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Promoting the Right to Life, Liberty and Security through Grassroots Youth Empowerment

The Case of the Maji Mazuri Organization in the Mathare Informal Settlements, Kenya following the 2007 Post-election Violence

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Declaration Form:

The work I have submitted is my own effort. I certify that all the material in the Dissertation which is not my own work has been identified and acknowledged. No materials are included for which a degree has been previously conferred upon me.

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Abstract

This dissertation focused on how youth in post-conflict and conflict prone communities directly and indirectly promote the right to life, liberty and security of person through grassroots youth empowerment initiatives and organizations. The research was centered on both a theoretical analysis of youth empowerment and peace education and as a case study focuses on one particular organization in the Mathare Informal Settlements in Nairobi, Kenya by the name of Maji Mazuri.

Through a two month field work experience in Nairobi, this thesis sought to develop a better understanding of the importance of grassroots organizations in communities experiencing conflict or which are conflict prone. As the residents of Mathare informal settlements experienced a high volume of violent conflict during the months that followed the election in December 2007, this case was at the core of my study. The field work focused on an ethnographic analysis which took the form of observation, informal and semi-formal conversation with staff members of the organization, youth group members, and others. The findings of the research reveal that while theoretical frameworks provide an important base, cultural, social, political, and economic context dictate the successes, and failures of grassroots organizations seeking to empower youth. These same conditions also hinder the use of human rights discourse in post-conflict youth empowerment schemes. Youth are mostly targeted in times of conflict because of their vulnerability due to social structures, unemployment, and poverty. However, targeting youth is not sufficient, empowerment and peace building initiatives must also include those involved with and pertaining to the political and social structures of the community, in the case of Mathare these are the village elders and chiefs. In order to increase outreach, trust, and understanding the implemented strategies must be developed alongside and by members of the affected community. This is a precondition for success in communities such as the Mathare informal settlements.

The dissertation aims to broaden the discussion on post-conflict reconstruction to include grassroots organizations targeting youth, and aspires to bring to light the positivity and hope which pour throughout post-conflict and conflict prone communities.

Key Words- human rights, youth empowerment theory, peace education, peace theory, peace building, grassroots organizations, Kenya, post-election violence, Mathare, alternatives to violence, violence.

List of Acronyms:

AEC- Adolescent Empowerment Cycle

AVP- Alternative to Violence Program

CST- Critical Social Theory

CYE- Critical Youth Empowerment

IDP- Internally Displaced Peoples

ITP- Integrative Theory of Peace

MMM- Maji Mazuri Mathare

ODM- Orange Democratic Movement

PNU- Party of National Unity

SBPP- Stop the Bullet! Peace Project

TP- Transactional Partnering Model

YTP- Youth Talent Program

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1. Introduction:

1.1 Youth Empowerment in Post-Conflict and Conflict Prone Communities

Post-conflict reconciliation efforts are often associated with international and national peace building, human rights, and development aid organizations. However, a crucial element of the post-conflict reconciliation processes lies in grassroots actions motivated by youth which tackle peace through different projects, and initiatives. In Africa, conflict has had an increasing effect on youth "Crisis and conflict…have had an adverse and lasting impact on the development potential and prospects of their youth. The reality is that young people have been disproportionately involved in most of the conflicts that have broken out in the past decade"(UNECA.org, 2005) In the wake of a conflict, or in communities which are vulnerable to conflict because of social, political, and economic reasons, youth empowerment is a vital component in promoting and sustaining stability and development.

The role youth take in conflict can be described as both dynamic and diverse. Many youths take an active role in the violence, while others work against the violence to promote peace. "In conflict and post-conflict situations, some young people choose to fight or are forced into a life of violence. They are soldiers, bush wives, terrorists and gang members. Others are able to work to improve their communities, contribute to peacebuilding, reconciliation and reconstruction, and become invested in their countries' future peace. They are grassroots community leaders, artists, young parliamentarians and students working toward positive social change" (USIP, 2012) In communities that have experienced violent conflict, and which are prone to experience the violence again, targeting the youth who experienced the violence and conflict, as perpetrators, victims, or peace activists is a critical element of the reconciliation process. One way to link these youth is through youth empowerment schemes, which are organized at the grassroots community level.

Grassroots organizations are incredibly important to the reconstruction and reconciliation processes due to their effectiveness and growth. They become a vital component for community peace building. This is partially due to the drive for youth to participate in

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post-conflict peace building efforts, and more specifically in peace building efforts that stem from youth empowerment organizations. This becomes especially important because during conflict youth are targeted as tools for violence. This happens even more so when the community where the violence is taking place, is one that is impoverished. But just as youth can be used as perpetrators during times of conflict, they can also, through different peace building and empowerment strategies and tools, be used as agents to promote the right to life, security, and liberty in a community.

1.2 Maji Mazuri, Mathare Valley, Kenya- Post-conflict and background

Maji Mazuri Centre International is a "social economic development program" based in Kenya. The founder, Dr. Wanjiku Kironyo, initially developed the organization in order to help women and children in Mathare, the second largest slum in East Africa. The organization, which began in 1984, is centered on four programs which are interrelated. These are: Mental and Physical Health, Education and Talent, Economic Empowerment, and Community Development. The range of projects that the organization carries on is expansive and growing. "Each Maji Mazuri, [meaning good water in Kiswahili] project is designed to provide holistic pathways out of poverty, supporting and empowering participants with community-based approaches to lead to successful and productive lives" (majimazuri.org, 2012) The organization continuously evaluates not only outreach of their programs, but also provides room for new programs when there is need for it.

The December 2007 post election violence was an event which provoked the Maji Mazuri organization to develop a new project. The Post-election violence which started as a "political conflict" and "social revolt" soon evolved into "blind destruction [as] the protests became criminal" (Lafargue and Katumanga, 2009: 15) and quickly it spread across Kenya. The violence resulted in "hundreds of deaths and tens of thousands of displaced persons" (Lafargue and Katumanga, 2009: 15). Slum areas in and around Nairobi were particularly affected and there was notably "a distinct desire displayed to spread terror by choosing soft targets (pregnant women, children and newly-born babies, the disabled)" (Lafargue and Katumanga, 2009: 16). The Mathare Valley slum, which

lies in an area situated ten kilometers from Nairobi and holds approximately 800,000 people, was one of the most affected communities in Kenya by the violence which broke out due to the controversial presidential elections being held in the country (GROOTS Kenya, 2008: 1).

While the Mathare slum has a history of tensions and violence and much can be argued toward the statement that the 2007 post election violence was the result of culminating tension, the extent of the damages in the Mathare community were severe and had never been seen before in that dimension. The damage that was inflicted in Mathare, especially to women and youth triggered the Maji Mazuri organization to create a special program, run by the Maji Mazuri Mathare division, named the *Stop the Bullet! Peace Project* in order to campaign for and promote peaceful practice across ethnic and political divisions in Mathare Valley.

1.3 Aim of the Dissertation

The aim of this dissertation is to look at grassroots peace-building initiatives which are constructed by grassroots organizations for youth in post-conflict societies, the development of programs to empower women and youth in communities which have been affected by conflict, and to analyze the outreach the organizations and programs have had in their communities. This research also focuses on how community based organizations promote Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) which states that every individual has the right to life, liberty, and security of person. With the case study being the Maji Mazuri organization and its efforts in the Mathare Valley informal settlements, the research will not only approach the organization holistically, looking at all its efforts, but most specifically it will look at the *Stop the Bullet! Peace Project*.

1.4 Research Questions

Overarching question:
- How do grassroots organizations and initiatives, empower communities, specifically youth, in order to reconcile and campaign for sustainable peace in

post-conflict and conflict prone regions, and encourage the members to be critically active in their communities thus creating an environment which promotes Art. 3 of the UDHR: Right to life, liberty, and security of person?

Sub-questions

1) What tools do organizations use to empower youth?
   - What are the specific strategies assumed and employed by the Maji Mazuri organization in order to empower women and children through education and other approaches?

2) How do grassroots initiatives like the "Stop the Bullet: Peace Project" of the Maji Mazuri organization, foster youth involvement in order to prevent the re-emergence of conflict, encourage community cohesion and promote the right to life, liberty and security of person?

3) How do grassroot organizations critically engage youth in their communities on political, social, and economic levels in order to stimulate viable change?

4) Reactions of and implications of these grassroots initiatives for the Mathare slum community
   - How has the community reacted to these programs? Is there a sense of improved education, empowerment, and peace in the community since the Stop the Bullet! Peace Project program was initiated in Jan. 2008?
   - What have been the successes and failures of the programs?
   - What have been the most successful elements and how were these specifically organized?

Chapters Overview

This thesis will begin with the analytical and theoretical framework which was used throughout the research project. Then, the methodology employed in my investigation will be discussed, explaining the advantages and challenges of each. Both the chapter on theory and methodology will also show the link between each and the research questions. The chapter following methodology will discuss youth empowerment programs and the link between the theoretical investigation and the fieldwork, it will also draw conclusions upon how youth and women empowerment initiatives work in practice in the Maji Mazuri organization and the challenges which such an organization faces, specifically after the post election violence which occurred in December and January 2007. Then, the following chapter will focus on the Stop the Bullet! Peace Project, and will talk about the actors involved, how it is organized, and how the idea of peace is approached. With both the third and last chapters, how the initiatives are linked with the promotion of the right to life, liberty, and security of person will be shown. The final chapter will explore the different conclusions reached through the research and field work and through this will offer recommendations to the Maji Mazuri team (both staff members and youth members) on how to possibly improve their youth empowerment programs and the Stop the Bullet! Peace Project.

2. Analytical and Theoretical Framework

This thesis seeks to further the understanding of two interrelated points. First, how grassroots organizations and initiatives in post-conflict and conflict prone communities act to reconcile peace by promoting empowerment through education and by encouraging members of a community, specifically women and youth, to become socially and politically critical. Second, how these grassroots initiatives and programs promote the right to life, freedom, and security of person within the communities. The research for this thesis was based around the following theoretical and analytical approaches, namely two:

- Peace-reconciliation through empowerment and education: Integrative Theory of Peace
- Critical Social Theory and Youth Empowerment

1) *Peace reconciliation through empowerment and education*- A deeper comprehension of the tools and methods which grassroots organizations subscribe to in order to resolve peace and unity in their communities can be understood by examining in which ways empowerment and education play a major function in peace reconciliation efforts. The focus of this particular analytical tool is to understand the working mechanisms used to incorporate education and empowerment in sustainable peace-making at the grassroots level. The theoretical accounts which embody this analysis will provide a link between peace reconciliation, empowerment, and education.

