, it doesn't matter, you concentrate on your business and you do your thing, you don't listen to what they will say… if you listen to their nonsense, it will affect you, but if you ignore them and just continue your business…" [Ranking: 6]

"if you are free to express yourself, and expand you mind, learn new skills, it doesn't matter if people try to humiliate you, since you are now open minded… this is other people's feeling, doesn't actually affect what you are doing, and maybe that feeling is not sincere, they just want to tease you" [Ranking: 3]

D.2.7 Feeling Socially Connected, Cared For and Significant to Others

Satisfaction:

Youth group members who expressed to be relatively satisfied with *'feeling socially connected, cared for and significant to others'* broadly associated it with being part of a youth group [x5], …

"we have been here for 13 years, we know how to solve the problems… we feel so connected with the community… they always come to the group, tell others: why don't you be like them? … it is an example for the community" [Score: 9]

"we are working as a team in our group, so we give each other support and care, if he gets arrested he will definitely call the group first, before maybe call his family, and we will try and do, work up and down to see that he is out of that trouble, if he gets any problem at home, maybe with the landlord, we will try and do up and down to see that we will get that money, so here we feel we are one team, as a family, we care for each other… and since you work in the community, we feel we are appreciated" [Score: 9]

"we normally spend time with the youths… talk about politics, brainstorm, issues that affect the youths, so we feel we are socially connected… walking down in the streets people say hi, hi, hi, you feel great, people recognize us" [Score: 9]

"as much as we have bad people in Mathare, there are others who are willing to give, to help… if you have a problem, they are really concerned, if you are in need, they want to know what are you lacking, and they are there for help… we have people like this in Mathare… we and the society are together, and work together… so we are socially connected… and also with the administration, other people, other NGOs, CBOs, we do interact, maybe in terms of meetings, communication, we are much socially connected… without social connection, it means you are dead" [Score: 5]

… though one group member expressed discontentment about the fact that his group does not extend its concern so as to envelop the members' families

"as for me in the group, I feel very comforted when I am in the group, and I feel associated, because I interact with every people in the group… someone who is feeling separated, he is feeling he is not cared in the group, but, according to me, group members are very cared and they get help… [another member:] I feel socially connected with the group when I am in the group, but

I have family, and if something affects my family, I think the group doesn't help [some tension amongst the members]… [the first member:] our group cannot manage it today" [Scores: 5 and 8]

Finally, one youth group expressed to be highly unsatisfied because some of its clients undervalue and mistreat the group members

"we need more people that support us and respect what we are doing… they call you for a job, but what they are paying is peanuts… after the performance, people that hired you despise you, sometimes they don't even allow you to eat when there is a lot of food there" [Score: 2]

Importance:

Group members superficially mentioned that this aspect's absence does not block people from operating and that becoming socially connected is predominantly under one's control

"connected or not connected you are still working" [Ranking: 4]

"it is very important, but we considered as not that important because it depends on you, it is up to you to control that" [Ranking: 4]

"connection brings togetherness, unity" [Ranking: 2]

D.3 Outcomes from Activities in Dar es Salaam

Activities carried out with 7 youth groups in Dar es Salaam (47 men, 9 women): Function Masters (4 women; 35min), Mikazi Arts Group (3 men; 1h10m), Ndame Boxing Club (15 men; 55min), Ngao Youth Group (12 men, 1 woman; 45min), Tan Hope Arts Group (7 men, 3 women; 35min), Uyoga Boga (4 men, 1 woman; 55min), and Vijana Fenicha (6 men; 50min)

Summary

	Satisfaction (from 0 to 10)							Ranking of Dissatisfaction						
	Fulfilling material needs (food…)	Deciding how to work, being…	Developing yourself…	Participating in society…	Feeling competent…	Freedom from being humiliated	Feeling socially connected…	Fulfilling material needs (food…)	Deciding how to work, being…	Developing yourself…	Participating in society…	Feeling competent…	Freedom from being humiliated	Feeling socially connected…
Youth Group 1	2	5	9	4	10	4	10	**1**	3	4	**2**	5	**2**	5
Youth Group 2	1	1	4	2	7	0	5	**2**	**2**	4	3	6	**1**	5
						6		**1**	**1**	3	**2**	6	5	4
Youth Group 3	2	8	8	1	9	0	1	3	4	4	**2**	5	**1**	**2**
Youth Group 4	3	9	8	5	7	10	9	**1**	5	4	**2**	**3**	6	5
Youth Group 5a (*)	0	4	7	3	5	2	3	**1**	4	6	3	5	**2**	3
Youth Group 5b (*)	0	1	3	0	4	0	4	**1**	2	3	**1**	4	**1**	4
Youth Group 6a (*)	10	8	0	5	8	6	8	5	4	**1**	**2**	4	**3**	4
Youth Group 6b (*)	1	5	2	0	4	4	5	**2**	5	**3**	**1**	4	4	5
Youth Group 7a (*)	4	3	3	2	5	3	3	3	2	2	**1**	4	2	2
Youth Group 7b (*)	2	9	2	10	9	5	9	**1**	3	**1**	4	3	**2**	3
	9							3	3	**1**	4	3	**2**	3
Median	2.0	5.0	3.5	2.5	7.0	4.0	5.0	▲ [x6]	▲ [x1]	▲ [x3]	▲ [x7]	▲ [x1]	▲ [x6]	▲ [x1]
Mode	2.0	1.0	8.0	2.0	7.0	0.0	5.0							
Average	3.1	5.3	4.6	3.2	6.8	3.6	5.7							
St. Dev.	3.4	3.1	3.1	3.0	2.2	3.1	3.1							

Total of peanuts ▼		Importance							Ranking of Importance						
Youth Group 1	(35)	7	6	9	4	5	1	3	**2**	**3**	**1**	5	4	7	6
Youth Group 2	(35)	7	3	8	7	2	6	2	**2**	4	**1**	**2**	5	3	5
Youth Group 3	(35)	1	9	7	1	3	13	1	5	**2**	**3**	5	4	**1**	5
Youth Group 4	(35)	8	4	9	3	7	2	2	**2**	4	**1**	5	**3**	6	6
Youth Group 5a (*)	(35)	7	3	10	2	3	7	3	**2**	3	**1**	4	3	**2**	3
Youth Group 5b (*)	(35)	7	6	12	3	4	2	1	**2**	**3**	**1**	5	4	6	7
Youth Group 6a (*)	(34)	3	5	9	4	5	4	4	4	**2**	**1**	3	**2**	3	3
Youth Group 6b (*)	(35)	3	4	10	5	5	4	4	4	3	**1**	**2**	**2**	3	3
Youth Group 7a (*)	(34)	8	5	9	2	3	2	5	**2**	3	**1**	5	4	5	3
Youth Group 7b (*)	(35)	9	5	9	5	4	2	1	**1**	2	**1**	2	3	4	5
									▲ [x7]	▲ [x4]	▲ [x10]	▲ [x2]	▲ [x3]	▲ [x2]	▲ [x0]

High Med. Low

N : this format indicates that the respective aspect is: a) certainly amongst the three ones the group was most unsatisfied with, or b) certainly amongst the three ones the group considered the most important

(*) In activities where more than 5 youth group members were present, participants were divide into two clusters and treated as two different youth groups

Note 1: the next subsections follow the same analytical and descriptive standard applied in the exploratory phase (appendix A); in addition, the values presented after the quotes express: a) the scores the groups attributed to their satisfaction concerning the respective wellbeing aspects, and b) the positions they ranked the aspects as for their importance (1 meaning the most important stratum)