2) *Critical Social Theory and Youth Empowerment*- Considering empowerment as a social process by which community members, particularly youth, begin to recognize and become critically active in the social and political processes which envelop the day to day activities of their communities. Whereby becoming engaged in this manner can take on a more functional, effective, and committed role in the community to both positively influence and empower others. The connection and relationship between critical social theory and empowerment, particularly for youth, will give space to the discussion of the

complex nature of youth empowerment programs and the different approaches that can be taken in order to achieve the highest degree of effectiveness on both the individual and collective level.

2.1 Peace Reconciliation through Education and Empowerment

"Peace education and civilization are inseparable dimensions of human progress. Expressed differently, peace education is the only route to true civilization and true civilization is both peaceful and peace creating" (Danesh, 2006)

Empowerment and education play a major function in grassroots peace reconciliation efforts. Education and empowerment are interrelated; education feeds empowerment, empowered members of a community can then give back to the community and educate others. Education and empowerment serve as tools to unify communities, to focus on vulnerable groups, such as youth and women, and can be used to establish a culture of peace in the community from the ground up. H. B. Danesh concludes regarding the relationship between education and peace that one of the main reasons for what he refers to as "high [incidences] of conflict and war in different societies" (2006) is the *nature* of education provided. He reaffirms this by stating that "Education has enormous impact on the presence or absence of a proclivity to violence in every new generation" (2006). This analysis will look at peace education theory and will tackle how education leads to empowerment and how this is used in peace reconciliation processes, specifically on the grassroots level.

Peace-education Theory

"Peace education has a dynamic relationship with peace practice", peace education can occur on a number of different levels and tackles violence at the global, ecological, community, and personal levels (M. Harris, 2004). H.B. Danesh, in his paper "Towards an Integrative Theory of Peace Education", explains that peace education is an "elusive term" because how peace education is used and how it works depends almost entirely on

context. One strict guide for peace education cannot be used universally. However, there are certain conceptual and theoretical models which offer flexibility for different cultural perspectives.

While there are many approaches to how peace education should be formulated and what it should achieve, there are ten identifiable goals, according to Ian Harris, which peace education in general aims to promote. These being (i) to appreciate the concept of peace, it's richness and multidimensional nature, (ii) to address fears, (iii) to provide information about security systems, (iv) to understand violent behavior, (v) to develop intercultural understanding, (vi) to provide for a future orientation, (vii) to teach and understand peace as a process, (viii) to promote a concept of peace accompanied by social justice, (ix) to stimulate a respect for life (Art. 3, UDHR), (x) to end violence (Harris in Danesh, 2006). While, in practice in different peace education systems and practices, not all of these goals are met, they are recognized as ten common goals for peace education, of course how and to what extent each are met is determined by cultural, political, social and economic context. Harris also concludes that in order to achieve these ten goals, peace education must first explain the roots of the violence, teach an alternative to the violence, adjust to cover different forms of violence, provide an understanding that peace itself is a process that varies according to context, and finally show that violence is omnipresent.

Integrative Theory of Peace

H.B. Danesh's *Integrative Theory of Peace* or (ITP) in particular poses an interesting framework for peace education and peace reconciliation. ITP is a peace theory in which the determining feature in the "framework of a peace-based worldview" is that:

"All human states of being, including peace, are the outcome of the main cognitive (knowing), emotive (loving), and conative (choosing) capacities (Danesh, 1997; Huitt, 1999a, b) which, together, determine the nature of our world-view. Within the framework of a peace-based worldview, the fundamental elements of a culture of peace, such as respect for human rights and freedom, assume a unique character."(Danesh, 2006)

This *unique character* can be identified in the four subcategories of ITP. These include:

1. Peace is a psychological and political as well as a moral and spiritual subcondition

2. Peace is the main expression of a unity-based worldview

3. The unity-based worldview is the prerequisite for creating both a culture of peace and a culture of healing

4. A comprehensive, integrated and lifelong education within the framework of peace is the most effective approach for a transformation from the conflict-based metacategories of survival-based and identity-based worldviews to the metacategory of unity-based worldview.

ITP is centered on the concept that society is navigating away from a survival-world view towards a unity-worldview. The unity-world view is of extreme importance to the ITP were there is a culture of peace integrated at every level but most importantly in the education. According to this worldview, "society operates according to the principle of unity in diversity and holds as its ultimate objective the creation of a civilization of peace—equal, just, progressive, moral, diverse and united" (Danesh, 2006). A culture of peace must be created in order to reach this worldview of unity. A culture of peace is shaped by empowering society through education (more specifically an education where the curriculum has a central objective of teaching peaceful practice. ITP stipulates that a culture of peace is created when there is a culture of healing. A culture of healing has three crucial characteristics, these are (a) that there exists mutual trust between the members of a community, (b) there is satisfaction of the tripartite human needs for security, identity, and meaning, (c) that there is hope and optimism [hope for a better future and optimism for the ability to overcome future conflicts without recourse to violence (Danesh, 2006).

Other Theoretical Approaches to Peace Education

Robert L. Muhlnickel refers to as the "vulnerability thesis and peacemaking virtues" (Muhlnickel, 2010: 13) and the second being what Ulrike Niens refers to as the "contact hypothesis and multiculturalism" (Niens in McGlynn [et. al], 2009: 145). The vulnerability thesis basically explains the "social process of caring for others in ways that promote their

ability to avoid failure" (Muhlnickel, 2010: 16). What Muhlnickel means when he talks about failures is threat and he explains that this social process of caring can be used to "prevent the occurrence of threats to common human vulnerabilities, or should those threats occur, to ameliorate their effects" (Muhlnickel, 2010: 16). Muhlnickel argues that through the eductive virtues of imaginative empathy, intentional non-dominance, and motivating experimental hope, a community can develop the strengths to prevent threats or ameliorate the effects (Muhlnickel, 2010: 16). According to Robert L. Muhlnickel imaginative empathy refers to the care provider counterfactually conceiving alternatives. Intentional non-dominance is offering alternatives. It is giving the care recipient a choice to take the alternative, alter it, or reject it. And motivating experimental hope refers to the "ability to motivate recipients to believe that they can do what is required for them to carry out an alternative…accepts that barriers may not be removed but can be altered, avoided, or ameliorated" (Muhlnickel, 2010: 17-18)This relates to the study in question because the development of strengths to prevent threats by care givers to care recipients can be explained as education and empowerment while the amelioration of the effect of threats can be understood as conflict resolution or peace reconciliation.

Ulrike Nien discusses peace education more directly. He purports that education is a major component and tool to promote social cohesion and peace. He also aims to explain peace education as an umbrella term which should "[incorporate] community relations, citizenship and human rights education" (Nien in McGlynn [et. al], 2009: 145) and which should be closely supplemented with the contact hypothesis. Nien explains that "ethnopolitical conflict and community divisions are significant phenomena in modern society" (Nien in McGlynn [et. al], 2009: 145) and that through three different forms of contact, ethnopolitical conflict and divisions can be amended. Nien asserts that prejudices develop as a result of ignorance and fear and that through contact and education this ignorance and fear can be eliminated. He suggests that "contact with members of the other community may enable individuals to learn more about the other, to associate positive emotions and experience…[and to] increase self-esteem and positive attitudes"(Nien in McGlynn [et. al], 2009: 150). Nien explains the three different forms of contact through which this can be achieved as being: (1) interpersonal contact, (2) intergroup contact, and (3) superordinate recategorization. Interpersonal contact is simply personal contact between members of opposing groups.

Intergroup contact refers to "contact in which groups identities are highlighted, for example, in discussions of intergroup conflict" (Nien in McGlynn [et. al], 2009: 151). Superordinate recategorization is "identification with broader social categories and the establishment of a common ingroup identity" (Nien in McGlynn [et. al], 2009: 151). Michalinos Zembylas furthers the argument for education in peace building by purporting that educational programs can offer support in two areas. The first is in offering a space where "common-sense assumptions" are questioned and secondly, they could be a way to "re-humanize" the other. (Zembylas in McGlynn [et. al], 2009: 192).

2.2 Critical Social Theory and Youth Empowerment

In order to understand the relationship between Critical Social Theory and Youth Empowerment, it is essential to have an understanding of what exactly empowerment theory demonstrates and also to have a grasp of critical social theory. To begin, empowerment theory, according to Zimmerman and Perkins, two leading contributors to empowerment theory, explain that the empowerment "construct connects mental health to mutual help and the struggle to create a responsive community" (Perkins, Zimmerman, 1995, pg. 569). Zimmerman and Perkins expound on this notion, further noting that empowerment is "an intentional ongoing process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring, and group participation, through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control over those resources" (Cornell Empowerment Group in Perkins, Zimmerman 1995). Shifting to critical social theory (CST), while there does not exist simply one "critical social theory", all CST's explicate the emancipatory process that an individual or a collective undergo in order to critically engage with the social and political actions of their community (Jennings [et. al], 2006).

Critical Youth Empowerment (CYE):

Empowerment is achieved both at an individual level and collectively and is usually looked at through this bi-polar continuum. The individual level focuses on a personal change, self-control, pushing towards a proactive approach to life, while on a collective level empowerment is engaged through families, organizations, communities, in order to

"provide mutual support necessary to effect change, improve collective well-being, and strengthen intra and inter-organizational networks and linkages to improve or maintain quality of life" ((Zimmerman, 1995; Zimmerman, 2000 in Jennings [et. al], 2006). However, it can be argued that it is lacking substance to simply look at youth empowerment with this bi-focused lens and, in fact, must be understood using a multi-dimensioned theoretical approach which integrates other components of the empowerment process.

Youth empowerment is not a simple process. According to Louise B. Jennings, Deborah M. Parra-Medina, DeAnne K. Hilfinger Messias, and Kerry McLoughlin, youth empowerment is a "complex social action process" which incorporates a number of different dimensions including:

- *Philosophy and values underlying the initiatives*
- *Youth-Adult relationship and relationship dynamics*
- *The bipolar individual and collective processes*
- *Critical reflection and reflective action addressing social injustice and inequities.*
(Jennings [et. al], 2006)

While several theoretical models or schemes which explain youth empowerment in different contexts exist, for the purpose of this study the two which will be discussed briefly are (a) Adolescent Empowerment Cycle, and (b) Transactional Partnering Model.