Note 2: since youth group members in Dar es Salaam were established mostly as a control group for the ones in Nairobi, their answers are summarized in relation to the latter's ones; in addition, due to the fact that qualitative activities in Dar es Salaam were carried out with the assistance of a translator, the quotes correspond to a third person succinctly describing in English the youths' blocks of speech (originally in Swahili)

D.3.1 Fulfilling Material Needs (Food, Housing, Security, Health and Education)

Satisfaction:

Members from most of the youth groups in Dar es Salaam also said to be generally unsatisfied with their material situation and linked it specifically with lack of food security [x4], exclusion from appropriate public health and education [x6], and high housing rent [x2]; however, in contrast to Nairobi, they did not mention dissatisfaction concerning poor sanitation, lack of security and police abuse

> "they said their basic needs are not met, they lack education, they just finished primary education… they eat, they sleep, but it is not like it was supposed to be, someone may need to sleep in the floor, to eat things that are left over, it is just surviving" [Score: 1]

> "they said that, first of all, they are not able to have three meals per day… they have to pay rent and it is very difficult for them because they have low income… security seems not to be a big issue… the issues about medical treatment, because of the low income, they are able to get medical treatment, but they said it is not in the quality that they deserve… about education, they said they are not able to acquire this good education, according to what they are doing, about the skills, they don't have the means to join these high institutions to develop their career" [Score: 2]

> "since their income is very low, what you get is what you use, there is no any saving… in housing they said at least there is good satisfaction here, they have a place to stay, a place to live, but issues about food, heath and education, because their income is low… ok, if you are sick you can be able to go to the hospital, but what you get is what you are using, it means if you are not working today, if tomorrow you become sick, you don't have anything… about education they said there is total lack of support from the government… people cannot sustain the studies, for example, school fees, because their income is very low, and issues about school are very high, school fees, cost of travelling for children" [Score: 4]

> "they said they decided to put the match there because, even though they have different activities and they receive a huge amount of money, they said they are not fully satisfied because some of them spend a lot of money in rent payments" [Score: 1]

> "he said he agrees with the situation, because at least the amount he earns at the end of the day satisfies his living… about medical issues, if you become ill you can be able to go to the hospitals to get all the services… about food he is having three meals a day, security is fine, he said there is security in the streets, and education, he is satisfied" [Score: 9]

Being part of youth groups and diversification of activities were pointed out as factors which improve their material wellbeing; they also mentioned that income in youth groups is still generally low [x6], but attributed it mainly to the lack of working tools and professional training

> "the income is too low to pay medical insurance… they have a very low education level, they want to continue, but there is no support from the government, so they decided to join with this

group, so as to earn what they can" [Score: 2]

"in their group they have different specializations, there are some of them who are specialized in dancing, some of them are artists, that is why at the end of the day what they are going to receive is a huge amount, that is why they can be able to satisfy their living standards" [Score: 10]

"they don't have working tools, mainly this… and the income is very low, they cannot have three meals a day, and health and education facilities, they are not able to access" [Score: 2]

"they have low income, because they are not professional, so they cannot sustain all the members… they don't have much knowledge about their activity, what they are doing, they have never received professional training" [Score: 3]

Finally, one group mentioned that accessing international markets can enhance their material situation

"expansion of market… they tried to say about international markets, if they can be able to go beyond the national borders they can be able to have more at the end of the day" [Score: 1]

Importance:

Youth group members in Dar es Salaam placed less emphasis on the importance of fulfilling material needs than their counterparts in Nairobi and expressed the tendency to see this aspect mostly as a consequence of professional development [x4] and of having working tools and autonomy in the work [x3]

"they have most of the basic needs, they are eating, they are sleeping, they can manage to get it, but they never managed to develop themselves through the work, to achieve that" [Ranking: 2]

"material needs… why it is not important? [laughs]… they said if you can decide how to work and develop yourself through the work you can fulfil this one" [Ranking: 5]

"they said if they can be satisfied with developing through the work, they can be able to satisfy the first one [fulfilling material needs]… if they have the working tools, the knowledge, that is why they can be able to fulfil the first one, at the end of the day you can use the skills and tools you have to satisfy the first one" [Ranking: 4]

"if you can develop through the work, the strength that you need, and the issues about how to work and being creative… if you lack food, you cannot be able to work, the strength to perform a good job comes from having food, even beliefs, if you cannot have food in the morning you cannot be able to pray well… and if you lack food and education you cannot be able to be creative… they said the third one [developing yourself through the work…] is more important than the first one [fulfilling material needs] because if you can be able to develop through the work, it means you will be able to work, and you are going to receive a good salary, at the end of the day you are able to fulfil your material needs" [Ranking: 2]

D.3.2 Deciding How to Work, Being Creative and Expressing Your Culture and Beliefs

Satisfaction:

Concerning *'deciding how to work, being creative and expressing your culture and beliefs'*, youth group members in Dar es Salaam said to be essentially satisfied with expressing their culture and beliefs [x3] – problems related to tribalism were not mentioned – and with their autonomy in the work [x3], …

"they said based on their beliefs, they don't work on Fridays, by the time that some members are

supposed to go to the mosque, some are supposed to go there, and others still remain, so it is good they are 50/50, so some go there… they said it is just respecting somebody in the work… they said they are satisfied by allowing their members to go, according to their beliefs, to pray for their God, even on Fridays, it is about to respect somebody, they think something that is good must be inherited because it is our culture… but they are not satisfied about being creative, they said if you want to be creative you need to learn from somebody… and when the more skilled members are not present, the remaining ones cannot do anything" [Score: 5]

"everybody is free in the group, the issues of sharing ideas and knowledge, they share with other members, they are able to learn from their fellows" [Score: 9]

"they said that, if you are maybe working somewhere, and you find a new style of product, and you come with that idea to the members, it is not sure that all the members will agree, some have to challenge him, sometimes they have to accept… it can become difficult for all of the group members to accept" [Score: 5]

"about the issues on deciding how to work, they said everyone is free to decide which type of activities, and other members are supposed to respect, if you say, ok, today I want to help you to do this, that is why they said there is segregation of duties, that is why everyone is free to decide how to work… their goal is, at the end of the day, that they have a good product… and about the beliefs, they said they respect each one's beliefs, if it is Friday, the Muslims go to the mosque… but is missing training, to develop their talents… and social finance, more capital… and more working tools… they said they need capital to buy working tools and to have a good working shop, a good space" [Score: 8]

… but pointed out that their capability of being creative is reduced due to the lack of education and professional training [x4], working tools [x3] and an appropriate working space [x3]; they mentioned they need support to develop their careers and partially attributed this role to the government [x2]

"they lack working tools, a permanent working place… support from the government" [Score: 4]

"they said there are no working tools, there is no support from the government… and they need more training, concerning skills, to become professional, and entrepreneurial and management skills… and they would like someone to help them to develop their career" [Score: 1]

"it all comes to education, she is saying some people are able to stay in front of a crowd and talk, others are not, like her… they cannot come with new ideas because they are not educated, so it is difficult for them to be creative" [Score: 1]

"they said, ok, they have their creativity, but they lack support, these local government authorities… they used to organize events and activities in a specific area, but the government decided to move them, that area, they are not supposed to work there anymore, and they had to move to a place far away from here, they have to spend with transport, it is time consuming… some of them said they cannot express their talents, because there is no support from the governments" [Score: 3]

Importance:

As youth group members in Dar es Salaam tend to consider they have autonomy in the work and can express their culture and beliefs, their concern about these factors seems to be reduced; on the other hand, they are inclined to value their creativity and the means of developing and applying it

"this aspect is very important for them in the following manner, they have their talents, but people cannot be able to develop their talents, if they can be able to be fully satisfied with this one they can be able to have more output products, that is why they need working tools and more training"

[Ranking: 2]

"they said that if you have working tools, it means that you can be creative… and they don't have working tools" [Ranking: 3]

"having a job is the most important, even if you don't have autonomy… and if you can find another job you can leave that one" [Ranking: 3]

"they said developing their work is more important" [Ranking: 4]

D.3.3 Developing Yourself through the Work… Learning New Skills and Expanding Your Mind

Satisfaction:

As in Nairobi, youth group members in Dar es Salaam tend to be relatively satisfied with the aspect *'developing yourself through the work... learning new skills and expanding your mind'* and directly associate it with the idea of collective entrepreneurship [x4], …

"they said they are satisfied in the sense that through working together, having a team working, they are able to understand themselves, they are able to know their skills, they are able to capture their skills, their knowledge from their fellows… they do several activities and they are trying to help each other about how to do things, so they are able to know new skills and also to expand their mind concerning their activities" [Score: 9]

"they said they are able to learn from their fellows, if somebody has good skills, knows something, it means that he or she is supposed to teach other members, so others will be able to learn from their fellows, and because they are participating in different activities, so they are able to understand the skills from other groups" [Score: 7]

"they said they have the talents, that is why they keep on doing the activities, they can be able to develop through the works they are doing, first of all they have the talents, and they like to do the jobs… and they said that if somebody has new skills, he or she is able, or supposed to provide it to others, on how to keep on doing the activities, how to develop, so as their product at the end of the day will be more useful, they will develop their outputs… if you have ideas, new skills, new knowledge, you are supposed to educate your fellows… and they said they need more education, it means more training, they have the talents, but they need somebody, to be able to develop more what they have… and they said they need more working tools, they have no working tools… printing machine, transfer machine for designing pictures, a machine for manufacturing soaps, tailoring tools" [Score: 8]

… though they place additional emphasis on their necessity of professional training [x5] and of means of production – such as working tools [x3] and an appropriate physical space – and judge they need help with it, specially from the government

"education, they don't know how to expand, they don't have the knowledge… they had some support on how to run a business, but they lack technical training on their specific activity, the type of job they are doing… they need technical training for two or three members, so they can replicate it to the others" [Score: 4]

"they lack working tools… they want to have their own building… they want local authorities to provide them with a particular area and loans… and the central government has to control and follow up the support that local authorities should provide for groups, otherwise local governments would not do it" [Score: 3]

"they said they need to have more training, the training period is very irregular [they are talking specifically about the training they receive from YITA]… issues of management of the business, finance, they have their ideas, but they are supposed to wait until the training is there, and the period is very long, three months, after three months" [Score: 8]

"the majority in this group, they are specialized in carrying stuff, the income is low, and what they are receiving, they cannot be able to develop their talents, they cannot be able to study another career, so they need support as to develop their issues, study another issue, because what they gain they are going to spend" [Score: 2]

"but they think there is an improvement, they said now in their system in Tanzania, there is an improvement in the education system, given to the high education level, there is a higher number of students now, higher number of candidates that have been employed" [Score: 3]

"although the money is enough to fulfil their family affairs, food for the family, the income is not constant and not enough for training, more training… they said they lack working tools, instruments… and they have to pay a rent for the area, it does not belong to the group… and more training, they need more training, the main problem they said is about language barriers, they said they are not able to communicate in English, they don't know what is written in these agreements they sign, they don't know at the end of the day what they are going to receive, what will be the outcome" [Score: 0 and 2]

Importance:

Group members in Dar es Salaam also expressed that *'developing yourself through the work… learning new skills and expanding your mind'* is considerably important because it provides the basis for fulfilling material needs [x4], being autonomous [x2], and co-operating with other people or organizations [x3], …

"through that they can get more things… more money gets in, and you get to know more on new things" [Ranking: 1]

"they said this is the most import one to them because if you have it you can have the two first ones [fulfilling material needs; deciding how to work…] and satisfy your life" [Ranking: 1]

"if you have a job, you can be able to satisfy all the points" [Ranking: 1]

"they said it is about to learn new issues, to learn a new vision, because now in a world in globalization, it is like, something happens here, you are supposed to be thinking, they said you may find that many people, they don't have talents, they lack support for having talents from somebody, issues about how to run a computer, to operate, that is why this one is more important to them than the rest of them" [Ranking: 1]

"they sad if you have education, you can be able to develop your talents, expand your mind, and fulfil the first [fulfilling material needs]… if you have talents you will be able to co-operate with any other NGO or group, for example, they have their talents, that is why YITA decided to work with them, they base on talents, if you have any talents, somebody can be able to work with you, the issue about co-operation, so at the end of the day you can be able to achieve the same goals" [Ranking: 1]

"they said this one is very important to them in the sense that, first of all, in their group there are people from different fields, so working together you will be able to share your ideas, activities, your knowledge and teach your fellows… and groups who have this will be able to employ people and co-operate with other groups, because you have something… it is even more important than fulfilling material needs because, if you can work, you will be able to accomplish food, education,

health, and the others" [Ranking: 1]

"they thought that they need to develop their careers, they need to have more skills that they can be able to understand, to acquire fully their workings, they said now the world is in the globalization, they don't want to have the local technology, they want to have more modern technology in doing the activities, that is why they said that if you have skills of something, and you can get training from somewhere, it means you can be able to operate in a good manner, that is why they think that to have knowledge, skills, and even develop their career is more important than the others" [Ranking: 1]

… but that it also depends on one's autonomy in the work and on one's capability of being creative

"they said if you are able to satisfy the second one [deciding how to work…], you can be able to satisfy this one… right now they have their talents, their creativity, if you have talents and creativity you can be able to expand your knowledge and your thinking capacity" [Ranking: 3]

D.3.4 Participating in Society (Including Interacting with and Pressuring the Government)

Satisfaction:

Concerning the aspect *'participating in society (including interacting with and pressuring the government)'*, group members in Dar es Salaam fully centred their complains upon lack of voice and of support – mostly regarding training and access to means of production – from the government [x7]; …

"they said if you want to pressurize the government, first of all it means you have the voice there, they said because they have no voice, and there is no implementation of issues about the government policies, that is why they think they are not socially connected with the government" [Score: 1]

"they said there is no support from the government, they are basing it on working tools" [Score: 3]

"they participate and are happy about participating in the society, but not about pressuring the government, right now they want to establish a new activity, and they need space, the government promised they were going to give them, but up to now there is no any positive response from the government… local politicians promise to help them during election time, but at the end of the day they do nothing, they say what they are going to receive from them is just 'the work from the mouth', but nothing in practice, they will receive nothing… they said they don't want money from the government, but what they need, they want training, and working tools, they gave as example YITA, they want the government to do what YITA is doing, to support them in issues about working tools, issues about skills, how to organize their business, their activities, they said the government is supposed to work as what these NGOs are working and not to provide money, they need training, so as to be able to know where they are going" [Score: 4]

… they tend to see the local governments as the channel by which their voices should be heard and the national government as responsible for coordinating the implementation of policies.