Adolescent Empowerment Cycle (AEC)

AEC is a youth empowerment scheme developed by Mathew J. Chinman and Jean Ann Linney. It was created to target youth who are in the second decade of their life, and is designed around the assumption that during this "second decade", or adolescence, youth experience stressful and difficult circumstances which can lead them to participate in negative social activities. AEC specifies that youth empowerment relies on self-esteem enhancement in order to prevent adolescent youth from experiencing a sense of "rolelessness". Essentially, AEC has three linking themes: (i) Identity Crisis, (ii) Rolelessness, and lastly (iii) Positive Social Bonding. Positive social bonding simply means that after the adolescent has gained self-confidence and self-worth through participating in activities or projects in their community, they tend to then step away from

any negative relationships they may have had and instead bond to positive community institutions and actions. The figure below provides a visual explanation for how the three are linked:

Adolescent Empowerment

Identity Crisis and Formation (Marcia, 1966; Erikson, 1968) ← Need to experiment with different roles; need for stable identity

Rolelessness (Kurth-Schai, 1988; Nightengale & Wolverton, 1988) ← Nature of activities in which to participate

Participation in activities

Receive positive reinforcement

Social Bonding Development (Hawkins et al., 1992) ← Learn new skills •including a "critical awareness" of how to contribute

Bond to positive institutions

Developmental Gains •positive identity development •positive role choice (Zimmerman & Maton, 1992) •enhanced self-efficacy & self-esteem (Schunk, 1991)
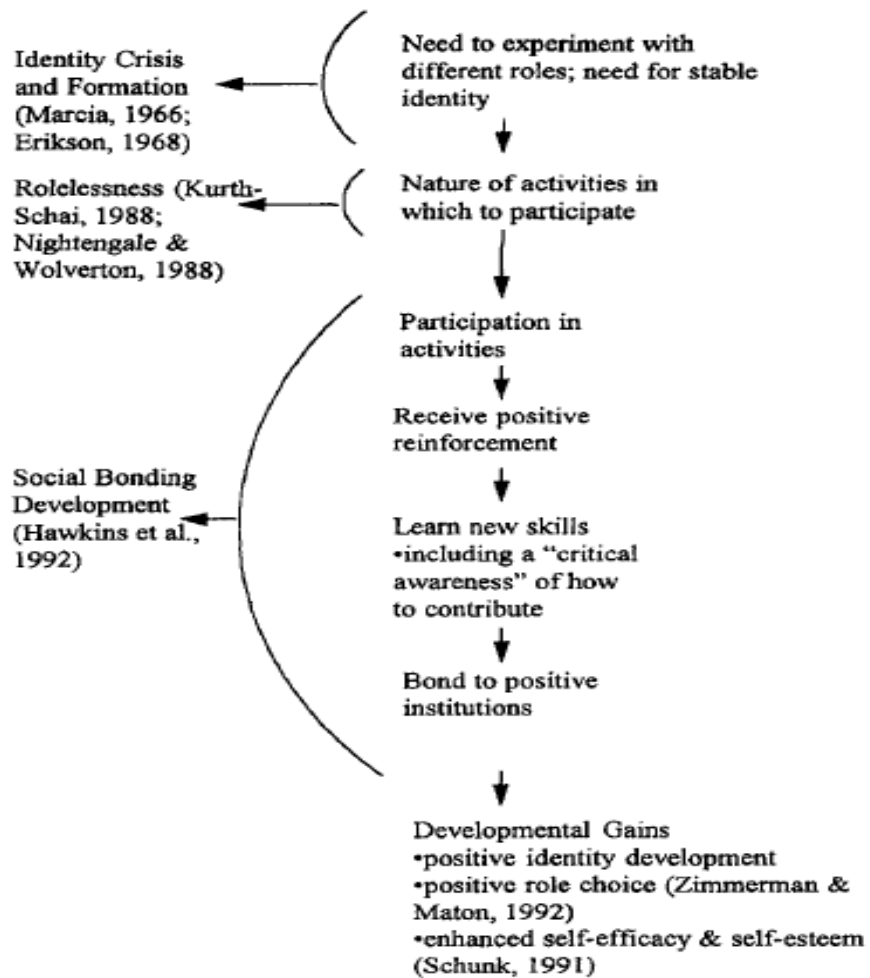
Fig. 1. Positive adolescent empowerment cycle.

(Chinman and Linney, 1998)

Transactional Partnering Model (TP)

While the AEC provided a link between self-esteem issues and positive social bonding through participating in community development action, the Transactional Partnering model (TP) describes the link between adult and youth partnering and empowerment.

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There are two central tenants to the TP model. First, while the TP model promotes a mutual transactional partnership between adults and youth, one key to the TP model is that adults in a community provide a safe and welcoming space for them to enable the empowerment and positive action of youth. The point is for adults to support youth but to not undermine the authority of the youth's decision making. The adults are meant to provide guidance and encouragement. What the TP model then shows is that eventually the adult mentors slowly relinquish control, and youth take over the decision making for community change initiatives and projects.

The second central feature of the TP model is the interrelatedness between individual and collective/community empowerment. The TP model explains that the youth experience individual empowerment because of their participation in community level change efforts. Youth tend to experience an increase in their self-esteem both at the individual and community level as well as an increase in competency in being able to voice opinions and to show leadership. Essentially, what the TP model aims to show is that by adults providing a safe, appropriate, and welcoming space for youth to participate in community action as well as individual and community reflection, this tends to result in learning and empowerment. (Jennings [et. al], 2006)

CST and Youth Empowerment

The connection between CST and youth empowerment is then summarized in what is known as Critical Youth Empowerment (CYE). CYE essentially stipulates that youth engage in processes and contexts which "create change in organizational, institutional, and societal policies, structures, values, norms, and images" (Jennings [et. al], 2006) CYE builds upon and expands on the pre-existing youth development and youth empowerment models and brings to it a socially critical perspective. The proposed CYE model incorporates these six fundamental features extracted from other youth empowerment models such as AEC and TP:

- **A welcoming and safe environment**: In a CYE perspective this means allowing youth to experience failures and successes. The role of the adult is then to make

sure that experienced failures does not lead to lower self-esteem, rather is acts as another learning tool. Adults must understand their role in this process and benefit most when they act as co-learners alongside the youth.

- **Meaningful participation and engagement**: "CYE emphasizes the need for authentic, youth-determined activities that challenge youth to engage in new roles and develop new skills and insights while also engaging in critical reflection and action." CYE places particular emphasis on those activities which promote leadership skills in youth.
- **Equitable power-sharing between youth and adults**: This may be the most challenging component to CYE, simply because power is a challenging issue. Power sharing between adult and youth may prove to be more difficult in practice because power is usually held by the adults of a community. In order for CYE to work, adults and youth must engage in power-sharing. Youth must be given the opportunity to effect change on their own terms with supervision from adults. From a CYE perspective, adults have the role of "providing support without domination".
- **Engagement in critical reflection on inter-personal and sociopolitical processes**: This component, while imperative, is usually undermined in most youth empowerment models. This is so because youth programs usually focus on activities and do not regularly provide a space or time for youth to critically reflect on the goals, or the purposes, successes or failures of their activities. Ideally the CYE model would give this space. Youth would be pushed to engage in critical reflection where the goal would be creating change in sociopolitical processes, structures, norms and images.
- **Participation in sociopolitical processes to effect change**: While it is important for youth to engage in civic learning activities, what distinguishes CYE from other youth development models is that CYE promotes challenging and critically engaging in sociopolitical issues and norms through civic learning activities. For example, in the Maji Mazuri youth group there is a drama club. Instead of this drama club being exclusively used for entertainment purposes or to promote self-esteem among the members, they instead use drama to challenge peace issues and peace topics and then perform them at peace forums for the rest of the Mathare community. CYE strongly promotes youth becoming involved in transformative social action which will not only empower them individually, but will seek to transform and empower the community as well.
- **Integrated individual and community level empowerment**: "Programs that empower youth need to provide opportunities for development at both individual and community levels" (Jennings et al, 2008) CYE promotes individual and collective empowerment through individual and collective social change. This essentially means that the capacity for youth to contribute to and engage in social change while working with others in the community is enhanced.

The CYE model provides a platform for youth to engage in sociopolitical transformative activities whereby they will be empowered both individually and as a community. The challenge for a CYE is to incorporate these six elements fully. For different social,

political, and economic contexts, it can be difficult, though of course not impossible, to transcend norms in order to achieve a youth empowerment model which critically engages youth and which features these six crucial components.

3. Methodology

The following section will look at the methodology used throughout this investigation. Qualitative content analyses, concentrating on theory-guided analysis, and ethnographic content analysis, were the two main methodological tools used throughout the investigation. Research compiled of youth empowerment models, peace education paradigms and gender empowerment theory were looked to as significant background which was used to approach the field work. All of the theoretical tools used focused on the context of societies and communities which have been affected by conflict. Field work was also conducted on a specific organization called Maji Mazuri Centre International, which has a branch office in the Mathare Valley informal settlements. The work conducted was concentrated on the Mathare branch of the Maji Mazuri organization. The field work included observation of daily conduct, as well as different programs, specifically the youth group program which has a strong focus on peace activism in the community. Also, a combination of structured and unstructured interviews took place with staff as well as youth and women who are members of Maji Mazuri and are affected by the programs the Mathare branch offers. The information gathered through the field work and through the theoretical research was then looked at using ethnographic content analysis. The human rights analytical framework was centered on the thesis that these organizations and grassroots initiatives promote the right to life, liberty, and security of person. This chapter will explain and debate these choices and will provide detail to the methodological processes chosen for this research project.

A. Qualitative Content Analysis: Theory-Guided Analysis

In order to develop a comprehensive understanding and background to the efforts made not only by Maji Mazuri, but also by other grassroots organizations meant to empower women and youth in post-conflict or conflict prone communities, an understanding of youth empowerment theory, peace theory (with an educative focus), and gender empowerment theory was imperative. It provided a theoretical guide and theoretical contextualization of the work done by the Maji Mazuri organization and other

organizations. Theoretical-guided analysis' central idea stipulates that "researchers constantly compare research and data" (Eisendhart in Kohlbacher, 2005) and offers "the chance to compare and compliment the primary data collected within the research project with secondary data" (Kohlbacher, 2005). The theoretical investigation was important and constantly referred to throughout the fieldwork. The theory offered a background and guide of what could be expected as an outcome of the study.

B. Field Work and Interviews with Maji Mazuri staff and members

The aim of this research was to provide some insight and connection between the theoretical understanding of youth and women empowerment in post-conflict and conflict prone regions and how it works in practice, it was imperative to have a fieldwork investigation on a particular organization which focuses on this. The chosen case study for this research was the Maji Mazuri organization, and in specific the branch and efforts in the Mathare Valley. The field work which took place included observation, participation, and both formal and informal interviews. Of course, while the advantages of using such an investigative tool were uncountable, there were also some challenges which were faced during my time with Maji Mazuri.

The field work lasted for approximately seven weeks, and while ideally it would have been better had it lasted for a period of several months, the information gained through the experience was extremely beneficial to this research project, and it also provided a foundation for further work in this field. As I was trying to achieve a holistic understanding of Maji Mazuri and the programs and initiatives aimed at youth, women, and peace, I began my fieldwork with an introduction into the Mathare community. As previously mentioned Mathare is the second largest slum area in Nairobi. The first and also most important feature of Mathare that I learned as I began my fieldwork was its complexity, both in how society and political hierarchies are structured and function, and the connection between this and conflict in Mathare. This was important to my investigation because it greatly influenced how I asked questions during my interviews and also how I understood the approach of the programs I investigated and the impact they have and can have in the future.

The observation of the organization and its work was ongoing. I would travel to Mathare several times a week, and at times to other projects in different areas such as the Maji Mazuri Centre in Kasarani which was a home for children with disabilities, and I would attend both office meetings between staff, or join other activities such as the youth group which occurred on Sundays. Observing the practices was important in order to get an idea of how meetings, specifically those of the youth group, were run. Through the observation also came participation. I participated in some of the activities, and became engaged with the youth and staff, this is when many of the informal interviews took place.

The semi-formal interviews which took place were both between staff and members. I interviewed three staff members in Mathare by the names of Samuel Kiriro, Daniel Wainaina, and Emily Mutaaru and I also interviewed one volunteer member by the name of Naomi Van Stapele. Naomi is a woman from Holland who co-created a foundation in Holland, which works with Maji Mazuri in Mathare. Naomi specifically works with the *Stop the Bullet! Peace Project*. She has been working with and has been a part of the Maji Mazuri in Mathare family for about 20 years. The members I performed semi-formal interviews with from the youth group include Kebane Victor, Judith Kemuma, and Nelson Mandela, all of which were part of the peace project. I also spoke with many more youths during the course of my fieldwork which were not recorded. The interviews allowed me to see deeper into the organization and provided a lot of insight on the objectives and development of the organization, as well as how the organization has inspired and changed members. It is as Michael Quinn Patton writes in his book "Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods":

"The fact is we cannot observe everything. We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions. We cannot observe behaviors that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things."(p341, 2002)

The interviews and conversations were a crucial component for the final focus of my project. While initially the focus was to be specifically on women empowerment in post-

conflict societies, the work that I did with Maji Mazuri shifted the focus of my research to be more particular with youth empowerment and youth involvement and engagement in peace initiatives in post-conflict regions. One of the reasons for this shift was because during my first interviews what became very clear was that during the post-election violence, it was youth which were the majority of the perpetrators of violence, due to several reasons which will be discussed in the chapters which follow. The interviews with staff were enlightening regarding the evolution of the organization and how the organization has expanded outreach with different projects. The interviews with staff and members also made me realize that even though the Stop the Bullet! Peace Project is the only project specifically organized for peace reconciliation and campaigning purposes, there are a number of other projects which aim for unity and respect of life which are also considered vital components for sustainable peace and security in the community.

The challenges with the interviews were at times due to the language barrier and there were times when I had to rework an interview question in order to reach an answer. The other challenge was simply that there was an incredible amount to learn and understand. As I mentioned before, it would have been much more beneficial had the field work taken place for several months as opposed to seven weeks. Part of the restriction to my research was outlined by the time frame. This is for two reasons: 1) as I was conducting my formal interviews, it became clear to me that there were so many concepts in Mathare that I did not understand which were important for contextualization. For example, I interviewed the staff member Daniel. I was asking about the origins of the peace project: why it was started and the different projects. This led into an entire discussion regarding the structure of Mathare, the different communities, the political and social structures, and how this led to youth being involved in the violence. So a number of questions materialized which I was not initially going to ask. 2) This year marks an election year in Kenya, this means that once again tensions are high and the sense that I gathered when talking with members of Maji Mazuri in Mathare was that there needed to be a stronger push from the peace project and the youth group to campaign for peace in the coming months. It would not only have been an incredible experience to see this pan out, but it would have also provided real insight to the effectiveness of the Stop the Bullet! Peace Project.

While the topic at hand could be considered extremely sensitive, as I was interviewing members of a community which had experienced intense violence for almost two months, the approach that I took for the interview questions made sure that no lines were being crossed. For example, when I learned that most of the perpetrators of violence were in fact youth in the community, when I asked my questions regarding Maji Mazuri and the peace project to the youth, I made sure that the questions were centered around their actions in the Maji Mazuri organization and how they feel it has empowered them and how they feel it has changed their communities, I did not ask them whether or not they were involved in the conflict themselves. I had to have the interview questions approved by the main office, and I made it clear that I would not ask such questions. I also did not feel as though I was qualified to ask them, as the experiences the youth may have had could be difficult for them to talk about. Mostly, I wanted the central feature of the research to be the Mathare community shown in a positive light, focusing on the efforts the members of the community are doing in order to better Mathare and to show that youth are a fundamental component to peace, stability, and development.

C. Ethnographic Content Analysis

The field work conducted of the Maji Mazuri organization and its efforts and projects in Mathare was analyzed through an ethnographic lens. "**Ethnography** [highlighted in the original text], embedded in an anthropological tradition, is essentially the study of a particular cultural group or phenomenon […and] ethnographic fieldwork involves documenting people's beliefs and practices from the people's own perspective" (Remier, 2008). Ethnographic research normally stipulates that one must live and observe a particular community for a long period of time. While I understand that the research that I conducted took place over a short period, the goal was the same. I wanted to understand grassroot initiatives for peace reconciliation from the point of view of the people who live their day to day in a community, like Mathare, where they lived through the post-election violence and decided to take action and make change for themselves.

Because of the time constraints placed on my field work study, the ethnographic approach that I took was also constrained. For example, ideally I would have spent every

day in the community and I would have tried to not only observe and conduct informal interviews, but I also would have tried to collect other "site documents". In ethnographic research, "site documents" are also an important component, these may include videos, or diary entries, or newspapers, etc. In order to access these I would have had to be in the community for a longer period of time in order to gain trust by the members. The only "site documents" that I had access to were those provided by the organization itself. This includes some documents regarding activities that the organization conducts. For example the annual schedule for the Maji Mazuri Youth Group activities, which the youth get together and decide for themselves. The schedule includes: what activity it will be, what time, where, which group within the youth group (multimedia group, peace project group, etc) will be facilitating the activity, the objective of the activity, if members need to bring anything with them, and then finally any other remarks. Also, one member of the youth group by the name of Kebane Victor, who is also the leader of the youth group, gave me access to his blog which focuses on life within Mathare and has a lot of writing about the youth group, the impact it has had on his life and on Mathare, as well as what it is like to be a youth in Mathare in general. I also joined the youth group facebook page, which is a forum where youth group members can post about upcoming activities, share stories and opinions about group actions.

Another vital component of ethnography is the analytical part of it. While conducting an ethnographic study the researcher must not simply rely on observation and interviews. This does not provide for a holistic ethnographic approach. To reach a level of research which will truly be beneficial to the reader, the investigator must diversify the research. As Remier points out "Analyzing data from multiple sources, collected by diverse methods, and supported by a range of theories, allows the ethnographer to make comparisons, verify emergent assertions, and convey a sense of trustworthiness to the reader" (Remier, 2008), meaning that a theoretical approach, plus an analysis of other literary sources is an important compliment to the fieldwork. In order to have a well-rounded understanding of the case study and field work on Maji Mazuri, I first looked at the theoretical framework surrounding the main concepts the , as previously mentioned, then also integrated other source documents which were published on both the conflict

and civil society's response to the conflict. These served as support for the field work (interviews and observations) which took place over the course of two months.

4. Youth Programs: Empowerment and Challenges in Post-conflict

Communities emerging out of conflict and which are prone to conflict often develop or re-strategize youth empowerment programs in order to deal with the aftermath of the conflict. Conflict affects youth differently than adults, both in the way youth are victimized and in how they participate in conflict. First, this chapter will consider the role that youth take in conflict, first in a broad sense and then specifically within the framework of the post-election violence in Kenya. Secondly, it will seek to develop a better understanding of how youth empowerment programs work both in general and also in the context of post-conflict societies. Lastly, it will look specifically at the initiatives organized by the Maji Mazuri Organization in Mathare and will focus on the successes and challenges which arise because of the social, political, and economic situation.

4.1 Youth in Conflict

When conflict emerges in a nation, or in a community, it affects people across generations. However, the effect is demonstrably different depending on the age and gender of the person involved; women take on different roles than men, and youth take on different roles than adults. This difference, as mentioned prior, is both in how a youth is victimized and also in how they become involved with perpetuating violence. First, in order to avoid confusion, it is important to note the difference between youth and children. This thesis will use the definition of youth according to UNICEF which acknowledges that a child is any person below the age of 18, and any person between the ages of 15-24 is considered youth. However, it is also important to confirm that there must be some flexibility of this numeric definition depending on cultural differences or even definitions placed by an organization itself. For example, the Maji Mazuri Mathare Youth Group (MMMYG) regards youth to be between the ages of 16 and 27.

The roles that youth take during conflict are different from their adult counterparts and their reasons for partaking in the violence are different as well. "Youth are most commonly depicted as either passive victims of trauma or active security threats"

however, these illustrations of youth fail to tell the whole story and are often images which are manipulated by outside sources (Sommers, 2006: 5). Motivation for youth to become involved with conflict is as important to understand as the roles that they may take during violence and also to the how they may "re-adjust" at the end of a conflict. According to the organization Peace-Building Initiative:

"Indeed, what motivates young people to co-operate with armed groups is as varied as the individuals themselves, and as the huge variety of educational, developmental and personal influences in their lives. Now, this experience blurs the usual categories (in particular victim/perpetrator), creating new social status and hierarchies, and may transform drastically the way these boys and girls (re)adjust or not to the post-conflict environment and the roles they are assigned."(peacebuildinginitiative.org)

Just as youth can be perpetrators of violence in many ways and for many reasons, the way that they are victims in violence is also varied. Both children and youth are considered vulnerable due to their age and their emotional states. Therefore, they become victims in a different way, especially children. They can become orphans, forcing them to take on responsibilities in their household which was the responsibility of their parents before. They can become injured or disabled, they can become refugees or internally displaced persons, they can be abused physically and sexually, and they can also become traumatized by the things they have witnessed or experienced during the time of conflict.