"they try to pressure the government, but there is no feedback… the local authorities don't hear anything about the youth's issues… what they believe is that the government, the issues about government management, it starts from the district levels, that is why they should be directed at the district government, but there is no support… and they said as to the society in general, there is no any reaction… they even tried to co-operate with other NGOs, but the problem remains there" [Score: 2]

"they said they are not completely unsatisfied because they can talk to the local government and

they may agree with them, but the issue is about the time of implementation, you may talk, you may discuss with them, but they receive no implementation, there will not be implementation, they receive you, but there is no feedback at all" [Score: 5]

"first of all, they said they lack support from the local authorities, they have the ideas, they have issues that they need the government taking into account, but there is no any good feedback from the local authorities, it means there is no co-operation between local authorities and these group members… they said there is no implementation of the group ideas, they have ideas, they have ideas that can be good for the development of the group and of the society in general, but there is no implementation from the national government, they said there is too much bureaucracy" [Score: 0]

"they have problems about having copyrights, it takes a long time and there is a lot of bureaucracy, it is expensive and there is the issue of corruption, if you have the money to pay somebody, you can be able to get the copyright… and they cannot have access to up levels in the ministries, managerial levels, it is difficult… they need training and finance" [Score: 5]

"they can socialize in the neighbourhood, with people around here, but not with the whole of the slum… and they cannot interact with the government at all" [Score: 2]

Importance:

As in Nairobi, this aspect's importance is likely to be disregarded since youth group members generally believe their voices are not heard and that waiting for support from the government is not practical [x4]

"they said they are tired about the promises from the government, there are a lot of promises, but no implementation" [Ranking: 5]

"they said they have pressured the government about different matters, but there is no feedback from the government, that is why they said now they don't want to depend too much on the government… they said at the end of the day there will be no response from the government… they think they are able to reach their goals on themselves, rather than depend too much on the government" [Ranking: 5]

"if you don't have skills, you don't have money, and you are poor, your living standard is very low, the government is not taking account of what you are saying, they do not hear your voice, even if you say something to the local government, the local government will not try to do anything because he is poor" [Ranking: 5]

"they said they are able to co-operate with each other, and even they get support from different NGOs including YITA, that is why they think there is a co-operation, that is why it is not more important to them, because they form their groups, they are able to do their things in co-operation, that is why they are able to achieve their goals at the end of the day" [Ranking: 5]

"they want to socialize at the whole of the slum, that is why they find it is important, to expand their knowledge, network with the whole of the slum" [Ranking: 2]

D.3.5 Feeling Competent, Confident and Respected… Having a Positive Thinking

Satisfaction:

As for *'feeling competent, confident and respected… having a positive thinking'*, group members in Dar es Salaam also judged to be in a relatively good position since they respect each other and their youth groups are respected by society in general [x4] and because they have persistence to achieve their goals [x2]; …

"first of all they said they respect each other, and the local authority respects them, so that is why they are able to do their activities, they said they are confident in anything they decide to undertake, they said they want to win, that is why they have more confidence about what they are doing, and the last, they said they have the winning idea, everything they decide to do, they want at the end of the day, so as to make sure they achieve it… the local authorities support them on issues about training, but the group may have to wait up to two years to be trained, but because of the idea of training the groups they say it shows their respect" [Score: 9]

"they said they work with different NGOs, and issues about respect, they said if they lack some machine or anything they provide to them, and they are competent, because if they were not competent they wouldn't be able to deal with such issues" [Score: 5]

"after getting the training, now they have to appreciate what they are doing, it enables them to have the positive thinking, and after getting that they are able to respect each other and now they are working together" [Score: 10]

"they said they are confident because they are able to talk to people, exchange feelings about their lives with their neighbours, and own their business" [Score: 7]

… however, they expressed that lack of income [x2], of know-how, and of regard by the government [x2] may hinder their confidence

"they said they lack confidence because of their education, they lack training in their field" [Score: 7]

"equal participation, decision making, specially concerning youth issues, they said they lack support from the government… and they said they need to have more funds, from different donors, so they can be able to fulfil their needs" [Score: 4]

"they have low income… and no support from the government, and because of this with time they lose confidence… but they have the positive thinking" [Score 9]

Importance:

As in Nairobi, this aspect was generally mentioned as important since it is seen as a necessary condition for accomplishing, …

"they said that to do something, you first need to be confident of yourself, and them others will respect you… you need to have knowledge… if you want to do something, you need to know the reality of this, you need to perform a research on that particular issue, so that at the end of the day you can come up with a strategy that will affect the reality" [Ranking: 3]

… though group members in Dar es Salaam tend to emphasize that this aspect is less important than others because they consider it as a direct consequence of professional training and creativity [x3]

"they said you cannot co-operate with somebody else if you don't have training, so they need training about all issues that are involved in a society… so as to be able to cope with any requirements of the environment, and even to co-operate with the society in general" [Ranking: 4]

"they said that you cannot be respected if you don't have any skills… if you are not creative, somebody will not respect you, but if you have skills and new ideas people will respect you" [Ranking: 4]

"they said it is not more important than other aspects because they believe that there is co-

operation, with external organizations, and they respect them" [Ranking: 4]

D.3.6 Freedom from Being Humiliated

Satisfaction:

Concerning *'freedom from being humiliated'*, unlike their counterparts in Nairobi, youth group members in Dar es Salaam demonstrated to understand this aspect – whether they are satisfied or not – as extremely related to the manner they are regarded by the government [x5], …

> "they said there is no good co-operation from the central government, they are the ones responsible to control local authorities, so the issues about trainings, if there is no proper control from the central government, that is why it takes a long time, about two years, they think they are humiliated because of lack of co-operation from the central government… and the rent they pay can change suddenly" [Score: 0]

> "the national policies are not too harsh to them as a group, because what they want the government provides to them, for example, the area where they work… they contact the local government authorities, and they get a good feedback from them, and they provided them the area they needed… also when they wanted to register their group, they said there was no bureaucracy… they said they are not humiliated in any sense by the government because there is co-operation between the local authorities and the group members… and they said other people, the society in general, respect them, because they do community activities, and help and support them too" [Score: 10]

> "they said there is no support from the local authority, people want to do something, and maybe have an appointment with the local authority officers, but they said that there is no support… and the commitment of local authority officers, they sometimes promise to help, but at the end of the day you find out that there is nothing that they are going to do… and they said there is no support from the central government, the central level, that is why they think their living standard continues being poor" [Score: 2]

> "they said there is no support from the central governments, their voice is not heard, they said at the end of the day they receive nothing… and lack of working tools… and the need to pay rent" [Score: 0]

> "they think they are humiliated in the sense that the governments don't take in consideration the issues concerning them, the issues concerning youths… governments are not working hand-in-hand with youths, they are not going house to house to see what are their problems, the challenges facing them, they think they are humiliated in that sense" [Score: 3]

> "the government doesn't support them as they promised in election time… at the end of the day the government didn't keep the promise… the government failed in helping them with loans… they said they have positive thinking, positive issues that they think, and if the government can hear, they can be able to improve their living standard, but because they don't pay attention at their issues, that is why they feel humiliated" [Score: 4]

… though the few satisfied ones also credit their youth groups with it [x3]

> "as a group, they said they can be free from being humiliated, they depend on themselves, so it is not easy for someone to come and humiliate them" [Score: 6]

> "they said some of them, some of the group members, if they are found guilty, and are taken to the police station, they said they have support, they say they are from the group and they have

support, so they are not humiliated, in the sense that there is support from the group members" [Score: 5]

Finally, one group mentioned that older members sometimes mistreat the youngest ones

> "but in the case of the youngest ones, it is a bit difficult… they cannot refuse to do the tasks the older ones ask them, it is like the old ones could shout at them" [Score: 0]

Importance:

Group members in Dar es Salaam are likely to see this aspect essentially as a consequence of being esteemed and supported by the government and thus not especially relevant by itself [x3]