Despite of and also because of the atrocities that youth and children may experience in conflict or war, the responsibility they take in the aftermath, in the reconstruction and reconciliation processes, is vital. Yet, the programs out there to reintegrate them into the community or where they can become active in campaigning for peace, or programs which give them the opportunity to empower themselves economically, socially, and politically, are limited. "All cultures recognize adolescence as a highly significant period in which young people learn future roles and incorporate the values and norms of their societies. The extreme and often prolonged circumstances of armed conflict interfere with identity development. Despite all of this, adolescents, during or after wars, seldom receive any special attention or assistance. This is a matter of urgent concern." (peacebuildinginitiative.org, 2012). This holds true, not only for adolescents but for youth in general who come out of conflict.

4.2 Youth in Conflict: 2007-2008 Post-Election Violence: Mathare, Kenya Case

The Post-election violence started at the end of December 2007 and lasted through January 2008. The two main factors that can explain why the post-election violence happened are political tribalism, and poverty. In order to understand the role that youth played in the post-election violence in the Mathare community in 2007-2008, first we must first understand these two factors in a more broad sense and then secondly, we must place these factors in the context of youth in Mathare.

To begin, the main areas that were affected by the violence comprise of the Nyanza area, the Rift Valley, Western Kenya, and the two largest slum areas of Nairobi which include Kibera and Mathare. As mentioned, the violence was partially provoked by political tribalism. Political tribalism is a widely used political strategy and is an integral part of Kenya's political history. Its defining feature is politicians using already planted seeds of tribal differences, stereotypes, and histories of conflict or tension for political gain. Accordingly, in the 2007 election year, the conflict that arose in the last weeks of December was in part spurred because of political tensions between two parties represented by two presidential nominees. The first: Raila Odina, who was majorly representing the Kikuyu tribal group and who was the leader of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). The other: Mwai Kibaki, majorly representing the Luo tribal group, and leader of the Party of National Unity (PNU). (Kagwanja, 2009) The election violence did not just suddenly explode; in the months leading up to the elections there were already tensions in the air. Local leaders and politicians acted upon pre-existing rivalries and stereotypes of the different ethnic groups in Kenya. However, it was not until Mwai Kibaki won on top of Raila Odinga in the last days, in what was broadly interpreted as being a case of "rigged votes". Although there was an outcry from ODM members and Odinga himself for a vote recount, it was denied and Kibaki was hurriedly placed in as President for his second term in Kenya. (Kagwanja, 2009) Politicians and community leaders used ethno-politics to their advantage, influencing youth to align themselves with the party which represented their ethnic group. As Daniel Wainaina, one staff member of MMM, described during one recorded conversation *"The majority of the people have a political affiliation which are tribal…if a certain leader is from a certain*

tribe then the followers are from the same same tribe.” The political tensions atop of the tribal tensions that the politicians had manipulated across Kenya, then finally erupted. This was the spark of a month of intense violence around Kenya affecting thousands. (Kagwanja, 2009)

The second factor to mention is poverty. Now, it is important to note that the two factors of political tribalism and poverty, in fact, go hand in hand. Poverty is a main reason it was easy to influence communities in rural areas, as well as those residing in the most impoverished urban areas. In these areas, because of poverty and lack of resources, there are many who are without education and who are unemployed. Politicians and local leaders used the lack of education and the poverty amongst youth to stimulate aggressiveness towards other tribes by arousing subdued tensions, bribing, and preaching stereotypes. The unemployment and poverty, which pushes residents of Mathare to live day-to-day, during the post-election conflict, led them to engage in illicit activities, provoking them to become a part of the violence in return for little compensation from politicians and leaders.

The Mathare Valley informal settlements were not spared of this violence. As mentioned, the Mathare Valley was one of the areas that was most affected by the violence. The Mathare valley informal settlement is a growing community. Though depending on the source, the number differs, the population is considered to be between 500,000 and 800,000 people. Mathare is divided up into different "villages". Prior to the post-election violence, the villages, while some may have been predominantly of one ethnic group, were generally mixed. Presently, however, the nine "villages" that make up Mathare are mostly divided according to tribal affiliation. The post-election violence affected some parts of Mathare more than others. Many people were left without homes becoming internally displaced peoples (IDPs), many women were raped and many youth and children severely injured or murdered. It is imperative to mention that youth in particular were affected. They were in many ways pushed to become a part of the violence due to social, political, and economic factors.

Socially, elders are generally respected above youth. When interviewing Daniel, who is one of the youth coordinators and works in-part with the Stop the Bullet! Peace Project (SBPP), he was asked to give an overview of the SBPP, and why it was necessary to have such a project be part of the youth group. As he was explaining who the SBPP was targeting in the community, he mentioned that parents where one of the target groups and started explaining why they were such an important group to reach out to:

"We are working with parents, those are older people. Cause, you know most of the older people are conservatives. Like now, the youths have no problem with tribalism in Kenya, cause youths can intermarry...Now the problem is the parents. Cause the parents are the ones that instill the fears that if you marry this tribe, this tribe behaves this way, this tribe is our enemy, this tribe is illiterate...and such stereotypes cause they instill the youths with stereotypes. Also we address the parents and give to the older generation that things have changed...Like now, people perceive different tribes to different things....some say maybe the Kikuyus are thieves, some say the Luos are stone throwers, some say the Masaii are illiterate...which are not true." (Wainaina, personal communication: 2012)

It is easy to see that the influence comes from the older generations. This leads to the second factor which is concerning political factors in Mathare. How the political structures are set up in Mathare is of great importance for a number of reasons. The first reason is that different political hierarchies cater to different persons within a community in different ways, this leads to some members being more influential than others. Secondly, and in the case of Mathare, political structures are tied up with social structures. The following chart illustrates this structure:

(Figure 2.Political/Social Structure: Mathare)

29
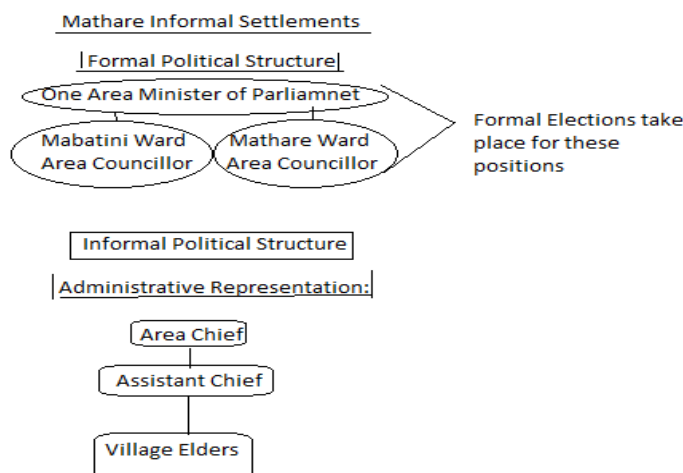
During the interview with Daniel, the question regarding whether youth were able to become politically engaged in Mathare arose from the discussion. The answer that Daniel gave eventually led to a clear understanding of the political and social structures in Mathare, which are interlinked at the ground level. The figure above is an illustration of the political environment in Mathare. To offer some further explanation, the only elections that take place are for the area Minister of Parliament and the Ward Councilors. What Daniel refered to as the "Administrative Respresentation", which describes the political structures more at the ground level, are the ones which take up most of the responsibilities within Mathare and are consequently those of which elections are not held. An example of the responsibilities which are negotiated at this ground level can be seen with the village elders. They take on the task of settling land disputes, thievery, domestic disputes, and other illegal acts. In fact, many people who reside in each of the nine villages which make up Mathare may go to their village elders to settle a conflict before going to the police or an area chief. It is true that "dispute resolution through informal institutions of village elders is often preferred above formal institutions (courts, land tribunals, local provincial administrators) for reasons of lower costs, shorter periods to process and resolve disputes, easy accessibility and trustfulness through familiarity with the local situation and shared ethnicity and less intimidating environment" (Musyoka, 2004 in Hendricks, 2011: 52).

The intertwining of social and political structures in the Mathare Informal Settlements makes it very difficult for youth to become critically engaged with political change in their communities. These type of structures also give a great deal of power to the village elders, and the older generations which, as Daniel pointed out in the interview, can lead to tensions among tribal groups due to their conservative views and perpetuation of stereotypes in the community. There are also a lot of negative ideas linked with political institutions not just in Mathare, but in Kenya as a whole. Two of these negative images stand out the most. The first is that it seems to most people that unless you have money you cannot become engaged in politics. Secondly, there is widespread distrust in politicians, in fact, "in general, trust in politicians is very low as mostly something is expected in return and clientelists relations are formed" (Hendricks, 2011: 87). Not being able to become critically engaged in politics is just one part of the problem. The other

issue is that the hierarchical structures that make up the political and social institutions of Mathare place priority on the older generations. During the post-election violence, many youth were goaded by the decisions and influence of the elders in Mathare. This is one of the main reasons why an organization like Maji Mazuri which works with peace issues in the community, understands that not only is it important to target youth in the community, but it is also of top priority to target the elders, parents, and older generations in general due to the immense influence that these groups have on the community and decision making.

The third factor for youth involvement is the economic factor. This economic factor maybe is one of the most important of the three. The idea that poverty leads to violence is not a foreign concept. And while "Some scholars hold that there is no empirical evidence to support the hypothesis that conditions of poverty cause conflict. Pervasive poverty alone is not a sufficient condition to create a major conflict, or even to cause an individual to commit an act of violence. Yet, many studies show that there is a strong correlation between the absence of material well-being and the prospects for violence, from crime in inner-city neighborhoods to instability in poor nations" (Atwood, 2010). It is clear that in the case of the post-election conflict in Mathare, poverty was not the sole reason for the violence. However, for many who were involved with the violence, it was certainly a very strong contributing factor. During the research that was done in Mathare, all of the interviews that were held led to the same conclusion: for many of the perpetrators of violence, all it took was a promise of two hundred Kenyan shillings (approximately two Euros), to become part of extreme forms of violence in Mathare during the month that followed the election.

During one interview with Judith Kemuma, a Maji Mazuri Youth Group member since 2008, who is also part of the SBPP and the drama club, the question regarding why youth were so vulnerable to be involved with the post-election violence was confronted. After some time discussing the SBPP that she was involved with in the youth group, she began to mention, as mostly all the people I spoke to had also mentioned, that youth were the most vulnerable during the post-election violence. I asked her for her interpretation of why this might be so. The question I put forward was:

"Why do you think that it was so easy for youth to become involved with this violence?"