> "they said if you are free from these humiliation issues, first of all they need to have involvement on decision making concerning youth issues… locations and resources, government policies… if you are free from being humiliated you can be able to have your own ideas, to plan what you are going to do… and because they want to have their fixed working areas… and they have their talent, but they cannot be able to develop it" [Ranking: 1]

> "they expect the government to help them because they have very little capital… and they cannot save to invest, because they cannot even be completely satisfied with this issue about food… you cannot save for your business if your health is not good, how can you do that? … they said they need at least the starting point" [Ranking: 1]

> "they said if you are free from being humiliated you can be able to improve your living standards… they said if you are humiliated you cannot be able to say anything and the government will not be able to hear any quarrels that you have, or any problem that you have, so they want to be free from being humiliated" [Ranking: 2]

> "they said this is the least important to them because they are tired from a lot of promises from the government, but no implementation" [Ranking: 6]

D.3.7 Feeling Socially Connected, Cared For and Significant to Others

Satisfaction:

Youth group members in Dar es Salaam are also inclined to associate the aspect *'feeling socially connected, cared for and significant to others'* with being part of a well-functioning youth group [x3], …

> "they said that before the training from YITA, there was a lot of misunderstanding between members, and after getting the training, now they are able to work together, they share the ideas, and they co-operate with each other" [Score: 10]

> "they said there is good co-operation between the groups and other members of the society and they receive good support from the local authorities, but there is a problem in the national level… they are not fully satisfied because there are policies that affect youth, but by the time of declaring these policies, they are not allowed to participate, their voice is not there, they are not heard by the government, especially in the ministry that is concerned with youth issues and culture" [Score: 9]

… though, as in the preceding aspect (freedom from being humiliated), they particularly emphasized their relations with the government [x3] and justified if by pointing out the importance that governments have in providing expertise and care for citizens and in helping to organize their collective action

> "they said that they thought of the government first when they read that particular aspect because

the government is the one who is responsible for organising everything… because they know there is a lot of opportunities in the governments, that is why they try to think about their connection, their social connection with the government, they said the government is the one that knows the living standard of members in the society, so that when you come about the society in general, it seems that all issues in these local areas are already prepared by the governments, organized by the governments" [Score: 1]

"there is no support from the central government, the issues about training… no involvement in policy decision making, especially youth and their career development… because their income is very low, they feel they are not cared by the central government, and they are not heard either… but they said they appreciate the co-operation they get from different NGOs, it socially connects them a bit… they said they receive good co-operation from other groups, share ideas, issues about manufacturing, and about their society in general, the area, the neighbours, they said they participate well in these social activities, issues about crime and environment too" [Score: 1]

Importance:

Group members in Dar es Salaam were likely to see this aspect as a consequence of having the three first ones (fulfilling material needs; deciding how to work…; developing yourself through the work…) [x4] and of being valued and supported by the government [x3]

"if you have the three first ones, this one will be easy to attain" [Ranking: 6]

"if they have the three first ones, people can be socially connected… now it is not important to them because they lack the three first ones" [Ranking: 6]

"first they need to have more products, to have a good work management plan, so they can be respect by the society in general, and the issues about collective caring will follow" [Ranking: 5]

"they said somebody can co-operate with you, can work with you hand-in-hand, if you have something in your mind, if you have skills, but if you lack it, nobody will want to work with you" [Ranking: 6]

"they said they think it is very important, it helps to work with other people… but right now it is not a big issue because there is co-operation and respect, that is why, they said, you came hear from Brazil and you are able to communicate with them, to work with them, because they think there is co-operation" [Ranking: 3]

"they said there is no involvement in policy-making decision, specially on youth issues, they are not involved by the time of making decisions… and the lack of working tools, they think they are not treated equally… and implementation, there is no implementation from the government [Ranking: 3]

"they said there is no support from local authorities… no support from the central government… and no involvement in policy-making decision in any level" [Ranking: 7]

Appendix E - Examples of Constitutions of Youth Groups in Nairobi

[redacted] YOUTH GROUP

CONSTITUTION AND RULES

1. ***NAME***

The name of the society shall be [redacted] *YOUTH GROUP* (In this constitution refereed to as "the society")

2. ***OBJECTS***

(a) Training members to be self-employed.

(b) Create youth awareness on alcohol [illegible]

(c) The group should be non political.

(d) There should be no branches in the association.

(e) Create HIV/AIDS awareness among its member community.

(f) Bring development to its members and entire communities.

Notes :

(i) The objects should be as concise as possible, consistent with clear definition;
(ii) If the society has non - political, this should be stated.
(iii) If it is intended that the society should from branches, it should be so stated as one of the objects.

3. ***MEMBERSHIP***

(a) Any youth over the age of eighteen years shall be eligible for membership of the society and shall, subject to the approval of the committee, become a member on payment of an entrance fee of Kshs 100.
(b) Every member shall pay a monthly subscription of Kshs 100 not later than the 15th day of each month.
(c) Any member desiring to resign from the society shall submit his resignation to the secretary, which shall take effect from the date of receipt by the secretary of such notice.
(d) Any member may be expelled from membership if the committee so recommends and if a general meeting of the society shall resolve by a two-thirds majority of the members present that such a member should be expelled on the grounds that his conduct has adversely affected the reputation or dignity of the society, or that he has contravened any of the provisos of the constitution of the society . The committee shall power to suspend a member from his membership until the next general meeting of the society following such suspension but notwithstanding such suspension a member whose expulsion is proposed shall have the right to address the general meeting at which his expulsion is to be considered

(e) Any person who resigns or is removed from membership shall not be entitled to a refund of his subscription or any part thereof or any moneys contributed by him at any time.
(f) Any member who falls into arrears with his monthly subscription for more than six months shall automatically cease to be a member of the society and his name shall be struck off the register of members. The committee may, however, at its discretion, reinstate such member on payment of the total amount of subscription outstanding.

4. ***OFFICE BEARERS***

(a) The office bearers of the society shall be:-
(i) The Chairman
(ii) The Vice –Chairman
(iii) The Secretary
(iv) The Assistant Secretary
(v) The treasurer
(vi) The assistant Treasurer
all of whom shall be fully paid up members of the society and shall be elected at the annual general meeting to be held in each year (see also rule 6(b) below).
(b) All office bearers shall hold office from the date of election until the succeeding annual general meeting subject to the conditions contained in sub –paragraphs (c) and (d) of this rule but shall be eligible for re-election.
(c) Any office bearer who ceases to be a member of the society shall automatically cease to be an office bearer of thereof.
(d) Office bearers may be removed from office in the same way as is laid down for the expulsion of members in rule 3 (d) and vacancies thus created shall be filled by persons elected at the general meeting resolving the expulsion.

5. ***MODE OF ELECTION*** - Duration of one year.

6. ***DUTIES OF OFFICE BEARERS***

(a) ***Chairman***
The chairman shall, unless prevented by illness or other sufficient cause, preside over all meetings of the committee and et all general meetings.

(b) Vice chairman
The vice chairman shall perform any duties of the chairman in his absence.

(c) ***Secretary***
The secretary, shall deal with correspondence of the society under the general supervision of the committee. In cases of urgent matters where the committee cannot be consulted, he shall consult the chairman or if he is not available, the vice – chairman. The decisions reached shall be subject to ratification or otherwise at the next committee meeting. He shall issue notices convening all meetings of the committee and all general meetings of the society and shall be responsible for keeping minutes of all such meetings and for the preservation of all records of proceedings of the society and of the committee.