She then responded the following:

"Ok, you see the problem is that most of the youths, it is lack of employment…now like an MP comes to Mathare community and then maybe someone is not doing any work, is not employed and maybe he or she has not opened up his or her own business. So, the MP will come and corrupt the person with only 100 or 200 shillings and he or she will be told go and do this, or go and kill someone. So, it will be so easy for that person to take that money, cause he is not working and has been given money for 3 or 200 shillings and that's why they get involved in that post violence."(Kemuma, personal communication: 2012)

Each person that was interviewed with the intention of understanding the youth group and the SBPP more gave me a similar response to this question. Politicians, or other people motivated by politics, would use money to bribe vulnerable youth, (meaning unemployed, idle, and impoverished) to commit acts of violence.

4.3 Youth Empowerment Programs: Post-Conflict/Conflict Prone Communities

For communities that have experienced or are more prone to experience conflict, youth empowerment initiatives, programs, and organizations are a vital component for reconciliation efforts. Creating a community and an environment with critically thinking and socially as well as economically empowered youth is vital. In the previous section of this chapter, the issues regarding why youth may become involved in conflict and in violence was discussed, as well as the specific reasons that they were involved with the post election violence. This section will approach the successes and barriers of youth empowerment programs briefly in a general sense, and then more specifically in terms of the programs and initiatives in the Mathare community.

Post-conflict reconstruction can take place in many different forms. Including youth in this process is critical because of the roles they take on during conflict. In fact, on an international level, the UN addresses the importance of the post-conflict reconstruction process to be inclusive of youth. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs discuss youth involvement in the post-conflict reconstruction process in the paper "Issues Paper for the Session on Socio-economic and Institutional Challenges of Post-

conflict Peace-building and Development: A Long-term Perspective". In the paper three main ideas are approached, USIP organizes them into three points, these include:

- "Involve effective coordination between programs for children and adults to deal with former child soldiers who are now older than 18.
- Provide for long-term sustainability by fully reintegrating youth rather than separating them from their peers.
- "Do no harm" by planning a smooth transition and recognizing youth as an asset in the reconstruction process. This can be achieved by increasing employability of youth so that they are not trapped in poverty, ensuring healthcare and focusing resources on creating opportunities for further education and training"

(USIP, 2012)

The UN's approach to youth involvement and empowerment in post-conflict communities is simply a framework to work alongside of, much like the youth empowerment theories discussed previously. However, the difficulty lies in action and context. Context for youth empowerment is incredibly important. The complete success of an organization with youth empowerment initiatives strongly depends on the social, political, and economic factors. Because of the dynamic way that youth are involved in conflict, and because of how this differs depending on where the conflict is taken place, there must be room to maneuver when implementing empowerment and reconstruction strategies that address youth. A program that may work for one community may not work for another do to the nature of the conflict, or the social and cultural contexts.

What must be stressed is that because of the experiences that youth encounter in conflict prone communities, whether it is during a time of stability, or a time of conflict, is that youth can be agents for peace and they can be agents for change. The United States Institute of Peace (USIP) explains that there are three main ways that youth empowerment/reconstruction programming takes place. These are the rights based approach, the economic approach, and the sociopolitical approach. According to the USIP, the rights based approach is most often used when dealing with children under the age of 18, and deals with "preventative policy, viewing children as victims of a hostile situation that undermines their legal human rights"(USIP, 2012), the focus is more educative in nature, teaching children under the age of 18 what their rights are under the UDHR. The economic approach and the sociopolitical approach are targeted to youth. The first concentrates on using vocational training, or micro-financing schemes to help

youth become reintegrated into economic activity, which then makes them active members in their community, and they are no longer idle. The third approach is the sociopolitical approach. The sociopolitical approach views youth as "vital members of civil society and understands the precarious long-term dynamic whereby youth can be active agents in their communities, both as potential spoilers and as peacebuilders" (USIP, 2012). The idea of this third approach is to engage youth in their community, and rebuild the communities through positively influencing their peers and other community members.

4.4 Maji Mazuri Mathare Youth Group

The Maji Mazuri office in Mathare (MMM) has a number of programs specifically designed to empower youth. Because the majority of the staff employed with MMM are residents of Mathare, the analysis of what youth in the community need, and where there is a lack of support, is approached from a very personal and relatable space. MMM's empowerment initiatives, while majorly reaching youths, has also developed initiatives to reach women as well as older generations. While this section will focus primarily on the youth empowerment initiatives of MMM, it will also concisely look at the other empowerment schemes in order to provide a holistic insight of the organizations work in the Mathare informal settlements.

The most important vehicle for youth empowerment in MMM is the youth group. The youth group, also known as the Youth Talent Programme (YTP), aims at focusing on the strengths of youth and providing a space for youth to develop these talents through community service initiatives and by surrounding themselves with other youth who are like minded. There are several clubs within the MMM youth talent group, these include: the drama club, multimedia team, debate club, exchange club, garbage pickup team, girls club, and the Stop the Bullet! Peace Project. When members join the youth group, they are then welcomed to choose one or more clubs to become a part of, but this is not obligatory. First it is important to understand a bit about the setup of the youth group. When the youth group started, there were only a few youth members and the activities that they engaged in were determined by the director. As the youth group started growing

both in numbers and in program successes, then the way that the youth group was organized had to change. The staff adult members of MMM began to delegate more and more tasks to the youth, until the youth group formed their own committees, and elected a leader and others to serve as treasurer, secretary, etc. The members of the YTP then take the time at the beginning of each year to choose which activities they wish to engage in every Sunday for the rest of the year.[1] Recently, because of the growth and changes in the YTP, the members have come together and have forged a constitution in order to address the structure and maintenance of the group. This has solidified the youth group in many ways, and has established a way for members of the YTP to address issues in an organized and democratic way.[2] During one recorded conversation with Samuel Kiriro, a staff member the Youth Program Coordinator and ICT Training Centre Coordinator at Maji Mazuri in Mathare and also who is a previous member of the Maji Mazuri youth group in Mathare, replying to one question on how the MMM youth group empowers members said:

"*It does empower. When they [the youth] come into the youth group they are empowered physically and also mentally; they are used as role models in the community because they are different from other youths.***"*

He continued, and with a voice exuding pride added

"like now, most of the youth who undergo Maji Mazuri, well we have never had a case of somebody dying or suffering from HIV and AIDS, we have never had somebody engaged in crime, he was but when he comes he changes. We have never had bad things happening from the youth. What we have here is people, youth, go back to the community and do change. Also the mentality of the people wanting them to change, and also through education…"

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[1] An excerpt of the activity schedule for the Maji Mazuri Youth Talent Programme for the 2012 year will come attached at the end of this document.
[2] A copy of the Maji Mazuri Youth Group Constitution will be attached to the end of this document.

5. Stop the Bullet! Peace Project

The Stop the Bullet! Peace Project is a peace initiative which began after the last post-election violence. The objective of the peace project is clear; it strives to promote peace and cohesion in the Mathare Valley informal settlements. The peace project is stepping up the activities and the intensity of activities due to the upcoming elections in 2013. MMM aims at using the members of the YTP to stand as role models for the rest of the community and to engage the community, through different programs and initiatives, in peaceful practice. One of the things that members of MMM pride themselves on is that while "Many youth in Mathare Valley were involved in the violence as perpetrators, as victims, or as both. Youth involved with Maji Mazuri did not engage in violence and instead initiated activities to promote peace and community cohesion during and right after the conflict erupted" (Majimazuri.org, 2012). This in itself gives the Maji Mazuri organization in Mathare a good jumping point. For the members of the YTP, the peace project is the most important club to be a part of, because as the next elections approach, they understand the terrible devastation that another violent conflict can bring to their community.

Nelson Mandela (21 years old) – *"maybe being part of the peace project I can be a part of the change with the people. We are working with people of different tribes and different backgrounds. So by bringing these people together at least we associate together then they change their thinking by knowing the tradition of the other people and knowing why they are there. So we train them to thinking these are my brothers and not my enemies."*

5.1 SBPP Peace Promotion and the Right to Life and Security of Person: Activities, Successes, and Barriers

Violent conflict violates the inherent rights of the people living in the affected community, especially the right to life, liberty and security of person. This particular article of the UDHR stipulates that all persons have the right to live without fear of being

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harmed, or killed; that they can live in their communities and feel secure. This section will show how the Stop the Bullet! Peace Project in Mathare promotes the right to life, liberty, and security of person, through different projects and initiatives aimed at youth. All the efforts made by the youth in Maji Mazuri in Mathare, through the SBPP, are meant to provide stability, security, and peace in the community, therefore directly promoting the right as stated in Art. 3 of the UDHR.

"As role models, community leaders and initiators the Maji Mazuri youth have the capacity to reach out to the youth who were involved in the violence. Maji Mazuri facilities these youth members with financial support, guidance and expertise" (majimazuri.org, 2012). The SBPP engages the community in many different ways, working in solidarity with other organizations, and working with other clubs in the youth program. The main ways that the SBPP works promoting peace, cohesion, and security in the Mathare community is through peace workshops and peace promoting activities, some which are ongoing, while other major ones occur every 3 months, then also engaging vulnerable youths in Mathare who experienced the violence, either as victims or as perpetrators of violence. Peace education is used in different forms in order to reach community members across Mathare.

The MMM SBPP, used the idea in human rights discourse that when someone has a right they also have an obligation to respect that right of those around them and developed and placed them into practice using what they refer to as the Alternative to Violence Program (AVP). This program targets "gangs" in Mathare who were part of the post-election violence and who are now isolated from their communities and using to a degree human rights language, tries to enforce a shift of mentality to one of where those who were victims and perpetrators of violence understand that they have the right to live in security and peace, but they also have an obligation to unite with others and respect the rights of those in their communities. Just as Michael Freeman points out, "Rights are important, but they are not the whole of morality…we can have a moral duty to do something that no one has the right to insist that we do" (Freeman, 2002: 63). Drawing from the case of Maji Mazuri's work with gangs in Mathare, no one has the right to force the members of these gangs to do good in their community, but MMM and the SBPP tries to show them

and help them understand that because the role they played in the violence, they have a moral obligation to give back to their communities, and that this in turn will only help to reinforce their rights in their community.