(d) Assistant Secretary
In the absence of the Secretary, the Assistant Secretary shall perform all the duties of the secretary and such other duties as shall be assigned to him by the secretary or committee whether the secretary is present or not.

(e) ***Treasurer***
The treasurer shall receive and shall also disburse, under the directions of the committee, all moneys belonging to the society and shall issue receipts for all moneys to the committee and to the members that proper books of account of all moneys received and paid by the society are written up, preserved and available for inspection.

(f) Assistant Treasurer
The assistant Treasurer shall perform such duties as may be specifically assigned to him by the treasurer or by the committee and in the absence of the treasurer shall perform the duties of the treasurer.

7. ***THE COMMITTEE***

(a) The committee shall consist of all the office bearers of the society and 2/3 other members elected at the annual general meeting in each year; such committee members shall hold office until the following annual general meeting. The committee shall meet at such times and places as it shall resolve but meet not less than once in any three months.
(Note: Where it is the intention of the society to form branches, it may well be that some provision should be made for them to be represented on this committee. In which case the election of these representatives should be by the committee of the branch concerned)
(b) Any casual vacancies for members of the committee caused by death or resignation shall be filled by the committee until the next annual general meeting of the society. Vacancies caused by members of the committee removed from office will be dealt with as shown in rule (4d).

8. ***DUTIES OF THE COMMITTEE***

(a) The committee shall be responsible for the management of the society and for that purpose may give directions to the office bearers as to the manner in which, within the law, they shall perform their duties. The committee shall have power to appoint such sub-committees as it may deem desirable to make reports to the committee upon which such action shall be taken as seems to the committee desirable.
(b) All moneys disbursed on behalf of the society shall be authorized by the committee except as specified in rule 12 (d)

(c) The quorum for meetings of the committee shall be not less than 2/3 members.

9. ***GENERAL MEETINGS***

(a) There shall be two classes of general –annual general meetings and special general meetings.
(b) The annual general meetings shall be held not later than 31st Dec in each year. Notice in writing of such annual general meeting, accompanied by the annual statement of account (see rule 11b) and the agenda for the meeting shall be sent to all members not less than 21 days before the date of the meeting and, where practicable, by press advertisement not less than 14 days before the date of the meeting.
(ii) The agenda for any annual general meeting shall consist of the following:
- Confirmation of the minutes of the previous annual general meeting.
- Consideration of the accounts.
- Election of the office bearers and the committee members (and trustees where necessary in accordance with rule 10(c).
- Appointment of auditors in accordance with rule 11 (a).
- Such other matters as the committee may decide or as to which notice shall have been given in writing by a member of members to the secretary at least four weeks before the date of the meeting.
- Any other business with the approval of the chairman.

(c) A special general meeting may be called for any specific purpose by the committee. Notice in writing of such meeting shall be sent to all members not less than 7 days before the date thereof and where practicable by press advertisement not less than 7 days before the date of such meeting.
(d) A special general meeting may also be requisitioned for specific purpose by order in writing to the secretary of not less than 2/3 members and such meetings shall be held with 21 days of the date of the requisition. The notice for such meeting shall be as shown in rule 8(c) and no matter shall be discussed other than stated in the requisition.
(e) Quorum for general meetings shall be not less than 2/3 of the registered members of the society

10. ***PROCEDURE AT MEETINGS***

(a) At all meetings of the society the chairman, or in his absence, the vice chairman, or in the absence of both these officers, a member selected by the meeting shall take the chair.
(b) The chairman may at his discretion limit the number of persons permitted to speak in favour of and against any motion.
(c) Resolutions shall be decided by simple voting by a show of hands. In the case of equality of votes, the chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

11. ***TRUSTEES***

(a) All land, buildings and other immovable property and all investments and securities which shall be acquired by the society shall be vested in the names of not less than 5 trustees who shall be members of the society and shall be appointed at an annual general meeting for a period of three years. On retirement such trustees shall be eligible for re-election. A general meeting shall have the power to remove any of the trustees and all vacancies occurring by removal, resignation or death, shall be filled at the same or next general meeting.

(b) The trustees shall pay all income received from property vested in the trustees to the treasurer. Any expenditure in respect of such property which in the opinion of the trustees expenditure of such moneys as it thinks fit.

12. ***AUDITOR***

(a) An auditor shall be appointed for the following year by the annual general meeting . All the society's accounts, records and documents shall be opened to the inspection of the auditor at any time. The Treasurer shall produce an account of his receipts and payments and not more than three months before the date of the annual general meeting. The auditor shall examine such annual accounts and statements and either clarify that they are correct, duly vouched and in accordance with law or report to the society in what respect they are found to be incorrect, unvouched or not in accordance with the law.

(b) A copy of the auditor's report on the account and statements together with such accounts and statements shall be furnished to all members at the same time as the notice convening the annual general meeting appointing him.

(c) No auditor shall be an office bearer or a member of the committee of the society.

13. ***FUNDS***

(a) The funds of the society my only be used for the following purposes:-

(i) Payment of common utilities i.e. electricity & water
(ii) Training cost due to member.
(iii) Loan to members.
(iv) Procuring group property and services.

(Note. These purposes should be as concise as possible and must be consistent with the objects set out in rule 2).

(b) All moneys and funds shall be received by and paid to the treasurer and shall be deposited by him in the name of the society in any bank or banks approved by the committee.

(c) No payments shall be made out of the bank account without a resolution of the committee authorizing such payment and all cheques on such bank account shall be signed by the Treasurer or the Assistant Treasurer and two office bearers of the society who shall be appointed by the committee.

(d) A sum not exceeding Kshs 100 may be kept by the treasurer for petty disbursements of which proper account shall be kept.

(e) The committee shall have power to suspend any office bearer who it has reasonable cause to believe is not properly accounting for any of the funds or property of the society and shall have power to appoint another person in his place. Such suspension shall be reported to a general to be convened on a date not later than two months from the date of such suspension and the general meeting shall have full power to decide what further action should be taken in the matter.

(f) The financial year of the society shall be from 1st January to 31st December.

14. ***BRANCHES***

Branches of the society may be formed wit the approval of the committee and registrar of societies and they will adopt the same constitution as that of the headquarters with the following exceptions:

(a) The aims and objects will not include the formation of branches.

(b) Amendments to the constitution can only be made by the headquarters of the society in accordance with the provisions of rule 14,

(c) The provisions of rule 15 shall apply to branches but, in addition, branches will not be dissolved without consultation with their headquarters.

Notes

(a) This rule should only be included in the constitution of the society if it wishes to form branches . See also note (iii) to rule 2 above.

(b) All such branches are required to be registered under the societies Act , 1968, in exactly the same way as the headquaters).

15. AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

Amendments to the constitutions of the society must be approved by at least a two thirds majority of members t a general meeting of the society. They cannot , however , be implemented without the prior consent in writing of the Registrar , obtained upon application to him made in writing and signed by three of the office bearers.

(Note –the last sentence of this rule should not be included if the society is applying for exemption from registration)

16. ***DISSOLUTION***

(a) The society shall not be dissolved except by a resolution passed at a general meeting of members by a vote of two thirds of the members present. The quorum at the meeting shall be as shown in rule 8 (e). If no quorum is obtained, the proposal to dissolve the society shall be submitted to a further general meeting which shall be held one month later. Notice of this meeting shall be given to all members of the society at least 14 days before the date of the meeting. The quorum for this second meeting shall be the number of members present.

(b) Provided, however , that no dissolution shall be effected without prior permission in writing . of the registrar, obtained upon application to him made in writing and signed by three of the office bearers.