According to Naomi Van Stapele, one of the external evaluators and long-term supporter of MMM, the problematic element to AVP is that the "gangs" and the groups that are targeted by the SBPP are groups that feel very isolated from not just their communities, but from the rest of Nairobi, and in some cases even from the rest of Kenya; they may in fact not feel part of the society at all. Due to this feeling of isolation and because they are usually people who live in difficult conditions and in extreme poverty, they live with an attitude which reflects this socio-economic situations. There is a saying in Swahili which moves through the Mathare community among the youth and which emphasizes this particular point: "Leo ni leo, kesho ni baadaye" which directly translated means: "Today is today, tomorrow is the future". Many of the youths who engage in violence in their communities are constantly exposed to people their age being affected by violence, either by other members of the community, or by the police. Many of these youth feel that there is a real chance that they will not live past a certain age and it is something that they are constantly reminded of in their day to day. Taking this into account, SBPP tries, through the training and through reintegration into their communities within Mathare, to change the way that they think, so they understand that there are rights that exist not only for them but also for their neighbors and that they could work to create a longer future for themselves. MMM and SBPP also completely recognize that empowering these youth that belong to these groups takes much more than simply a rights based approach, there must be social empowerment, and there must be possibilities for economic empowerment. Therefore, the youth which are reached through MMM and SBPP are subjected to a number of possibilities to help them change the way they see themselves, their neighbors, and their community. (Van Stapele, personal communication: 2012)

While the aforementioned AVP is perhaps the most critical element to SBPP, there are, of course, other projects alongside AVP that the SBPP carries out to promote peace in Mathare. A brief description of all the projects enforced by the SBPP is provided below:

(i)Gangs for Hire—During the election violence there were groups [gangs] from both sides of the conflict. They were hired by different political leaders and became some of the worse perpetrators of violence. Maji Mazuri works with the members of the gangs. The members will give life testimonies, talking about their experiences. They are also members which have been segregated from the communities, because the rest of the community members know of the role that they played during the violence. Maji Mazuri reaches these members and tries to reintegrate them into their communities by going to the village where they reside and inviting them and involving them in the peace workshops, or peace parades. The idea is that once the rest of the community sees them in a more peaceful way, positively contributing to their village within Mathare, and as a result they will reaccept and view them in a different light. They also receive the AVP training as described above, and they are given the opportunity to engage in other social and economic empowerment programs offered not only by the Maji Mazuri organization, but also by other organizations within Mathare.

*"We found out that the people involved in the violence are youth. And we found out when we were visiting those places where people sit around and talk, we found out that they are those groups that are for hire. They get paid to do something, which is very dangerous. They get paid to go and kill someone. And we brought them on the board, and they feel as though they are part of the community. Cause the community had already isolated them. They thought those people have done bad things, these people are killers, these people brought tragedy. So we brought them back to the community because they saw them playing football, coming to the peace screening, so those people [***those youth involved in the gangs****] they felt, ok we are still part of this community. So we are trying to make them feel that they are part of this community and we are engaging them"* (Kiriro, personal communication: 2012)

(ii) Peace Tournaments--- Maji Mazuri organizes peace sports tournaments. The peace tournaments are organized between rival groups in the community, meaning groups that were on opposite sides of the conflict. They come together, with activities before and after the actual sporting event. Each team wears t-shirts that promote messages of peace, so that while they are playing spectators will be able to read these messages and also will see the rival groups intermingling, conversing, and playing with each other. It also is effective for those youth that are actually participating in the sporting event. They realize

that those that they are playing against are just like themselves and they create relationships and friendships with these members.

*"Before we organized the peace tournament, we go to where they are [***vulnerable members of the community, or those who were involved with the post-election violence***]. We talk to them [**the people in Mathare**] about what they think peace is all about. What they think they can do. What they think they can do, how they can participate. They came up with the suggestion that the only thing they can participate is coming up playing football together and sharing. So we did have a football tournament. Later in the evening we organized a screening….with another organization called Ghetto Films. They showed peace films, people giving testimonies on peace, how it happened the post-election violence, and how people make people die, and how people get involved in such things that are not good for them"* (Kiriro, personal communication: 2012)

(iii) Peace Workshops--- Peace workshops are organized in order to include elders and youth. They are organized to integrate people of different communities because, as previously mentioned, after the post-election violence the once mixed Mathare community became very segregated according to ones ethnic group. MMM also sends members to other peace workshops organized by international organizations, specifically human rights based organizations in order to learn about peace reconciliation in a human rights perspective.

(iv) Major Peace Activities (Every Three Months)--- The SBPP organizes awareness events in the community which impacts the community in different ways. These peace activities are organized with other clubs and sometimes with other local organizations. For example, the SBPP group might join forces with the drama group. The drama group will develop and act out short skits or plays which portray the election violence and ones displaying peaceful practice to the community. There are also concerts and sports events. Now that the 2013 elections are coming up, Maji Mazuri youth group and the SBPP will start to have more events, more frequently in order to prepare for the elections and to avoid conflict in the community.

Of course, there have been many challenges for the SBPP in Mathare. These challenges come in the form of the elders in the community, financial issues, dealing with security and the police, and also the segregation in Mathare after the post-election violence.

1. The elders, especially the parents, as mentioned, are one of the main challenges for the SBPP. This is because they still have quite conservative views. In most occasions they were the ones that instigated the violence, and they made their children believe that they had to protect their own people, their own tribal group against the others. The village elders also bring other issues to the SBPP. They are not appointed in any democratic or representative way. They are also quite conservative and do not hold to the same views as the youth in the community. This makes it difficult for youth to become critically and politically engaged in their communities and it also makes it difficult to approach the elders on issues of peace and cohesion between rival ethnic groups.

2. Financial issues are another challenge to the SBPP. One of the reasons that the program was only able to have big campaigns and events every three months is because of the cost to have them and the cost of the license from the government. As Daniel explained during one of my interviews with him, the people that live in Mathare are an impoverished people. For many of them they work day to day, meaning they work the day for food for that day only, and they are unable to think about tomorrow. When their means of getting food is challenged it would cause issues. Also, for many they can't afford to miss even one day of working and so getting involved the community members involved with different projects in the SBPP becomes a problem because it is time consuming. During a recorded conversation with Samuel, when asking him about the challenges and barriers, the first thing he mentioned was the financial issues, and how poverty affects the work of Maji Mazuri:

"First the youth group is a volunteer group so you have to come and volunteer. And most of the youth in the community they want to be out there trying to do something to earn something. So, that has been a major barrier, because they want to come but they can't come…so that's been a major barrier, according to the harsh situation that they are living in." (Kiriro, personal communication: 2012)

3. The third most major challenge for the youth involved in the SBPP is the segregation that occurred in the Mathare Informal Settlements after the post-

election violence. Because of this segregation it has become a challenge for the MMM SBPP to unite the nine villages (each representing a different tribal group). *However*, through the programs and projects mentioned above, the SBPP is trying to mix them and integrate them again to create cooperation throughout the community.

4. The fourth challenge comes with the issues dealing with the security and police in Mathare. This is not an easy task, mostly because even the police were divided during the election violence; the force was stretched thin as the police were there only protecting the people of their own tribal group. There are also many instances of harsh violence from the police to the youth of Mathare which makes them untrustworthy to most.

The coming elections are of great concern for the MMM youth group. There are different speculations of what will happen. Some believe that it will be more peaceful, while others believe that the tension is already building up and that there is real potential for conflict to happen in the community. During talks with different youth group members and staff members, one of the questions that were asked was how they felt the coming elections would affect the community. Some of the responses that I received were:

Samuel Kiriro: *It's a bit tricky. It's a bit tricky cause right now we see politicians and all and other people trying to recruit and here we are trying to bring people together so you will find when we are trying to get them together, the ones that we are trying to bring together are the ones that the politicians are meeting. And that is a challenge. So, we are trying our best. So we are worried on that, on what's going to happen.*

Victor Kebane, 23 years old: *I think it has been effective. The changes we have seen. Well our target group was the marginalized youth. We have done conflict analyzing in the community, we have youth that analyzed conflict tensions. They investigate. What would have been the cause? Many times the cause has been so minute. So we can't well tell if we will witness some violence, because then we leave it to our leaders, because it is from what they say that the youth can be lured. The atmosphere right now is that leaders are trying to bring the aspect of tribalism. So the youth right now are vulnerable. We try as much as possible to address the issues and peace in the community.*

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Judith Kemuma, 22 years old: *People learned their lesson in 2007 and how we conducted the peace project, with the tournaments and the concept, people have learned the lesson. And people have said that they won't involve themselves. Even some have said that they won't vote. But it is their right, they must vote. You can say that this time it won't happen. But it is the leaders of our country who insult people to do some things that maybe they said they wouldn't accept.*

The hope is that because of the efforts by MMM SBPP, and through the work cooperative work they have done alongside other organizations that the violence will not happen again in the Mathare community. However, the youth and staff at MMM do recognize that the potential is always there and the fear that it will is there. The community is still impoverished and there are still youths without education or any form of income that could be desperate enough to engage once more in violence. Still, because of the efforts of the youth in Maji Mazuri to make their communities secure and to show people that everyone's life is valuable and deserving no matter which ethnic background you may have, there is hope that the violence can be avoided. The coming elections will surely bring answers to these questions and will test the strength of the Mathare community and hopefully will vindicate the efforts made by the youth.

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the research and fieldwork conducted on the subject of youth empowerment in post-conflict and conflict prone communities, the following section will reflect upon this research in order to accomplish two things: (1) to summarize the main conclusions reached, and (2) to offer recommendations to the Maji Mazuri Youth Group in Mathare, both to their youth empowerment programs in general, and more specifically to the Stop the Bullet! Peace Project.

6.1 Conclusion

Youth empowerment grassroots initiatives are a vital component for communities which have experienced conflict and which are conflict prone. Because they are grassroots initiatives, the youths who are involved with and who are benefiting from youth empowerment schemes are more able to connect with their communities. Because of the theoretical and practical approach taken, I was able to see how theory is put into practice, how an organization manages the strengths and weaknesses of the youth empowerment programs, how these youth empowerment programs benefit the community especially in terms of promoting life, liberty and security of person, and how culture and context are both a benefit and detriment for grassroots, community based, organizations and projects.

Being a part of the MMM team for two months gave me an insight into the Mathare community, particularly to how youth are being affected, that I would not have been exposed to otherwise. Of course, it would be impossible for me to ever fully understand what the youth of Mathare must face on their day to days, or during the post-election violence, or even the pressures and tension many of them must feel now that it is once again an election year. The youth in Mathare because of their vulnerable nature, due to a number of elements especially lack of employment opportunities, are constantly the targets of politicians, community leaders, police, etc. Maji Mazuri gives these youths an opportunity to no longer be idle, but to be active members of their community while also giving them not just hope for change but also a chance to be part of the vehicle for

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change. And MMM is not alone, over the course of the two months with MMM, when speaking with staff and youth, it became very clear that MMM was not alone. There are many women's organizations, youth organizations, community organizations within the Mathare Informal Settlements who reach out to the community as well.