(c) When the dissolution of the society has been approved by the registrar, no further action shall be taken by the committee or any office bearer of the society in connection with the aims of the society other than to get in liquidate for cash all the assets of the society. Subject to the payment of all the debts of the society, the balance thereof shall be distributed in such other manner as may be resolved by the meeting at which the resolution for dissolution is passed.

17. INSPECTION OF ACCOUNTS AND LIST OF MEMBERS

The books of account and all documents relating thereto and a list of members of the society shall be available for inspection at the registered office of the society by any officer or member of the society on giving not less than seven days notice in writing to the society.

(This rule applies to registered societies only).

[redacted] YOUTH GROUP
P.O. BOX...[redacted]
NAIROBI.

THE CONSTITUTION

INTRODUCTION.

1.1. The name to the group shall be, [redacted] YOUTH GROUP.
1.2. It shall be a community based organisation whose objectives shall be the general welfare of the youths within the target area.
1.3. It shall be a non-political organisation and the registered offices shall be based within the administrative jurisdiction of Mathare Location in Central Division, Nairobi.
1.4. However, other branches and activities may be opened in other places and localities as need shall rise from time to time subject to group members will.

AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES (A.O.A).

2.1. The group anticipates in and to the promotion of social welfare of its members.
2.2. It shall court collaboration and net-working with other community based organisation whose objectives may be deemed to tally with.
2.3. Being a youth initiative, the group shall promote peer education within the group and subsequently to the community.
2.4. The group shall promote self-reliance by and through Economic empowerment and Income Generating Activities (I.G.A).
2.5. To achieve it's prime objectives, the group shall extend to other N.G.O's, F.B.Os, and other interested organisation in addressing National disasters as may be declared by the state from time to time.
2.6. As currently declared by the state, the group anticipates to challenge the spread of HIV/AIDS pandemic at the local level basically in regard to AWARENESS AND SENSITISATION.
2.7. The group activities shall include garbage collection, treatment and facilitation to disposal in liaison with respective authorities.
2.8. As community concern, environmental sanitation shall be explored by the group with much emphasis on waste disposal and drainage.
2.9. The group shall collaborate with the administrative authorities to promote community policing.

MEMBERSHIP.

3.1. Membership shall be open to all youths of sound mind and reputation.
3.2. This shall be regardless of tribe, race, creed, sex BUT of Kenyan Nationality.
3.3. Membership shall commence upon payment of a registration fee of Ksh [redacted] which shall be NON-REFUNDABLE.
3.4. Members wishing to resign shall have to tender their notice so doing within two months prior to the date. The correspondence shall be through the secretary who shall there-after submit the same to the committee subject to the group's approval unless emergency.
3.5 With regard to the reasons given for resignation, there shall be a clearance process as detailed in the clearance form.
3.6. Membership shall be terminated or disregarded upon breaching this constitution, part of it, by-laws or any other sufficient course deemed evident to sustain the matter. In this case, the concerned member shall be subjected to the apparent clearance process as outlined.

Members aggrieved by the decisions may appeal through the group arbitration panel which shall be appointed from time to time as shall be deemed appropriate.

OFFICE BEARERS.

4.1. The office bearers shall comprise of:
(a) Chairman - Auditors
(b) Secretary
(c) Treasurer
(d) Organising Secretary
(e) Their Assistants

4.2. The above shall be regarded as the group's committee and shall have a one year tenure whereby elections shall be conducted.
4.3. In respect to internal democracy, committee member may be re-elected to the incumbent position or any other as the group's wish may prevail.
4.4. Committee members shall and MUST at any given time be fully PAID-UP members of the group.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF OFFICE BEARERS.

5.1. Chairman
(a) He / She shall be the over-seer of the group.
(b) Shall preside over all the meetings unless deterred by either sufficient course.
(c) Shall be the principal custodian of social justice whereby he/she shall up-hold and dispense the same.
(d) Shall undertake any other duty assigned to him/her subject to approval by the members.

5.2 Secretary
(a) Shall be the custodian of all group records.
(b) Shall record all the proceedings of the meetings and thereafter re-cap the same in the following meeting.
(c) Shall issue notices of all the meetings in liaison with the chairman.
(d) Shall be the principal communication media and in-charge of the group's correspondence.
(e) Shall undertake any other duty assigned to him by the group as the chairman, subject to the same approval.

5.3. Treasurer
(a) Shall be the prime custodian of all the group's finances and assets.
(b) Shall service receipts and payments appropriately and as professionally standardised by the group.
(c) Shall counter-keep all inventories, ledgers and other books of Account.
(d) Shall undertake any other duty assigned to him/her by the chairman or the subject to the same approval.

5.4. The Organising Secretary
(a) Shall make and maintain all the ordinances of the group.
(b) Shall organise and arrange all the meetings, events and venues of the group.
(c) Shall co-ordinate all the proceedings of the activities of the group.
(d) Shall undertake any other duty assigned to him by the group, committee or the chairman subject to approval of the same.

5.5. Assistant
(a) They shall be the principal deputies respectively and accordingly, they shall execute the same duties in the absence of the respective office bearers, subject to approval of the same and the group.
(b) They shall undertake any other duties assigned to them by the office bearers, the committee or the group subject to approval of the same.

MEETINGS.

6.1. There shall be the following categories of meetings:-
i) Ordinary Activity Meetings (O.A.M.)
ii) Monthly Ordinary Meeting (M.O.M)
iii) Annual General Meetings (A.G.M.)
iv) Special /Urgent Meetings of the above.

6.2. All the meetings shall and MUST be attended by all the respective members punctually and at the notified venue.
6.3. Members who fail to attend three consecutive meetings without reasonable causes shall have their membership reviewed for appropriate measure.
6.4. The Quorums of the respective meetings shall be two third of the membership of the same.
6.5. Decisions of the group meetings shall be ratified democratically by a simple majority of the present members.
6.6. The prime agendas of the Annual General meetings shall be: -
i) Confirmation of the minutes of the previous A.G.M.
ii) Annual reports by:-
(a) Chairman
(b) Secretary
(c) Treasurer
iii) Election of office bearers
iv) Any other business
v) End of year party

6.7. Notices of special meetings shall be issued not less than seven (7) days prior to the date.

FINANCE.

7.1. Receipts MUST be issued for all funds paid to the group.
7.2. Payment vouchers shall be recorded for all funds paid by the group.
7.3. Funds collected for and by the group MUST be banked within twenty four (24) hours unless it be on a weekend or a public holiday.
7.4. An imprest of Kshs [redacted] shall be kept in the custody of the treasurer for emergencies and other administrative and miscellaneous expenses approved by the group.
7.5. Every member shall be paying a monthly subscription of Kshs [redacted] which shall be regarded as personal savings.
7.6. Members failing into three (3) months arrears shall have to be discussed for appropriate measure.
7.7. Any withdrawal of funds from the Account MUST be accompanied by minutes of the meeting, signed by the members, authorising so doing.
7.8. All the banking and financial transactions shall be over-seen by the Treasurer.
7.9. All the funds shall be deposited with [redacted] Bank branch in Nairobi.
7.11. Fines imposes to a member shall be paid before or at the following immediate meeting, failure to which an interest of 20% of the fine shall be charged.
7.12. The signatories of the group shall be: -
i) Chairman – Mandatory
ii) Secretary – mandatory
iii) Treasurer – Mandatory
iv) One other member, appointed by the group- optional.

ELECTIONS.

8.1. Elections of the group shall be held not later than the 15th day of June of every year.
8.2. At the time of elections the present members shall decided the mode to be used, either queuing, show of hands, secret balloting or acclamation.
8.3. Elections shall be presided over by a neutral person from a reputable organisation or authority agreed by a majority of the members.
8.4. Members aggrieved by the election results may petition the same to the local S.D.O. within FOURTEEN (14) days or else later complains shall be regarded as null and void.

CONCLUSION.

9.1. There shall always be by-laws, rules and regulations.
9.2. The above shall be dynamic, from time to time as may be deemed appropriate by the group.
9.3. This constitution shall remain the sovereign paralegal reference of the group.
9.4. The constitution may be re-confirmed, amended or overhauled by two third ($^2/_3$) of the present members at any A.G.M. only.
9.5. In case the group is to be dissolved, members shall have to be given out their savings, duly audited.
9.6. However, the other assets shall be unconditionally be donated to any charitable organisation agreed by the majority of the group.
9.7. The decision to dissolve the group shall only be agreed upon by three quarter ($^3/_4$) of the present group members.
9.8. Every meeting shall ONLY be regarded as orthodox upon the confirmation of the quorum in which case it shall be two third ($^2/_3$) of the respective membership.

CONSTITUTION & RULES:

1. NAME: [redacted]

2. OBJECTIVES:

I. SERVE THE COMMUNITY:
Even though our community has not done much for us, we want to do something in return. We intend to carry several activities including cleaning the estates, planting trees & creating awareness on matters, planting trees and creating awareness on matters affecting the environment as a whole.

II. PROMOTE AND DEVELOP YOUTH TALENT AND ARTS.

The [redacted] aims at promoting and uplifting those with talent in fields such as soccer, drawing, painting, sewing, designing writing, story telling, rapping singing and any productive skills. By having all the facilities of the activities mentioned above we will be able to achieve our goal because we have qualified trainers

III. INTEGRATE CULTURE THROUGH THE ARTS.

By bringing the youth together who have some or different ideas and skills together so as to create and extrude our culture through arts like music, poems clothing, movies, pictures, graffiti e.t.c.

IV. TO CREATE AWARENESS ON ISSUES AFFECTING THE YOUTH AND T. E . RGER SOCIETY

a) To create awareness on issues like HIV/aids i.e. discuss the main causes, how to prevent one self & what to do once infected.

b) To create awareness on issues such as unemployment i.e. the causes of unemployment and how to curb unemployment.

c) To create awareness on drug abuse i.e. the effects of the drug abuse, the causes of drug abuse and the best way forward.

d) To create awareness on child labour and abuse i.e. the causes of child labour and abuse, how to stop child labour.

e) To create awareness on social misfitness i.e. the cause of being a social misfit the effects of being a social misfit, the way forward.

3. VISION

Our vision as [redacted] is to integrate, promote enlighten and create self-awareness amongst the youth in at least 3 years time.

4. MISSION

The mission of [redacted] is to go deep down in the streets and neighborhood in order to bring forth a group of young talented sports personalities, artist both performing and non performing, entrepreneurs, poets, designers e.t.c who have same ideologies but different points of views, so as to create various products rather than a single product. So as to infiltrate the market from all Angles and make profit as a result

5. MEMBERSHIP

- Any person /persons over the age of 18 years shall be eligible for membership.
- Every member shall pay a sum of Kshs 200/= as registration fee which is non – refundable.
- Any member desiring to resign from the group / society shall submit his resignation to the secretary, which shall take effect from the date of receipt of such notice.
- Every member shall pay a weekly contribution of Kshs 70.00 not later than the day of the meeting (Sunday)

6. ACQUISITION OF MEMBERSHIP

I) ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP

Any associate member in context of the group is defined as a member.

II) FULL MEMBERSHIP

A member who shall have met all the necessary requirements as specified in rule.

iii) **NON MEMBERS**
-New members shall be required to pay a sum of KSh.300 registration fee
-Shall pay a weekly subscription of KShs.105 every 7 days

7. OFFICE BEARERS

a) The office bearers of the foundation shall be
   i) Chairman
   ii) Vice Chairman
   iii) Secretary
   iv) Treasurer
   v) Assistant Secretary
   vi) Assistant Treasurer

b) All office bearers shall hold office from the date of election to the next – shall be eligible for re-election.

c) No post shall whatsoever give a member unquestionable authority

d) Members shall exercise democracy in any decision making activity

8. DUTIES OF OFFICE BEARERS

a) Chairman – shall, unless prevented by illness or other sufficient cause, preside over all meetings of the committee and at all general meetings.
-shall be the chief spokesman of the group
-shall organize any duties assigned to the club.

b) Secretary/Asst.Secretary
-shall deal with all correspondence of the foundation in supervision of the members and committee
-The decisions reached shall be subject to ratification or otherwise at the next meeting.

-Shall convey notices convening all meetings of the committee and general meetings of the foundation. Shall be responsible for keeping minutes of such meetings and prevention of all records.

-Assistant secretary shall perform all duties of the secretary and all other duties assigned.

c) Treasurer- shall receive and also disburse, under direction of the committee, all moneys belonging to the foundation and shall issue receipts for moneys received and preserve vouchers of money paid by him. The treasurer is answerable to the committee and to the members in regard to books of accounts. He shall ensure of all money received and paid by the foundation are accounted for, and preserve records for inspection /audit.

9. GENERAL MEETINGS

The general meetings shall be held four times in a period of 30 days.
- Agenda for the general meeting shall be read out to note, in the previous meeting
- The group shall convene any other time should need arise, this is with prior notification
- Passiveness in the meeting is discouraged
- Lateness/absenteeism without cause is subject to penalty
- Quorum for general meeting shall be not less than half of the registered members.

10. PROCEDURE AT MEETINGS

a) At meetings the Chairman or in his absence the vice chair or in their absence, a member appointed/chosen by the meeting takes chair

b) Resolutions shall be decided by simple voting by a show of hands. In the case of equality of votes, the chair shall have a second or casting vote.

11. TRUSTEE

Trustee shall pay all income received from property vested in the trustee to the treasurer. Any expenditure shall be reported to the committee and members who shall authorize expenditure of such moneys as it thinks fit.

12. FUNDS

a) All funds shall be used for purposes agreed upon by members.

b) All moneys shall be paid through the treasurer and shall be deposited by him or an appointed member of the committee to the bank agreed upon by the members.

c) No payments shall be made out of the bank account without resolution of the members.

d) Such payments shall be signed by the treasurer or assistant treasurer or any office bearer appointed by the committee.

e) Members have the power to suspend any officer on grounds of misappropriation or miss accounting. Members also vest powers to elect another member in his place.

13. ELECTION AND PROCEDURES

a) Elected members shall serve the post for a period of 1 year.

b) Elections will be done after a period of 1 year.

c) Office bearers shall be elected by a simple majority of the members present.

d) Notice of elections shall be issued a month before the date of election.

e) The members have the power to dismiss any redundant members/officers.

14. AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

a) Amendments to the constitution must be approved by 2/3 (two thirds) majority of members in attendance.

b) No provision of the constitution shall be altered, modified revoked, abrogated or otherwise amended.

15. REVISION:

a) The constitution shall be officially read every 1 month before elections

b) Suspension of members and penalty depending on the intensity of the matter is vested in the members.

16. FINE:

a) Any member who arrives late in attending the meeting will be fined Ten shillings (10 /=)

b) Any absence without apology shall be fined twice the amount fined for lateness and hence face the disciplinary committee.

c) The disciplinary committee has the full powers to declare any member a non-member in the grounds of indiscipline and misconduct.