The importance of having this type of grassroots organizations became more and more clear each time I went to Mathare. Because all of the staff members in Mathare are in fact Kenyan, and because most of them were born in and grew up in Mathare, their understanding of the needs of their community members is quite a powerful tool when they approach the issues and target youth and other community members. It paves the road for a very holistic approach when dealing with the community covering social and economic issues and providing a space for development. What I wanted to show with this research is the impact that a small organization can have at the community level, and how and why these grassroots organizations developed by those living in the community are so important. One thing became very clear through the fieldwork conducted in Kenya: despite all of the social, political, and economic barriers that residents of the Mathare informal settlements face everyday, there is another constant in the equation that moves through the community through these community grassroots organizations. It is in the garbage clean up project on Saturdays, in a football tournament between two youth groups in an afternoon, in a film viewing at a peace assembly organized by different community organizations: it is the hope that through community action, positive bonding, and support, that there can be change.

6.2 Recommendations

The following are the recommendations that were developed as a result of the theoretical and fieldwork research:

Further recommendations for research:

a. Theoretical analysis- Due to the dynamic nature of the question of youth empowerment and peace education in post-conflict and conflict prone communities, a more intensive

approach to the theoretical discussion is required in order to provide a better understanding of work which is being conducted on the ground. For example, in further research, due to the social and political constructs in the Mathare informal settlements, it could be beneficial to integrate a study regarding power and power relations.

b. Fieldwork- Mathare is a very large community and because of the social, political, economic, gender, generational, and cultural paradigms in the community, to develop any holistic understanding of the community would require a much longer time in the field. In order to offer a valuable evaluation of grassroots projects and more specifically the impact they have in Mathare, one would need to be in Mathare for a much longer time to see how the community transforms and changes over time.

Further recommendations for Maji Mazuri in Mathare:

a. Maji Mazuri Mathare Youth Group- This particular recommendation is offered to the MMM youth group. While, I believe that the youth group is doing a remarkable job uniting youth in Mathare and giving them a space to develop positive social bonds as well as offering opportunities for economic growth, one element which seems missing is the gender element. While a group targeting women does exist, it is not very developed and participation is at a minimum. Women are affected differently than their male counterparts, especially women who fall into the "youth" category and especially in communities with conditions such as Mathare. Therefore, paying more specific attention to the needs of these women and really focusing on developing a group where they can share their experiences and empower each other would be very beneficial to the youth group not only in terms of development but also in attracting more women.

b. Stop the Bullet! Peace Project- the SBPP is a very crucial element of MMM, especially now that it is an election year. What is encouraging about those involved with SBPP is that there is an understanding that this is a project which must be continuous and which cannot be eliminated until peace is reached fully in the community. The only recommendation for the SBPP is perhaps a more focused integration of human rights. While, of course there is a discussion of human rights, it could be integrated more as a tool to empower both youth and other community members. Although, understanding the difficulties in implementing a rights based approach to empowerment in a community

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where civic education is at a minimum, remembering that Kenya has signed and ratified the UDHR and has also acceded to both major international human rights conventions: ICCPR and ICESCR as well as a number of other human rights documents, could eventually be used as a base to learn more about their innate rights and to further empower youth.

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Appendix A. Excerpt from Maji Mazuri Activity Schedule

3	Debate	12th February 2012	MMMYG Venue	To give the group members an opportunity to share what they know toward technology . . -To promote positive change in real life. -To learn new ideas and how the world is changing and positive thinking to any thing	Debate club	• Members will have tested their ability on I.C.T. • Members will be to express them self on the subject.	Stationery	No cost
4	Youth and entrepreneurship	19th February 2012	MMMYG Venue	• -To challenge the youths and enable them discover their potential. • To equip youths with entrepreneurship skills to improve their social – economic status.	-All the group members and the volunteers	Youths will start thinking what they can do to improve their life as entrepreneurs. Youths will discover their potential and work towards improving their life's individually with new skills.	Stationery	No cost

5	Reproductive Health	26th February 2012	MMMYG venue	• To educate the youth on reproduction health. • To provide information to the youths on the roles they can play to promote good health within their community. • To give youths from the group who have been trained in this course an opportunity to share their knowledge with the others.	Guest facilitator	Youth members will be trained on reproduction health. The youths will be equipped with important information on how to promote good health in their communities.	Stationeries	No cost
6	Re-evaluation counseling	4th March 2012	MMMYG venue	• -To challenge the youths and enable them discover their potential. • To train youth on new counseling technique and how to deal with own character and behaviors.	Karani & victor		stationery	

Appendix B. Maji Mazuri Youth Group Constitution Excerpt

MATHARE MAJI MAZURI YOUTH GROUP CONSTITUTION (2011)

GROUP'S OBJECTIVES:

1. To enhance leadership skills
2. Environmental sanitation
3. To advocate for peace
4. Being a non-political group
5. To nurture various talents of youths
6. To start up income generating activities
7. To campaign against drugs and HIV/AIDS

GROUP MEMBERSHIP:

- Members shall be between the ages of 15years to 27 years after which they join alumni.
- Members shall pay a registration fee of 200 Kenyan shillings and a renewal fee of 100 Kenyan shillings annually (yearly).
- Registration fee is **NON-REFUNDABLE.**
- Upon joining the group, a member shall in a span of three months clear the payment of registration fee.
- Members shall be legible for dual membership for as long as the membership does not interfere with Maji mazuri youth's program. The members shall give relevant information (if any) in relation to the other group to see how dual membership can benefit the maji mazuri youth group.
- In the event that a member leaves the group by choice or on grounds of indiscipline (expulsion), the member shall not be issued with a certificate of credibility.
- After joining the group, a member shall join at least one club and/or at least one of the projects (i.e. garbage and peace projects)

MEETINGS:

- Unless otherwise, the normal meeting time shall be as from **2pm to 4pm** on every Sunday according to the youth's calendar/program of activities.
- Incase of the presence of visitors and external facilitators (when need arises) the meeting shall be extended to 4:30pm
- Meetings shall start at 2pm and after 2:15pm; any member showing up during this time shall be regarded late for the meeting.

- Members shall be given opportunities to facilitate the various activities during the meetings
- In the event a member misses the meetings twice consecutively, the committee shall summon the member
- Members shall observe high level discipline and for this matter, the members shall for instance be required to put their phones on silent mode, minimize unnecessary movements, avoid murmurings just to mention a few.

CLUBS:

- There shall be clubs in the group and the clubs shall have leaders. The clubs are; but are not limited to: Art, Music, Drama, Debate, Poetry, ICT, Multimedia, Exchange program, Camps, Sports and Mentorship. The clubs shall have open dates set for them to showcase what they have prepared. Some of the clubs have been merged and they are as follows:

1. Debate with Poetry
2. ICT with Multimedia
3. Drama with Music and Art

- Despite the clubs being merged, each of the clubs shall have its own elected leader by members of the respective clubs.
- The clubs shall have an annual plan and budget for their activities and proposals therefore shall be written and send to the youth's coordinator **8weeks** prior to the date of execution. The proposals shall be written by the club leader with some help from the members.
- Members shall have day(s) set aside for evaluation of their club and also have day(s) set for practice.
- The club leaders shall write reports (on their progress and meetings) that shall be presented to the committee during the last Sundays of **every** month and the committee shall present a compilation of these reports to the youth's coordinator.
- In the event of non-performance or/and resignation from the club leaders, there shall be a snap election.
- Incase of resignation by the club leaders, the committee shall be informed **one month** prior to the act.

ROLES AND DUTIES OF CLUBS:
GENERAL

1. Each club shall be responsible for 2 Sundays in 6months and this shall be incorporated in the half a year program.

2. The club leaders in conjunction with the committee (see below) shall make the annual program in the week following taking office. Before the first Sunday after taking office, they shall present the program to the youth's coordinator who shall if needed, revise the program and print copies for the committee and the club leaders who shall present the annual program to the members on the first Sunday after taking office.

Appendix C. Guiding Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews

Staff Interview Questions: General

- Name and title in Maji Mazuri

- Can you please provide a description of your role in the organization?

- How do you think Maji Mazuri, and the programs you are involved with in particular, empower members of your community, specifically youth?

- How has the community of Mathare responded to the programs you are involved with?

- What have the greatest successes of the programs you've been involved with? And similarly, what have been some of the barriers, or failures?

- What do you feel are the best elements of the organization? Are there any improvements you feel can be made? Any recommendations?

-----Post-Election Conflict Context--------

- Maji Mazuri is an organization that stimulates empowerment, change, and a sense of unity in the Mathare community .How do you think the post-election conflict affected the work which Maji Mazuri does in Mathare?

  o Where there changes in how Maji Mazuri approached their work?

  o Was there any effect on the programs you are involved with in particular?

Interview Questions: Stop the Bullet! Peace Project

- Can you please provide a description of the Stop the Bullet! Peace Project?

  o What sort of programs does this project do?

  o What is the aim of Stop the Bullet! Peace Project?

  o What different strategies has the project taken in order to empower youth to stand for peace (peace education for example)

- What kind of approach is this initiative taking?

- - - Which elements are tackling the root problems of the 2007-2008 conflict? Which elements are preventative?

- How has the community responded to the peace initiative?

- What is the profile of those generally involved in this initiative in terms of age and gender?

- What has the outreach of the initiative been?

- What do you see as the strengths and weaknesses of the initiative? What are the best elements and what makes them the best?

- Now that the elections are coming, what sort of approaches or changes is the Stop the Bullet! Peace Project carrying out in order deal with this?

Interview Questions: Youth involved with Maji Mazuri

- Please give me your name (and occupation if applicable)

- How long have you been a part of Maji Mazuri?

- Which particular program are you involved with?

- How did you get involved with Maji Mazuri? How did you know about it and the particular programs you are involved with?

- How do you feel this program/programs has affected you? And the community?

- What are the most positive aspects of Maji Mazuri to you? Do you think the organization or a particular program could improve in any way or do you have any suggestions?

For those involved in the Stop the Bullet! Peace Project (there may be slight changes depending on the answers from my questions with Samuel about the program itself)

- How did you get involved in this particular project?

- Why do you feel it is so important to have a program such as this?

- What sort of projects does Stop the Bullet! do?

- Which of these is the most important to you? Why?

- How do you think Stop the Bullet is affecting the community here in Mathare?

- With the elections coming, what do you think is the most important thing for members of Stop the Bullet! to be focusing on?

- To you, what has been the greatest success of the program so far? Do you have any suggestions or recommendations for the program?